



Class JK 671

Book C 4-7

PRESENTED BY

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE

"Patronage is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways. * * No dependence is to be placed on the allegiance of soldiers of fortune. * * Their service is mercenary. * * The people whom they pretend to represent consist merely of a knot, greater or smaller, of aspirants to office, useful chiefly in the dirty work of smothering the popular voice in primary elections and nominating conventions."—HENRY C. LEA.

VOL. I, No. 1.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum
5 cents per copy

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address all correspondence to

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided."—*Republican National Platform, 1888.*

"The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence."—*From President Harrison's Letter of Acceptance.*

"Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty in connection therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion."—*From President Harrison's Inaugural Address.*

THE object of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is to promote civil service reform, and, incidentally, other things pertaining to better administration. No one can look over the state of Indiana and say that the field is not wide. And so long as in the country at large over 100,000 federal offices are still used as mere spoil with which to reward personal and party service, the voice of protest must be raised. We ask the support of those who are interested in these subjects. The conductors of this paper do not believe that a party organization or a party name is a thing to be worshiped, but that a party is simply an instrument, and, like any other instrument, may wear out.

THOSE who receive this paper are earnestly urged to subscribe for it, if they have not already done so. The price is so low as to be within the means of every one desiring to help the cause of good government. The paper is not to make money. It must depend for support upon those who sympathize with its objects. We expect, however, to get a good many subscribers who do not sympathize with its objects. We think we can make it interesting to them, as they will find a certain kind of truth told here that will not be in the papers of their ordinary reading.

FOR four years Indiana has been a great agitating ground for civil service reform. It is admitted throughout the country that this agitation has materially advanced the cause. To repeat what is not disputed, the Indiana managers of the affairs of the late administration viewed the law and the reform as so much dirt, and, without the slightest regard to solemn promises, they proceeded accordingly. But from the beginning to the end they found this path beset with very ugly thorns. They must to-day, in the fires of defeat, look back over their course with small satisfaction. Whether they will now recognize, what is becoming daily more patent, that the spoils system is doomed, remains to be seen. Meanwhile the struggle in this state affords many valuable lessons which the new administration, for obvious reasons, ought to know by heart. We shall notice these lessons from time to time.

THE agitation against the misuse of the law has made many facts of administration clear. These are so staring that no executive desiring to enforce the law can ignore them. The first is the secrecy which now veils the execution of this law. It is a cloak for fraud. With a knavish politician or a tool of knavish politicians for a postmaster, and a knavish politician in control of the local board and local examinations, the thing is easy. Of what use is it for the public to know that an ignorant favorite of the postmaster, who reads with difficulty and writes with more difficulty, has not passed, since the rules permit the above-mentioned knaves to cut off the public with the cool statement that he has passed. Make the favorite's examination paper a public record, so that his neighbors can see whether or not it is in his hand-writing, and whether or not it is such a paper as he could possibly have made out, and one eminently practicable means of cheating the law will be cut off.

A SECOND staring fact is that the present system of local boards seems arranged to enable the head of an office, if so disposed, to manipulate the law. At present the board is formed from employes of the office after consultation with the head of the office, who has also the power to dismiss these employes at any time. The mere statement of the plan shows its innate worthlessness. A civil service commission

afraid to do its duty adds to the difficulty. In 1885 a commissioner came to Indianapolis and allowed Postmaster Jones to select the local board. Thirty minutes' inquiry would have developed the fact that the choice was unfit. Yet through four years the commission was evidently too timid to correct its mistake.

A THIRD radical change, if promises of enforcement of the law are to be kept, will be in choosing heads of offices who are friendly to the law. Putting men who are mere politicians and nothing else, and who have only the views of mere politicians, enforcing this law is very like turning thieves into a bank. The average party politician has no stubborn opinion upon any subject except that his partisans should have the offices. He is, therefore, unalterably opposed to any law that seeks to reduce the transaction of public business to a business basis, and which therefore cuts off the use of subordinate places as spoils. To evade this law is not regarded as dishonorable among mere politicians. It is passed off by calling it "politics." When the democrats, four years ago, were laying their plans a local manager significantly said: "There is no penalty for not enforcing that law." The machinery of the law was directly or indirectly guided by petty politicians to whom civil service reform, or "civil service," as they call it, was a great joke. It can not be said that their management has resulted in much profit to themselves or to their party.

Now the republicans can make the same mistake or they can profit by the example. Let us have the utmost publicity. Let all the examination papers, all records and all lists of those who have passed be open to the public. Every community like a fair play, and when a competitor has fairly won the first place on the list he will have at his back the demand of his neighbors that he shall have the first appointment. There is more hope for civil service reform in this one change than in any other that can be made. Then let the machinery of the law, including the appointing power under it, be put into the hands of men who would consider it a dishonor to cheat the law, and the republican party is hardly aware of the moral and numerical strength which will rally to it. We may add that the worst possible head of an office is the respectable old

JM
C47

izen who is ignorant of the law and who acts upon the theory that he can carry out the law and give the members of his party the preference.

IN the line of his duty, some eighteen months ago, Henry Cook was obliged to jump into the canal to save himself from a falling wall. The shock and exposure brought on an illness from which he never recovered and which will probably prove fatal. He has no means of support. The fire department has many other men who quietly perform the duty at hand and risk their lives for the people of this city. They do not stop to inquire the politics of the man whose factory is burning, but the people are less generous. They permit these men who are willing to peril their lives for the sake of earning small wages, until they become crippled or broken down, to face each day the possibility of removal because their politics do not suit a dozen petty politicians of this city. Thirteen democrats at present are allowed the privilege of earning their daily bread in an occupation requiring qualities we have been accustomed to honor in the soldier, but their chief, who declined to dismiss them because they were democrats, after thirty years of honorable service in the fire department of Indianapolis, was removed for that reason and against the wish of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this city. This is what is called "practical civil service."

WILL MCKINNEY, of Indianapolis, called upon Postmaster-General Wanamaker this afternoon, in company with Colonel W. W. Dudley. "Mac" wants to succeed Gwynn as superintendent of the railway mail service at Cincinnati. Colonel Dudley remained with Mr. Wanamaker for some time, and afterwards informed McKinney that the appointment was as good as made, and that he (McKinney) would be the man.—*Washington Dispatch to the Indianapolis News.*

W. W. Dudley is under the charge of writing a letter which, if true, makes him morally, at least, a fit subject for the state prison. He seems afraid to meet this charge, and acts as though it were true. Under the circumstances, the postmaster-general of the United States would appear much better showing Dudley the door than counseling with him over appointments to office.

THE conference of civil service reformers which was held at Baltimore February 23, was probably the most important meeting of the kind ever held in this country. The large number in attendance from all parts of the country, the high character of the men, and their unmistakable earnestness demonstrate the strong and increased hold this reform has in this country.

It is interesting to note that the Maryland

reformers, with great persistence and ability brought Senator Gorman and his party so near to defeat that a republican congressman has stated that if it were not for the approaching division of spoils, the republicans would carry Maryland at the next election. Full accounts of the meetings may be found in the *Civil Service Reformer*, of Baltimore, and in the *Civil Service Record*, of Boston, for March. Among those attending the conference were Charles J. Bonaparte, John C. Rose, Joseph Packard, Jr., Thomas B. Mackall, of Baltimore; Theodore Roosevelt, Rev. A. Mackay Smith, and E. L. Godkin, of New York; Ethan Allen Doty and William Potts, of Brooklyn; Henry A. Richmond, of Buffalo; Herbert Welsh, Joseph Parrish, Rev. J. Andrews Harris, Stuart Wood and James G. Francis, of Philadelphia; Robert N. Toppin, Morrill Wyman, Jr., and Richard H. Dana, of Cambridge; Arthur Hobart and Henry H. Sprague, of Boston; J. N. Swan, of Paxton, Ill.; Charles Claflin Allen, of St. Louis; Prof. J. A. Woodburn, of Bloomington; William D. Foulke, of Richmond; and Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis.

THE INDIANAPOLIS POSTOFFICE.

Since the comments in another column, relating to the appointment of heads of offices in the classified service were in type, President Harrison has nominated Mr. William Wallace to succeed Postmaster Jones in this city. We note the following utterances of Mr. Wallace, made after his nomination:

"What will your policy be in regard to the changes in the service?"

"The civil service law, as I understand it, was designed to put efficient men into office. Other things being equal, good republicans will be given preference when possible. If I thought I was to have no choice in the personnel of my subordinates I should not accept the office. It would be unjust to hold me responsible for acts of men in the appointment of whom I had no choice or option."—*Indianapolis News interview, March 14.*

"Do you propose to make a clean sweep?"

"I intend to obey the civil service laws. Of course, nothing in the law prevents the postmaster from discharging every employe. The civil service law provides how the employe shall get in and the postmaster decides how he shall get out. I am frank to say that republicans will be given the preference whenever a vacancy is to be filled."—*Indianapolis Sentinel interview, March 15.*

"The public may as well know from the beginning," said Mr. Wallace, "that as a life-long republican, I will always give republicans preference in my appointments, other things being equal. The colored people shall not be ignored either. There are certainly a number of positions which they shall have."—*Indianapolis News interview, March 15.*

There are fully one hundred places at the disposal of the Indianapolis postmaster. Mr. Wallace has not only said that he will give republicans preference in his appointments, but that he will not ignore the colored people.—*Indianapolis Journal, March 15.*

It is stating it very mildly to say that this is discouraging. Years of agitation resulted in the enactment of a civil service law. The fundamental principle of the law in view of the agitation and of the law itself can not honestly be mistaken. It is that certain positions of a clerical nature shall be thrown open to competition. The competition is to know no distinction of color, politics, religion or rank. To put a man at the head of an office which is within this competition, and to put him under oath that he will faithfully perform the duties of that office, is to put him into a position that he may abuse, as a judge may abuse his position on the bench. But every principle of honor requires that he should deal with contestants in this field of open and fair competition exactly as an upright judge deals with the contestants before him. The law invites citizens to compete for these places, and there goes with this invitation an implied promise of the people of the United States who enacted this law that competitors shall be treated with the most scrupulous fairness.

If actual words repeatedly spoken are to taken as true, Mr. Wallace proposes to trick this law. He says, "Nothing in the law prevents the postmaster from discharging every employe." The President has the power to pardon every federal criminal out of prison. That is vastly different from his right to exercise that power, and if he should exercise it he would be impeached and removed from office. Very properly the power of dismissal is left with the postmaster at Indianapolis. But if he dismisses an employe in the classified service, except for good cause, he violates his oath of office and tricks the law. Good cause is drunkenness, or dishonesty, or inefficiency or similar faults. It is not good cause to dismiss a man because he is a republican or a democrat, or because his place is wanted for some one else.

Mr. Wallace also says: "The public may as well know from the beginning that as a life-long republican I will always give republicans the preference in my appointments, other things being equal." If Mr. Wallace has a vacancy to fill in the classified service, three names will be handed to him by the local examining board from which to make his appointment. If he gives one of these the preference because he is a republican, or if he allows party belonging to color or in any manner to influence his appointment, he will violate his oath of office, and he will evade the law.

To repeat, here is a law which opens public employment to the children of the poorest, the most obscure and the least influential on equal terms with the most powerful. Its success depends upon honorable dealing by executive officers. Now comes Mr. Wallace, an old and respected citizen,

and serves notice upon the people of this state that it will be practically useless for any but republicans to compete. The question is suggested of what use he has made of his powers of observation during the past four years. He ought to know that no other one thing except the acts of Senator Gorman in Maryland made President Cleveland so much trouble or did him and his party so much harm throughout the country as the conduct of the Indianapolis postoffice, which was run on a line exactly parallel with that now proposed by Mr. Wallace. General Harrison was familiar with the facts of the former conduct of this office. He did not believe that the law was enforced. He did not believe that a man could be rightfully dismissed from the classified service without cause. With these things in mind he said in his letter of acceptance, *"The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and vigorously enforced."* And in his inaugural address President Harrison said: *"Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers, having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion."*

In this community President Harrison's word for thirty years has not been held lightly. We do not believe that he means this word to be held lightly, and it is most unfortunate that Mr. Wallace either thoughtlessly or deliberately has so regarded it. It is not too much to say that he has done a damage almost irreparable. No matter how repair is attempted, every act will have attached to it a suspicion that he is carrying out his declared intentions. By careless words he has by a long period put off the day when the people will believe that competitors are fairly dealt with, and will compete accordingly.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR OFFICE.

No better illustration could be given of the utterly vicious character of the present system of making appointments outside the classified service than the disgraceful scramble for office which has prevailed since the election, and particularly since the inauguration of General Harrison. The democrats of four years ago, after twenty-four years exclusion from power, made no more unseemly struggle for the loaves and fishes than republicans are doing now. Every man who conceives that his inability to earn a living elsewhere entitles him to "recognition" at the hands of the party is circulating his petitions, his requests for letters, and making untiring solicitations and personal appeals to the President and the heads of departments. The most persistent applicant secures the greatest number of letters and signatures. Responsible men, not only in politics but in

business life, will sign their names to palpable falsehoods in respect to the qualifications of an applicant who presents his petition in person. They will recommend men as fit whom they know are not fit; they will declare that applicants are "able lawyers" and "men of responsibility and integrity," to whom they would not confide a case before a justice of the peace, and whom they know to be utterly irresponsible and would not trust for a dollar. Sometimes these very men write letters disavowing the testimonials which they have signed and declaring they "did not mean it," but more frequently they remain silent, and the administration, misled through these false certificates of character, is certain to appoint many men who will bring upon it nothing but discredit and disgrace.

An illustration came to our knowledge a few days ago. A man who has been the laughing stock of the community in which he resides, a man without skill, without ability, without integrity, received the signatures of the best business men in one of the most important cities of this state, to a petition which stated that he was a man of integrity, a lawyer of great ability, eminently qualified for the position in every respect and that he ought to receive it as a reward for services to the republican party. There is not a man whose name is signed to the petition who would not blush to have his signature exposed. The men who certified to the qualifications of this applicant, every one of them, knew that they were perpetrating what, in the very best view of it, would be a huge joke upon the administration. The position asked for was one requiring the highest qualifications. The appointment of the man would bring disgrace upon the American name among the people where his duties were to be performed. Yet, nobody was deterred by any such considerations. The applicant went around personally asking for signatures. The men whom he solicited "did not like to refuse." This is happening everywhere. How can General Harrison tell, while such a practice is all but universal, who are worthy of appointment and who are not? There is not a man prominent in public life in the republican party who is not receiving every day letters asking for his indorsement. Sometimes the men are worthy, but more often they are men whose only claims upon the office are their necessities or desires. Good and bad are thrown indiscriminately together. The signature to the petition and the letter of recommendation are given to all. Nobody has the independence to refuse. This evil comes from the frailty of human nature, from an indisposition to disoblige a friend. Sometimes the application will be from one in favor of whom some personal obli-

gation is incurred; and there is not one man in a hundred who will refuse to liquidate it in this manner at the expense of the public.

There are no places more likely to be filled by men not qualified to fill them than the foreign service, especially the consular service. There are no places through which the American name is brought into greater disgrace than by these. Has not the time at last come when the necessities of the case demand that no man shall be appointed who can not show by some sort of test his ability to discharge the duties of this office? Ought a man to be sent to fill a business position in a foreign country who can not speak its language, who scarcely knows in what part of the world the place is situated to which he is accredited, who has no knowledge whatever of the duties which he is required to perform? These disqualifications could be detected by half an hour's examination.

There is not a civilized country in the world that does not demand for its representatives higher qualifications for positions like these than is demanded by the American republic.

The time has come for us to make a change. Even if the party in power were entitled to all these offices, there still ought to be some plan by which each party can keep its "own dunces out." It is time that some sort of examination should be prescribed for the consular service.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS.

If this paper were published twice a day and 365 days in the year, and each issue carefully explained just what the examinations for entrance to various places in the classified civil service consist of, there would still be heard the venerable jokes about requiring from applicants a knowledge of obscure African lakes, rivers and mountains. Still it is well not to weary, but to show the facts. To begin with, the questions are of the most simple and elementary sort: "Multiply $34\frac{1}{2}$ by $15\frac{1}{3}$." The writing, spelling, composition, punctuation and grammar are incidentally shown by requiring the applicant to "copy a printed statement," by "writing down from memory the substance of matter orally communicated," by "writing a letter to some official, giving an account of the schools attended and the studies pursued by the applicant." These are samples of the questions asked of applicants for clerical service. For instance, if Mr. Thomas Markey of this city had wanted a clerical position instead of being a candidate for the insane hospital board (his candidature was successful), the fact that he wrote that he had to address the "nights of labor" would undoubtedly have been a disadvantage. But had he, under the present

"scholars' test," desired a position in the fire or police department, or as foreman of laborers, in Boston, he might have had to answer in writing, or in certain cases his answers would have been taken down by a stenographer, such of the following as pertained to his department. Ten questions in city information: The locations of public buildings, bridges, fire engine houses, etc. "How are the following-named officers elected: mayor, aldermen, councilmen?" "Where does the water come from that is used in this city for fire and other purposes?" Eight questions relating to general work. The use of tools, reading grade stakes, tallying, etc. Twelve questions relating to the different kinds of sewers, the preparation and use of cement and other materials and trench work. This is enough to show that the examination system, as it now is, is simple, flexible and confined to the work a man asks to be put at. It even puts in a United States mail carrier of this city who takes a half holiday in recognition of Washington's birthday under the impression that Washington was an Irishman.

THE PROMISES.

WHAT have we a right to expect from the republican party? At a recent meeting of our Indiana association we had occasion to examine, somewhat in detail, the precise meaning of the declarations of that party in regard to civil service reform. I desire at the outset to recapitulate in a few brief words the conclusions to which we were led. That party acquired power upon certain definite promises embodied in the national platform. This is the language: "The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have they deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. *We will not fail to keep our pledges* because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his."

The platform is made not simply a declaration of policy, but a definite "pledge" (that is the word), which it would be impossible for an administration, acquiring power upon the strength of it, not to regard.

The platform goes on: "We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided."

General Harrison tells us in his letter of acceptance, that in regard to every subject embraced in the platform, he is in entire agreement with the declaration of the convention. He is therefore in agreement with this pledge, and has made his own promise.

Now, what is the meaning of these words? They are capable of pretty definite construction.

"The reform should be extended to all grades

of the service to which it is applicable." By whom must the extension be made? Undoubtedly by that branch of the government which is now invested with control over executive appointments.

It is the President, and not congress, to whom we must look for the redemption of this pledge. The promise can not be fulfilled by a mere approval of reform legislation. The affirmative act of extending the system must be done by the President, in whose hands the power resides. * * *

The President has the right to extend the rules, and General Harrison has given his promise that they shall be extended to all grades to which they are applicable.

The next question is: To what grades of the service is the reform system applicable; this, also, as to many of these places is capable of definite ascertainment. The civil service act itself enumerates grades to which it is applicable, and to which it has not yet been extended. The sixth section makes it the duty of the postmaster general to classify the public service at each post-office where there are fifty persons employed. "And thereafter, on the direction of the President, to arrange in like classes the persons employed in connection with any other post-office."

Under this section there have been brought into the classified service some thirty-seven post-offices. The statute recognizes others to which it should be extended. There is no reason why it can not be extended to all offices where there is a free delivery of letters. There is as much reason for its application there as to the larger places. The duties are substantially the same; the positions are non-political. There is no court in christendom that, in construing the promise, would deny that the system was applicable to such places. By the terms of the act, it is the duty of the President to direct this extension. Such extension he has, therefore, definitely agreed to make.

Similar provisions are contained in the act regarding the employes of collectors, naval officers, surveyors and appraisers in the customs service, and the platform applies to all these places where the rules are not yet extended.

The promise to extend the reform to all places to which it is applicable certainly includes those grades to which civil service regulations have been successfully applied elsewhere. In such cases experience has shown that the system is applicable. The platform was made with reference to this fact. The men who drafted the platform, and the convention which adopted it, knew that similar provisions had been successfully applied to grades of the service in Massachusetts, New York and elsewhere, to which they had not yet been extended by the federal act, and in promising, the reform should be extended to all grades to which it is applicable, they certainly included these. Let me offer an illustration: The experience of Massachusetts has shown that it is desirable that the labor service should be placed under the rules. By this means the country will avoid the unwholesome spectacle of vast numbers of men employed in navy yards and elsewhere, just before election, in order to secure votes and political support.

By the federal act, laborers need not be classified, but there is nothing which forbids such classification. The President has the power to make it. It ought to be made, and the platform has substantially promised that it shall be.

The civil service commissioners, without regard to party, have brought to the attention of the President other branches of the service to which the rules may be applied. Among these were the employes of the railway mail service, and many places in the Indian bureau, in the labor bureau, in the war department

and in the department of agriculture. Some of these recommendations have been adopted, and the outgoing administration has done no act more important than the inclusion of the railway mail service within the rules. We believe that we have not only the promise of the President-elect that the extension made shall be maintained, but also that the law shall be applied to those places to which it is not yet extended, but where the unbiased judgment of those best qualified to determine shall declare that this is applicable.

These are some of the places to which it can be definitely affirmed that the republican party has promised an extension of the reform. In respect to a much wider range of non-political offices, such as consulships and fourth-class postmasterships, where the ground is more debatable, as to these, we may hopefully await the ripening influences of time and a more progressive public sentiment. But the promise does not stop at the extension of the rules. "The spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments."

That "spirit and purpose" is, that in non-political offices, men are not to be appointed, rejected or discharged on account of political services or opinions, but on account of their fitness to perform the duties of office, and that they are not to use their official places for political purposes.

The President-elect in his letter of acceptance, shows that this is his understanding. He says, "In appointments to every grade and department, fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office."

We believe, therefore, that the spectacle will not be repeated of the appointment of new and untried men to positions for which they have shown no qualifications, on account of the aid given by them to the party or its candidate during the campaign. It will be impossible, for instance, that such a position as a consulship, a place requiring business ability, and a knowledge of the language and usages of the country where the duties are to be performed, shall be filled by a man without business qualifications, ignorant of both language and usages, because such person has been an effective campaign speaker, or useful in the organization of the party in power. Fitness is to be the essential and discriminating test.

But, more than this, the President-elect says: "Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office." This means a great deal. It means that the clamor of aspirants and local political sentiment shall not accomplish the removal of that democratic official who has faithfully performed his duty. * * *

General Harrison says: "The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced." This can not be done, if men who are not in favor of it, men who, like Postmaster Aquilla Jones, say that they despise it, if such as these are appointed to carry it out. If spoilsmen are to be chosen for the service of the government, we must insist, as a vital matter, that they be excluded from places which involve the selection of employes under the civil service act. General Harrison says: "All appointments under this law should be absolutely free from partisan considerations," but this can never be if those clothed with the power of making such appointments are themselves warped by the prejudices of the spoils system—*From an Address Delivered at the Conference of Civil Service Reformers at Baltimore, February 23, 1889; by William Dudley Foulke.*

SINCE its annual meeting, the last of January, the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association has gained over sixty new members.

INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 28, 1888.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Record:

I have your request for a statement of what I think civil service reform associations ought to do to help on this reform under the next administration. We have before us the unpleasant fact that, in less than four years, over one hundred thousand federal employes have been put out and their places taken by new hands. No civil service reformer believed that it would or could be done. Nevertheless, it has been done. Further, in those places where anything like a thorough investigation has been had, the civil service law has been tricked. It is useless to charge trickery in those places not investigated; it is also useless to ask the average mind not to believe that, with stray exceptions, it exists. At any rate, it is safe to say that no progress has been made toward inspiring confidence that it is worth while for any one to compete who is not in political accord with the administration and that the efficiency of the service has been greatly damaged, and damaged most where the rioting in spoils has been greatest. Civil service reformers may have that melancholy consolation. If the service had shown improvement or no deterioration, this reform would have an up-hill road indeed.

By far the most important constitutional duty of the President is the management of the civil service. President Harrison will have to undertake this management with one hundred thousand democrats under him who largely got their places as spoils, and with great offices as illustrations that the civil service law can be so "managed" that the sweep can be made just as clean there as anywhere else. Yet these things are neither an example to be followed, nor shall they be an excuse for their repetition; they are only a warning, a calamity to be avoided.

General Harrison has not been prolific in promises of civil service reform; indeed, there has been a silence about the subject that seems studied. This does not in the least lessen his duty, nor should it lessen the demand that he perform that duty. He should be held to just the same performance as if he had covered his door yard with promises. The President has no right under the constitution to use the federal service as a party spoil, or to permit it to be so used by congressmen or other persons. If such a right is in the constitution, or if it was in the intention of the makers of that instrument, it would be well for some one to point it out. Again, the platform upon which General Harrison was elected binds him; and it is not to be expected that he will seek to avoid this obligation. It is explicit, it has no uncertain meaning, and there is no escape from it. It leaves no room for the spoils system during his administration. He is not a man who will like to leave a basis of truth for the charge that he has violated the promises made by his party and himself in the platform. Further, in his letter of acceptance, he said that the civil service law should be carried out by friendly hands. He must have written advisedly. He is familiar with the law and with the scandalous abuse of it in his own city; and it will be strange, indeed, if the machine is now made to run the other way, and similar effects produced for the other side.

No amount of other promises could add anything to the duty which the constitution, the platform and his letter of acceptance will put upon the new President. If this duty is performed, congressmen will attend to legislation and not to dividing offices, editors will not be subsidized by the score with offices, controllers of patronage will have no occupation, and there will be no clean sweep. If this duty is done, President Harrison will without delay extend the civil service law to the railway mail service, the Indian service, the navy yards, the

free delivery cities, and "to all grades of the service to which it is applicable." If he is to observe "the spirit and purpose of the reform * * * in all executive appointments," promotions will be the rule in those appointments. In fact, the use of the public offices as spoil will be ended. This is the position which the republican party and its candidate took deliberately and in writing. This is a brief statement of the duty of General Harrison, to be performed as he knows how, if he makes up his mind to it.

President Cleveland's party, however, broke him down in this respect. The republican party machine has exactly the same intent with regard to General Harrison. Quay and Mahone and Ingalls mean to rival Gorman and Voorhees and Vest; and General Harrison, as sure as his inauguration comes, will have to face the issue presented to him by these men and their likes. There will be no half-way about it; he will conquer them, or they will conquer him. The result can not be told; but, in the presence of such capable, determined and hungry enemies, the civil service reform associations should prepare to contest every inch of the ground from the start.

These men are relying upon the admission of new states and upon breaking the solid south to keep up the republican party. General Harrison is also quoted as relying upon these and other possible sources of strength. President Cleveland had analogous hopes for his party; but it would have paid him and his party better if he had kept his promises in regard to the civil service. History is trying to repeat itself. Republican spoilsmen want the offices, whatever the consequences.

The attack is not likely to be made openly. The "clean sweepers" have met with little public encouragement, and few like to declare openly for it. If they succeed in bringing about a condition of vagueness and apparent uncertainty of intention about removals and how far they are to go, the signs will be dangerous. Under the guise of "weeding the service," weeds will be found as long as democrats last. The plan will be to find cause for removal until another clean sweep has been made. Such a course should be stubbornly resisted at every step, and the responsibility fixed. On the other hand, if President Harrison takes the country into his confidence, and lays down a well-defined, carefully matured plan as to how he proposes to manage the civil service, and if this plan makes possible reasonable progress in this reform, he should have the support of civil service reformers so long as he executes his plan without vacillation.

The same method of working by the associations will be adapted to either case. The recent election in Maryland shows what reformers can accomplish by a relentless publication of the facts which mark the daily progress of the spoils system in full swing. A publication of the facts which mark the civil service management of the new administration will be an act of the strictest justice. If the administration conquers the spoilsmen, this publication will be a crown of glory for it; if it is ruled by the spoilsmen, there can be no complaint because its acts are brought to the daylight. I should say that this is the most important work to be done, and each association should commence it systematically in its own community. For instance, the execution of the civil service law should be watched, what office-holders do in politics should be noted, and every case of unjust removal or improper appointment, with all pertinent facts, should be made a record. Public attention should be called to these and other matters noted in like manner, and from time to time they should be embodied into reports to be widely circulated. If this work is well done, it will greatly strengthen the hands of a

President bent upon administrative reform; and no administration bent upon a clean sweep can stand such a fire. To do this in the best manner will require some money, and there ought to be some way taken to raise it.

It is also imperative to do much in other directions. While associations should keep their records, their persuasive powers should never rest, but should be used to encourage good works. For instance, the republican congress should be asked to keep the platform promise by repealing the four-years' tenure act. The extension of the civil service law by the President should be steadily urged until it covers all of the service to which it is applicable. A system of local boards, independent of local appointing officers, should be asked for. In places like Indianapolis, secrecy is a cover for trickery; and it would be better if the examination papers and the eligible list were public records. The demand that reasons shall be given for removals should be persisted in. The bill making it a penal offense for congressmen to interfere with appointments should be urged with all the force that can be brought to bear. A systematic agitation of the principles of this reform, between this time and the inauguration, would find ready listeners. The republican spoilsmen are now attacking these principles with great glibness; the question of a clean sweep in the federal service is before us, and public attention is attracted to administrative concerns.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

From the *Civil Service Record*, December, 1888.

THE *Washington Post*, edited by Frank Hatton, who was Postmaster-General under Arthur, says of the raid of office-seekers upon Harrison: "We were forewarned in the winter and spring of 1885 of the grand army of invasion that was to descend upon Mr. Cleveland, with their aid and counsel and hungry clamor for a share in the spoils from which for a quarter of a century they had been barred out; but the rush and scramble at that memorable period was no more than a Sunday-school picnic to the jam that, after only four years' seclusion from the flesh-pots, is already setting in upon Indianapolis, and threatening to overwhelm the President-elect with pleas for patronage little short of the highwayman's in brutality."

POSTMASTER JONES sat in his comfortable office in the federal building at 11 o'clock and remarked that a large element of relief will dilute his regret at giving up the office.

"We have made some mistakes," he said reflectively, "some mistakes; but I have done the best I could all the time. The newspapers have not been very charitable toward me."

"How many republicans remain in the office from the last administration?"

"I do not know exactly. There are several, however."

"A letter-carrier said he thought there are eight carriers who are republicans."

"Yes. I think that is right, except two of the eight didn't vote the way your informant thinks. Two voted the democratic ticket. Then there are two or three men in the office who before the election talked loud about voting the democratic ticket, but I happen to know they did not do it. One or two republicans did vote with the democrats though, and two or three did not vote at all. A few of the boys have republican tendencies, but their wives are strong democrats, so I concluded to let them stay."

"Are any of the carriers intending to resign soon?"

"Yes, some of them are. Four have already resigned and will quit next Saturday. Last Saturday I employed three new carriers, all republicans, and two of them, I think, ex soldiers. I never fought in anybody's war, but I guess my sympathy for the soldiers is equal to that of other men. I don't want to hamper the new postmaster, and so concluded to employ republicans."

"Who are the new appointments?"

"I don't know. Three men were needed, and the first three names on the list of those who had passed the civil service examination were republicans, and I just ordered them to be employed."—*Indianapolis News Interview*, March 15

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his *man* from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

SENATOR QUAY left yesterday for Florida, to be absent until the latter part of February. He desired the press to announce that he would oppose the appointment to office of any man who applied to him for assistance prior to March 4.—*Washington Dispatch to the Indianapolis News, January 29*.

WASHINGTON, January 16.—The subject of patronage is giving the republican congressmen much concern. The largest boxes that are now to be seen upon their desks are labeled "Application for Office." Many of them greatly regret that the reformed civil service system does not apply to all offices within the gift of the President. Some of these have no special devotion to the reform, but fear that the privilege of making suggestions to the President, which some of them are already beginning to characterize as "nominations," may also bring with it certain political responsibilities which they do not care to assume. One of the Illinois congressmen says that he has been advised that the following course will be pursued by the senators from that state in the distribution of patronage, after March 4. As to the offices in Cook county, Senators Culom and Farwell will call the three republican representatives from Chicago into conference, and hear their suggestions. As to the offices in the other congressional districts, the several republican representatives in the different judicial districts will be convened in conference. It is ascertained already that every congressman in the northern Illinois district has a candidate for United States marshal. The gentleman who furnishes this information says that the representatives have not been informed that their wishes will be respected by the senators in making recommendations, or that the nominations for the offices shall be put to a vote of the delegation, or those interested in them. Some of the representatives indicate that they shall make independent recommendations to the President as to the offices in their respective districts.

The democrats have watched the case of General Newberry, nominated to be postmaster of Chicago, with much interest, because it

might be regarded as a precedent as to confirmations to offices the terms of which extend beyond March 4. The circumstances under which General Newberry was confirmed yesterday will, however, hardly constitute a precedent. He was confirmed after an executive session of only five minutes, and in accordance with an understanding which was arrived at with Senator Farwell that Newberry shall resign the office promptly in March. Senator Sawyer, the chairman of the post-office committee, is disposed to do exactly what the republican senators from any particular locality desire him to do, unless they wish him to do an injustice. The representation which Senator Farwell made to him secured the favorable report from the committee, and after that the confirmation was a mere matter of form.—*Special Dispatch to Evening Post*.

WASHINGTON, March 1.—General Browne is receiving so many applications every day for post-offices and other official positions that he is compelled to content himself with simply classifying and filing them, and attending to the applications in their various forms without answering them, as has been his custom. It has for some time required the entire time of a stenographer to answer his letters, and now the General finds the volume so great that it will be impossible to answer those who simply send applications for office. His correspondents may rest assured, however, that their applications will receive the same prompt attention that they would if the applicants were notified of the receipt of their requests.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

WASHINGTON, March 5.—Office seekers are doing themselves violence and the administration an injustice in rushing upon the President and his cabinet officers, and upon the friends of these men, just at this time. Their importunities are not in season. There will be three or four cabinet meetings held before appointments are made. The first selections will be of the assistants to the cabinet officers, then will come the heads of bureaus and the chiefs of divisions. All this will be done before appointments are made to offices located throughout the country, except where emergencies arise—that is, to fill vacancies already existing, or to succeed officers who are considered incompetent or unfit for the places they occupy.

Applicants will not be given any advantage in pushing their claims just at this time. Senators and representatives in congress are overwhelmed with applications, and thousands of aspirants to political positions are here already, personally urging their merits. This is not only unnecessary, but it is distasteful, because the condition of affairs is not such as to warrant action. These statements are not to be construed that the present administration intends to protect democrats in office to the disparagement of republicans, nor should they be construed to mean that the general service of the government will not need to be reorganized. It is simply to indicate that there should not be a great haste on the part of office-seekers, and that the time for importunities will not come for two or three weeks.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

WASHINGTON, March 6.—Thousands of office-seekers are here working for places in the government service throughout the country, while hundreds of thousands have sent their applications to men in congress, notwithstanding the fact that appointments outside of the managerial positions in the departments will not be made under some weeks, except in a few instances.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Every hour or two during all of to-day a messenger entered Pri-

vate Secretary Halford's room, and, throwing his long arms around a great pile of applications for office, lugged them into an adjoining room, where they were piled upon a desk for classification and pigeon-holing. Several bundles of these papers were received between 9 and 6 o'clock. The stream of office-seekers was continuous from the moment the outer doors were opened until they were closed.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

THE Indiana republicans in Washington have been holding meetings for the last two or three days, and have been engaged in the serious matter of distributing the patronage of the administration.—*Special, Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette, March 7*.

THE demand for office, which began long before President Harrison was inaugurated, is now a scramble. Almost every man who carried a torch or escorted a delegation of visitors during the campaign, is making a pull for an office.—*Indianapolis News, Ind., March 7*.

SENATOR MANDERSON, of Nebraska, says the list of applicants from that state would be "a directory of the state."—*Evening Post, March 8*.

SENATOR INGALLS says that all the offices in the gift of the administration would be insufficient to satisfy the demands of the candidates from Kansas.—*Evening Post, March 8*.

THE present rush of office-seekers in Washington is not a healthy nor a hopeful sign, nor a gratifying sight. It is not in accordance with the better sentiment of the Republican party, and we have no doubt it is a disagreeable experience to the President and his executive assistants.—*Indianapolis Journal, Rep., March 8*.

THE two broad tables occupied by the President's stenographers were completely covered with letters fresh from office-seeking constituents, and the work of classifying application, has been thoroughly begun.—*Indianapolis Journal, Washington Dispatch, March 8*.

WASHINGTON, March 8.—Representative Cannon did some good, solid work this morning in behalf of James Clark, of Mattoon, Ill. Mr. Clark wants to be second Auditor, and Mr. Cannon sees no reason why he should not secure the appointment. The Illinois delegation has indorsed Mr. Clark in a most thorough and decided manner, and they are satisfied that his chances are as good as any one else's. One of the Illinois senators was extremely frank with the President on the question of state patronage. When it was suggested that the delegation give the President a list of what they wanted, the senator said: "Would it not be better, Mr. President, if you were to give us a list of what you think we ought to have?"

CONGRESSMAN BYNUM returned from Washington Tuesday. He is in good health and spirits, and takes a sanguine view of the political future. He says that Washington has never seen such a rush of hungry place-seekers as now crowd the city, and that the new President will find himself unable to satisfy one-twelfth of the greedy patriots who are besieging him, even if he makes a clean sweep.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 8*.

EVERY republican member of Congress, senator and member-elect is suffering from a visitation of a good portion of the male population of his district. They get scarcely time enough to eat their meals, are hustled out of bed at an early hour, and it is late at night, usually, before they retire. Several have been

obliged to follow the example of Mr. Wade, of Missouri, and change their quarters, keeping their new address secret. On Wednesday morning the constituents of Mr. Wade began to ring his front-door bell at a quarter of 6. When he rose, at half past 8, the parlor was full of people with petitions to be signed and with requests that he accompany them to the White House or to some of the departments. His breakfast hour, his lunch hour and the time for dinner passed without his having time to eat. The next day he moved, and since then no one has been able to discover his habitation.—*Indianapolis Journal Washington Dispatch, March 9.*

WHILE the majority of Indianians have returned home, there are still a large number here, vigorously pushing their claims for positions. It is almost certain that John C. New will go to Austria and ex-Governor Porter to Rome. J. N. Huston, chairman of the Indiana republican state committee, has gone home to arrange his business to accept the position of treasurer of the United States. Dan Ransdell, of Indianapolis, who lost an arm while serving in General Harrison's regiment, will be marshal of the District of Columbia. It is said that Mr. Huston will have charge of the appointment of postmasters and railway mail clerks in the Indiana districts represented by democratic congressmen, and that Sergeant McKinney, of Indianapolis, will be superintendent of the railway postal service for the fifth division, which embraces the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee. C. Bradford, of Indianapolis, is making a vigorous fight for commissioner of patents, but it is understood that office will go to Iowa. Col. Dudley is doing his best to secure positions for Indianians. He does not desire any position at the hands of the administration. He is building up a valuable business as an attorney, and proposes to stick to it.—*Commercial-Gazette Washington Special, March 9.*

WASHINGTON, March 11.—General Browne, to-day, presented the application of Col. W. A. Cullen, of Rushville, for the position of Utah Commissioner; Gen. Silas Colgrove, of Winchester, Deputy Commissioner of Pensions; D. C. Binkley, of Wayne county, for Third Auditor of the Treasury; Mr. Charles W. Stivers, editor of the *Herald*, at Liberty, is largely indorsed for the same position. His papers are also in the hands of the President. L. H. Mitchell, of Henry county, has had his application for Second Comptroller of the Treasury filed.

It is not probable that a new postmaster will be appointed at Muncie till the present commission expires. It will be the policy of the administration, in cases of that character, to permit the incumbent to serve out his time, unless good and sufficient reasons are given showing why he should be removed.

General Browne has recommended the appointment of the following fourth-class postmasters for the sixth congressional district:

Edward R. Pugh, Windsor; Lewis L. Perdieu, Cowan; William R. Fizer, Rural; James W. Hannan, New Corner; Isaac N. Chenoweth, Middleton; William K. Boyd, Moorland; John M. Neff, Eaton; Alonzo Geyer, Arlington; T. M. Goff, DeSoto; F. W. Owens, Clark; Norman E. Black, Selma; Leo M. Harlan, Whitewater; Nancy Pierce, Modoc; Edward C. Charles, Carthage; Philip K. May, Wilkinson; W. H. O. Goldsmith, New Salem; Noah McCormick, Cadiz; J. F. Camplin, Lewisville; Addison St. Myer, Williamsburg; Fielder E. Olvey, Economy; Emanuel Zimmerman, Emmetsville; Lindley M. Thornburg, Farmland; Leonidas R. Allison, Greensboro; C. C. Coffin, Kennards; Charles S. Unthank, Webster; Austin K. Smith, Milroy; Elizabeth Zuenger,

Falmouth; Ira E. Snodgrass, Reed.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal.*

GREENCASTLE, March 12.—There are an even half dozen candidates for the postoffice in this city, and all are equally confident of securing the prize. The names include L. P. Chapin, J. McD. Hays, Joseph B. Sellers, Jonathan Birch, A. A. Smith, of the *Times*, and Mrs. Jeannette Preston Lane. It has been decided by the candidates to hold no election, Chairman Huston, of the state committee, having advised against it in a circular addressed to all aspirants in this state. The candidates, therefore, have concluded to rely upon petitions and letters from their friends. The commission of the retiring postmaster will expire on the 27th inst.—*Special to the Indianapolis News.*

THE impression has become general that Mr. New will control the distribution of patronage in Indiana, and in consequence he is besieged continually by office-seekers. A dozen may be seen about his office during any half hour of the day.

The unexpected appointment of S. N. Chambers as district attorney is said to be due mainly to his intimate association with General Harrison as an opposing counsel in the trial of the Wise will case at Sullivan during the six weeks preceding the nomination at Chicago. He impressed General Harrison at that time as possessing uncommon ability as a lawyer, and as Chambers was one of the most devoted supporters of Harrison, he was kept in mind for a good appointment.—*Indianapolis News, March 13.*

WASHINGTON, March 14.—The Illinois delegation captured nothing but the Danish mission in the first charge, but they are going to make another, and are girding themselves for the struggle. If they don't get something better, then they will believe their failure is due to the fact that Illinois supported Gresham at the Chicago convention. They are asserting this with some positiveness now, but Cullom warns them to hold their tongues and try again.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal.*

WASHINGTON, March 14.—General Browne placed before Secretary Blaine, to-day, recommendations for a number of appointments to consular positions. Among them were Dr. George W. Thompson and George W. Patchell, of Union City, for consuls to Toronto, Canada, and Hong Kong, China, respectively; Dr. Hamilton, of Connersville, consul to South America, and Thos. B. Reddin, New Castle, a European mission.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal.*

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The following extracts are from the addresses delivered at the annual meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, January 23, 1889:

Now, it is not necessary for me to say to the members of this association that this partisan method of appointing officials is unbusinesslike and prejudicial to the interests of the people. I shall not call it the "spoils system," or its advocates "spoilsmen"; for, while it is true that a painfully large number of office-seekers do think much more of their own private gain than of the public weal, it is equally true that many persons of honesty and intelligence are as much opposed to the system of civil service examinations as others are to the system of party control. "Spoils" is an offensive word when used by the opponents of the latter system; and I doubt whether we can so easily convert its adherents to our views

by calling them names and casting doubts upon their honesty of purpose as by temperate and rational argument. I would say, then, to the advocates of rotation in office, that I believe the system is contrary to business principles, and is therefore not the system by which the affairs of the nation may be most economically and efficiently administered. Let me illustrate. If I wish to have a pair of shoes made, what kind of man do I employ to make them? If I have a choice between two men, one of whom is a trained shoe-maker, but happens to differ with me on the tariff, the other a tailor, who, though ignorant of the cobbler's art, belongs to my political party; which of the two should I select? Is not the answer to such a question self-evident? Or, suppose I were ill, and in urgent need of medical attendance; should I call in a skilled physician, in spite of his differing with me in politics, or an indifferent lawyer who belonged to my own party? To ask the question is to answer it. And again—I ask the business men in this audience: Would you deposit your money in a bank, the president, directors, cashier and tellers of which were ejected every four years and replaced by men unacquainted with the business of banking? Would you buy stock in a railway company, or risk your lives on its trains, if every four years a new president of the company were to discharge all the engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, conductors and train-dispatchers, and replace them by his own political partisans, without regard to their knowledge of the steam-engine?

The answer to all these questions being so exceedingly plain, why is it that the American people, who, surely, have never been accused of a lack of common sense and practical sagacity, should cling so tenaciously to a system that is *unpractical* and *inefficient* to the last degree? Is it because the people regard the government of sixty millions of men a simple matter—a matter simpler than the making of a pair of shoes, the conduct of a bank, or the management of a railway? Paradoxical as it may seem, I believe there is such a belief among the people. Vague and undefined as it is, there does exist a general feeling that, while a question of law or of medicine, of shoe-making or of carpentering, of painting or of music, does require special knowledge and training, a question of politics, on the contrary, requires no training at all, but can be settled off-hand by any male individual that has reached the age of twenty-one.—*From the Address of Prof. R. H. Dabney of Indiana University.*

THE executive must, of necessity leave to others what the constitution and the law contemplated should be done by himself. What more natural course, under the circumstances, can be conceived than to appoint men recommended by the representatives in congress who are in political sympathy with the administration? And when we consider the weakness of human nature, what can be more natural than that the senator or representative should seek to reward his friends and strengthen his hold upon his own place by recommending men for appointment who have been or can be most useful to himself? The good of the public service is lost sight of in the scramble for office, or for recommendation to office. Claims for party service, or, worse yet, for personal service, are apt to outweigh every other consideration. Nor are the men engaged in the scramble so much to be blamed. It is the inevitable result of a vicious custom, which not only serves the corrupt purposes of bad men, but which serves the bad purpose of corrupting good men. If not remedied it will continue to corrupt more good men, until it shatters the foundations of our government.

But I apprehend no such result. The reform has already begun and the support of

reform laws has already been given it by congress and by some state legislatures. So far these laws have adopted but one plan as a substitute for the vicious system fostered by custom in the absence of any fixed rules. This plan contemplates competitive examinations among all applicants for position in certain classes of the civil service. Such an examination conducted under rules framed by a commission whose members are appointed for their known sympathy for the cause of reform, may or may not be productive of the best possible results. Human invention has never yet attained perfection, and a better system than that of competitive examinations may be suggested; but in the absence of anything better, we claim for the system of competitive examinations a fair, impartial and honest trial. This, owing to the rancor of party spirit and the clamor of spoilsmen, the system has never had. We claim this trial because the busy working population of the country, engrossed by private cares, have found by experience that they in their capacity of electors have no means of competing with those who make a business of politics, and because the vast machinery of government can not be managed in detail by any executive, however able; and finally because it brings to the aid of the executive a system. No other system prevails, unless a vicious custom may be called a system. None other is offered, and without system is chaos.

The only objections to the honest trial of the reform come, as in all other reforms, from those who are most injured by the prevailing evil. The men who manipulate conventions, or who upon election days manage the distribution of assessments to the blocks of five, or the men who profit by their labors, or who hope to do so, thus ruining their manhood, stifling their honor, destroying their liberty, and wrecking the institutions of their government, are the first to sneer at any proposed reform of their methods. For it is a reform even of these methods. Take away the hope of reward for party service and much of the rancor and bitterness of party spirit will also disappear. And were it not for a bitter party spirit prevailing, honest men would look with horror upon methods which they now behold with more or less equanimity, tempered with the knowledge whether it is one party or the other which is to profit by a particular bit of rascality. Good men, not caring to engage in these methods nor to profit by them, are led into a feeling of hostility to the reform of them by the outcry made by the so-called practical politicians. Is there anything in this outcry?

The worst that has been said of the proposed reform is that it creates a class of office holders, and is, therefore, hostile to American customs. Suppose it does, by a system of competitive examinations, choose the best among all applicants, and retain them during good behavior. Is it less American to have the public service filled by a class of well-behaved, competent employes, than it is to have it filled by a class who have political influence, based upon services rendered to some boss of primaries? If it is, then God save the mark! But in a country of free schools, where education is free to every man's child, rich or poor, an examination based upon educational qualifications, open to all comers, for the filling of all vacancies, can never create a class. It is only under such conditions that the son of the mechanic can successfully compete with the son of the millionaire, or that the modest, able and honest man can compete successfully with the bold, unscrupulous trickster. In fact, it is intended to abolish a class which has proudly designated its members "practical politicians." And the outcry made by them at the small measure of success already attained by the reform leads us to hope that

further progress in the same course will lead to ultimate and complete success. This is the irrepressible conflict, the old war never ending between progress and reaction.—*From the Address of A. A. McKain, of Indianapolis.*

THERE is no political corruption that does not demand the spoils system as its condition. It subverts the will of the nation's founders. It is a stumbling block to self-government. It is the incarnation of venal selfishness, whose end is destruction. It breeds the seeds of weakness and disintegration. * * * But the reform movement must be one in party lines; that is to say, the republican reformer must remain in republican ranks, and the democratic reformer must remain in democratic ranks. In the mad rush for office, the friend of reform must stand firm just where he is. Let him refuse to be carried along with the crowd. A few sturdy men may often avert a panic, and a few sturdy patriots may in this case avert danger to their nation. Emerson commends the man that has strength to turn and face his party.

But if he goes off and founds a new party with the few of his belief, he consents to the elimination of his own influence. It is the spirit of the pious man that withdraws to the cloister, because the world is so evil. It indicates either this instability of courage, or a consciousness of superior goodness. It means the voluntary choosing of the weakest fighting ground. It emasculates effort. It shoots overhead, short or wide, any way so as not to hit the mark. The third party, in the majority of instances, is merely giving away the case, as the lawyers say. There may be reforms that succeed through third parties, but they do not include the civil service cause.—*From the Address of C. R. Lane, Editor, Richmond Sunday Register.*

THE first condition which determines what the teachers in all grades of schools can do towards laying bare the ugly features of the spoils system is a thorough knowledge of the civil service question. This is illuminated from two sources. The one is acquaintance with our history and the workings of our government. The other, acquaintance with the history of the civil service in this country, England, Germany and other countries of Europe. * * * As far as my acquaintance with school histories goes, not a single one contains even a hint at the system of federal appointments * * * and not a word about the beginnings of civil service reform which have taken place in the last twenty years. * * * The early Romans put betrayers of public trusts to death, and a lapse of 2200 years does not at all disprove that this or some other severe fate can be safely foregone in this country. * * * We may as well accept the fact that we are under the same laws that govern older and more populous countries. What is hurtful to them is dangerous to us. * * * Our attention should rest on the fact that those features of our constitution and laws which were most severely modeled after old-world examples and most slowly modified away from these types have been most satisfactory and most efficient. * * *

On him [the teacher] devolves in part the assertion of a right of which the consummation is most devoutly to be wished—the assertion of the right of the scholar to take part in politics. The campaign of 1884 emphasized a fact which is properly to be considered one of the anomalies of our political system. Ostensibly our political institutions are founded on a basis of intelligence and education. But among nations laying claim to culture and high civilization we stand out in bold contrast in the little consideration we accord to the man of letters in the management of our political affairs. * * * In 1884 the partisan

press of one side was filled with epithets and denunciations, mostly aimed at the liberal scholar and man of letters in politics. He was a "political dude," a "Miss Nancy," a "Howadji," a "holier-than-thou" and political pharisee. English was not fluent enough to furnish billingsgate with which to smirch his name; the long forgotten jabber of a defunct Indian tribe was resurrected to call him a "mugwump." * * * But the tide is again on the rise. The same political party which delved into archæology to find terms of reproach in 1884, in 1888, chastened by a defeat to which these scholarly voters had undoubtedly contributed no small share, used the terms "mugwump," "dude," and "pharisee" with diminished zest and zeal, quickened by the inward consciousness that the power of the independent voter had been greatly underestimated. As the scholar's end of the beam begins slowly to ascend, the so-called "practical" detractor's end—the end weighed down by those who scoff at any considerations, except those of immediate personal reward—begins to descend toward the *Avernus* of the more crass and bold of the class—the state's prison. In Ohio, in Illinois, and in our own commonwealth a few of the most practical of the direct benefit school of statesmen and publicists—those who wish to stretch out their hands and grasp the apples of success and rewards, without being troubled by the formalities of law were condemned by juries of their fellow-citizens to retire from active handling of the political reins to the privacy of prison life, or to an enforced surrender of their leadership.

The unscrupulous *chevaliers d'industrie* who keep up party fences and haul sand for congressional and other candidates have only learned the alphabet of the scholar's influence. * * * It is the duty of the upper fourth of political society to assert itself and demand that it be not deprived of its vote and its proper influence. Of this fourth the teacher is a considerable strand. Among his secondary duties none stand higher than that which demands that he make himself felt as a factor in politics. The teacher can not safely join the scramble for office. But a judicious and dignified exercise of political functions in no wise detracts from his office and raises him to his true position as a factor in public affairs.—*From the Address of Prof. S. S. Parr, of De Pauw University.*

THE democratic party is again master of the situation. It has absolute control of both branches of the state legislature. Victory brings power, and power brings responsibility to the people who conferred it. The eyes of the people are upon it. Will their representatives harken to the popular demand for reform, or perpetuate the system that has given rise to it? Will they give us the wise and beneficent conception of a democrat, whose bill entitles him to the plaudits of his countrymen, for the government of our state institutions? Will they give us non-partisan boards of control? Will they substitute the merit system for the spoils system? Will they lift our state institutions out of the political mire? Will they use their power for the benefit of humanity or the aggrandizement of party? Will they relieve the burdens of the tax-payer, now that the maintenance of the state's dependents of all classes, including the inmates of our jails and poor-houses, involves an annual expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars? Will they belie the accusation of its opponents that the democratic party is a spoils party, and by the wise and beneficent laws they enact, prove to the world that it is animated by the highest statesmanship and a philanthropy that shields the humblest of God's children.—*From the Address of Howard Briggs, Editor, Putnam Democrat.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trusts which you have committed to me."—*Senator Benjamin Harrison.*

VOL. I, No. 2.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided."—*Republican National Platform, 1888.*

"The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence."—*From President Harrison's Letter of Acceptance.*

"Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty in connection therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion."—*From President Harrison's Inaugural Address.*

No reform in the civil service will be valuable that does not release members of congress from the care and the embarrassment of appointments; and no boon so great could be conferred upon senators and representatives as to relieve them from the worry, the annoyance, and the responsibility which time and habit have fixed upon them in connection with the dispensing of patronage, all of which belongs, under the constitution, to the executive. On the other hand, the evil of which President [William Henry] Harrison spoke—the employment of the patronage by the executive to influence legislation—is far the greatest abuse to which the civil service has ever been perverted. To separate the two great departments of the government, to keep each within its own sphere, will be an immeasurable advantage, and will enhance the character and dignity of both. A non-political service will be secured when congress shall be left to its legitimate functions, when the President shall not interfere therewith by the use of patronage, and when the responsibility of appointments shall rest solely with the department to which the organic law of the republic assigns it.—*Twenty Years of Congress, vol. II, p. 651.*—*JAMES G. BLAINE.*

THOSE who receive this paper are earnestly urged to subscribe for it, if they have not already done so. The price is so low as to be within the means of every one desiring to help the cause of good government. The paper is not to make money. It must depend for support upon those who sympathize with its objects.

THE President did but his plain duty in removing United States Marshal Hawkins, of this district. The latter appointed a great number of deputies at the last election, and these made such widespread and apparently concerted arrests of republicans for no reasons or for frivolous reasons, that it can only be put down as a deliberate plan to scare voters. No such official outrage has been committed in Indiana since the war. That it went wide of the mark does not excuse it.

NOT even the democrats claim that the removal of Postmaster Jones was undeserved. Assistant-postmaster Dodd's farewell address was to characterize the list of eligibles, examined under him as a member of the local board, as "a regular set of yaps," and advise that none of them be appointed.

BEFORE he gave up his office, Postmaster Jones performed one act of official death-bed repentance that deserves notice. Andrew J. Wells had served as a soldier through the Mexican war and again through the rebellion, four years. For his conduct at Shiloh he was promoted to be a lieutenant. Afterwards, for nineteen years and one month he was a letter carrier of this post-office, working for thousands of people, and to their satisfaction, and during that time he was once tardy two minutes. To make a place for a partisan, Postmaster Jones discharged him, and since that time it has been impossible to fit himself into a place in the community where he could support his family. It was one of a group of cases here, which illustrates the spoils system in all its arrogance and calloused selfishness. It ought to be a relief to Mr. Jones that before leaving his office he had the local civil service board certify Wells back for re-instatement under the rules, and re-instated him.

WE are informed by the president of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association that thirty-five new members have been received since our last issue. It is to be hoped that every one who believes in the principles of this association will join it. There are no dues or charges.

POSTMASTER WALLACE has repeatedly and emphatically declared that he means

to enforce the civil service law in letter and spirit. He is a lawyer and knows what this means. He has taken his stand so firmly as to the classified service and has kept it against such heavy pressure for the sixteen days he has been postmaster that there is no reason to expect him to depart from it. When once it is understood that there is no underground road, that all stand the same chance in competition and that no one, whatever his politics, will be dismissed without cause, there will be no further trouble. Mr. Wallace may have the satisfaction of knowing that, excepting hungry place-hunters, this community will sustain him in making his office an exclusively business institution.

His reinstatement of Mr. Thompson as assistant postmaster, Mr. Craft as head of the carriers, and Mr. Welling as stamp clerk, are excellent appointments and free from politics. He has changed all of the heads of divisions, but the only one, Mr. Johnson, the head of the money-order office, who might have deserved to be kept, did not want to stay. Since the above was written comes the fact that Carrier Ward has been removed for cause and Frank Rogers, an Irish democrat, first on the eligible list, has been appointed to the vacancy. And later still comes the *Indianapolis Journal* with the following:

The first man appointed to a clerkship in the post-office department at Washington, when the civil service law took effect in July, 1883, was a democrat. The first letter-carrier appointed in Indianapolis, under the present administration, to succeed one removed for cause, is a democrat. This is an honest construction and enforcement of the law. If enforced and observed in that spirit for a few years we shall have a non-partisan civil service based on the idea of the survival of the fittest and in which honesty, intelligence and efficiency will be the guarantee of retention and promotion, instead of party service and political influence. It is only a question of time when the civil service will have to be established and maintained on that basis. The business interests of the country and the successful administration of the government, if not its very preservation, will demand it. It is as fair for one party as for the other, and when the working force of the public service gets to be about equally divided between the parties and composed of honest and efficient men, neither party will feel like reviving the barbarous custom of "sweeping removals" for political cause alone.

IF a man is to be appointed upon the recommendation of overwhelming numbers of people best able to judge, the President will have to keep Mr. Oberly as Indian commissioner. The Indian Rights Association, hundreds strong, headed by Mr. Herbert Welsh, have asked for this reappointment, and hundreds of their friends have joined them. It is true that Mr. Oberly was an Illinois politician. It is also true that he has, while in office, gradually sloughed off

his politics and has become thoroughly converted to the principles of civil service reform. The evidence is too strong for this to be longer denied. He has become familiar with Indian affairs, and stands ready to carry out the civil service law if the President will but extend it to that service. He has the entire confidence of the men who for years have devoted their time and money to the welfare of the Indians. Surely President Harrison will not refuse this powerfully supported request.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND made an order, as the civil service law provides, ordering the railway mail service to be classified, and fixing March 15 as the date after which the entrance to the service should be by competition. This action was final. The law provides for only one act of the President in this direction, and when that is done the service acted upon is as much in the classified service as is the Indianapolis post-office. A President, having exercised the one power left him by the law, may no more postpone the date than President Arthur could have postponed the date of the taking effect of the Pendleton act beyond the sixty days therein specified. President Harrison put off the date named by President Cleveland to May 1. It is said that the civil service commission reported that it could not get ready by March 15, yet the commission, with two of its three places vacant, has not been filled up, while days and weeks have been spent in making appointments to places that were neither vacant nor in urgent need of being made vacant. Further, the time is being used in turning democrats out of the railway mail service and putting republicans in their places with steadily increasing rapidity. One of these changes here resulted in the appointment of a negro politician named Bagby, of unsavory reputation, a matter so urgent that it was done by telegraph.

THE postponement was not necessary. This service has already a system of checks and examinations that would have rapidly weeded out the incompetent men. To take their places were hundreds of men of the highest skill, who had been dismissed because of their politics, and who could have been reinstated under the civil service rules or a slight modification of them. Not only was the setting aside of President Cleveland's order not warranted by the law, but so far as changes are made in the meantime on the plan of the spoils system, they are distinctively an act of bad faith.

It is to be hoped that the President and the civil service commission will heed the very general desire that the lists of those who have passed examination for ap-

pointment in the classified service shall be made public. This desire found unanimous expression in one of the resolutions of the Baltimore conference, and no one anywhere advocates a continuance of the secrecy which never had anything to justify it. For thousands of years the public has enjoyed watching competitive contests, whether physical or intellectual. Further, there is no other umpire that can so absolutely guarantee fair play. When a vacancy occurs in the Indianapolis post-office, this city will be interested in knowing who stands at the top of the list, and who next. And, if the top man is not taken, the people irrespective of party will demand an excellent reason for it.

THE new marshal of Indiana, W. L. Dunlap says: "My office is not governed by civil-service rules, and of course I will not only give preference to republicans, but will appoint no one from any other political party." He has since completed his clean sweep. His predecessor had eight deputies, all democrats; he has turned them out and put in eight republicans. This is Marshal Dunlap. Delegate Dunlap in the republican national convention said in the platform: "The spirit and purpose of the reform (civil service reform) should be observed in all executive appointments." And he with his fellow-delegates emphasized this by saying of certain misguided people, "we will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs."

REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS.

We have been told that we ought to be reasonable in our expectations of what the present administration should accomplish in way of civil service reform, and that to expect more would render us liable to be charged with captious faultfinding. Let us have a fair understanding. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is not for the purpose of making it appear that any administration, federal or state, is a success or a failure. It is published solely to advance the cause of better administration. It happens that the control of it were strongly in favor of the election of President Harrison, and along with that goes a feeling of personal respect and a wish that he might lay up for himself treasure in history by turning his hand to the only great work now within reach of a President—the complete reorganization of the federal service and the rebuilding of the whole system of appointments upon an absolutely new foundation. This involves shutting the door once and for all in the face of any and every congressman coming for patronage. It involves leaving clerical positions to be filled by impartial tests. It involves having fourth-class postmasters, for instance, appointed after a report by the head of a neighboring large

office or by an inspector. And it involves the complete disappearance, as political factors of weighers, gaugers, collectors, postmasters and the whole host of federal office-holders except a small number of the higher grade. We do not underestimate the consequences of such an undertaking. It might be that President Harrison's party would refuse him a re-nomination, though we do not believe it. It might be that if re-nominated he would be defeated at the election by those whom he had refused to quarter upon the people; that also we do not believe. But if defeat in either case was sure to follow, the occasion demands the sacrifice. The temporary loss would be the ignoble triumph of a comparatively small section of people. The permanent gain would be the imperishable fact of having been right in a great struggle. The opposite has in it no certainty of avoiding disaster. The course of President Cleveland with the civil service is a sign-board that may be read miles away.

But the President does not feel an irresistible call to undertake this work. He doubtless does not regard it of equal importance with other matters. We think he is mistaken, but he is not inconsistent with his past course. He may bring about a decided advancement in civil service reform in the coming four years. If he does, his party will point to it and boast of it and it will have its due weight with all good citizens. We cannot shape our course by that. The spoils system is the spoils system under whatever President it exists and it is none the less to be opposed because it appears under President Harrison instead of President Cleveland. We regard the use of public office as party spoil as a colossal evil. It is the greatest evil in any manner connected with federal or state government. There is no other evil that in any manner approaches it in viciousness and in actual damage done. In the federal service there are now about 142,000 places. The thirty-five men quarreling over the collectorship of customs of this city, until the appointing power is bewildered, is a fair example of what is now going on over the whole country. These numberless circles of wrangling factions pour in upon the President, and we have the present disgraceful spectacle. Those who protest are not a handful; *the protest is almost universal*. The other side of the question is the despotism in the arbitrary removal of over 100,000 place holders, and in putting into their places a like number of partisans. This is "the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage," referred to in the republican platform. This danger is to be fought on every hand, in season and out of season. And the struggle can not be regulated by

what it is thought reasonable to expect of President Harrison. For instance, he chooses to let congressmen distribute spoils. We regard this as without warrant in the constitution, and subversive of the objects of the constitution. Beyond all this we regard it as the key to the defences of the federal spoils system. The public business will never be done upon business principles while congressmen practice, in their respective territories, feudalism adapted to modern times. We mean to bring the facts of this American feudalism to the notice of the people to the fullest extent in our power. And if in persistently insisting that the facts shall be faced we hurt, now the Under-lord, now the Over-lord, now the Lord-Paramount, and now all together, it will be their fault for causing the facts to exist.

EXAMINATIONS.

A teacher who is in thorough sympathy with the need for ending the system of taxing the entire people in order to provide asylums for favorites is in doubt about the wisdom of the present plan of "competitive examinations." He says: "I am a teacher, and therefore supposed to be wedded to the examination system, but the supposition in my case is an incorrect one. My observation is that the system is pernicious. I venture the assertion that the teachers holding the highest grade of license in Indiana to-day are not the most successful teachers."

This opinion is founded on two wrong suppositions; first, that the examinations to the classified civil service are like those in schools, and second, that the work done by the public employe is of the same character as that required of a good teacher. The tests required of applicants to the police force, the fire department, the health department, the park department, the sewer department, the prisons, the hospitals of those cities under this system are not entirely, nor in any considerable degree, *literary* tests. In some of these not the slightest literary test is exacted, and yet they are *competitive* examinations.

The competitive examinations for policemen are for strength, for running, for endurance. These qualities rank first, and, in grading, are so counted. Then come tests for his knowledge of the city, and of the laws, and of his wit in meeting emergencies peculiar to his work, and these have a certain proportion in making up his final standing, and, incidentally, his ability to read and write and compose sentences has to be tested. These, in the final estimate, are counted least. The examinations in schools and for teachers are entirely literary tests. The examinations for entrance to the civil service are exam-

inations bearing upon the work to be done, and are, therefore, only incidentally literary, and, in many cases, the literary test has been entirely excluded. It must not be forgotten, though it generally is, that any and all of these examinations only admit the successful applicant *to a chance for a trial*. As to comparing the work, we think we have only to suggest to this teacher that every day and every hour in the day if he is a successful teacher, he has to do original thinking, to be a creator as a writer is a creator, while the public employe as a rule has nothing but routine work to do—to make his hand quicker and his eye more true.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND PUBLIC TEACHERS.

To do the public business well and cheaply, and to avoid the serious disturbance to the business of the country involved in changing 100,000 employes and hiring 100,000 others, are the phases of civil service reform that concern taxpayers. Whatever touches the pockets of the people, always commands the first attention; but that it is, therefore, of most relative importance does not at all follow. Happily there are two professions, the minister and the school teacher, who aim to view questions first as they affect the moral well-being of the community. They have a pressing and peculiar part in the abolition of the spoils system.

The moral degradation of slavery was palpable. It could not be blinked. The moral degradation of the spoils system is not less. Like slavery, it walks hand in hand with brutality, suffering and treachery; but like a dry-rot, it works under the surface.

Consider the suffering experienced by the families dependent upon the 100,000 government employes, who work under the apprehension that each day may be the last of certain employment and the beginning of the search for new. Consider the helplessness of thousands of the most capable and conscientious wage-workers when compelled to seek new employment after years of routine in a certain line. It is not surprising that, in the face of this, men yield to the temptation to do "base service," for the man who controls their living in this way. It is now as it was when cities were to be sacked for the loot; all that is brutal and base in men is supreme under the knowledge that places are for spoil. The past four years have afforded a melancholy spectacle of men eyeing greedily their neighbors, and pressing, and lying, and fighting for their places in the government service. The coarse callousness to suffering that goes with any degree of following that mediæval maxim, "to the

victors belong the spoils," must exclude it from the practices of a civilized people. It goes along with mutilating and scalping the enemy.

But the suffering involved in this system is not the worst thing about it. The treachery, the cowardice, the servility, the dishonesty connected with holding office under it, or seeking office under it, lead to a moral paresis. The people of this country would not tolerate the baseness of the system for one moment were they compelled to see it. But the otherwise excellent men, who pass through these bogs on the way to the consummation of their ambition, are not fond of describing in public places the filth that sticks to them. Whose duty is it to do this unpleasant and unpopular work? We must look first of all to the minister and to the school teacher to so clear their vision of party bias and party passion as to see the facts. It is their duty to cut away the sophistry and the juggling with words with which spoilsmen seek to hide the facts from an indolent people. The principles of this reform, the practical workings of it when tried, they must know and must tell. All this has been shown by Professor Moncrief in another column, and it must convince the clergy of Indiana that their duty does not end with silent hope for the abolition of the spoils system.

But now, when the principles have been explained and the belief frankly stated, the duty of the minister and of the school teacher ends. When the practical application of these principles comes and the matter is brought for decision before the tribunal of public opinion, it remains for these men to decide whether they will watch the contest from afar or go down into the battle. Each man must decide whether his personal tastes or his peculiar place in the community make it best for him to enter into a struggle where the passions of men are so fierce and unbridled. This work has to be done by somebody; but volunteers are generally to be found, and in this, as in other memorable struggles, there are different uses for different men. It has seemed necessary for the civil service reform association of this state, during its brief existence, to war not a little; but it has room for the men of peace; it understands their position and it asks for their co-operation.

THERE is, we believe, but one rule in this matter, and that is for the classified service to be held up to the law without a single exception, and whenever a man is discharged from it the cause to be made known, and moreover that cause to be so palpable as to make an end of argument.

This from the *Indianapolis News* is an example of the clearness and steadiness with which for years it has maintained the sound construction of the civil service law and pointed out the ways in which alone it can be made of effect.

THE HISTORY OF A RAILWAY MAIL CLERK.

The way of the well-doer is at least sometimes hard. W. H. Craft had been employed in the railway mail service as a substitute for two years when President Cleveland came in. A substitute has no regular run, but has to depend upon temporarily getting the places of regular clerks who for some reason do not go out. Craft was a republican, but had no political influence, and got no promotion. It is admitted on all hands that he became a skilled and efficient railway mail clerk. In 1885, under the new regime, he was not employed for seven months, but finally the chief clerk at Indianapolis asked him to take work again, saying that many men had been discharged and the service was weak. He went back and took the work of a substitute. He has run on the Pittsburgh and St. Louis, the Chicago and Cincinnati, and other heavy lines running through Indianapolis, and has filled every position from third man down. In 1888 he had three examinations, standing 99.21, 99.29 and 99.45. In one examination he threw 1,376 cards into 149 boxes, and made 11 errors. In another he threw 700 cards into 127 boxes, and made 5 errors. In another he threw 1,971 cards into 150 boxes, and made 11 errors. Running upon so many different lines, he learned an unusual number of schemes. Yet, in spite of his undoubted efficiency, new men came into the service and were by dozens appointed over him. He had anything but a steady job. Having a family to support, he hunted work ravenously, and what with keeping up the runs he secured and looking out for a new one to follow, and trying to collect what he had earned, he alternated between excessive overwork and anxiety for want of work. The chief clerk favored him as much as he could. Once when the state supreme court, the state executive departments, the United States post-office department, and the congressman from this district, astonished the country by the appointment as transfer clerk at the union station of a man who had been twice in state prison and had been eleven times in jail as a violator of the law, a vacancy occurred in that position until the authorities could recover from the shock, and Craft was appointed as acting clerk, working from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. He was there a month and ten days. To see a republican in that position threw the local democracy into convulsions, and Craft had to be removed. The chief clerk told him that he could continue on the road as a substitute where he would not be seen.

There are interesting facts in his experience. He ran for months for one clerk, who, in addition to being a railway mail clerk, had a cigar business and much political work for his congressman to attend to. The cigar man drew the full pay, which was so much a day, Sundays and all, paid Craft the week-day wages and kept for himself the wages for Sundays, amounting to about \$10 a month. This was the rent to the lord of the fee, who in

thirteen months himself took his run only 135 days. In another case Craft ran many weeks for a regular clerk who was less generous. In this service there is a run and then a lay-off for rest. This clerk, who had done no work, drew the whole pay and handed over to Craft the per diem for the actual run and himself pocketed the per diem for the lay-off. There were other experiences; some more pleasing and some meaner. Some paid him readily, some after repeated duns and some not at all. Craft was in no position to dictate terms. The general result was that in order to make fair wages Craft was obliged to run all the time. At last it seemed as if a full appointment was certain, and his name was sent to Cincinnati at the request of Superintendent Gwin, but nothing came of it, and Craft is still a substitute. Thus the spoils system works out its meanness and injustice.

POSTMASTER PEARSON.

The refusal of the President to re-appoint Postmaster Pearson to the New York post-office is an important event. The latter became postmaster in 1881, succeeding Mr. James, promoted to be postmaster-general, and who had since 1873 been laying the foundation for the total breaking-up of the practice of using the positions in the office to pay personal and party debts. This work was entirely completed by Mr. Pearson. Few people are aware of the greatness of this office as a business institution. There are 2,276 employees. These handle annually 3,700,000 pouches, deliver locally 355,000,000 letters, do \$85,000,000 money order business, and receive and deliver 6,400,000 registered letters in packages. The office has an income of \$5,100,000 and \$3,200,000 receipts over expenditures. This is the coming and going mail of all the world. The statement of these facts is a demonstration that there is here no room for anything but the sternest business principles, and such is the condition of the office as Mr. Pearson walks out of it. He has made it as free from politics of every kind and nature as Broadway is free from weeds. Before the passage of the civil service law, he had the competitive system in force. Since the passage of that law there have been a few leading positions which he might have filled with reference to politics, but he has declined to do so. In every case of such a vacancy he has promoted a skilled man from the ranks of the classified service. He has held his men to their duty, and whenever an employee deteriorated in his work, competition put him in a lower grade and put a more skilled or a more faithful man in his place. He was the one postmaster who gave the law the "benefit of a friendly interpretation" to its fullest extent. As a result he had incomparably the best post-office service in this country.

In doing this work obstacles have been put in his way in a manner to stir the indignation of every fair man. His office became of the greatest use to the public but it was absolutely worthless to the party machine, and the party

machine has followed him with remorseless hatred. It believed that he was the one man who stood in the way of enormous spoil to itself, and through change of parties and administrations it pursued its end of displacing him by one of its own. In President Arthur's time the postoffice department had an investigation made, of which Mr. Pearson was kept absolutely ignorant. Upon this, secret charges were filed that he was connected with some local dispatch companies. These charges were referred to Attorney-General Brewster, who, without inquiring for the other side of the case, recommended Mr. Pearson's dismissal. Three months later Postmaster-General Gresham wrote to Mr. Pearson a personal letter that such charges had been made and had been turned over to the district attorney in New York. Mr. Pearson's refutation was complete, and he showed that, more than a year before, he had three times written to the department urging it to break up these dispatch companies, but received no encouragement. These charges were on file when Mr. Cleveland became President and were made by the new machine to do the best duty possible, but without avail. And Mr. Pearson, in answer to an enormous demand of the business men of New York, was re-appointed. Of this the *New York Tribune* said, April 1, 1885:

"The re-appointment of Postmaster Pearson gives general satisfaction to those citizens who care for efficiency in that branch of the civil service here. It satisfies the public, because it is a good thing in itself: because Mr. Pearson is one of many republican officials who have proved so conspicuously fit that their removal, on whatever ground, and irrespective of the personal merit of any who may be selected in their stead, would be a positive detriment to the public service. Such an appointment is, of course, to be commended most heartily as a good thing in itself. * * * In itself this appointment is admirable * * * Mr. Pearson's unquestioned and superior fitness renders his retention in office the clear duty of a President who means to improve and not to degrade the public service."

The machine, though temporarily baffled, was nevertheless tireless. It found a willing ally in the new post-office department, whose course is a record of petty meanness. This office netted the government over three millions, yet the most urgent requests for reasonable allowances to pay employees were met with niggardly paring, or with silence, or with a short refusal. In one case it was fully granted with directions to raise the money by dismissing employees and cutting down salaries. Mr. Pearson required the work of the office to be done, and the department succeeded in its apparent plan of making his employees complain of him. His requirement that a man should do his duty crowded out of the service those who could not do the work and those who wanted sinecures. These banded together at the instigation of the local party machine and made up another attacking column, and these too were encouraged by the department at Washington. They failed in their object. Mr. Pearson could not be harried into resigning, and that party machine was compelled to pass off the stage and leave him in office. Its spirit never dies. The weapons against Mr. Pearson instantly passed into other hands.

The new men had expected to make the attack on the ground that in 1884 Mr. Pearson

kept republican employes away from the polls and defeated Mr. Blaine. This was passed from mouth to mouth all over the country, but it was found out that it could be demonstrated to be a falsehood and it had to be dropped. The public does not know what the motive power was that at last succeeded in displacing him. It does know that the good of the service had nothing to do with it. He had been in the post-office business from boyhood. He was by nature fitted for it. He had great energy and executive ability. He was in every respect a trained officer. He was a manly and fearless man, and he performed the duties of his office in a manly and fearless manner. No new man can for a long time do anything but look on while his subordinates perform their duties and teach him his. Such a change is not for the good of the service. The new man, Van Cott, emphasizes this view. He apparently has a life-lease on office, for he has held office for years; but he is ignorant of the post office business, and his office-holding has not been because he was a skilled and efficient officer, but because he had done party work, for which he must be provided a place.

There is probably no other single act by which President Harrison could have damaged himself and his party so much throughout the country. The thousands of men who voted for him and who regret this act are silent men, but they are men with long memories. It is one of the things that will bear heavily in the scale when the account is taken at the end of this administration. The time has gone by when such a course is wise considered even as a party measure. In making his office stand out for years as a great business institution, in the midst of the general riot of the spoils system, Mr. Pearson has rendered a distinguished service to the country. His present reward has not been generous. On the other hand the "workers" have won a victory, but it is like the victory of the elephants of Pyrrhus

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Some time ago the chief of the Indianapolis fire department was supplanted by a new man under circumstances that seemed inexplicable to the people of the city. We think it is fair, both to those who brought this about and to the people, that the facts of the matter should be impartially stated, and we have been at some trouble to gather them.

Joseph H. Webster is 56 years old, and entered the fire department of Indianapolis in 1860 as a stoker, working in that position four years. Then, for ten years, he was driver of the hook and ladder truck, of which he then, in 1874, became foreman. In 1876 he was elected assistant engineer by the council, and held that place for two years, until the office was abolished, and he then served again as foreman until 1882. He was then elected chief engineer by the council, and was steadily re-elected until January 1, 1889. Although a republican, the vote at every re-election was

unanimous. He has, in fact, never had any other business but that of fireman. The fire department has not been run on a strictly partisan basis. A majority of the employes, both under republican and democratic city administrations, have been republicans. There are now some democrats in the service who have been there for twelve or fifteen years. Under the law, the chief engineer has the sole authority to appoint and remove firemen, and not only individual councilmen, but the council itself is entirely powerless in the matter.

The logical order of the facts is, that in 1885 P. C. Trusler, then a councilman, asked Mr. Webster to dismiss a fireman named Garver from No. 13 on the ground that Garver was "a disturbing element." The fly in the ointment seemed to be the fact that Garver was the only democrat at that station, and, to accommodate Trusler, Garver was transferred to another station. In January, 1888, there were sixteen democrats in the department. Up to that time no one had asked for the discharge of a man avowedly because of his politics. In that month Mr. Trusler again entered the council and was the first to make such a request. He began by calling for the dismissal of Michael Slaven because he was a democrat. In the way of easing Trusler off it was suggested that charges had been filed against Slaven and that he might go out on those. The matter ended by Slaven resigning. At the same time Trusler asked Mr. Webster for the dismissal, for the same reason, of Oscar Ray, an excellent fireman, who had been a substitute at No. 6 for about two years. The demand was yielded to and Ray was discharged by the chief without cause.

Some two weeks later, Mr. Webster being at home sick, the acting chief, Davis, came to his house and said that Trusler had inquired if the chief had discharged John S. Burkhart, a substitute for years at No. 1, who had begun in the fire department by running errands when a small boy. He was a good fireman and was a democrat. The following Sunday Councilman Thalman, having called on him, the chief protested against Trusler's working the democrats out of the department, and Mr. Thalman agreed with him and promised that he would see the other men and that it should be stopped. This was early in 1888. In February the chief was sent for at headquarters and found there Councilmen Trusler and Finch, and Alderman Connett. These men brought up the subject of discharging the rest of the democrats, and Connett wanted to know if Thomas Quinn, foreman of No. 1, could not be removed at once. The chief asked them to go to the council and get an order to him to "reorganize" the fire department on a republican basis, and he promised that it should be done in thirty days or thirty minutes as they should order. He told them that he would not otherwise take the responsibility. They made no reply to this proposition, and soon after the meeting broke up. After this the fire committee of the council, while Mr.

Webster remained in office, never again met at the fire headquarters as had been their custom.

The Presidential campaign came on, and it was unsafe while that lasted to attempt to crowd experienced firemen out of their places because of their politics. After the election, it being settled that the chief could not be moved from his resolution, measures began to be taken to supplant him. About a week before the time for the election of the chief for the ensuing year, Councilman Darnell came to headquarters, took Mr. Webster aside and told him that they had "got" him, but that if he would agree to let one democrat go each month he could be sure of a re-election. The chief refused, and at the election which followed every republican voted against him and secured his defeat.

This is a brief outline of the course which led to Mr. Webster's displacement. There has been some attempt to give other reasons by whispering from mouth to mouth, but these reasons are either known to be false or those who give them are ashamed to speak them aloud. The people of the city were practically unanimous for his retention. The entire insurance interest and a great amount of property interest openly protested, but without effect. This fire department employs eighty-two men, with a pay-roll of over \$60,000 annually, and uses fifty horses. The head of it had had twenty-nine years' experience, obtained from holding positions on his merit, and was universally admitted to be admirably adapted to his place. The evidence leads to the inevitable conclusion that he was deprived of his place because he would not, in answer to the pressure of a few local politicians, turn out of the fire department a few democrats who were tried and experienced firemen, and against whom nothing could be urged.

THIS PAPER.

With 100,000 federal offices which may be used to reward personal or party service, the question of civil service is certainly a great one and interests every citizen. The CHRONICLE, at 50 cents per annum, ought to have a large circulation.—*Indiana School Journal*.

Editorially its contents are pointed and forcible.—*Indianapolis News*.

The Indiana civil service reformers show a disposition to measure the new administration by the same standard they applied to the last one.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

We have not seen a more able exponent of civil service reform views than this journal is likely to be.—*New Albany Evening Tribune*.

Its appearance at this juncture, when a greedy army of spoilsmen has the national capital in a state of siege, is peculiarly opportune. We wish the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE success.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

The CHRONICLE is devoted to a reform that challenges the support of all good republicans and democrats.—*Putnam Democrat*.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—The following delegates to the last national republican convention have been appointed to office:

E. H. Terrell, of Texas, minister to Belgium. "He was the only delegate from his state that was for Harrison all the time. He made one of the speeches seconding General Harrison's nomination, and did good work among the southern delegates at the convention."

W. L. Dunlap, United States marshal of Indiana.

Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney for Indiana.

John B. Cockrum, deputy United States district attorney for Indiana.

Albert G. Porter, of Indiana, minister to Italy.

E. W. Halford, of Indiana, private secretary.

James N. Huston, of Indiana, treasurer of the United States.

—The following appointments of newspaper editors have been made:

Whitelaw Reed, editor of the *New York Tribune*, minister to France.

John C. New, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, consul at London.

Murat Halstead, editor of the *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*, minister to Germany. [Rejected by the senate.]

Allen Thorndike Rice, editor of the *North American Review*, minister to Russia.

John Hicks, editor of the *Oshkosh Northwestern*, minister to Peru.

Ellis H. Roberts, editor of the *Utica Herald*, assistant-treasurer at New York.

W. W. Junkin, editor of the *Fairfield [Iowa] Ledger*, Indian inspector.

James S. Clarkson, first assistant postmaster-general, editor of the *Iowa State Register* and chairman of the republican state committee.

Robert P. Porter, editor of the *New York Press*, to be superintendent of census.

—The *Iowa State Register* says: "The congratulations of Iowa papers will be extended to Mr. W. W. Junkin, of the *Fairfield Ledger*,

who was yesterday appointed an Indian inspector. *The position is a pleasant one, and will not compel him to give up his connection with the paper with which he has been so long identified.* As a hard-working republican and a newspaper man whose service to the party reaches over more than a generation, Mr. Junkin amply deserves the recognition that has come to him."

—Senator Farwell has been put to great trouble and annoyance in the matter of the Chicago offices. He had to go all the way from Washington to Chicago to choose his men. He has determined that Col. Sexton is most advantageous for the postoffice, and one Christmamer for the collectorship. It is expected that in time Sexton will learn from his subordinates something of the Chicago post-office business, and that in the same manner Christmamer will look on while the work of the second largest revenue district in the country is being in some manner got through with.

—Congressmen are ready to divide the internal revenue collectorships, but it is announced that they can not allot these places until after May 1st.

—The new superintendent of the railway mail service innocently arrogated to himself the appointment of John A. Montgomery to be superintendent of mails in the Chicago post-office. Senator Farwell, the lord of the fee, asserts his rights, as follows:

"I am not objecting to Mr. Montgomery personally at all. I think he is a man that is in every way fitted for the position and will give satisfaction in it; but I don't like the way the appointment was made. I think I should be consulted about matters relating to appointments at my own home. What I complain of is that the appointment was made without my knowing anything about it. I have nothing to say about Mr. Montgomery. He is as well recommended for the place as any man could be, but I think the incoming postmaster should also be consulted as well as me."

"It is reported that the postmaster-general did not know anything about the appointment."

"I don't suppose he did."

"Is it likely that Mr. Montgomery will be allowed to retain the position?"

"I do not know anything about that. The matter has been taken out of my hands and I have nothing further to say about it and don't propose to. He will make a good officer. All I object to is the manner of his appointment. I don't believe any insult was intended. I think it is due to the inadvertence of this new man."

"Have you decided anything about the postmastership?"

"No. I came home for the purpose of trying to select the proper man for the post-office and for superintendent of mails, and have had the matter under consideration, but so far I have been unable to decide about the thing. I may make up my mind some time next week."

"You are reported to have said that the present incumbents in the minor positions will be allowed to serve out their terms?"

"That is my opinion. I think each of the other office-holders will be allowed to remain his four years. In my opinion that will be the policy of the administration."

"It has been reported that the same difference is likely to arise between President Harrison and senators in regard to patronage as divided the late Senator Conkling and President Garfield."

"Oh, I think there is not much danger of that. I see there has been a little trouble about the postmaster at Philadelphia, but

there has been no trouble with the Illinois senators. I think the President proposes to treat us fairly. I have no doubt about it."

—Postmaster-General Wanamaker issued the following order: "Hereafter and until further notice all clerks in the post-office department at whose desks papers relating to appointments to office or claims against the departments are filed will not disclose the contents thereof to, nor permit an inspection by, any person except on the written order of the postmaster-general, the first assistant postmaster-general, the chief clerk of the department, or the chief clerk to the first assistant postmaster-general. Where a chairman of a state committee or person by him duly authorized applies for information, the clerk may disclose the names of the applicants for the office inquired about, but further information should not be given."

—More than 140 congressmen recommended for commissioner of Indian affairs Roderick R. Butler, of Tennessee. In the 42d congress the vote to expel Butler for selling a cadetship for \$900 stood 102 to 68, two-thirds being necessary. He was then unanimously censured by a ye and nay vote.

—First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson's paper, the *Iowa State Register*, says of the offices within his appointment, that "to change these post-offices, amounting to nearly 64,000 in number, from democratic to republican hands, and increase the credit and reputation of the party in doing it, will require an unusual knowledge of men and politics. * * * the President insisted upon his services at Washington on account especially of his knowledge of politics and of the workers in the campaign, and the obligations of the party towards such men."

—General Browne, who leaves for his home at Winchester, to-morrow, made the rounds of the White House and the executive departments a couple of times to-day. On each trip he started out with arms full of applications for office. The General has worked like a slave during the past month to satisfy his office seeking constituents, and he is yet at it during every hour of daylight.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 4.

—On March 21, Congressman Browne, of the sixth Indiana district, filed the name of his seventy-first man for appointment in the railway mail service. Some say that he can only claim the fealty of seven railway mail clerks, and that as he already has four "hold-overs" he is only entitled to three more. On March 25, having handed in a batch of names for fourth-class post-offices, it was announced that he would then come home, from which place he would "hereafter conduct his business." He granted several small holdings March 30.

—Congressman Owen, of the tenth Indiana district, has ordered and is superintending a large number of changes of fourth-class postmasters in his territory.

—Congressman Posey, of the first Indiana district, is in Washington allotting fourth-class postmasterships.

—St. Louis, Mo., March 23, 1889.—To the President, Washington, D. C.: DEAR SIR—We have the honor to submit to your favorable consideration, and in accordance with your suggestion to Mr. F. G. Niedringhaus, the following-named citizens of Missouri for appointments abroad: Charles E. Pearce of St. Louis, minister to Mexico; S. H. Boyd of Springfield, minister to Venezuela; Hon. Channcey I. Filley of St. Louis, consul at Liverpool, or something equally as good; George Bain of St. Louis, consul at Glasgow, Scotland; Mr. Richard Bartholdt, consul at Frankfort-on-the-

Main; Dr. H. M. Starkloff, consul-general at Brussels; Frederick Schroeder of St. Joseph, consul at Hamburg; J. H. Kaeser of St. Louis, consul at St. Gallen, Switzerland; P. P. Dobozky of Kansas City, consul at Rome; John R. Musick of Kirksville, minister-resident and consul-general to Siam; George H. Wallace of Fayette, consul-general at Melbourne; Sammel Hays or Charles R. Pope, St. Louis, consul at Montreal; Benjamin Horton, consul at Pesth, or any other small continental consulate; Albert Berg-ss (colored), minister to Liberia; C. H. Tandy (colored), consul to Honolulu. Yours respectfully,

W. H. WADE, M. C.,

Thirteenth District of Missouri.

W. M. KINSEY, M. C.,

Tenth District of Missouri.

F. G. NIEDRINGHAUS, M. C.,

Eighth District of Missouri.

NATHAN FRANK, M. C.,

Ninth District of Missouri.

—Illinois congressmen emphatically refuse to have the office of minister to England given to Robert Lincoln deducted from their share. They say it must be charged up to the President's share.

—Congressmen Sherman, Butterworth, Caldwell and Morey remained in Washington to see to the division of spoils for Ohio. It is claimed that Ohio does not get her share.

—Great fault is found with the Kansas congressmen, Ingalls and others. They are accused of giving the places to "old-timers," and of not giving "young blood" due recognition, and according to the Hon. W. P. Hackney, in the *Topeka Capital-Commonwealth*, these Kansas over-lords are even in danger of losing their holdings: "Our senators and representatives are either imbeciles or nincompoops, and I suspicion them of being both. The only way to get anything from them is to give them hell, and then they will get the office in order to keep them quiet. Oh, we have a daisy outfit, you bet. What a grand lot of shovelers on the street they would make! and that is about their size. But I digress, and beg pardon of the street-shoveler. What Kansas needs is a new deal all round in both senate and house—broad, liberal-minded, and unselfish statesmen who have some conception of the magnitude of their position and the very high honor the people have conferred upon them. These fellows are not and do not."

—As has already been stated, the Pennsylvania senators will appropriate to themselves the disposition of all the leading federal offices in the state and all offices in democratic districts, leaving to the congressmen only the fourth-class postmasterships and appointments to the railway mail service. There will be few exceptions to this rule.—*Philadelphia Press*.

THE question whether Pennsylvania is given over by General Harrison to a Gorman system, and is to be the Maryland and Botany Bay of this administration, is made sharp and plain by sudden developments concerning the post-office of Philadelphia. Mr. Wanamaker, it seems, offered this appointment to his friend, Mr. John Field, an energetic, intelligent merchant, a republican, and a man very competent for the duties of the place. But the fact of the offer became known and at once the political machine was put in motion to stop it. Senator Quay was amazed to hear that Mr. Wanamaker had plans of his own—for this one, it is alleged, had not been communicated to the senator—and made haste to file his own recommendation of that highly approved Philadelphian, ex-Sheriff Leeds. Mr. Field, however, after some hesitation, has decided to accept the appointment, and has so notified the postmaster-general.

In this shape the matter rests at this writing.

It is reported on one hand that Mr. Wanamaker has been compelled by Mr. Quay to give up his purpose of appointing Mr. Field, and that he will break his promise to that gentleman; on the other hand, it is declared that Mr. Quay, in the course of a two or three hour interview, on Tuesday night, could obtain no such concession. Doubtless any person of ordinary capacity would say that the postmaster general would of course select himself the postmaster of the city in which he lives, and that the attempt of a person living on the Ohio line—even if he be a member of the United States senate—to drag him concerning the matter would be a most gross and impudent proceeding.—*The American (Rep.) March 30.*

PROF. MONCRIEF ON MINISTERS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

To the Civil Service Chronicle:

I have been asked briefly to discuss the desirability of ministers lending active assistance to the civil service reform movement. It seems best to begin with a general view of the political situation.

It is evident that the agonies of a presidential campaign, with its accompaniments, are fast becoming too great to be endured. These agonies are not only those temporary agonies which pass away as soon as the administration comes in and the spoils are distributed, but also the agonies of the disappointed "workers," the agonies of those who have been ousted for "offensive partisanship," and the agonies of the thoughtful and patriotic citizen who sees clearly that something must speedily be done or democracy will again prove a failure—and that, too, on a more gigantic scale than the world has yet seen.

Now, apart from the "ins" and the "outs," why did we have such intense excitement in the masses during our last campaign? The cause was not patriotism, for all intelligent people knew that the commonwealth would neither stand nor fall with either of our great parties. The cause was not principle, for it was evident that while there were real issues, they were so exaggerated as to be very like party shibboleths. But, positively, we find the zeal without knowledge of the honest but deluded masses who had been led to believe that their physical, moral, and almost spiritual existence depended on the results of the election. These good people thought they were patriotic and devoted to principle; they were in fact dupes. And this leads us to the real cause which appears in the last analysis—the selfish interest of party leaders who hoped for material gain in the spoils of victory. These men, with their myriads of henchmen of all grades and characters, were able to work the people into a frenzy of excitement, and politics became a shrewd scheme by which demagogues sought to gain their own selfish ends at the expense of the rest of us; and most of us fell into line, grew enthusiastic in depleting the exchequer, degrading the morality of citizenship, and giving our commonwealth a telling impetus towards dissolution.

Now it is confidently believed that the removal of the civil service from party politics would go far towards reducing this political madness to a normal political enthusiasm—and to the same extent we should have healthy political action.

Now, has the Christian minister any part in the accomplishment of so great a work? It appears to me that he has, and the following are some of the reasons: 1st. He is a citizen, hence he has a citizen's rights and a citizen's obligations. It follows, then, that he has more than a passive interest in all that pertains to citizenship.

2d. He is a leader of men. If he be true to his noble calling, his influence is far-reaching. He is not out of the world, but he is in the world, and he must be in perpetual contact with the things of the world; he is simply commanded to keep himself unspotted from the world. He is at liberty, then, to the full extent of his ability and opportunity, to aid in the world's great movements to higher and better things. Such a minister, if he can not become profoundly learned in political science, will at least keep along with the best conclusions of that science, and so become an indispensable co-worker of the true statesman.

3. The minister will thus widen his influence with certain classes of citizens. Our age demands almost omniscience of a minister. If he can not enter intelligently and sympathetically into the secular ideas of his parishioners he soon gets the reputation for lacking common sense, and at the same instant is short of much of his strength.

4. In the nature of the case the minister must ever be unqualifiedly opposed to immoral tendencies as well as immoral acts. We have seen that a most prolific source of immorality is in the spoils system. And we may add that things have grown rapidly worse, until our last campaign startled all thoughtful citizens. To illustrate the state of political immorality take bribery. Since the election I have talked with many leaders and with many of the rank and file in both our great parties. They all admit it—most of them deplore it. This is not new to any one. Everybody knows it. What confidence can members of churches who have engaged in this business have in each other? What equipment have they for aggressive Christian work? What do those who make no profession of Christianity think of such Christians? And just here I wish to make certain quotations from a great man. They are from Lieber's *Political Ethics*—a book that I am just now re-reading with great care and great profit. The book was written in 1837-8. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Lieber's life know that he was not simply a learned theorist, but a man of wide and varied experience. Discussing honesty in politics, he says: "Thousands go every Sunday to church, and willingly admit everything that may be brought forth on the solemn obligation of truth, and yet are ready on Monday to asperse in public articles the charac-

ter of a fellow-citizen knowingly with false accusations, or with charges the truth of which they know that they have not taken sufficient care to ascertain."*

Again: "So soon as covetousness becomes general in a civilized nation, so soon as dishonesty is a general crime, so soon as public places are considered by common consent as fair opportunities to enrich their holders willing to wink at each other's embezzlements, so soon as parties consider themselves by their success entitled to the spoils of the public—so soon there is a deadly cancer in the vitals of that society, and hardly anything but severe changes and revolutions can save it. Justice will be sold, bribes become common, public opinion become vicious, veracity will be disregarded, patriotism be derided, every memory of greatness or nobleness be disgraced, oppression in every degree become general, and the moral tone of society at large, which must always remain the first spring from which prosperity flows, will vanish."†

Dr. Lieber then illustrates from the history of England, France, Italy, Rome, Athens. If he were living now would he venture to prophesy?

Then, in view of patent facts in our present politics, in view of the solemn warning of the political philosopher, can the Christian minister be at peace with his conscience except by giving his energetic support to the cause of a reform that promises to remove so many of the causes of the present state of things?

5. Students of church history know that since the Reformation there has been a very marked development of the ethical tide of Christianity. In some cases this idea has been carried out too exclusively, but upon the whole we welcome the later development. There can be no doubt as to the agreement of Christian ethics and the ethics of civil service reform. And in this ethical development of Christianity the Christian minister finds a basis upon which to stand while supporting the great reformatory movements of his day.

6. When the minister takes up the cause of civil service reform, he does not at the same time become a party politician. The best men in all parties are its truest friends. The Chicago platform was not uncertain in its sound. President Harrison in his letter of acceptance was equally clear. The best elements in the democratic party and in the prohibitionist party are in perfect accord with the republican party and President Harrison on the subject of civil service reform.

Wise and good men may differ on the tariff and other questions of policy, but the matter of civil service reform is no longer debatable; the wisest and best statesmen of the civilized world have returned a unanimous opinion in its favor, and it now remains for us all to unite in bringing about its realization in the United States.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

FRANKLIN COLLEGE, March 27, 1889.

THE SIEGE.

—President Harrison said, in March, "I have been overrun with office-seekers since I arrived in Washington, and instead of having time to devote to the consideration and selection of foreign ministers and other important officials, I have actually spent it all in listening to the statements of delegations and in the purely clerical labor incident to the proper classification and arrangement of applications for office."

—Secretary Windom said, in March, "I have not had five minutes' talk with the President in a week, except at cabinet meetings. It is difficult to find the occasion. There are only twenty-four hours in the day, and some of them must, of necessity, be given to sleep. We shall not have time to do anything unless these people go home and give us an opportunity to attend to the public business."

—On April 3, 1,500 persons came up the elevator to call upon Secretary Windom, and most of them gained an audience. A prominent under official said: "This thing ought to stop. Mr. Windom, as a matter of fact, has as yet had no time to attend to the government business. His time has been wholly occupied in hearing statements about appointments to office."

—April 2 President Harrison received over 100 office seekers, each accompanied by congressmen. After it was over he said that for the life of him he could not remember what any one of them wanted.

—Some thirty men, including seven office holders, went from Buffalo to Washington April 9, and took post in the Arlington hotel. From there they marched to the door of the White House, and after a parley were admitted by the door-keepers and appeared before the President. Speaking with one voice through one of their number, they demanded that Editor Morgan should be given the place of collector of customs at Buffalo. There was no evidence that the good of the service needed a new collector, or that the President was hunting for one. There was everywhere prevalent the fact that Morgan must have a place.

—According to the *Indianapolis Journal's* Washington correspondent, congressmen have ordered out so many democratic postmasters that the department is much behindhand in making out commissions for the new henchmen. The postmaster-general says that he must have new clerks to do this work or it will have to be delayed somewhat while he and his present clerks go back to the work pertaining to carrying mails, for which they were appointed and for which the post-office department was organized. On the division of spoils the entire force works three and one-half hours extra daily.

—There are on an average six applicants for each of the 57,000 post-offices, great and small, the larger having more than 100 each. At the post-office department each state has a great case of pigeon-holes equal to the number of its counties, with extra ones for its larger post-offices. A large force of clerks is constantly employed, and the entire force works extra hours morning and night in sorting and briefing applications and putting them into these pigeon-holes. We don't know whether this is "practical politics" or "practical civil service."

—There are 40 applicants for the Manchester consulate, and for Birmingham 230.

—Under the constitution and laws the secretary of the treasury is appointed to attend to the business of his department. It was hardly contemplated one hundred years ago that such a notice as the following, posted conspicu-

ously by Secretary Windom, would be necessary:

"The secretary of the treasury reserves the time from 10 to 11:30 o'clock A. M. for receiving senators and members of the house of representatives. Other persons desiring to see him upon matters relating to official patronage will please call between 11:30 A. M. and 1 P. M. The secretary requests that he may be excused from receiving visitors after 1 P. M., in order that he may be able to devote a part of the day to the consideration of the current business of the department."

—"Once in five minutes," says the *Chicago Tribune*, "the head of some democratic postmaster drops into the basket."

--So far President Harrison has made 374 nominations where President Cleveland made 171.

By the 1st of May a good many incompetents who thought they had secured life leases on their positions can be weeded out of the mail service and their places filled by men who know the geography of the country and can read writing.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 14.

The official guillotine appears to work smoothly and with great rapidity.

The eye of the executioner seems to be fixed on Indiana, and democrats are momentarily retiring from public service.

Mr. Wanamaker's official guillotine appears to be working very smoothly.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 13.

CORRESPONDENCE.

--From Lawrence county. "So far as this community is concerned, I think that about ninety per cent. are seeking Indian agencies, post-offices or some other facile and luxurious method of serving the government."

--From Fort Wayne. "Now is the time to renew work in the civil service reform cause. Many good names can be secured here by the aid of a little personal effort."

--We are permitted to quote the following: "In returning the constitution of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association with my signature attached, I beg to say that so long as the association stands by and lives up to the declaration of Mr. Foulke in his late address, that it will measure Mr. Harrison by the very same standard that it applied to Mr. Cleveland, so long will I aid the association in its efforts to make its objects obtain."

--Also the following from Vincennes: "It has occurred to me that the association might devise ways to assist and strengthen the President in the carrying out of the sentiments of his inaugural. He ought to be protected from his friends--the Indiana cormorants. We will hope and labor that the cause may be advanced during the current term."

--A clergyman writes: "Civil service reform is absolutely essential to the well being of our government. The recent assault upon the President is enough to disgust decent people and make one want to take a Gatling gun and blaze away at the politicians and hungry office-seekers."

--A university professor writes: "The spoils grabbers seem to be flaring and blaring, like an old-fashioned tallow dip, with the largest blaze just before they go out."

HENRY A. RICHMOND, of Buffalo, delivered an address upon civil service reform before the Young Men's Association of that city, which was published in the *Buffalo Express* March 24. Mr. Richmond was one of the civil service commissioners of New York and has an extended knowledge of the subject both in theory and in practice, and his address shows it.

*Polit. Eth. Vol. I., p. 444.

†Polit. Eth., pp. 464-5.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"Washington teaches us to-day this great lesson, that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty."—President Harrison at the Centennial of the United States.

VOL. I, No. 3.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the Executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism. * * *

It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer that "in the Roman Senate, Octavius had a party, and Antony a party, but the Commonwealth had none." Yet the senate continued to meet in the Temple of Liberty, and talk of the beauty and sacredness of the Commonwealth, and gaze at the statues of the elder Brutus and of the Curtii and the Decii. And the people assembled in the forum, not, as in the days of Camillus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual magistrates or pass upon the acts of the senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders their share of the spoils.—President Wm. Henry Harrison's Inaugural Address, Congressional Globe, vol. 7, pp. 234-5.

Some fifty or sixty editors of leading journals have been appointed to office by the present Executive [Jackson.] * * * But the ground of complaint is that the aiding, by the press, of the election of an individual, is rewarded, by that same individual, with a gift of moneyed offices. Men are turned out of office, and others put in, and receive salaries from the public treasury, on the ground, either openly avowed or falsely denied, that they have rendered service in the election of the very individual who makes this removal and makes this appointment. Every man, sir, must see that this is a vital stab at the purity of the press. It not only assails its independence, by addressing sinister motives to it, but it furnishes from the public treasury the means of exciting these motives. It extends the executive power over the press in a most daring manner.—Daniel Webster's address to the Massachusetts Whigs in 1832.

The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place, he will be impeachable by this house, before the senate, for such an act of maladministration; for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust. * * * Can we suppose a President, elected for four years only, dependent upon the popular voice, impeachable by the legislature, little, if at all, distinguished for wealth, personal talents, or influence from the head of the department himself; I say, will he bid defiance to all these considerations, and wantonly dismiss a meritorious and virtuous officer? Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.—Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.

WE again ask friends of civil service reform to subscribe for the CHRONICLE, reminding them that this is not an enterprise for pecuniary profit. We can not employ a canvasser and must trust that those who want to see the cause succeed will take the trouble to put fifty cents in stamps into an envelope and mail it. We have a long list of names in this state to whom this paper can be profitably sent. We have received and are anxious to receive more subscriptions to enable us to mail the CHRONICLE to this list.

THE President has at last appointed the civil service commission, and the great excellence of his appointments helps to make up for the lateness of their appearance. Theodore Roosevelt is entirely a republican, but he is also entirely an outspoken civil service reformer. And the same may be said of Mr. Thompson *mutatis mutandis*. Both of these gentlemen will appreciate the dignity of their office and the great work of reform to be done in the civil service. They will maintain their rights and the rights of the law and will not attempt to shape the course of the commission in a way to mollify the the Ingallses and the Farwells. The matters which need their instant attention are the letting in of daylight upon all the operations of the law and the establishment of the complete independence of local boards.

WE have seen the original letter from the post-office department requesting the resignation of R. S. Stuart, an inspector, on the ground of lack of money. This being refused, he was removed. We have also seen that other inspectors in the same line were at the same time appointed. Obviously the statement as to lack of money was false. There is passing from mouth to mouth among republicans talk that Stuart was unduly officious, particularly so with Governor Hovey's mail during the campaign. It is also said that he interested himself in the defense of Sim Coy. Very well; if there is a cause for his dismissal let it be stated. It is unbecoming in a great government to have a cause and substitute a falsehood.

THE Indiana Civil Service Reform Association has gained twenty-five new members since our last issue.

SENATOR SHERMAN and Senator Quay or what in this American feudalism is the exact equivalent, Ohio and Pennsylvania, are at war. The cause is best stated in Pennsylvania's own words:

"Senator Sherman is a receiver of stolen goods. There was an agreement made between Pennsylvania and Ohio to divide the internal revenue appointments. Ohio was to have the deputy commissionership of internal revenue, which they got, with the understanding that Pennsylvania was to keep hands off, and that Pennsylvania was to have the solicitors'hip of internal revenue. I had picked out B. Frank Gilkeson, of Bristol, Bucks county, for the place and supposed there would be no interference, but when I went away Ohio went in for the solicitors'hip, too."

"The Percy ow't off Northombarlande,
And a rowe to God mayd he,
That he wold hunte in the mountayns
Off Chyviat within days thre,
In the mauger of doughte Douglas
And all that ever with him be.

"The fattiste hartes in all Cheviat
He sayd he wold kill and cary them away;
'Be my feth,' sayd the doughte Douglas agayn,
'I wyll let that hountyng if that I may.'

* * *
"At last the Douglas and the Percy met,
Lyk to Captayns of myght and of mayne;
They swapte togethar tyll they both swat
With swordes that wear of fyn myllan."

It seems to be undisputed that a man named Paul Vandervoort was chief clerk in the railway mail service in 1883, was repeatedly warned to mend his ways, treated the warning with contempt, declared that he had a "pull" which would amply protect him, was absent from his post 265 out of 310 working days, was in that year and for that reason discharged, and has now been appointed superintendent of mails at Omaha. The Omaha Bee [rep.] says it was done at the solicitation of the Nebraska congressmen, and adds: "It is certainly unfortunate that the state has thus been humiliated before the country." Under the President's plan of allowing congressmen to dictate appointments many scalawags work into the service; but it is inconceivable that the President, knowing as he now does the facts, will allow this particular scalawag to stay there.

It is proposed to erect a monument to the late Henry G. Pearson. It is as fitting to commemorate a civil servant, who has shown to an extraordinary degree traits admired by all men, and has fallen in his prime, as it is to commemorate great soldiers who have fallen on the field of battle. Subscriptions may be sent to William Potts Esq., 35 Liberty street, New York.

THERE is disappointment because President Harrison did not say more fitting things at New York. The cause is plain enough. He names it "public duties of a very exacting character." His work has not been public duties. Since he was inaugurated he has performed few necessary public duties. He has allowed his time and his energies to be drawn upon without cessation, and with a power absolutely absorbing by a class of persons who have but the single object of quartering themselves upon the treasury. To attempt to satisfy them is not a public duty. And no living man can look up after two months' steady attention to this work and go from Washington to New York with it all the time on his mind and make a speech at the one hundredth anniversary of this government, that will not disappoint his friends. The occasion is an exalted one and calls for exalted and noble sentiments. But giving out patronage to party friends and favorites is demeaning to the character, and it deadens the sense to those patriotic and just principles of government, which must, if a government is to live, from time to time be clearly grasped and boldly stated by the leaders of the people.

"It ["mugwump civil service"] has established rules and examinations that practically debar men of experience and sense * * * it can be used as a cloak for favoritism to shut out those who deserve recognition for services rendered the party. * * * It stimulates public lying. * * * It is not in harmony with our form of government. * * * It is therefore the duty of an administration * * * to be represented * * * not by political opponents nor political eunuchs." * * *
—Tom Platt, one of the New York aristocracy of office-holders, in *Frank Leslie's Weekly*.

"A rogue ne'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law."

JAMES PARTON, the historian, encourages the CHRONICLE with money and with sympathy. We are permitted to quote from his letter of April 20:

"The spectacle afforded at present by those at Washington, who are turning out post-masters so fast, is most pitiful and lamentable. What a satire upon them the inaugural celebration at New York! To think that what Washington began so simply and so nobly should have ended in *this*! There is only one class whom it does not sicken—the professional politicians, and they are the public enemy, as much so as Louis Napoleon was when he got astride of fair France, as much so as Nero was when he fiddled while Rome was burning."

It was a happy thought for Mr. Parton the other night at a dinner where civil service reform was a subject for malediction to pronounce the spoils system "not the system of Louis XIV., but the system of Mme. de Pompadour."

MARSHALL C. WOODS has been appointed box-clerk in the Indianapolis post-office. The place was given to him as spoil, and this has caused remark, for the place was supposed to be within the civil service rules. It was under those rules until 1888, when Postmaster General Dickinson, evidently desiring to keep the law within the narrowest limits, wrote around to different post-offices suggesting there were places that might be exempted from examination. Postmaster Jones naturally met the suggestion with alacrity, and between the two, the box clerk, the weighing clerk and all the money-order clerks, were taken out from under the rules. The pretense is, that they handle money, and that the postmaster, being liable for them on his official bond, should have the right to select those whom he can trust. For instance, Marshall C. Woods now and then collects a little money for box-rent and carries it to the cashier, and Postmaster Wallace by appointing him impliedly declares that he has made a careful selection, and that Woods is more to be relied upon than the clerks who come in under the competitive examination. And the same is true of the man who collects pound-rate postage in the back part of the post-office and carries it a few feet to the cashier. To state the case is to prove that these exemptions were never made except by deadly enemies of the law, and one of the first acts of the President should be to put them under the rules again. A very small bond from each will make the postmaster absolutely secure. And while the President is about it, he would do well to abolish the nonsensical exemption of the "heads" of departments in such post-offices, on the ground that they are "confidential" positions. Such places should be filled by promotion from the ranks after competition and not by ward-workers who leave nothing undone to bring the law into disrepute.

THE post-office authorities here have asked for and obtained a special examination for clerks and carriers, to be held in Indianapolis on May 22. The last examination was in February, and the next regular examination would be in August. There is no lack of names upon the eligible list. Why should a special examination be asked for, and why did Mr. Lyman, then composing the commission, grant it? This is exactly the course pursued by Postmaster Jones and the civil service commission four years ago. Are we to have a repetition of results, also? This office did not need any special examination, and the fact that one is to be held is a strong indication that there is a set of republicans "demanding" places, and that something is to be done to favor them. This is not the enforcement of the civil service law nor are these

steps taken by those who want to put that law upon a solid basis. We do not know what the authorities intend, but we do know that persons who are to be examined are very confident that there is to be an underground republican way of getting in. The new local board does not inspire confidence. All concerned had better think twice before bringing about a state of affairs, where, after an examination at an irregular time, and upon practically no public notice, only democrats are dismissed and only republicans are appointed.

AMONG the appointments made by Postmaster Wallace the reinstatement of E. H. Moore as a distributing clerk is reported. Moore was discharged less than a year ago, and he could only get back into the service by the postmaster requesting the local civil service board to certify him again for appointment, and then appointing him. The *Indianapolis Sentinel* says that Moore was discharged by Jones "for running a gambling house for which he was arrested, taken to jail and subsequently fined. His resort was in the Talbott and New block, and at the time of the arrest a whole outfit of gambling apparatus was found in the place." This charge made some two weeks ago has not been denied. When Moore was discharged by Jones, the civil service reformers did not take up the case because they believed upon investigation that the dismissal was just. It would now be interesting to know first, how the local board came to certify this name for reappointment, when they can lawfully only certify those who have left the service without fault; and second, what is going to be done about it. No greater proof is wanting of the necessity of making local boards independent. Does anyone suppose that a board composed of John R. Wilson, Noble C. Butler and W. P. Fishback would have made the certificate?

NO SYSTEM of civil service reform that contemplates breaking up the use of public offices to pay personal and party debts can for a moment yield that presidential postmasters, heads of divisions, chiefs of bureaus and such officers are as a matter of course to be changed every four years. These places are to be for the rank and file, and are to be the reward of skill and efficiency, and are to be won by competition. The officers themselves are to be officers not of a town or city, but of a service making their duties a specialty, always with the understanding that there is no limit to the power of dismissal. Nothing short of this end will be civil service reform, and the object is not to be given up because there are flying around cant phrases about the good of the service and life-leases and keeping the offices near to the people, and an aristocracy of office-holders. To reasonable people we commend also the excellent plan for treatment of fourth-class postmasters to be found in the *Civil Service Record* for April.

BILLY PATTERSON.

The post-office department has selected Billy Patterson to be superintendent of mails at the Indianapolis post office. He has for a long time kept a livery stable in Court street with moderate success. He is a genial man who is fairly intelligent in the livery business. He has been helping to run elections in Marion County for many years and has several times been secretary of the republican county committee. His success in that field has been only indifferent and the republican majority has steadily dwindled under the management of himself and his fellow-workers. As superintendent of mails he is supposed to know at any given moment by what route the mail then made up can quickest reach its destination. This involves an exact and extended knowledge of railway time-tables and railway mail routes throughout a large portion of the United States. Further, he is supposed to periodically examine the distributors of the Indianapolis post-office upon their quickness and accuracy as distributors and upon the schemes of places and railways, with which they must be entirely familiar in order to perform their duties. He has other duties, but these two instances are fair examples. Where Billy Patterson is known it causes a smile to suggest that he is qualified for the place. He is not qualified and his appointment is a disgraceful use of public office and the public treasury to give a hardly successful "worker" some money. It is all the more disgraceful because there were at the least twenty men hereabouts qualified by a training of years in mail service, and wanting employment, who could have been appointed. This is a travesty upon the republican doctrine that fitness is the only discriminating test of appointment and every day that Patterson remains elevated before the people will give it additional and rasping emphasis.

THE CENSUS BUREAU AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

"The reform should be extended to *all grades* of the service to *which it is applicable*." So says the republican platform, and accompanies the declaration with the words, "we will not fail to keep our pledges."

"I am in entire accord with the declarations of the convention." "Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable." "It will be my sincere purpose if elected, to advance the reform." So says General Harrison in his letter of acceptance. The time is not far off when it will appear whether or not President Harrison intends to make good his own promise and the pledge of the party to extend this re-

form. There is no branch of the service in which skill can be better demonstrated by civil service rules than in the census bureau. There is no place which ought to be kept freer from even the suspicion of partisan influence. This is a kind of work to which civil service reform has already been successfully applied elsewhere. Experience has shown that it is practicable.

The census commissioner himself is reported by the *Indianapolis Journal* as saying: "I propose to be governed by the following considerations: 1st. Those who have had experience in the last census will have the preference, and 2d. Those who have passed the civil service examination. For others I propose to have an examination and make appointments based upon the results of such examination." The commissioner then recognizes the necessity for trained men, whose ability shall be demonstrated by examination and actual trial, a principle which forms the ground work of civil service reform.

But scarcely is this declaration made when we learn that: "There continues to be strife over the question of extending the civil service law to embrace the census bureau. The proposition is unpopular in all branches of the public service, except in the building where the civil service commissioners are located. Secretary Noble said to-day, that he did not know whether the census bureau would be included in the civil service or not; that he was naturally loath to see that amount of patronage thrown away. He had not referred the question to the President, and did not believe Superintendent Porter would do so. Secretary Noble said he intended to go right ahead and make appointments for the census bureau without any regard to the civil service law, unless he was requested to stop. He believed that the appointments now being made were based upon the very best principle—that of fitness—and that there was no necessity for the civil service law supervening. The civil service commission announced that it can supply all the positions of the census bureau from almost any one of the series, as there are thousands more eligibles than there are places."

Now this matter is of the utmost importance. According to the *Journal* there are 175 supervisors, 1,200 to 1,600 clerks and over 40,000 enumerators to be appointed. To make these places dependent in any degree upon patronage is to give direct encouragement to political debauchery. The appointments are not all to be made immediately, but the time to extend the rules is the present time, before the scramble begins and before the maximum of "pressure" is applied on behalf of the old system. There is no better place than this to test the character of this administration as a promise-keeper or a promise-breaker. Will the reform be extended to the census bureau?

PAYING THE WORKERS.

Who will do the party work with no spoil? A man who has worked many seasons for his party and has never been paid out of its loaves and fishes, who believes in the necessity of party organization and feels a pride in what his own party has accomplished in that line, would come out squarely for a reform that would manage the public business for the public, if he were not concerned for the future of party organization. He asks who will do the party work if there are no offices for the workers. This organization, reaching into every school district, must be had, and when once you fill the clerical places with men hired only for their fitness and retained for the same reason, they will concern themselves chiefly with doing well the work for which they are hired.

It is hard to say what people will do until they are given a chance to try. If it is permitted to look outside of our own country to England, it is seen that parties are sharply defined, campaigns stubbornly contested and as much party organization had as its greatest admirer could ask for and no dearth of party workers, and all this in a land without the spoil of offices for division. There are two remedies, should it prove upon trial that our people have become so dead to patriotism, so indifferent to great principles at issue as to refuse needed funds for legitimate campaign purposes, to decline to hear speeches or to attend meetings or to shape a plan of campaign unless they were paid. We may return to the present system; or we may adopt a recent suggestion, hire two men for every office; one congressman to study great questions and make wise laws his counterpart to organize out of public officials a body of men, who, as Senator Ingalls eloquently said, will ride for him, fight for him, and arise for him and receive their pay out of the public purse; one railway mail clerk to distribute letters and papers and to feel that his tenure depends upon the quality of his work and his moral character and his counterpart to run for his congressman, to get the caucus packed for him, and to do the other malodorous labor described by Blackstone; to have one postmaster who understands that both political parties are taxed to pay his wages, that both have letters to send and to receive, and that both have eyes to see and senses to be tickled by the most skillful and courteous service, his mate to be the editor of the town paper, the chairman of the county committee, and the postmaster and his work to further, not the best interests of the country, nor of his entire party, but the ends of his own lord. This plan may, at first thought, seem a useless waste of public funds, but in fact it would be less costly than the present system.

SUSPENDING JUDGMENT.

DURING the month the President has said that he ought not to be judged too soon; that dividing offices is not the sole business of a President, and that judgment should be suspended until his action on matters not pertaining to the civil service can be seen.

The President clearly has a wrong conception of the relative weight of his constitutional duties. He is a treaty maker but only to a small extent does this call for his attention. He conducts our business with other nations; but only rarely does this absorb him. His great constitutional duty is with federal offices and federal officers. It is his duty to carry out the laws, and to enable him to do this he is made superintendent of a body of civil employes numbering about 142,000. This is a number six times greater than that under any private employer in this country. To fill the vacancies that would naturally occur in an ordinary business course and to keep these employes up to their work is the one duty of the President compared with which all other duties are insignificant. The President is therefore mistaken in thinking that there is a field outside of the civil service in which he will do great things. If he lets politicians make him believe that his chief work is to trade employes instead of putting employes at work and keeping them at it, he ought not to expect judgment to be suspended. Further, the people care nothing for office-seekers. They sign their petitions to get rid of them, but they hardly give a passing thought to a disappointed office-seeker. It is only the office-seekers who are in earnest, and they are very much in earnest. Men are apt to be so when they think there is within reach a good living and little work. They are apt to get excited, and desperate, and unscrupulous, and threatening, and when disappointed, as most of them must be, they very likely will not vote the party ticket, or at least not work at the next election. Now, this office-seeking demonstration may have blinded the President so that he can not see how contemptuously the people regard the whole business.

HENRY G. PEARSON.

Postmaster Pearson died in April under circumstances that have caused wide and increasing, rather than decreasing, remark. It is admitted on every hand that his death was caused by long and incessant work and care which came to him in the line of his duty as postmaster of New York city. Gradually also, it has come to light that the act of his re-appointment by President Cleveland was the sum

total of virtue due the late administration in connection with this post-office. There is an old saying of Andrew Jackson's, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." This was the spirit of William F. Vilas and Don M. Dickinson as postmasters-general, toward the man whom public sentiment had forced the President to re-appoint. To them he had got the office and now he might run it. Through four years they looked on while the best postmaster in the country struggled with his means of work twenty per cent. short, and they answered his appeals for help with curt refusal or brutal cynicism. They hoped to see him break down and make room for one of their kind, but they were disappointed. He did the work as it had never been done before, although it brought upon him the enmity of a large section of his over-worked employes, and cost him his peace of mind and his life. Under no circumstances is Mr. Cleveland to be allowed to escape his responsibility in this matter. This post-office should have been his greatest pride and should have had from time to time his personal attention. He now seems to have thrown the commission as he would throw a bone to a dog, and then turned his attention to distributing 100,000 other places to men of a more congenial stripe.

It would seem that President Harrison in making appointments with that care, without which he has no right to make them, must have noted the excellence of this post-office, and that nowhere could he obtain for it a man by many times so skillful and competent as Mr. Pearson. Further, the magnificent working of this office had been brought about by the most rigid enforcement of those reform principles for which the platform and letter of acceptance upon which General Harrison was elected are noted. Now why did President Harrison refuse to reappoint Mr. Pearson, and second, why did he choose in his stead Van Cott, a man who has lived by politics and whose life has been a steady example of what is not civil service reform? General Harrison is a brave man, and he is also an honest man; these questions out of the mouths of men just as brave and honest, will be put to him until he will admit to himself that in this case fidelity and efficiency were not the sure tenure of office, nor was fitness and not party service the essential and discriminating test of appointment.

THE BRUTAL THOUGH FRANK AND BOLD SPOILS SYSTEM.

President Harrison, in 1886, alluded in the senate to the spoils system as "brutal," but if practiced he wanted to see it boldly and frankly done rather than tricked out

in reform disguise. For two months there has gone on at Washington so unblushing a boldness in exhibiting the spoils system in all its savage nakedness that it would make a patriot almost despair, if the signs were not at hand that the evil had got to the point of working its own cure.

There is a large class of easy going and optimistic people in this country who find it more convenient to believe, as long as they can, that all goes well with the republic, and that no cessation from pleasure-seeking, or money-seeking is necessary from them. They have been for years easily irritated at the growing conviction that the time was near when their Puritan consciences would rise up in all their might and compel a recognition of the fact that all was not well with the republic when 100,000 offices, costing \$80,000,000 of money, were used by the victorious party to perpetuate its power, and that in this lay a power menacing the free institutions of the country. The President and his party may wreck themselves, but not the reform of the civil service, should the instances of the lust for carnage pile up so thick and so fast that there is no respite from the horrid spectacle.

There are thousands who feel a personal humiliation in the fact that the Chief Magistrate of this country one day worships with all the solemn and grateful associations connected with an august anniversary, in the pew occupied a century ago by Washington, and on the next returns to his patient hearing of the unseemly demands of a band of office beggars. But the hopeful sign is that all over the country banked fires of patriotism have burst out and hundreds, where a few weeks ago there was one, feel that it is worth while for a time to abandon personal ease and go out and rid the land of a danger more menacing and insidious than any foreign foe. It is a notable sign that the religious press has so largely pointed out the cruel significance of the acts connected with Mr. Pearson's death and his fidelity to a high duty at great personal sacrifice. It is a yet more notable sign that in the same church in which Washington, before his inaugural, heard religious services, a bishop of to-day with noble and calm, but unmistakable language, reminds his audience how impossible it is to imagine that Washington could tolerate the sack of the country now in process. Nothing has more surely indicated, than have the wide spread commendations of this sermon, what a rock to stand upon has any President who will look to the people for approval and support in again obeying the constitution and doing the greatest public duty. When the churches and the religious press will, even in the most moderate way, chronicle the passing facts of the spoils system, its extinction is near at hand. A system that tramples ruthlessly on ever precept of humanity must fall.

THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

After President Cleveland had performed the only act the civil service law left to be performed, and had put the railway mail service under the law, President Harrison put off the date of taking effect six weeks. As we said last month we believe this act not warranted by law. It does not help the unlawfulness to say that Commissioner Lyman recommended it. The civil service commission was and had been crippled for many months. To make this commission efficient was the most pressing duty upon the President from the time of his inauguration; yet two months went by before this duty was performed. The commission was left composed of one man to get ready as best it could. Now the least to be expected was that the service would be let alone. Instead, here is Congressman Owen, just returned from Washington, having worked out 13 democratic railway mail clerks, and worked in a like number of his henchmen. This is a typical case; from all over the country comes the same story. Towards the end of the six weeks Assistant Postmaster-general Clarkson, a political buccaneer, and Superintendent Bell, apparently a mere tool of this political buccaneer, redoubled their efforts in turning out democrats and putting in republicans, and for sheer lack of time, they neither sent out the dismissals and appointments nor even kept tally. And although the law is pretended to be in force, these papers, made out by hundreds in the last hours before May 1, are now being put into effect. This is a trick worthy of the palmiest of the Gormans and the Vilases. The object of these changes is apparent in the following:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE GEN'L SUP'T R'y MAIL SERVICE,
WASHINGTON, April 13th, 1889.

Mr. J. T. Loving, Richmond, Va.:

SIR—Superintendent Vickery has referred to this office your letter of the 11th inst., asking the reasons for your retirement from the service, and in reply would state that *the action was taken in consequence of no fault on your part, or for reasons affecting in any way your character or standing as a citizen.*

The reasons for your retirement were of a political nature.

Very respectfully,
J. L. BELL,
General Superintendent.

Some of the men turned out were as good men as were in the mail service. The discriminating test in appointments is shown in such appointments as the negro politician Bagby, mentioned last month, and Billy Patterson and Paul Vandervoort spoken of in another column. There has been a six weeks' loot of the railway mail service. It was not believable that President Harrison would allow it. There is laid upon him a burden from which nothing but heroic treatment can relieve him. He should revoke every appointment made to this service since March 15, and should restore the service as it stood on that day and then should let the law and the rules, and the civil service commission do their work.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—May 3. The President appointed his brother, Carter B. Harrison, United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee. It is stated that there was no other candidate. *Query:* Would any office-seeker be a candidate against a President's brother?

—May 10. The President appointed his brother-in-law, John N. Scott, superintendent of construction of the Port Townsend (W. T.) custom house.

—May 15. The President appointed Alvin Saunders, father-in-law of the President's son, to be member of board of registration and election in Utah. Salary \$5,000.

—Congressman Owen's raid:

April 27—Representative Owen arrived from Logansport this morning and went directly to the post-office department to secure some fourth-class postmasterships. He has so far had thirty-six postmasters appointed in his district.

April 29—He camped in the corridors of the post office department, and put a watch upon the office of the general superintendent of the railway mail service. In his pockets he carried various papers intended to procure democratic scalps and put into position several republicans. He has remained steadily on duty, with the exception of the twenty-four hours covering Sunday.

May 3—Representative Owen left Washington to-night for his home at Logansport. He came here to secure a number of changes in the railway mail service in his district, and met with extraordinary success. He secured the removal of thirteen democrats and the appointment of as many republicans to fill their places. This is one more appointment in this service than has been secured by any one man in congress. The clerks about the office of the superintendent of the railway mail service are now referring to Mr. Owen as "the Hoosier hustler."—*Washington Despatches to the Indianapolis Journal.*

—One of the most difficult and delicate duties falling to the lot of congressmen in the

interior of the state is the selection of suitable candidates for post-offices in their districts. With half a dozen applicants for each place, every one of whom is supported by a personal friend of the congressman who imagines that the office rightly belongs to him, the ordeal of selection is one from which any man might shrink.—*Philadelphia Press, April 15.*

—The papers announced that Huginin was appointed postmaster at Newport, Minnesota. A citizen wrote to Senator Davis remonstrating. He replied that Representative Snider had control of the matter. Snider was seen and said that Davis had been interfering, that when he left Washington, it was understood that Durand would be appointed. Snider "then took the matter in hand," and Durand has been appointed. It seems that Huginin was a client of Senator Davis.

—"I feel to-night," said Senator Cullum "as though Asa Matthews would and should get the First Comptrollership of the Treasury."—*Chicago Tribune, April 25.*

—The first comptrollership is one of the most responsible positions in the department service. All warrants issued by the secretary of the treasury whether intended to cover public revenues into the treasury or to authorize payments of money from the treasury require the signature of the first comptroller. All accounts examined by the first and fifth auditor and by the commissioner of the general land office are re-examined, revised, and certified to by the first auditor, who also superintends the receiving of all debts due the United States. The requisitions issued in payment of drafts for salaries and expenses of ministers and consuls abroad must be certified to by him, as also the requisitions of marshals, collectors of internal revenue, secretaries of territories, and other disbursing officers for advances of public funds. His power is autocratic, so much so in fact that if he refuses to order the payment of any claim or honor the warrant of even the secretary of the treasury there is no higher power to whom an appeal can be made. The President of the United States cannot compel him to pay a claim, and the only means by which an obstinate first comptroller can be brought to time is by peremptory removal from office. That is what happened to Judge Durham, Mr. Matthews' predecessor, who was removed two weeks ago because he would not allow Johnny Davenport's claim of \$3,000 for extraordinary election expenses incurred during the last campaign.

Mr. Matthews owes his appointment chiefly to the energetic manner in which Senator Cullum pushed his candidacy, though he was also indorsed by Senator Farwell and almost the entire Illinois delegation.—*Chicago Times Special, May 10th.*

—Commissioner of Internal Revenue Mason will very shortly have twenty special agents of internal revenue to appoint. These offices are very much sought by congressmen for active working friends. It appears, however, that of the twenty there are only nine to be distributed among the forty senators and 166 republican representatives. Mr. Mason states that there are four republican hold-overs, who will be reappointed; four who were dismissed by Mr. Miller, but who will be reinstated, and that others have already been promised to high official personages, so that there remain only nine for the rest of the world. There is an equally active scramble for the twenty-eight positions of special agents of the treasury, which are to be divided among the forty-two states. It is understood that the New York delegation has demanded, and been promised, at least six, if not eight, of the special treasury agents.—*Indianapolis Journal Washington Special, April 25.*

—The fight between the Maine senators and Tom Reed is not waging very briskly, because it is generally agreed that no changes will be made in the important offices at Portland until the terms of the incumbents expire. The war has been declared, however, and no one pretends to conceal it. Mr. Reed insists that he has a right to name the federal officers in his district. The senators maintain that the collectorship of customs, the surveyorship and the collectorship of internal revenue belong to the state at large and should be filled on their recommendation. The senators have already scored two victories—one in the appointment of W. H. Bigelow as division superintendent of the railway mail service, the other in the appointment of E. E. Pond as general appraiser. Mr. Reed had rival candidates in both cases, and in both, to use the language of the heelers, he was "turned down." For the collectorship of customs he is supporting by far the better man, Weston F. Milliken; but the candidate of the senators, Fred N. Dow, is the practical politician, and will probably win. How this local quarrel will effect Mr. Reed's chances for the speakership remains to be developed. —*Springfield Republican*, April 25.

—"During the last few days the pressure for appointments in the railway mail service has been unparalleled. The clerkships have been allotted by congressional districts, being assigned according to the number of miles of mail route in each district. This rule was enforced under the Cleveland administration, and has been deviated from thus far under Harrison in only a few instances. One result of this arrangement has been that some congressmen, to whom, perhaps, eight or ten places were assigned, have been besieged by from 50 to 100 applicants, and this pressure has, in turn, been transferred to the division superintendents."—*Evening Post Washington Dispatch*, April 29.

—Clarkson has removed fourth-class postmasters at the rate of from 150 to 200 each day.

I DESIRE TO MEET PARTY ABLE TO SECURE Federal appointment for competent person; with such a liberal arrangement will be made; communications strictly confidential. Address "J. S.," Post-office Box 2938, New York.—*New York Tribune Advertisement*.

—"Senator Quay, when he went home to Beaver after his tiff with Senator Sherman over the internal revenue solicitorship, left a number of matters unsettled in Washington. He left still hanging in the air all the principal federal offices in Philadelphia, except the post-office. His conference with Postmaster-general Wanamaker on Tuesday resulted in a thorough understanding between them as to the appointment of John Field. It is not likely, however, that the new postmaster will be appointed for some time. That was as far as the conference between Senator Quay and the postmaster-general went. Mr. Wanamaker is not undertaking to name the collector of the port, the collector of internal revenue, the pension agent, or the naval officer."—*Washington Dispatch to the Philadelphia Press* [Rep.]

—Says the *American* [rep.], "Since 1881 the hand at Harrisburg has been that of Mr. Quay. It is his 'orders' which direct the course of the legislature. He organizes it, senate and house. He dictates the choice of its presiding officers, and supervises the 'slate' by which the minor officers are selected. He revises the lists of the committees, in order that their action on legislation shall be subservient and not independent. To prevent the possibility that their own conscience and judgment might sway the members, and measures might be adopted contrary to his plans and interests, the whole system of legislative

procedure is 'set up' from the beginning, and the whole machinery of the party is employed to make this secure and effective,—machinery to which Mr. Harrison added a driving-wheel for the present session when he constructed his cabinet as Mr. Quay demanded."

—VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 1, 1889.
Mr. Herbert Welsh, Cor. Sec'y, etc., 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

DEAR SIR—In reply to yours of 25th ult., asking an expression of opinion relative to the retention in office of Indian Commissioner Oberly, I would say that, if my wishes could prevail, Mr. Oberly would be removed on the 4th of March, and his place supplied by a competent and conscientious republican.

Very respectfully yours,

J. J. INGALLS.

—"There are thousands of men in my state whom I have never seen, yet who make my cause their own, who defend my acts and my words, who would fight for me, who would sacrifice rest and spend money for me, who would get up at midnight and ride a horse forty miles to set at work influences in my behalf. Well, I am a very immoral politician—I WANT TO GIVE THESE MEN some of the things we have won."—*Letter of Senator Ingalls to the Independent*.

—It is related of Senator Ingalls that he called on the President and asked for a certain appointment. The President replied: "The man whom Mr. Cleveland found in that office was permitted to serve out his time. I do not see that I can do less than Mr. Cleveland did." The Kansas senator replied: "Well, Mr. President, you know where Mr. Cleveland is now." The President made no reply.—*Chicago Times*, May 13.

—If Postmaster Carpenter's removal had been accompanied with a fair, frank, and explicit avowal that it was made because he was a democrat, and that the place was wanted for a republican, the operation would have commanded a certain respect. This would have been the case, also, if the public had been plainly told that the removal was made for the purpose of giving an office to the gentleman who has recently been appointed postmaster. * * * We heard a good deal about civil service reform in the last presidential campaign. Over and over again the republican party pledged itself to the strict observance of its principles. Can that party afford to allow this removal, made in this way, to go on record as a redemption of its pledge?—*New Bedford Mercury* [Rep.] Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office.—[*Letter of Acceptance*.]

—Postmaster Sexton, of Chicago, says:

"Senator Farwell, the republican congressman from this district, and myself will meet at Senator Farwell's office to-morrow, and then we will decide upon the changes to be made in the post-office. They will be few in number, however. Who will lose their heads I haven't yet determined. I haven't any settled policy to pursue, and if an employee's work is satisfactory, no matter if he be a democrat, it will go a great way in his favor."

"Are you or Senator Farwell making appointments?"

"Well," slowly, "I, the postmaster, will make all selections, but, of course, I want Senator Farwell to be satisfied with the men I appoint. I want that they should satisfy the republican congressmen, also."

Col. Sexton has had trouble with the men employed in his foundry because he would not permit labor leaders to interfere with his relations with his employes. In the public service his aim is to "satisfy" Senator Farwell and the republican congressmen.

Later: The appointments were determined at a conference of Congressmen Taylor, Mason, Adams and Farwell, Postmaster Sexton being also present. It is charged that Congressman Adams got the lion's share.

—Congressman Payson, of Illinois, says: "As to the fourth-class post-offices I am getting all that I ask for, and I have asked for a good many. There is some deliberation shown in making these appointments, but they are ultimately made, and without a great deal of delay."

—With regard to the Boston collectorship, the Massachusetts senators support Beard, an "old school" politician, while the representatives support Burden, "who did very efficient service in securing the Massachusetts delegation at the Chicago convention for Harrison." The grave question has arisen whether this is a senatorial office, and the President is reported as saying that there are two sides to the question.

—Why he [Postmaster Van Cott] has been selected by the Platt politicians and forced upon the administration, unless it is because he will be an easy man to manage, is not known to the public.—*Philadelphia American* [Rep.]

—Congressman Frank telegraphed as follows regarding Collector Barnum and Appraiser Harrigan:

"WASHINGTON, April 18, 1889.

"Hon. F. G. Niedringhaus, St Louis:

"Call on Harrigan and Barnum and ask for their resignations, to take effect on May 1. The President wants it. If they don't resign they will be removed on Saturday. Bring their resignations with you.

NATHAN FRANK."

—The administration has been moving much more rapidly in Missouri than in Illinois in regard to the federal offices, and one man, not a congressman, has had more success than all the congressmen from that state. That man is the famous "Dick" Kerens, who is a partner of "Steve" Elkins in so many enterprises. Kerens secured a contribution of \$25,000 for the national campaign fund, although he did not contribute liberally to the state fund—a fact which the congressmen have used against him here, but not with much success. Kerens is understood to have influence both with the President and with Secretary Blaine. At all events, he spent some time here, and secured the appointment of a United States marshal and of a sub-treasurer in St. Louis, and he supposed he had secured the appointment of Isaac Sturgeon as collector of internal revenue. In fact, it is reported that the order had been given to make out the commission of Sturgeon when Secretary Windom directed that the commission be withheld. The reason assigned is that one of the republican congressmen from Missouri arrived here and suggested that the congressmen were entitled to some consideration, and that the whole patronage of the administration ought not to be placed under the control of one man. So confident was Kerens that he was to have his own way about the collectorship that he had taken the train for home, supposing that the case was concluded. This is the story which the Missouri men tell as to the offices in that state.—*Evening Post*, April 16.

—Congressman Niedringhaus, of St. Louis, writes as follows: "Owing to the increased controversy arising from the present system of indorsements for federal appointments in Democratic districts, the republican representatives of Missouri, on the advice of the department at Washington, have concluded that the whole matter in said districts must be referred

solely to the respective republican candidates for congress, whose decision will be considered final as far as any indorsements are concerned."

In the exercise of the foregoing power Defeated Candidate A. C. Eubanks, of the second Missouri district, writes as follows:

MILAN, MO., March 26, 1889.—DEAR SIR:—"I herewith hand you a full and complete indorsement for P. M., which I think will make all right for the P. O. I address you at Moberly, as you requested. In thinking about the matter we were talking about last night, an office like your P. O. ought to afford me \$25—say \$15 now and \$10 more when you get your commission. This would help repay me for expense and time, etc. If there is anything further I can do for you, let me know and I will serve you. It may become necessary to oust the present P. M. If so, I will aid you if necessary.

"Very respectfully, A. C. EUBANKS."

And Defeated Candidate Love, of the third district, talks thus to a republican campaign committee:

"I desire to give you gentlemen notice that the time-honored custom of the party, and I never heard of any other precedent or practice, has been that the republican candidate who is elected or defeated, controls the patronage of the district. It will, therefore, be my pleasure as well as duty, as established by precedent, to receive all applications for local offices in the district and to present them to the President or the proper department at Washington. Of course it will be understood that there will be some expense attached to this proceeding, and applicants will be expected to contribute to this expense."

"As to the establishing of an office brokerage against which slurring insinuations are made (!!!) it is unreasonable to suppose that a person can personally superintend the presentation of applications for office without expense, and I have recently heard from a reliable gentleman that the state committee proposed to open up just such an office in Washington. I give you all notice now [this in presence of a part of the committee and about fifteen or twenty applicants for office] that anyone who comes to me for an indorsement to be presented to the state committee or through any other channel you will please excuse me. I shall indorse no such applicant."

--There was a general shaking up of the Darke county, Ohio, postmasters to-day. The Hon. John Devore, of Greenville, one of the most influential and energetic republicans in the western part of the state, who was a Harrison and Morton elector for the fourth district, was at the post-office department this morning, and secured a number of democratic scalps, and commissions for republican friends. [Here follow eighteen names of fourth-class postmasters.]—Special dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, May 2d.

THE New York Civil Service Reform Association has held its annual election of officers. An address on the present tendencies of the new administration toward civil service reform from the President, George William Curtis, and a memorial of Mr. Pearson by Dorman B. Eaton, were read. The proceedings will be printed and the CHRONICLE will undertake to furnish copies to those who may send their address. The Cambridge and Philadelphia association have recently met to pass resolutions condemning the failure to reappoint Mr. Pearson. The Milwaukee association has held its annual election of officers, and every civil service reformer can

do no better than to urge as did Mr. J. E. Follett, in his address:

"That intelligent democrats who desire to enter the public service will not fail of preparing themselves for, and attending the examinations simply for the reason that during the next four years the examinations will be held under what may appear to be republican surroundings."

--If on the accession of any new President enough pressure be made he can "with bare-fac'd power sweep" every such officer from his place. And there is always danger that an overwhelming pressure will be brought to bear on him. The 409 senators, representatives, and delegates in congress have pre-audience with the President. He can not see and talk with everybody. But these hundreds of congressmen he must admit and hear; and if they, day after day, from month to month, incessantly argue, plead for, and demand indiscriminate change, then a break is liable finally to be made. Now, what the civil service requires, and what the best sentiment of the country wants, is that a barrier be interposed to protect the President from this pressure, and which at the same time will tend to establish the civil service on a non-partisan basis.—Administrative Reform by General C. C. Andrews.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The will of the people as expressed in their laws is brazenly ignored by those whose sworn duty it is to enforce that will, and the derelict officers are quietly re-elected to repeat their offense. The offices that belong to the people are used as private property to debauch the public conscience and to defeat the popular will. At the threshold of the second century of our national life we are thus confronted with more intricate political, financial, and social problems than ever before, and the demand upon the intelligence of our citizens is correspondingly greater and more imperative. We must educate our masters or we must let them run the ship of state upon the rocks and learn wisdom from disaster. "But," it may be said, "that is just what we are doing." It is readily admitted that just so far as the work in our schools is productive of real power to think clearly, and of right habits of investigation, just so far it equips the future citizen with the power to decide intelligently the important questions that as a citizen he must aid in deciding; but just so far as that work encourages a stupid reliance upon authority and a readiness to be satisfied with less than a clear understanding of whatever subject the mind addresses itself to, just so far the school is aiding to prepare victims for the demagogue and tools for the unscrupulous politician. And it is an open question to-day which class of citizens is most largely recruited from the scholars that pass in and out at the doors of our schools.

There is not a subject taught in our common schools, except history and civil government, that has the slightest direct bearing upon the civil duties of a citizen; not one other that has a tendency to direct the student's attention towards those duties, to acquaint him with their nature or impress him with their gravity. * * *

Civil service reform has been ably discussed by thoughtful men for twenty years and, though the cause has made great progress, it has not yet progressed so far but that our newly-elected President is compelled to say that he has been constrained to defer the consideration of momentous public business to the importunate demands of place-hunters.

It certainly falls within the province of the schools to explain, in the proper place, what the civil service is, the motive of the duties to be performed by the subordinate employees of the government, to read from the reports of committees, and from the speeches of reverend senators, descriptions of the abuses to be corrected, and methods by which correction may be applied, and to explain the present civil service law. Who can doubt that if every school in the country had done its whole duty in this particular for the last fifteen years the progress of civil service reform would have been materially advanced.

[From the address of C. T. Lane, Principal of the Fort Wayne High School, before the Northern Indiana Association of Teachers and Superintendents.]

It seems to me, then, that it is profitable for all citizens and especially teachers to consider some of the elements which form a good citizen. The teachers of the common schools in particular have a very great responsibility at this point, for they are preparing pupils to become citizens, *i. e.*, rulers, in other words they are doing what Plato would have done for his ruling class.

Matthew Arnold justly criticizes us for our unceasing boastfulness and our disposition to rely upon some overruling Providence to care for and develop this part of the Anglo-Saxon race, as if this race were the chosen of God, and therefore we need do nothing—we need not work out our own salvation. Is it not time to discard the belief that "God cares for children, fools and the United States," and try to develop by our own power a high degree of civilization and citizenship?

The first element requisite for good citizenship seems to me to be a knowledge of the spirit of our institutions, and of our constitution. The average voter knows, perhaps, that the colonies broke away from kingly rule and established a free government; his knowledge goes no farther; he thinks that a government has been established in which he can hold an office if his party be victorious. You may think this a low view, but is it not true? Does not every-day observation attest its truth? Do not the hordes now marching "On to Washington" prove it? That most candid and friendly critic, Dr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," one of the few books on the United States destined to live, remarks what most of our own disinterested thinkers, as well as foreigners, have noticed, namely, that hunger for offices is the dominant political idea. Bryce himself, in long observation, never succeeded in obtaining from any one prominent in politics a distinct answer defining the differences between our political parties. By an interest in, and knowledge of, the spirit of our institutions, then, I do not mean an intense desire for

party success. Is not there something above that? Did the revolutionary fathers make their sacrifices that their descendants might hold a paltry clerkship? If they did, I for one can no longer revere their memory and visit their shrines.

* * * * *

I maintain also that this education should include the ability to think on common political affairs and ordinary questions of morality and the public welfare. To think is quite an uncommon habit. It is a necessary element in the education of a good citizen. A good citizen does not wish to be backed by a party caucus. His education, his self-respect, his morality should be above that. If he be taught to think for himself the party caucus and politician and party organ can't make him their submissive dupe. It is far better to be the subject of a monarch than the slave of the modern American caucus and politician.

* * * * *

At present the civil service of the country is prostituted to the dictates of the notorious doctrine: "To the victors belong the spoils." That public office is a public trust, and not a party benefit, is spurned by our politicians.

Office is looked upon as a reward for party service, and to be worked for all there is in it, regardless of the people's interest. It is the absolute duty of a good citizen to throttle this doctrine and choke the life out of it.

[From the address of Professor Demarehus C. Brown, of Butler University, to the Southern Indiana Association of Teachers and Superintendents.]

THE SIEGE.

—All applicants will be treated with consideration.—*President Harrison's Inaugural Address.*

—Brooklyn has a spoils committee which has endeavored to decide who shall be quartered, upon pretense of employment, at the navy yard. At one conference Mike Dady, one of the chiefest of the Brooklyn aristocracy of officeholders, "figured up that there are fifty-four important places in the navy yard to be had, and suggested that each of the twenty-six wards have two, and that the other two go to the county towns. In cases where a ward is divided between two factions he would have each recognized."

—Says Senator Quay of the office-seekers: "The half concerning them has never been told. Why, they actually commenced coming to my house before breakfast, and kept it up in a steady stream until midnight. Indeed, I believe that many of them are insane on the question of getting an office, and do not realize what they are doing. On account of being chairman of the national committee I was bothered more in this way than any of the other senators. I had people come to me whom I had never seen or heard of before, and never expect to see again. The large number of them are not representative members of the party, but rather the scum. There were more office-seekers this time than ever before."

—An army of Ohio republicans are awaiting command from Governor Foraker, who is expected to arrive here to-night, to move upon the White House. At their head is ex-Mayor Amor Smith, of Cincinnati, who wants to be collector of customs. There are here at his

back Representatives Butterworth, Caldwell, Morey and others. A big fight is waging over this position, as well as over the position of collector of internal revenue for the southern district. Morey is pushing J. W. Clements, of Hamilton, while the other faction of congressmen want Col. E. D. McClung.—*Special Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, May 2.*

—Last month we published the order of the Missouri office barons, naming Chauncey I. Filley for the office of "Consul at Liverpool or something equally as good." The Hong-Kong consulship was tendered, but Filley will have none of it. It is the St. Louis post-office or nothing. He says:

"There is no pecuniary consideration that would make Hong-Kong, at my time of life and circumstances, a home even temporarily to my wife and myself. And if pleasant and agreeable recognition is what is intended, or is deserved, something at home or not a month's journey therefrom would better fit the fitness of things. I make no complaint that every appointment so far made is of an Old Silk, and all that are now for the city federal positions agreed upon are of the same stripe, including the bulk of those agreed upon for the consular positions. It is neither politic nor good politics for the past or for the future. * * *

"When Col. Richard C. Keren's candidate for the post-office—the *Arkansas Traveler*—Frederick W. Schnarte, Sharty for short, is appointed and receives his commission for postmaster at St. Louis may I be here to see. There will be harmony, big H, then. It was so easy for those who did the work throughout the state to have been mixed up with those already recognized who did so little, to show the purpose of general recognition instead of the complete one-sided affair, and to aid instead of depress republican interests."

Filley has heretofore been known to history as the following shows: Says Senator Vest, of the Arthur administration: "It came within our personal knowledge that the patronage of the state of Missouri as to railway postal clerks was divided—one-half of it, the eastern half, going to Chauncey I. Filley, and the western half to Col. R. T. Van Horn. There was a factional fight in the republican party within the state, and in order to bring about that placid and ecstatic condition of political feeling that was necessary to the success of the party, there was a line drawn through the middle of the state from the Iowa to the Arkansas line, and one-half of the patronage was given to Mr. Filley and one-half was given to Col. Van Horn, and that instruction from the postmaster-general to the appointing clerk of the post-office department was put in writing. The result was that men were put in office utterly incompetent, and there were thirty-four of them in office when Cleveland's administration came into existence."

—Says General Boynton in the *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*: "In the first place, the pressure has been something terrific. Since the days of Andrew Johnson there has been nothing to equal it. In the second place, in far too many instances the congressmen and state delegates have not dealt courageously or honestly with the President. The same has been true of party leaders of whom he had a right to expect better things. Representatives of this class have recommended and, in numerous cases, urged men of most unsavory record upon him."

—The guards and messengers at the White House were doubled to-day to keep the President from being overrun and crushed by the office-seekers. The crowd was enormous and entirely filled the reception and secretary's rooms. An old White House attache informed your correspondent this evening that nothing

like it was ever seen before. It was impossible to keep the greedy throng out, and many of them were rude and persistent in their effort to interview the President.—*Washington Special.*

—The President broke off negotiations with office-seekers in time to pick up his hat and catch the train for New York where he attended the one hundredth anniversary of the government under the constitution. He returned at the earliest moment, his train making an exceptionally quick run. The negotiations were at once taken up where they were broken off and "appeals of office-seekers" had a continuous hearing of three hours and a half.

—May 1, the new chief clerk Bocket dismissed five watchmen of the treasury and put in five republicans.

—WASHINGTON, May 1.—There was no cessation in the activity around Assistant Postmaster-general Clarkson's room. He continued to receive delegations, examine applications, and write the cheerful word "appoint" or shake his head in refusal. There was a great deal more writing than head shaking, however.—*Indianapolis Journal Washington Dispatch.*

—For 210 consulships more than 4,000 applications have been filed at the state department.

—The President appointed W. H. Whiteman to the supreme bench of New Mexico. The Swiss consul charged Whiteman with the conversion of \$1,500, the money of Swiss heirs. Whiteman said the money was deposited for the heirs in bank at Albuquerque. This was found to be untrue and the senate did not confirm the nomination. Whiteman then said that he had the money in his safe. The government arranged for the safe to be opened in the presence of witnesses and if \$1,500 was found in it, Whiteman was to be appointed. He has since been appointed.—*St. Louis Republic.*

—WASHINGTON, April 26.—The name of ex-Postmaster-general Creswell of Maryland has been formally presented to the President for consideration in connection with the vacancy on the United States supreme bench. The office is treated by Mr. Creswell's friends as one to be sought after, and a regular campaign is to be conducted for it. He is supported by representatives of both parties in his circuit.—*Special Dispatch to the Evening Post.*

"There is nothing I should like better than to do something for you Sam, but I am afraid you greatly overestimate my influence. Your old friend Reed has placed his pension in my hands, and I am working away at it to get it soon. Perhaps there is no one in the country who has done so much for General Harrison during the last twenty years as I have, but because our democratic friends down in Indianapolis have started the hue and cry on me, Brother Ben. does not seem to feel that he can afford to recognize me as an acquaintance, and consequently I don't take dinner at the White House as might be expected. I have not been inside the White House since Cleveland's inauguration, a little over four years ago, but I will see if something can be done a little later on and tell you what to do. If you should not hear from me again, Sam, for the next two months don't be alarmed, for there will be just as good chances two months hence—and a little better—as there are now."

"Give my kind regards to all the boys at Anderson, and remember me always as your friend. W. W. DUDLEY."

—*Letter to S. D. Van Pelt, April 15, 1889.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"If ever this free people, if this government itself is ever utterly demoralized, it will come from this wriggle and struggle for office."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

VOL. I, No. 4.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Practical men with their eyes open are aware that patronage is a disintegrating force, and the distribution of the offices almost always makes trouble within the party." *New York Tribune.*

"My opinion is, however, that the party in power is weakened by patronage. The wrath of the disappointed more than offsets the work of the men who are favored with place. Seriously, I think the patronage question is the rock that is most likely to wreck the administration of to-day."—*Senator Washburn.*

"It would be an astonishing spectacle, and one everybody would condemn, if at every change of directors in a great railroad or manufacturing corporation all the station agents, engineers, line-men and operators should be dismissed in order to make places for successors whose political or other opinions were supposed to be like those of the new board of directors. The business of the government is of common interest to every one of its citizens, and to be successful must be conducted upon the same principles and by the same general methods that are found to be wise and adequate in private affairs; and in these the man would be thought demented who should maintain that the views of the station agents or engineers or factory workmen on the subject of protection or woman suffrage, or any other of the questions of public consideration, make them any more or less fitted for or entitled to employment."—*Senator Edmunds, The Forum for June, 1889.*

"In my opinion there must be a change wrought in the prevailing custom of senators and representatives pressing the chief executive of this country for offices. It is all wrong and contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution. The men who framed that instrument never expected or intended that congressmen should try to bring pressure to bear upon the President for the purpose of inducing him to make appointments in their favor."—*Senator Sherman in April, 1889.*

THIS paper is published about the 20th of each month.

THE Indiana civil service reform association has gained twenty-five new members since our last issue.

THROUGH the generosity of a friend the Indiana civil service reform association can furnish upon application the recent address of Charles J. Bonaparte, president of the civil service reform association of Maryland, alluded to elsewhere.

COMMENT at length will be found elsewhere, but in brief the civil service commission found at Indianapolis that Postmaster Wallace had violated the law in three appointments. It published the present eligible list, and directed that all future lists be posted up. It also directed that when the local board certifies three names to the postmaster, from which to fill a vacancy, these names shall at the same time be made public. The people then can watch the postmaster's action, and the community will require a good reason if the top man is not taken. The commission also added Wm. P. Fishback, Esq., to the local board, and admonished Postmaster Wallace and his officers roundly. With publicity and with Mr. Fishback on the local board, whose fairness and impartiality will never be questioned, the merit system has been put in fighting trim such as it never had before. The commission also flatly refused the special examination asked for, and, as was said last month, granted but afterwards revoked. They justly held that those now on the eligible list were entitled to a chance for a trial, and should not be deprived of it by a special examination. They also announced with unmistakable emphasis that this law and its advantages were for all citizens alike, and they wanted it to be distinctly understood that they desired democrats to come forward for examination. They guarantee to them absolutely fair treatment. It is to be hoped, therefore, that every democrat in Indiana who desires employment in this post-office will appear and compete at the August examination.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL MILLER has been in Indianapolis, and while here he said:

"In all the appointments made or to be made under this administration the two requisites are that the prize-winner shall be, first, a good man; second, a good republican."

Thus the administration flounders along to inevitable destruction in its wholly unconstitutional efforts to turn over to its partisans the tens of thousands of places which have no reason for existence except to bring about the transaction of the people's business upon the same principles as other business is transacted, and without regard to party.

SENATORS Farwell and Cullom in concert (*coming out of the White House*):

"When I came hither, I was lord high constable,
And duke of Buckingham; now, poor Edward
Bohun."

ARE we to have a repetition of the course pursued with Higgins, Thomas, Dowling and others under the last administration? The triturating power of such cases upon the strength of an administration would seem to have been demonstrated for all time. Yet it appears that the present administration is not satisfied, for it still retains Paul Vandervoort, formerly dismissed for having been absent from his duties two-thirds of a year, and Bagby, a negro, reinstated in the railway mail service by telegraph with a court record for bastardy in 1886, and other insufferably objectionable appointees. The cause of civil service reform is not hurt by these things but rather strengthened, because outraged public decency turns to it for relief, but the President and his party will learn when too late that refusal to correct a mistake has great grinding force.

WHEN evidence was so easily accessible to show that Moore was a gambler and a keeper of a gambling place and had been discharged for that reason, the people have a right to inquire sharply why Postmaster Wallace and his assistant, Thompson, at this late day appeared before the commission as his defenders. The former said that when reinstating Moore he had relied upon information derived from ex-Postmaster Wildman, an uncle of Moore by marriage, and D. W. Elliott, clerk in the post-office and cousin of Moore by marriage. Whether it was these influences or some other powerful force that inspired this defense, the act is deserving of unqualified public censure. It is not an excuse to say that Postmaster Wallace was misled. He has no right to be misled. As to Thompson, the sooner his connection with this office is severed, the better it will be.

THE father of Isabella De la Hunt was postmaster at Cannelton, and she was his deputy, and afterwards, on recommendation of Senator Harrison, she was appointed postmaster by President Arthur. She was the widow of a democrat who died of wounds received in the service. President

Cleveland removed her, under his infamous system of secret charges, for offensive partisanship, and gave the place to a democratic politician and editor. For this Senator Harrison justly held him up to public indignation in the following words:

"If there was in all this country one person, who by reason of her sex, who by reason of her widowhood, who by reason of the sacrifice she made in giving the arm on which she leaned to her country's service, was entitled to be kept in office, was entitled to have her reputation guarded jealously and by all men who represented the government, it was Mrs. Isabella De la Hunt."

Mrs. De la Hunt applied direct to President Harrison for reappointment, but Congressman Posey had other plans, and gave the place to a henchman. Naturally there has been wide comment and a questioning of the sincerity of Senator Harrison. Clarkson comes to his aid by stating that the President, supposing this fourth-class office to be a presidential office, was expecting to name Mrs. De la Hunt, but in the meantime he, by order of Posey, *filled* it. It would have been better to leave this transaction without explanation, to carry "its own pathos and its own indignation." We now have attached to it Clarkson, not only as a very offensive wholesale violator of party promises, but as a very contemptible liar. All friends of President Harrison must feel deeply the humiliating position into which he has been placed, but what else can he expect when he thus allots public offices to his under-lords and they grow fat on spoil? Both Clarkson and Posey undoubtedly knew his personal connection with this office, but no risk of humiliating him carried even this small place past the snap of their greedy jaws.

Up bobs an objector to competitive tests because they exclude all but young men just out of college. Then comes an examination at Bloomington, Ill., with 183 competitors composed mostly of middle-aged men. That objection disposed of, another is found that most of the competitors in a recent examination were school teachers, and while school teachers pass a high examination, in practice they make poor clerks, being conceited and unapt. Then the examination for postal and departmental service comes and goes, and we next hear that the school teachers went out of the test in considerable excitement and anxiety. So the objections are raised and dropped. Now as to the school teachers, they belong, it is true, to an unpopular profession, considered from a political standpoint, but nevertheless, being citizens of a country democratic in form, they have a right to a chance to compete. If successful in that test, they have a right to a chance for six months' probation. If in that practical test in which their errors are

checked, their quickness and endurance are noted, they fall behind, they should be dropped. They themselves would fully approve of the right of the fittest to survive. If they are retained in the service, when better men might be found, the fault lies not upon competitive tests but upon the negligent or dishonest officials over them.

PUTTING THE LAW IN THE HANDS OF ITS FRIENDS.

It must be said that the appearance of Postmaster Wallace and of his leading officers before the civil service commission at Indianapolis was not reassuring. We believe it is the fact that he was appointed at the request of his brother, General Lew Wallace, on the ground that the latter "did not want anything for himself," but asked that his brother be made postmaster at Indianapolis, and that this appointment was made not for any fitness for the position, but because of the services which General Wallace had rendered General Harrison at the Chicago convention and elsewhere. Postmaster Wallace's honest statement to the commission, that when he began he knew nothing of the post-office business and that he knew but little now, is a blistering comment upon this method of dealing out public offices. He is esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and he is a man who wishes to do right, and whose feelings no one can hurt without pain. But, having accepted this public position, he must be held to its responsibilities. No one who sat through the investigation can say that Mr. Wallace has had much to do with the management of his office. He has probably been deceived by his subordinates. That, however, does not excuse him. His comparative weakness in the presence of his principal subordinates was clear. There is another fact also which is now plain—neither Mr. Wallace nor these subordinates have any interest in the advancement of civil service reform or in the success of the civil service law. Their declaration that they would enforce the law in letter and spirit are the declarations of men who mean to fulfill no more than the strictest construction of the bond calls for. Mr. Wallace is sixty-three years old. He will never care for nor learn the principles under which the use of public place as spoil must be broken down. He is a strong partisan. The folly of appointing a partisan of his age, ignorant of the post-office business, and expecting him to embrace the principles of the reform law, and administer that law with the impartiality of a judge, is now apparent.

Putting Wheat and Tousey into the office was clearly an attempt to keep vacancies open until an examination could be held. The desperate effort of Assistant Postmaster

Thompson to secure a special examination has no rational explanation except that there are a crowd of favorites to be gotten upon the eligible list to be ready for proposed or unavoidable vacancies, and for the six new carrierships to be filled July 1. If these conclusions are not true, why does not this office exhaust its present eligible list? Postmaster Wallace and his assistant, and all the members of the local board except Mr. Lane, who was not present, declared to the commission that they did not know a single one of those on that list. Then how do they know that they would not make excellent clerks and carriers? A man with fair intentions to the law would give every one of these strangers who had by competition got his name on the eligible list, a chance for a trial before clamoring for a special examination. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has been slow to find fault with this office, but this is not the management that General Harrison promised.

MR. BONAPARTE'S STANDARD.

Mr. Bonaparte's simple and admirable statement of what a President, as an honest man, is bound to do, and of the standards by which he is to be judged, indirectly shows why many civil service reform associations that formerly did useful work, to-day seem unable to add to their numbers or to sustain the courage and vigor of their old members. On every side the feeling has never before been so emphatic that the spoils system, as cruel and feudal, must give way, but it is true, with some important exceptions, that this feeling is more aggressive outside the old associations. This is because strength has been diverted and the main issue lost in defending and explaining a chief magistrate and a party, instead of applying to a president, as does Mr. Bonaparte, the straightforward judgment that would be applied to any other man in the ordinary walks of life. What interest have we in comparing the relative capacity of the guillotine in two different administrations? Is not the only question that concerns us whether, at the end of an administration, it has done its perfect work and created a great army of office-holders, paid by the entire people, to be used by the party in power to perpetuate its own power? What matter is it to us if men and newspapers are judging a President by a standard they refused to apply to his predecessor, if they are now chronicling facts they before suppressed or strove to explain away? What do we care whether one man has advanced this reform more than his predecessors, or whether his successor is doing no worse than he did? What right have we to excuse or palliate on the ground that a president has done as

well as we have a right to expect, and tacitly grant that it is proper to bound his efforts to do what he ought by his personal ambition or by party interest? Is it not time for us to return to the simpler and purer code that a president is bound by the same moral laws that govern other men in business and social relations? Is it not time to admit that many of the so-called difficulties of his situation would at once disappear if he followed the plain path of rectitude and abided the consequences, good or ill, as the rest of us are bound to do?

We take it for granted that the man who wants to pose as a moral citizen, while he can not resist the emoluments arising from his connection with receivers of stolen goods, has entanglements that tax his brain and nerves, and that his course is apt to be inconsistent and suspicious. Why should it be otherwise in political life? Is it worth our while to quibble over what was the intended purport of promises and pledges when it is plain what a man might do and ought to do? This sort of action delights all our enemies, for it keeps this question within party, or at least personal, lines, it admits a standard gauged by political expediency, and it continues as an "issue" the question of whether the vindication of an opinion of a president is more important than the reform itself. Must we not admit that this reform is of more vital interest than any president or any party?

Mr. Bonaparte's standard is the only one suited to the nineteenth century, our government and the American people. There are interesting examples of leaders of men who have achieved a worthy end by a tortuous and dissembling course, but they had a lifetime as a stage of action. But in this country the man who is president and his party have precisely four years in which to achieve greatness and work out a policy, and he will succeed best who boldly advocates an uncompromising rectitude and calmly awaits the consequences, whether he be a president or a looker-on of a president's operations.

THE SACRIFICE TO THE SPOILS-GOD.

President Harrison has made great sacrifices to the god of spoil. No stronger statement of determination to wholly forsake this god could have been put into language than is found in the platform and in the letter of acceptance upon which General Harrison was elected. Whatever his reasons, we may note that he has, to a startling extent, made propitiatory offerings at this altar. At the dictation of Quay he threw the huge post-office department to Wanamaker. After months of consultation with the Tom

Platts of his party, he completed his cabinet without putting a man in it who had ever been known as anything but a spoilsman, and to this he added Tanner, Bell and the unspeakable Clarkson. Virginia was tossed to Mahone, Pennsylvania to Quay, New York to Platt, and other smaller districts to less powerful ravagers. But to the spoils-god all this was mere preparation for the slaughter of something substantial; and the slaughter came. Pearson went down against the protest of the entire reform sentiment of the country. The foreign ministers were dispatched at a blow. Presidential postmasters are going by hundreds. Clarkson brings down his victims at the rate of a thousand a week, while under Tanner the pension boards walk the plank in a body. The railway mail service was for six weeks thrown open to the common pillage of congressmen. Oberly was sacrificed, in spite of the determined effort to save him by a large combination of numbers and influence devoted to the Indian, and marshals, district-attorneys, collectors, messengers, laborers and all manner of officers, innocent and guilty alike, have been led to the common shambles.

The President knows the meaning of language as well as any man. He will not read the platform and letter of acceptance and say that his acts have been in accordance with them. Nor will he say that he has put in charge of offices within the civil service law men who were genuinely friendly to the law as he promised. But he will argue that his deviation was necessary to keep an all powerful god from devouring everything. We may as well look the matter in the face. From present indications, the President, under this fear, will continue his sacrifice until he has turned over something above a hundred thousand offices to his party. He could not possibly go faster than he is now going. What will be his reward? Instead of appeasing the god he has made him ten times angrier than ever. Congressmen hate the President, and there is scarcely a spoilsman in Indiana who does not curse him roundly. The republicans in this state are weaker by ten thousand votes than they were on the day of the inauguration. We believe this to be generally true of all the republican states. The apparent intention is to complete the work quickly and leave a long time before the next presidential election for wounds to heal. There will doubtless be in 1892 a united and enthusiastic party machine resting upon official spoil. Some disappointed office-seekers may forget their grievances and join in with hope for the future. But it should not be forgotten that the turn of the next election will be given by a class of men who will hold any

President or party responsible for failure to perform promises, and that this class is already larger by many thousands than it was 1888. In his fear of the Ingallses, the Mahones, the Platts and the Quays the President may undervalue the strength of this class, but it is time to give the warning.

THE INDIANAPOLIS POST-OFFICE INVESTIGATION.

The civil service commission overhauled the Indianapolis post-office thoroughly June 18. They discovered the astonishing fact that J. C. Wheat and William E. Tousey, both discharged some years ago, had been put back into places which can only be filled from the eligible list, and that the former had been there six weeks and the latter eight. Tousey is an active ward politician. In spite of the protests of the managers of the post-office they will hardly expect it to be believed that this flagrant breach of the law was innocent. Instant dismissal was ordered. Several other matters connected with this office had been complained of in the public prints, notably in the Indianapolis *Sentinel*. Of these cases Marshall C. Woods and Charles Rouzier were occupying places excepted from examination, and which could be and had been treated as spoil, and with which the commission could not interfere. Bagby and Billy Patterson are in the railway mail service and not under Postmaster Wallace. R. B. Mundelle, dismissed by Postmaster Jones, charged with kicking a special delivery boy, for which he was afterwards fined one dollar, had been reinstated within the one year limit by Postmaster Wallace. The commission went into the merits of the case, and the facts seemed to be that the delivery boys had a frog which they were tossing about the office, and in doing this were getting in the way of the clerks. Mundelle, after repeated warnings, took one by the collar and, aiding his effort with his knee, put the boy out of his working place. He is a clerk of the highest efficiency, and the commission found his reinstatement justifiable.

The carrier Hamlin, appointed substitute by Postmaster Jones, and lately given a full appointment by Postmaster Wallace, was charged with having a court record for seduction. This matter was not within the power of the commission, Hamlin never having been dismissed for cause. Postmaster Wallace told the commission that he had no doubt that the charge against Hamlin was true, but that he did not know of it when he appointed him. He did not explain why he had not instantly dismissed Hamlin upon learning of it, or why he was still keeping him.

The most notable case of the day was the reinstatement by Wallace of Charles F. Moore, to which we called attention last month and asked what was going to be done about it. A private inquiry at the post-office elicited the answer that it was a "put up job" on Moore and that he

had been the victim of a conspiracy of democrats to secure his discharge. No public explanation of this kind was made, and the reason seemed altogether incredible, for under Postmaster Jones vacancies were made without the trouble of conspiring. The charge being publicly repeated, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE employed a detective and took other means to ascertain the facts. To one thus familiar with the facts, it was a curious study to see the officers of the post-office attempt to satisfy the commission that when arrested Moore was only engaged "in a little game of five-cent-ante with friends," and that he was not, and had never been, a gambler. Postmaster Wallace's attempts in this direction were so lame that Assistant-Postmaster Thompson was obliged to take the lead. He boldly repeated the stereotyped story that Moore was a very fine clerk whose place was wanted, who was not, and never had been, a gambler, but who was watched and caught in a "little friendly game of five-cent-ante." Mr. Thompson further stated that Moore finally went to Postmaster Jones and told him that he could not endure to be hounded by politicians and he would therefore resign. A little later both Moore and ex-Postmaster Jones came into the room, and when asked by the commission denied, with open-eyed surprise at the question, any such talk with each other, or any such reason for Moore's resigning; all this to the visible discomfort of Mr. Thompson. Moore made no defense whatever, but said he resigned because he was forced to, having been "caught gambling and arrested."

If Postmaster Wallace had at any time made the investigation which was always his reasonable duty, and which, after the public charge, was his imperative duty, he would have found in a couple of hours that for a period of years Moore had been a frequenter of gambling places and a gambler; that he had once been arrested with thirteen others in Tobe Howe's gambling place, when \$700 were put up as security for the appearance of the whole party in court; that for a considerable period he had been having a gambling room next to the post-office, which was known to the police; that every night for five nights this gambling was watched, and finally a warrant against room 23 was issued in ignorance of who was there, and was placed in the hands of Captain Colbert to serve; that, accompanied by a single policeman, he went to the room; that seeing a man whom they knew come away, they gave the usual knock, and in answer to "Who's there?" gave the name of the man they had seen leave; that a man opened the door slightly and was knocked down by the push of the officers against it; that Moore took the cash and put it into his pocket and was prevented from locking up the checks; that a confession of gambling was made on the spot; that the officers found there the usual outfit of a gambling-room, including a poker table with an opening for the "rake-off" for the keeper of the room and twenty packs of cards and four hundred chips, articles which are not

found elsewhere, even among those having "a friendly game of five-cent-ante;" that the officers arrested in the room seven persons, including Moore; that the charge against Moore was for keeping a gambling-place and gambling, and against the others for gambling; that Moore put up \$40 as security, and afterwards put up straw-bail and withdrew the \$40; that the whole crowd pleaded guilty and were fined, Moore being fined \$5 and costs, amounting to \$19.40, which he has never paid by reason of his straw bail; that he had been warned about six months before, by Postmaster Jones, that he must stop having gambling in his rooms, and had promised to do so; that when he was arrested Postmaster Jones allowed him to resign, but forced him to do so by reason of his above career; that recently half a dozen persons had been to Captain Colbert to ask him to say that the arrest was a "set-up job."

The witnesses to show the above facts were at the call of the commission, but before all these facts were brought out the commission declined to hear other witnesses, solely because they had heard enough to come to the conclusion that Moore's reinstatement was wrong. They publicly announced this finding and directed Postmaster Wallace to sever Moore's connection with the office at once. For this conclusion they had heard abundant evidence.

Mr. Thompson made an amusing attempt to argue that Wheat and Tousey were employed as substitutes, and that for such employment the postmaster had a right to go out on the street and pick up men and keep them for months, but had no right to take substitutes from the eligible list. An appeal to the President is threatened, but he will hardly sustain this view of the law. The work of the commission at Indianapolis can not be too highly commended, and the fearlessness of Mr. Roosevelt, coupled with his long and brilliant experience in dealing with unwilling and crooked executive officers, makes it plain that the President has found a man.

THE DRAG UPON THE REMNANT.

IN the days of slavery the remnant strove to convince the rest that it was a curse. The irresistible power of a moral idea worked. Since then another slave system, the spoils system, has stealthily grown great and menacing, and again the remnant protests. Their progress has been slow but irresistible. It was lately quickened by a great occasion and a great man. Like the solemn tones of a cathedral bell in the midst of a hushed and expectant people, Bishop Potter's warning and appeal made the popular heart vibrate and awoke the conscience of a multitude. He hastened the end of an unrighteous and aristocratic political system. But as in all similar struggles in history there are with us deprecators whose general attitude is that there is no danger and that things will of themselves come out all right.

A clergyman of this city performed this office on memorial day. Those ancient spo-

radic examples of baseness, Arnold, Lee and Burr, seemed to him a fit offset to the present epidemic of spoils against which Bishop Potter warned us. Barring the usual lapses of "human nature" things political are in his opinion going not only as well as in Washington's day, but he goes on to say:

"I do not argue these questions, however. If a Jeremiah comes with his lamentations, through his tears beholding our perils and our sins indeed, but unable to discern the radiant promise of our times, I would not strive to answer him. Does he say that this is a 'merchandise' generation? that the high ideas which marked and ennobled the birth of the republic have disappeared from the closing period of our first century? Rather than argue I would simply wait. Let the weeks roll on. Let April skies give place to flowery May."

The fact that the Tweed, whisky and star route rings and various election criminals have been brought to justice is an indication to him that Bishop Potter's censures were out of place and his warnings jeremiads. He forgot to mention that those crimes and criminals were not punished by simply waiting and letting the weeks roll on and April skies give place to flowery May. He forgot to recall the men who did the sapping and mining at personal risk and sacrifice. He omitted the fact of how secret and far-reaching and invincible seemed the forces to be overcome, how impregnable were the criminals behind breastworks of good men who protested that nothing was wrong, that the agitation was a device of light-headed or bad hearted men. In short, he omitted all mention of the deprecators of those days who preached the gospel of waiting and letting the weeks roll on, and who anxiously scanned the horizon of the past for signs that the present needed no attention. It seems incredible that a public teacher should rejoice in the destruction of that crop of dragon's teeth and be loath to recognize the new product. But this stubborn reluctance to study the present, this readiness for superficial criticism upon the grave conclusions of another, this alertness to check a noble impulse for reform, and to lull an aroused public conscience, by men intrenched in high personal character, act as a brake upon this progress to-day; it is not spoilsmen fighting for life, but these unconscious and untroubled enemies of our camp. They can not stay the final doom of the spoils system. They can not influence the patriotic men who have felt its malign influence. But they can delay and harry and burden the workers in the field bearing the heat and burden of the day, and they have the physical power to ignore that wise and just command, "Seek ye the truth." No man would feel a greater repugnance than this clergyman for this system could he be forced to follow the filthy trail of the serpent in the story of Mahone's triumph in Virginia, of Quay's succession in Pennsylvania, of Gorman's reduction of Maryland, of a city like New York prostrate under the heel of a robber gang, of the base control of another city by the man known as the "blind white devil of San Francisco." These are random instances of "the

dangers that menace free institutions" stated in the republican platform in 1888, and which were in the mind of Bishop Potter.

Why do good men seem to be deliberately blind and deaf to certain present evils? It is not for this paper to judge. It may be the demon of party spirit that occasionally lodges and disports itself in sacred precincts. Whatever the cause, it for a time is more baffling and discouraging than evil itself.

THE civil service commission overhauled the New York custom house and found another place where the civil service law has been steadily cheated. One man got an appointment who did not write his examination paper. There was a system of getting examination questions to which the password "Terry," "Terry," seemed the open sesame. Examinations had been held with the same set of questions three days in succession. The local board had about the character and aims of our city fire committee that wanted to turn democrats out of the fire department. The commission next went to Troy, where they found the civil service law carried out on about the same principle as the tissue ballot system reported to us from the South. Under Cleveland the democrats literally held the fort, and now the republicans were in complete and hostile possession. There was no reliable record of anything, and the entire outfit seemed to be a few old examination papers tied up with a string. The republicans had just held a special examination, in which it had been understood and acted upon that none but republicans, and republicans of a particular faction, need compete. The commission took a hand at a clean sweep. They annulled the special examination and quashed both the democratic and republican lists of eligibles. The postmaster reluctantly admitted that he might appoint a democrat in case he could not find a republican.

THE following is the present list of eligibles of the Indianapolis post-office:

CLERKS.

Jesse C. Smith.....88	John G. Edmunds.....87
Henry Arbison.....73	John Laughlin.....86
W. H. Kastner.....71	Sammie Barrett.....86
Chas. B. Fawkner.....87	Clarence H. Marpin.....86
Herbert Spellman.....84	Bartholomew O'Leary.....85
Frank M. Northway.....79	J. W. Newton.....83
John W. Fietzsche.....77	R. J. Abriet.....83
Patrick J. Gorman.....70	Calvin Hollwell.....83
Wm. Frieker.....83	Hugh A. Cummings.....82
James W. Hobbs.....89	John L. Etter.....78
Henry M. DeWitt.....81	Thadd. E. York.....77
J. C. Brown.....81	Lemuel F. Apple.....76
Don D. Wells.....79	Henry S. George.....74
Chas. Humphrey Evans.....79	Thomas Judd.....72
Chas. W. Fenton.....78	

MAIL CARRIERS.

Chas. Faulkner.....72	Barney Aldering.....72
Alex. E. Manning.....71	Wm. F. Stieff.....76
Albert Bowers.....75	Mike H. Connell.....74
John P. Lyendecker.....74	Elmer E. Bird.....73
Sidney J. Gibson.....73	W. W. McEldowny.....70
Wm. S. Warner.....81	Henry Barrett.....73
Riley T. White.....73	Robert Felton.....70

—The treasury department has made extensive removals of laborers to make place for the horde of minor place-seekers.

WANTON REMOVALS.

The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place, he will be impeachable by this house, before the senate, for such an act of maladministration; *for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.* * * * Can we suppose a President, elected for four years only, dependent upon the popular voice, impeachable by the legislature, little, if at all, distinguished for wealth, personal talents, or influence from the head of the department himself; I say, will he bid defiance to all these considerations, and wantonly dismiss a meritorious and virtuous officer? *Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.*—*Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.*

—June 18, thirty-nine presidential postmasters were appointed; of these sixteen were to fill vacancies caused by removal.

—On the 22d of May, two months and seven days after the railway mail service, by order of President Cleveland, was embraced by the civil service law, sixteen clerks running out of Louisville, Ky., were discharged because they were democrats.

—Out of forty-three presidential postmasters appointed during the week ending with June 6, nineteen were to fill vacancies caused by removal. Out of seventeen appointed June 11, nine succeeded postmasters removed without cause.

—Two hundred and seventy-six dismissals from the railway mail service reached the superintendent of the tenth division at St. Paul in one batch. The first man out had made the best record of any clerk in Dakota. Of the new men, the train conductor found one drunk on the floor of the car surrounded by the debris of his mail.

—The postmaster at Jersey City remained in office until the end of his term, three years, under President Cleveland. President Harrison has removed the democratic successor without cause, who has been in office only one year, and has given the place to a politician.

—Postmaster Clark, of Jacksonville, Florida, has been removed by President Harrison, one year before the end of his term. He has made an excellent record, and was much liked by the people. He retained many republicans in office, notably several colored men.

—"Sol" Hirsch is spoken of as the Tom Platt of Oregon. The President has appointed him as minister to Turkey to succeed Mr. Oscar Straus, who performed his duties in such a manner that missionaries, societies, colleges, and practically the whole missionary influence of the Christian Church in this country interested in Turkey asked for his retention.

—Mrs. Mary L. Clay has been postmaster at Huntsville, Ala., for two years. The President has removed her. The Huntsville *Independent*, the leading republican newspaper of Alabama, says that, "in the discharge of her duties as postmistress she has been faithful, polite, accommodating and efficient." A special agent made an adverse report, but when Mrs. Clay asked for the charges and the name of the author she obtained neither.

—At Bridgeport, Conn., the republican postmaster served out his term under Cleveland,

which lasted a year and eight months. President Harrison has put out the democratic postmaster nineteen months before his time. His appointee, who is the former republican incumbent, addresses a clerk as follows:

"Young man, I have noticed your work, and I can say you do your work admirably, and much better than I expected. In fact, your duties were never better performed, and if you were with us in politics you would not leave this office, at least as long as I have anything to do with it. But as you were not with us last fall, the papers are made out and signed for your successor."

—At New Bedford (Mass.) a republican postmaster held over till 1887, when Carpenter, a democrat, was appointed. A month after the inauguration the latter's removal was announced, on the ground of inefficiency. Wanamaker said that the representations of inefficiency were made by Pay Director Thornton of the navy, April 2, indorsed by Congressman Randall, April 4. No hearing was given, nor were further inquiries made. Mr. Holmes, a member of the Bedford republican city committee, went to Washington seeking an explanation. Wanamaker, hard pushed, suggested that Mr. Holmes make a written protest against the issue of the commission. This was done, and May 7 Wanamaker wrote him as follows:

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter, and say that on further consultation with your representative in congress, the department has issued a commission to the postmaster at New Bedford, Mass."

The people of New Bedford of all shades of opinion were satisfied with their postmaster, and desired that he should serve out his term. Thornton was rarely in New Bedford, and his only business with the office was to receive an occasional letter. In a final letter to Wanamaker, Mr. Holmes says:

As a republican who has witnessed this whole transaction, I ought to and do feel humiliated. It is a revelation as to the conduct of the administration of my own party. Its platform and the letter of acceptance of President Harrison distinctly promised that should not be done which I have seen done here with my own eyes. Nor is that even fairly stating it. Not only has an honest and efficient public officer been dismissed from the service on a charge of incompetency, but turned out of office under a cloud and denied even the opportunity of proving the utter falsity of such charge.

The New Bedford office, though an important one, is only one of many. It is improbable that what has been done here would alone have much effect upon the welfare of the party at large, but if the administration is pursuing all over this country the course it has pursued in this locality, the republican party will be defeated in the next election, and deservedly.

—President Cleveland left the Norwich, Conn., postmaster in office sixteen months, making his whole term four years and two months. President Harrison, without any cause whatever, has removed President Cleveland's appointee, whose term had fourteen months to run, who had given satisfaction to the public and who had not made a clean sweep. His successor, within twenty-four hours, dismissed every democratic employe but one. After this an election came on and for the first time in the history of the town the democrats carried it, beating the republicans on every hand with the single exception of the sheriff. Election history of President Cleveland's term is beginning to repeat itself.

—The present administration found at the head of the assay office at Boise City, Idaho, Henry F. Wild. He was not a politician but voted as a republican, and he was an engineer and metallurgist of European and American education, with eight years' practical experience before he took this office. His term was not limited and his removal except for cause was, therefore, unconstitutional. He had conducted the office with remarkable ability and success, relying solely upon business principles, and had in consequence made but one removal among his subordinates. Within three years the deposits increased ninefold, while the expenses were proportionately decreased one and one-half per cent. The governor of Idaho officially complimented the management of the office. President Harrison removed Mr. Wild and appointed Cunningham assayer. The latter "is not by education or experience, even of the most limited kind, acquainted with mining, assaying, metallurgy or any kindred subject." He has made a clean sweep with a single exception. His new chief clerk is one Pride, a local politician, for whom Cunningham had clerked. After Mr. Wild had given up the office on an order from Washington, Secretary Windom wrote him: "Your resignation * * is hereby accepted. * *" Mr. Wild had never resigned. The government's last act appears to be courteous; in fact it is sneaking hypocrisy of a very odious kind. Stirring the waters brings up the head shark. Delegate Du Bois says: "I acted in this matter for the best interests of the party, according to my own judgment, after careful consideration."

—In Bell's zeal "for the good of the service" in Massachusetts, he reinstated one clerk appointed by the democrats and discharged by them for incompetency. In Illinois he discharged a clerk who had been in the service since President Lincoln's time, and who is said to have been worth to the people all that a competent man can become by years of training and experience.

—The Lockport *Journal* points with pride to the fact that of the thirty federal offices in Niagara county about twenty have already been filled with republicans by the present administration.

RELIGIOUS COMMENT.

—Referring to Bishop Potter, the *Chicago Standard* (Baptist) says: "What's the use of beating about the bush in this matter? There is a power of truth in these words. The people of the country ought in some way to rescue the President from the power of the politicians. Patronage has got to be altogether bigger than the President, and the purpose, peace and dignity of the latter are in danger of utter obscurity and overthrow."

—Mr. Pearson died without the solace of feeling that those in whose interest he labored appreciated his sacrifice. But he was appreciated. His unselfish labor has not been in vain. The time is coming when he will learn that he fought a good fight and won a durable crown.—*Christian Leader*.

—Make tenure of office to depend on character and fitness, and no small part of the load will be lifted from the President's shoulders.—*The Morning Star* (Baptist).

—In the *Baltimore Civil Service Reformer* for June is an article by the Rev. Wm. Kirkus, a prominent clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It shows the connection between religion and politics, and it makes clear that the duty of the Christian minister is to take part *officially* in the work of purifying our political methods.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

—L. W. Habercorn, a newspaper correspondent, active in the last campaign, has been appointed fifth auditor of the treasury.

—Lincoln H. Beyerle has been made postmaster at Goshen, Ind. He is editor of the *Goshen Times*.

—Alexander Reed, editor *Appleton* [Wis.] *Post*, has been appointed consul at Dublin.

—The President has appointed James B. Stone, editor *Detroit Tribune*, collector of internal revenue, first Michigan district.

—Albert B. White, one of the proprietors of the *Parkersburg State Journal*, has been appointed collector of internal revenue for West Virginia.

—Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, has had his brother, Roger Spooner, made consul at Prague. Salary \$3,000.

—Congressman Owen, of Logansport, has been in Washington again. He said that his business was to see that the men who work in the trenches should be "recognized."

—A. K. Sills, of Indiana, has been appointed special swamp land agent. Emoluments \$2,500. Sills was a Harrison delegate to the Chicago convention.

—Donald McLean has been appointed the new general appraiser at the port of New York. He is an active politician, and is a leader of the republican party in the twenty-third assembly district. He was a delegate to the last three republican national conventions.

—Charles P. Hitch has been appointed marshal of the southern district of Illinois and John R. Mizer of the northern district of Florida. The latter is chairman of the Florida republican state committee. Both were active Harrison workers at the Chicago convention.

—Special to the *Indianapolis Journal*: The President says that he intends to recognize and please as many of his personal and party friends in Indiana as possible, and that he will not cease appointing them until the offices are exhausted.

—May 21, Senator Culloin had 70 fourth-class postmasters appointed in Illinois democratic congressional districts, and a large number of examining pension boards.

—It is said that Congressmen Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Cannon, of Illinois, are leading court favorites. They get all they want and promise of more.

—The two senators from Minnesota are at war over the spoils of that state. Each has a distinct set of henchmen among whom he insists they shall be divided. Quay and Wanamaker have also had a most unpleasant contest over the Philadelphia spoils.

—Matthews was elected delegate from Dakota and then that territory was admitted as two states. "Mr. Matthews, despite the fact that he will never occupy the seat of delegate from Dakota, demanded his prerogatives, and making a firm stand, was granted the exclusive right to dictate all the appointments in his territory."

—The *Indianapolis Journal* says:

"It is not true in fact, either, that the most conspicuous 'workers' are the most effective in their aid to a party. These are in many cases mere hirelings, after all. They may serve conspicuously during a campaign, but they do it for the loaves and fishes in hand. To claim additional remuneration in the form of a fat office is pure insolence; and yet such is often the case. Such friends are the most dangerous of enemies."

—We think the statement is a mistake that President Harrison has appointed his father-in-law to an office. The appointment was to his brother-in-law, John N. Scott, of this city. This, with Frank McKee, his son-in-law's brother, to be deputy collector of customs in Port Townsend, and his brother to be marshal in Tennessee, and his son's father-in-law to a \$5,000 Utah position and Lieut. Parker, a nephew-in-law, naval attaché to the Samoan commission in Berlin, and D. W. McClung, a cousin-in-law, to be collector of internal revenue in the first Ohio district, and Isaac Scott, a cousin-in-law, to be naval officer at New Orleans, and Wm. Haines, of Springfield, Ill., a cousin of his son's wife, to be law clerk in the postoffice department, we believe are the sum of his family appointments. There is another brother-in-law here who, as we are told, was offered a place in our postoffice but declined it on the ground that something better ought to be done for him.

—Congressman Dalzell found his recommendation of a postmaster hung up by a telegram from Quay ordering it. Then says Dalzell:

"Mr. Postmaster-General, am I to be consulted with reference to appointments in my district, or is Senator Quay?"

"The Postmaster replied: 'When it comes to that issue I shall in all cases in this district defer to the wishes of Senator Quay.'"

—Other proofs of Quay's overlordship in Pennsylvania are the complete disappearance of Senator Cameron as a spoils distributor, and Quay's success with the Lord Paramount over McManes and Fitler in securing Martin as collector of internal revenue. His war with Ohio, mentioned last month, has been averted by the Lord Paramount making Pennsylvania's henchman, Gilkeson, second comptroller of the treasury.

—Under President Cleveland Congressman Matson, of Indiana, appointed Horace G. Doug-

lass, editor of the *Plainfield Progress*, postmaster at that town. In 1886 he had embezzled the postoffice funds, and when an inspector appeared, Douglass left town and was not heard of again until last November, when he returned and appeared in court for punishment. May 18 he pleaded guilty. He had charge of Congressman Matson's campaign in Hendricks county for renomination and he says that he used the money in Matson's interest and was given to understand that he would have to furnish money to retain the postoffice. This is a proper addendum to the account of Matson's exploiting his office-holders to secure his renomination given in document No. 2 of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association published in 1886.

--Two Virginia parties, Mahone and anti-Mahone, have been contending in Washington over the spoils of that state, one party visiting the President and then the other. At the time of the anti-Mahone visit, 150 strong, Mahone stood on the corner and jeered. He is undoubtedly victorious, the Lord Paramount having made him practically the ruler of Virginia. The following quotation from an address on American Feudalism shows that he has simply come to his own again:

The state of Virginia was owing a debt. It was not beyond her ability to pay, and it was to be supposed that a large majority of her citizens would have found it honorable to meet an honest obligation. The majority, however, did not, and of these William P. Mahone became the leader. He had been a democrat and had served in the Confederate army. His faction prevailed. The debt of Virginia was "re-adjusted." In other words, the creditors were robbed of part of their just dues. Mahone became a senator of the United States. He caused his faction to drop the name "coalition" and call itself "republican," although there had been since the war a regular republican organization in Virginia. He had the true feudal instinct. His fellow republican congressmen sunk to insignificance beside him, glad of such morsels as he tossed to them. For several years preceding March, 1885, he ordered every federal appointment and removal made in or from Virginia. In 1882 Land Commissioner McFarland sent for a clerk "credited to Virginia," and said to him, "I am sorry to have to say that your place is wanted." To the clerk's question why, the commissioner replied, "I do not know why. You are faithful, competent and satisfactory, and I am willing to give you an endorsement to that effect. But Senator Mahone wants the place for a friend. You will have to surrender it, for I am powerless in this matter."

In 1882 Mahone assessed Virginia place-holders five per cent. This was in addition to Congressman Hubbell's assessment of two per cent. In 1883 it had become unlawful to assess them, and he enrolled them in the "Virginia Campaign Association," and dodged the law by assessing them as members of that institution. Congressman Gorman's postmaster, Brown, of Baltimore, lately classified the political contributors in his postoffice, as "thinking-men," and the non-contributors as "weaker-minded." Mahone had no "weak-minded" place-holders; all "contributed."

In 1883, the old republican party, being in favor of paying honest debts, still held up its head in Norfolk county, and nominated a county ticket. Mahone was not that kind of a republican, and with money raised by assessing federal salaries, he sent a swarm of federal place-holders into Norfolk county, and compassed the defeat of debt-paying republicanism.

In 1884, Commander Evans, who had been in the navy twenty-three years, with twelve years' service at sea, was superintendent of the fifth light-house district. He dismissed a notoriously incompetent negro who had been appointed by Mahone. Manly honesty and business principles were not to be allowed to stand in the way of Mahone, and with brutal indifference the old commander was put on half pay and waiting orders. It is said that in this case the secretary of the navy of the United States hesitated four weeks before obeying Mahone's order. I could go on indefinitely telling how Mahone ruled and required service like a baron of old, but this, from ex-Attorney-General McVeagh, as early as 1882, will be enough: "Look at the awful humiliation through which Mahone and his associates are dragging the state of Virginia. Every citizen must be ashamed of the spectacle. The administration is prostituting the national treasury to enable a certain portion of the people of Virginia to force another portion to repudiate her debt."

--May 17. Senator Cullom has told the President that this revenue district is in his congressional district, with headquarters at Springfield, his home. The President expressed surprise at the information. Cullom feels humiliated and will not surrender his prerogative. He says that the appointment is a violation of precedents and a disregard of senatorial courtesy, and he will prevent it if he can. Farwell says it is a blow between Cullom's eyes.

May 19. Farwell says that he is tired of shilly-shallying.

May 20. The Illinois senators have determined to make common cause for their senatorial prerogative in the Willcox matter. They have recommended Calhoun for the office. They say that there is a principle involved. Cullom says that the appointment is a snub to him.

May 21. Cullom and Farwell formally demand of the President that the commission of Willcox be withheld on the ground that they were not consulted. Cullom says, if refused it will be a challenge. Farwell says the situation is a gauntlet thrown to Cullom by the President.

May 22. The President has decided to stand by Congressman Cannon and will keep Willcox. Senators Farwell and Cullom are very sore. Farwell reports his interview with the President as follows:

"I just told the President in so many words," said Senator Farwell, "that he had treated Senator Cullom very shabbily. The fact of the matter is we thought there would be plenty of time to name our choice for certain offices, as we believed there would be no removals until the end of the fiscal year. We therefore delayed making recommendations, intending to take our time in making up a slate and at the same time giving the President a rest. The first thing we knew Congressman Cannon stepped in and recommended a man for the Springfield collectorship on his own hook, and the President unhesitatingly appointed him without consulting or even advising with Mr. Cullom."

"I call that a shabby trick, and when I called on Mr. Harrison the other day I told him so very plainly. I told him he had better go down into southern Illinois and appoint a postmaster for Chicago."

"Why, you once wrote a letter," I said, "to President Arthur when you were senator from Indiana, demanding that he recognize your right of controlling the patronage in your district. Now I want to know if you propose to recognize those same rights in Illinois's senators while you are the chief executive? I think I rather got the best of him on that proposition, but he wouldn't promise to reconsider his appointment, though."

"Did he absolutely refuse to reconsider it?"

"No; he didn't do that, either, and it's hard to say whether he will or not. You may depend upon it, though, that I will be on the lookout hereafter, and I won't let anything get away if I can help it," and the wily senator winked knowingly in a way that said plainer than words that he could help it and that he would keep his weather eye on the President's actions as long as there is an office in the state of Illinois to be filled.

Senator Farwell says the letter Mr. Harrison wrote to President Arthur on the occasion was a scorcher in its way. "I didn't have a copy of it," said he, "but when I recalled the cir-

cumstance the President remembered it and it somewhat staggered him. He didn't expect to have the question brought so near home as that, I guess."

"How about the Chicago offices?"

"Oh, they're all right. I don't think the President will make any more such breaks. I think he will recognize the same rights in me now that he claimed himself from President Arthur several years ago. Of course, one never knows what is going to happen, but I think everything is all right. Senator Cullom will be all right, too, hereafter, if he asserts his rights."

--Congressman Banks received the following:

March 23, 1889.

STATE HOUSE, BOSTON—*My Dear General*: I wonder if you know what splendid service J. J. McCarthy, of Charlestown, did in your behalf last fall? I happened to be personally familiar with his early efforts, and I am told by those who watched the development of the canvass that he maintained with untiring zeal and admirable judgment his earnest and successful endeavor. He did the governor the same good turn, and the governor appreciates it fully. I sincerely hope he will succeed in his wish to obtain the office he seeks, and I am sure you will lead his hosts of friends in their effort.

Yours faithfully, G. H. CAMPBELL.

To General N. P. Banks.

This he enclosed to the other Massachusetts congressmen with the following:

WALTHAM, MASS., March 25, 1889.

Hon. George F. Hoar and Hon. Henry L. Dawes:

Dear Sirs—It is understood, I know not on what grounds, that there is to be an informal conference of members-elect on the disposition of minor offices in the several congressional districts at the close of the session. I have not taken much interest in such matters, but there is one point to which I wish to ask your attention and one candidate worthy of special attention. Mr. Jeremiah J. McCarthy of Boston is mentioned for the office of collector of internal revenue. There is not in Massachusetts, I think, a more remarkable man. He is 38 years of age and has been trained in the political contests of Massachusetts since his boyhood. As simple as a child in manner, he is astute, courageous and vigilant at all times and under all circumstances. He has personal acquaintance with all active party men who have participated in the contests of the last fifteen or twenty years in Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex counties.

As a working man he has been diligent and provident; saving for himself quite a handsome property, which gives him the confidence of men of wealth and the respect and esteem of laborers of every calling and caste. His standing among his fellow-citizens is on the bed-rock basis of life-long association and confidence. His influence with all classes is by concession rather than contest, and he regains his ground instantly by superior instinct, intelligence and integrity. I observed and felt this in the late very remarkable contest in the fifth congressional district which had been carried by democrats and was regained by republicans in 1884.

In 1888 we had in the fifth district nothing to begin with, and all our resources, except your own magnificent orations, were well nigh exhausted before the contest began. McCarthy enthused everybody with his energy and courage. He carried light in his eyes. I would not say this, though I know its truth, if there were not another and better illustration of his power, upon the testimony of other reliable witnesses. In the last hours of a recent session of the legislature he was enabled by such qualities as I have described, after an important measure had passed both houses, to render an important service to the state. It was an instance of unequalled personal power rarely witnessed, which his excellency the governor and other influential citizens were prompt to recognize and honor.

I inclose a letter, written by one who could not be mistaken in regard to Mr. McCarthy's influence in the case cited, and which recognizes and acknowledges his power.

It is for these reasons that Mr. McCarthy has been generally designated by those who know his qualities and character for the office of collector of internal revenue. It is an important office. But it is not desired for its patronage. It will be an easy and certainly a pleasant duty to secure to the several congressional districts their relative political and personal interests, and infuse a vigorous spirit of proselytism in the political organizations of state and nation. His appointment would be a just recognition of a true American citizen of Irish descent, who from his first participation in political affairs has maintained friendly relations with all classes of Irish citizens, and vigorously supported, without variation or reserve, the measures, principles and nominations of the republican party. Upon these considerations I most earnestly commend his appointment to the favor and support of the congressional delegation of Massachusetts.

I have the honor to remain, gentlemen, most respectfully, N. P. BANKS.

—As we stated last month Defeated Candidate Love, of Missouri, proposed to distribute the spoils of his district upon the following terms:

"Of course it will be understood that there will be some expense attached to this proceeding, and applicants will be expected to contribute to this expense."

To the average mind this seemed the proposition of a rascal, but he was equal to the occasion. He had the government of the United States send to each member of the congressional committee of his district the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1889.

To ——— :

DEAR SIR: Do you know of your own knowledge, or do you believe on testimony which you are willing to produce, that James Love, late republican candidate for Congress in the third district of Missouri, ever exacted or received a pecuniary or other valuable consideration for services rendered or to be rendered applicants for office, or that he ever in any way made such remuneration a condition upon which his indorsement of applicants could be obtained? In your reply to this will you inclose the answers to the same question of all persons in your vicinity whom you know to have applied to Mr. Love for his indorsement, whether successful or not?

J. S. CLARKSON,
First Assistant Postmaster-General.

Clarkson does not publish the evidence brought out, but doubtless he found no one who knew of his own knowledge that Love had "exacted or received" money. Here is the finding of this unique court:

"It gives me pleasure," said Clarkson, "to declare you innocent of any charge affecting your honor, and to restore you to that position of influence in your party to which your services entitle you."

The evidence could not have been unanimous, for the chairman of Love's congressional committee has published a strong protest, in which he charges Love with "disgracing his supporters." He also called a meeting of the committee to express its wish "as between home rule and boss rule." It does not avail anything; Clarkson stands by Love.

—Congressman Quackenbush, of New York, has had Gilbert H. Stevens made postmaster at Shushan. In 1883 Stevens, being under indictment, wrote the following by way of settlement, coupled with the payment of five hundred dollars:

In consequence of my having in the night time of October 10, 1882, broken into and entered the dwelling-house of X. W. Collins, in the village of Shushan, N. Y., in the absence of said Collins, and again having attempted to break and enter said house on the 29th of October in the night time, being at said time intoxicated, and not knowing what I was doing; this conduct having led to stories injurious to and reflecting upon the reputation for virtue of Johanna Powers, who was there employed as a domestic, I write this to certify that so far as I know said Johanna is a virtuous girl, and it is but an act of justice to her that I should say so. Neither myself or others to my knowledge have had criminal intimacy with her, and any statements made by me to the contrary are untrue.

Witness: CHARLES HUGHES.

Dated June 7, 1883.

G. H. STEVENS.

—The President has appointed George P. Fisher of Delaware to be first auditor of the treasury. He was formerly district attorney for the District of Columbia, and of him, June 23, 1876, the New York Tribune said:

The district attorney's office in Washington was for a long while, under Judge Fisher, the chief bulwark of the District ring. There were hatched the conspiracies to convict innocent citizens of felony, the plots to get rid of witnesses, the schemes to take burglars out of jail. Crimes of the most dastardly character were committed under the sheltering eaves of that scandalous establishment. Theft, and riot, and bribery, and perjury received there encouragement and protection.

A gentleman and his wife had been appointed teachers in the Indian School at Yakim, Oregon. The appointments were excellent, and the appointees closed their school at Portsmouth, Virginia, and were on their way to Oregon when their appointments were can-

celled by Secretary Noble. This was done at the bidding of Senator Mitchell who wrote to Noble denouncing the plan of sending "carpet baggers" from other states and announcing the fact of the selection of persons for all the places in Oregon and that these parties had been informed of their selection.

If this paper has any readers who do not see the *Civil Service Record*, published at Boston, and the *Civil Service Reformer*, published at Baltimore, we urge them to examine those papers. Their common field is the civil service, but their scope and contents are quite different. Both may be had for the sum of \$1.50. The *Civil Service Record* has a circulation of over 4,000, and as the oldest publication of this sort and as the representative of two powerful associations has great influence. The *Civil Service Reformer* is more local in its scope, but is of such remarkable literary excellence that it may be read with pleasure without reference to its principles, which are of the plain and straightforward sort. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is the youngest and feeblest of the three, but it is meeting with an unexpected support and sympathy that indicate a deep interest in the cause it advocates. The executive committee of the Buffalo Association voted to appropriate fifty dollars for the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for subscriptions to persons to be indicated by them on the ground that it was adapted for proselyting and converting, and a subscriber from Scottsburg, New York, writes:

"I am glad that a journal devoted to civil service reform has been started in your state which has been especially cursed by the spoils system, as exemplified equally in the practice of both the republican and democratic parties. Thank God there is reason to believe that a movement is at length inaugurated that will in no long time bring redemption to our entire country from a state of things disgraceful to republican institutions and threatening their very existence."

THE Buffalo civil service reform association has just held its eighth annual meeting. It is encouraging to note the presence of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ryan and his remarks full of unmistakable sympathy.

In reference to the progress that has been made in extending the scope of civil service reform, I would say that in 1883, when the national civil service law went into effect, what is known as the classified service—and by that I mean that portion of the national service that is subject to civil service rules—included seven executive departments at Washington, eleven custom districts, and twenty-three post-offices, in each of which there were as many as fifty employees. Since that time the classified service has been extended to cover more than 13,000 additional positions, the total number of persons in the national service now affected by civil service rules being 27,597. There have been 44,169 persons examined, of whom 15,821, or 35 per cent., failed, and 28,648, or about 65 per cent., succeeded in passing the examination. Of the latter, 11,236, or a little over 39 per cent. of the successful candidates, received appointments. In New York state the law, which at first only applied to certain state appointments, has been extended so as to include the greater part of those in the cities, exclusive of laborers. The total number under civil service rules amounts to 15,480.

In Massachusetts, laws which were passed about the same time the New York law was passed, also include local service in the cities, and also provide for the registration of laborers. The total number of persons under the civil service reform laws of Massachusetts is about 6,000. * * * * *

Let us take another case. The bureau of printing and engraving in Washington had, like some other departments, suffered sadly from the spoils system. Fortunately for the public service, in 1885 Mr. E. C. Graves was promoted to the position of head of the bureau, where he still remains. Mr. Graves has been for many years connected with the treasury department, and is recognized as being one of the most valuable public officials in Washington. He had been one of the earliest advocates of civil service reform and was a firm believer in the doctrine that the public offices should be conducted for the benefit of the public.

He took the same course pursued by Postmasters James and Pearson, and although civil service reform rules were not yet applied to the office, nevertheless he at once applied them on his own responsibility. Worthless employees were at once discharged, regardless of the influence back of them, and unnecessary offices were abolished. The result speaks for itself. During the three years ending in 1885 it required 1,166 employees to produce 91,754,351 sheets of work at a cost of \$3,047,483.75. In the three years ending June 30, 1888, it only required 874 employees to produce 97,348,687 sheets at a cost of \$2,506,681.57. The bureau is now placed under civil service rules, and will never again be a political charitable institution. * * * * *

The objection that the questions asked are often farcical is simply untrue. Whenever this charge is heard a demand should always be made that the objector show a copy of the examination paper in which these farcical questions occurred. He can always get one by asking for it. An objection has also been made that the youth who is just out of school, and in consequence has the school training fresh in mind, will pass a much better examination than the man in whom a few years of active experience in the world has caused some of the details of the studies to be forgotten. The statistics show that this is not the case. The average of the successful candidates are in the neighborhood of 30 years of age. * * * * * It seems to me, therefore, that the charge that the civil service reform system tends to create an aristocracy can hardly stand investigation. On the contrary, I believe that the spoils system has actually created a privileged class strongly resembling the feudal lords of the middle ages, whose retainers agreed to serve faithfully both at home and at the wars. As an illustration, permit me to quote a leading senator from one of the western states, who, in avowing his hostility to civil service reform, stated: "There are thousands of men in my state whom I have never seen, who make my cause their own, who defend my words, who would fight for me, who would sacrifice their time and spend their money for me, who would get up at midnight and ride a horse forty miles to set at work influences in my behalf. Well, I am a politician, and I want to give these men of things that we have won." A little analysis of the senator's position presents the fact that according to his theory no person, even of his own party, ought to hold a government office in his state except those who are his own supporters. If this is not the feudal system, where would you find it? And yet they denounce civil service reform as tending toward aristocracy!—From the address of Henry A. Richmond before the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, March 19, 1889.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"Were the ends of professed spoilsmen attained, he [the President] and we should have no country left, or, at least, no country which an honorable man could own without shame. We can have no truce or parley with these enemies to righteousness; of them every patriot should say, as did the Psalmist: 'Do not I hate them that hate thee? Yea, Lord, I hate them with a perfect hatred.'"—Charles J. Bonaparte.

VOL. I, No. 5.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

753 postmasters were appointed in Indiana from March 4 to July 20 inclusive.

SIXTH AUDITOR COULTER'S interpretation of republican promises has been set out in another column. It now appears that Mr. Roosevelt has again shown his steadiness of nerve and purpose by going to the secretary of the treasury and, temporarily, at least, convinced that officer that common honesty is a thing that a party can not well ignore, and Coulter's proceedings have been, for the present, stopped.

ASSISTANT Postmaster Thompson has been running about asking people to recommend Mr. W. A. Van Buren for appointment to the local civil service board. The indications are that Thompson has set out to work republicans into this post-office, and the fact that he wants a man on the local board is an all-sufficient reason why the appointment should not be made. The local board has had enough of politicians; it needs, and needs badly, men who are friendly to the law. It was supposed that one such had been obtained in Mr. Fishback, but there seems to be some hitch in his appointment. The civil service commission should take notice that the local board as at present constituted will never have the confidence of the people. The commission is undoubtedly in earnest in saying that democrats should come forward for examination, but it should set up machinery here that will make people know that they will receive absolutely impartial treatment. The friends of the merit system may well cry out, "when will there be one officer in this post-office who cares for that system, and would like to see it succeed?" This needs but a single illustration. When the commission was here Mr. Thompson, in his begging for a special examination, said that they would soon have to make appointments which would exhaust the present eligible list of carriers in two days. He was speaking in the presence of Postmaster Wallace. The plain deceit, as well as the falsity of their professions of fairness to competitors, is demonstrated by the fact that they refuse to make a single appointment from the eligible list

of clerks or carriers until after the August examination. The only conceivable reason is that the list is made up largely of democrats. The proper way to bring the acts of these men into consonance with their oaths would be to refuse any examination until the present eligible list is exhausted.

POSTMASTER WALLACE has in his employ a man named Hamlin, who has been frequently and justly mentioned as possessing a disgraceful court record. Mr. Wallace found him a substitute and promoted him while ignorant of this record. Weeks ago, however, the *Sentinel* published the facts, and from that moment it would seem there was but the one duty of dismissal. Instead, the postmaster writes a letter to the papers, and says, in effect, that the man is a product of the civil service law. The proper estimate of the postmaster's sincerity can be given by stating that if Hamlin were a democrat he would have been instantly dismissed. As his father is the most active republican political leader and manager in his township, Hamlin is kept, and for no other reason. The civil service law puts no limit upon removals for cause.

It is true that Hamlin came in under the merit system, but inquiry develops that no one certified to his good character, and that such certificates are no longer required. As the matter now stands all kinds of bad characters may get upon the eligible list, and it would not seem that the postmaster need be told that he ought to make inquiries in that direction when selecting men. The requirement was abolished because it was found that the certificates were usually made by influential politicians like Quay, and were looked upon as a menace. The requirement was nevertheless a good one. The mistake was that the civil service commission kept secret the names of the men who signed the certificates. Men who know that they can not act in the dark, and that the public will call them to account, will not sign certificates for the Hamlins.

THE President has appointed D. M. Ransdell, of this city, marshal of the District of Columbia. Ransdell was a soldier in General Harrison's regiment and lost an arm in the service. He was undoubtedly a good soldier. He is affable in manner, and is adroit in politics. He is one of the republican state committee. Once he had no

property to speak of, but he has become rich holding office. Out of the emoluments of office he buys houses and lands, and has rich store besides. He belongs with those who no longer attract or even hold votes to the republican party, but who drive away votes. He is one of the Indiana aristocracy of office-holders, and if such an aristocracy is to be fostered he may as well be favored as any other.

TOUSEY, whom the civil service commission ordered dismissed because Postmaster Wallace had improperly reinstated him, is beloved by the boys who run the local machine. He carries one of the loud trumpets, and his fellows mournfully see that if he could not hold a place in our post-office, law or no law, none of them could, and they are very sore in consequence. They go about the streets saying that "no business man in the world would have turned out Tousey, who was experienced in the duties he was performing, and put in a clerk with much less experience." Treating this as an honest argument, it is undoubtedly true that, under the merit system, where the places are obtained by competition, and where the higher places are filled by competitive promotion from lower grades, it will be now and then possible to fill a place with a former employe of the service temporarily better than it can be filled by transfer, or from among the substitutes, or from the eligible list. Such cases will be rare, and they belong to the inseparable small evils that always go with great improvements in system.

Having treated this criticism as though made in good faith, the actual facts may be dealt with. The post-office managers are getting along without filling Tousey's place at all; so much for their protestations that they could not spare him. Let us apply the business man's view to other appointments made in this office. Take the somewhat well known case of Mr. W. O. Patterson, who was made superintendent of mails. In some six weeks he has learned one-half of the Indiana scheme so that he can "throw" it. At this rate, in the course of about two years he will, at public expense, become fairly qualified to perform the duties of the place into which he has been put. There is a man working under Patterson, Mr. Mundelle, who wanted the place. He had had years of experience in this very depart-

ment, and, in the various schemes that Patterson must learn, Mundelle can "throw" as high as three thousand pieces an hour. He was in other respects also exceptionally well qualified for the place. Now, not only would no business man in the world have chosen Patterson instead of Mundelle, but no appointing officer bent even upon moderate efficiency, would have done so. But, if the appointing power was controlled by "pulls," the choice of Patterson was inevitable, and such was the case.

The business-man test is very useful, and we may carry the study further. In this post-office, when the new postmaster came in, a new head of the registry department was appointed in the person of Dr. Woodard, a dentist, whose appointment could have no possible connection with fitness for his duties, and the only explanation that has been found for it is that he sang in a campaign glee club in 1888. There was also in this case another man who wanted the place. This was Oscar N. Wilmington, who had served four years as a soldier in an Indiana regiment, having enlisted as a private and been discharged as a lieutenant, and who had already had four years of experience in this very registry department, working thirteen hours a day, Sundays and all. He is a republican who was dismissed by Postmaster Jones, and has been very properly reinstated by Postmaster Wallace. Not only is he excellently well qualified to be the head of this department, but his appointment to that place would have been peculiarly appropriate. It will take Dr. Woodard's subordinates, one of whom is Wilmington, a long time to teach him the duties of his place. Again, it must be said, that an appointing officer, looking only to the good of the service, and to every other kind of appropriateness, would have chosen Wilmington, and that, as between the two, no business man in the world would have taken Woodard. We might carry these reflections further, as for instance in the case of Marshall C. Woods, appointed box clerk. With so many experienced men in and out of the office to choose from, no business man anywhere would have selected for this place a man ignorant of its duties. And the appointment of Woods did not even have the spoils excuse of paying him for work in the last campaign; he was paid for those services at the time.

It is to be regretted that these things have to be told, but they are indispensable illustrations to show that the business-man argument is a very unsafe one to use against the merit system around here.

EVERY friend of the President should warn him that he can not safely refuse to correct mistakes; nor can he safely allow

the head of an office to so refuse. No explanation whatever is attempted of appointments like those of Vandervoort, Fisher and Bagby. Past experience has shown that, though the government is silent, such appointments are not allowed to be forgotten. Their number may be small, when compared with the whole, and the men themselves unimportant, but it is unthinkable that the President will knowingly and deliberately keep even a small class of such officers. The question constantly arises, what power is controlling the President that he does not dare to purify the service? To these cases we must apparently now add another, that of Harry McFarland, whose appointment to some place in the government printing office at Washington has filled the respectable people of this city with shame and indignation. He has a past not pleasant to touch, but if the facts are necessary to make a protest effectual, either to rid the people's employ of such a man or to make the government carry the deserved responsibility of it, the facts shall be forthcoming.

THE enforcement of the civil service laws has found a new friend in General Sickles, of the New York commission. We say it has found a friend because the mere fact that an officer has sworn to enforce these laws goes for nothing. He may even profess that he is going to perform his duty in letter and spirit, and at the same time be planning to evade it. It is only when he acts that we can tell where he stands. Some time ago the mayors of cities of New York were called together to give an account of their proceedings under the law of that state. The following account from the New York *Herald* is of interest:

"All cursed in a chorus in the corridors, but put on a contrite countenance and pleaded ignorance of the law before the commission. Mayor Oliver, of Lockport, however, proved a Tartar, and roused the wrath of General Sickles to boiling point before the close of the admonitory session. General Sickles fairly gasped for breath at the mayor's audacity. 'What is this all about, anyhow?' asked Mr. Oliver, after he had answered a few of the questions. 'We want to know whether you propose to carry out the law or not,' replied General Sickles. 'No, I don't,' answered Mayor Oliver, briskly. 'It's no good anyhow; it's a fraud from beginning to end. It only keeps a man from putting in somebody he wants and makes him put in somebody he don't want. We don't want it, we don't need it, and we won't have it unless we are forced to.' 'What's that?' roared General Sickles. 'Don't you know you took an oath to enforce the laws of the state?' 'Not that law,' responded the mayor. 'There ought not to be any such law on the books. It's a nuisance, no matter how you look at it.' 'I don't want your ideas but your intentions in respect to this law,'

interrupted General Sickles. 'You have violated the statute giving preference to veterans.' 'They are first-class suckers, and I won't give them a place any way,' broke in Mayor Oliver. In a few minutes which followed this outburst General Sickles laid down the law to the belligerent ruler of Lockport in a manner that fairly frightened the audience which had gathered during the inter-im. Finally, pausing for breath, he concluded: 'If I were not a state officer I would knock you over the head with my crutch, you ignorant, impudent ass.' The crutch passed unpleasantly near the mayor's head as the general waved it in his wrath, and the Lockport brave made his escape hastily, and the meeting adjourned.'

General Sickles is a democrat, and is president of the New York commission, and this incident shows that there is a growing contempt and indignation among the people at large with the political office-holders who trick to get around a law that "keeps a man from putting in somebody he wants, and makes him put in somebody he don't want."

THE late Simon Cameron can not be well spoken of. This paper can not give the space which the facts deserve, but there have been few citizens who have been greater enemies of their country. He was not a statesman, yet he held a state in his grip. The reason that he thus held Pennsylvania for many years was not that the people regarded him as skilled in law-making and in public administration, for he had no special faculty in that direction. He got and kept his hold because he understood how to manipulate primaries and conventions, and how to distribute public offices among minor party managers and workers so as to secure for the price paid the greatest amount of personal service to himself. He had no noble ambition; he simply wanted to control "patronage." By a bargain in convention he gave the votes of Pennsylvania to the nomination of Lincoln and got in return the secretaryship of war. The country was in an agony of struggle, yet, to Cameron, political conventions and army contracts were one, and Mr. Lincoln dismissed him. Neither his disgraceful conduct nor the disgrace of his punishment hurt his power. He ruled Pennsylvania like a feudal chief until he got tired and turned the state over to his son, Don Cameron. He is an example that shows that neither good repute nor evil repute can shake the power of a skilled manipulator who controls a party machine. Don Cameron has for some reason lost the control his father handed down to him, and Pennsylvania is now ruled by Quay, who, if people like to live under modernized feudalism, is a thorough ruler who will see to it that no public office in that state is given to any one who will not work night and day to help Quay's personal fortunes.

THE DISCRIMINATING TEST.

Since our last issue John O. Cravens has been appointed collector of internal revenue for this district. He has under him some fifty government officers. Quoting his own words, he says in an interview in the *Indianapolis News* [July 10], that to secure an appointment from him a man must show "that he is an unwavering, active republican. The mere fact that a man may have always voted the ticket is not nearly enough. He must have been an active party worker." With such a brazen-faced breaker of party promises it is useless to reason. If he were asked to reconcile his test with President Harrison's dogma, that "fitness, and not party service, should be the sole discriminating test of appointment," he would, doubtless, laugh at the greenness of a question implying that such a declaration was ever intended to be acted upon. But is the President going to allow himself and his words to be openly discredited by a man whom he has put into a profitable place? It can be said that he ought not, but not that he will not. After allowing the congressmen and Clarkson to loot the fourth-class post-offices at the rate of a thousand a week, and taking into account the great number of other changes, it becomes apparent that a clean sweep is intended and is being made as fast as possible, and that, with rare exceptions, the places are being given to party workers, because they are party workers. This means that President Harrison will not keep his own and his party's promises. It means also that he will give a colossal indorsement to a plain violation of the constitution. Where does Collector Cravens get any right to require that his appointees shall have been working republicans? Where does any appointing officer, from the President down, get any right to require that the men whom he selects to work for the whole people, for pay from the whole people, shall be republicans?

This was the test openly laid down by Attorney-General Miller, and referred to by us last month. There is not a line or a syllable in the constitution, nor in any law, that justifies such a discrimination. Such a discrimination is simply the exercise of the despotic power which absolute rulers, like the Czar, exercise to the fullest extent, and which lesser kings and rulers of all grades have always clung to and practiced as much as possible. It can not be admitted for a moment that that power was transplanted to this country by our constitution. The only test that can be admitted to be found in the appointing power vested by the constitution is the business test—the test of fitness for the business to be done, without regard to the beliefs of the appointee. This was Madison's

view of the scope of the appointing power, and it is the view that will be adopted and acted upon by the country, and when that happens these men now in the pay of the whole people, but who are giving their whole time to proscribing one-half of the people for political belief from more than one hundred thousand places in which to earn a living, will appear small indeed. It is no answer to say that they are following the practice. A bad custom can not make a law.

THE COMING STRUGGLE BETWEEN FEUDALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

It is republican congressmen who now feel the pressure of the civil service law, and who justly recognize the fact that either the law or their right to give places to their personal supporters must give way. A few have lately been outspoken. Congressman Browne, of Indiana, opposes the law because "it is expensive, * * in its examinations it applies wholly unnecessary tests, * * it is a cumbersome piece of political patchwork. * * When a vacancy occurs *the senator or representative* * * *should nominate a person to be appointed.*" Congressman Perkins, of Kansas, says that the "entire system of competitive examinations is a farce, and discriminates against the bone and sinew of the west in favor of the college-bred chap of the east." Congressman Cannon, of Illinois, says: "I think it is an infernal nuisance. *I have found it to be in my way very materially in many instances*, and I would rather like to get it out of my way." Congressman Taylor, of Ohio, opposes it for these reasons: "Where are the republicans who fought the great political battle and won the marvelous victory of 1888? Out in the cold." Congressman Hawk, of Tennessee, opposes it because "it is un-American, and not in harmony with the constitution and the theory on which the United States government is founded." Further, it is "impracticable, * * and this attempt at an office-holding aristocracy must come to an end."

It would be an easy matter to answer all the objections of these gentlemen that go to the merits. The saving by this system in the New York post-office has more, than paid the cost of the machinery of the law for the entire country. The charge that it applies unnecessary tests is not true, and can not be sustained by Congressman Browne. Over and over again it has been shown that college applicants have comparatively poor success, and that the great bulk of successful competitors are from the public schools. The system does not, therefore, discriminate against the west because here are the best public schools. It is not un-American, because it is the most democratic method of distributing

public employment that has ever been used—the method of fair, open competition, with the prize to the best man. Finally, the only aristocracy in this country is formed by a system of modern feudalism, which these congressmen have helped to build up, and are now endeavoring to fasten permanently upon the country.

But, in fact, when talking to congressmen, no trouble need be taken to answer their objections. They are not urged in good faith, and the congressmen themselves care nothing about them. The real objection is found in Congressman Cannon's declaration, "I have found it to be in my way," and in Congressman Taylor's declaration, that his henchmen are "out in the cold." This is the root of the whole matter. Congressmen care nothing for efficiency in the service. That is not their discriminating test when making appointments. They work desperately to keep in the Higginses, the Dowlings, the Vandervoorts, the Bagbys and the McFarlands. The only question is, shall they give up putting their personal followers into the pay of the public and let these places be filled on business principles, and shall these congressmen get their nominations from the people or from the fourth class postmasters?

If they do give it up, by force or otherwise, undoubtedly some of them will disappear from public life. They keep themselves in place solely by the efforts of their followers whom they have quartered upon the people, and without this support they must fall. An Indiana congressman, who had served three terms, said that so long as he could choose the fourth-class postmasters of his district he could keep himself in perpetual nomination. Probably it is not worth while to reason with the great bulk of congressmen, and show them that if they gained their places because they represented principles which ought to be followed in legislation they would be much better satisfied with themselves and much more respected by the people. Probably the only argument which will have effect will be the one which produces fear. Doubtless congressmen will attempt to block or repeal the law establishing the merit system. Civil service reformers need not shrink from the contest which that will bring on. There will be but one end to this struggle. The use of public office as spoil to permanently engraft upon our government the principles of despotism and feudalism, and thus put the country irrevocably under the heel of the Mahones, the Gormans, the Quays, the Platts and the Cannons, will not succeed. It is not settled that the republican party has the progressive strength left to break up this evil. It is on its final trial. A repeal of the civil service law would have an effect not unlike the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

THE WORK OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

LAST month was given an extended account of the work of the civil service commission in the New York custom house, and in the Troy and Indianapolis post-offices. Since then the commission has further justified the good opinion of it held by the country. At Grand Rapids they received seven affidavits charging a chief clerk of the railway mail service with having collected or attempted to collect money of government employes contrary to law, as was done in the pension office here. These affidavits, however, were denied, and the commission took the only practicable course of recommending to the postmaster-general to prosecute the chief clerk if *prima facie* guilty; if not, then to prosecute the seven false swearers. The commission should have authority to call and swear witnesses, so that their investigations may in all cases be thorough and complete.

Collector Geer, of Port Huron, publicly expressed himself that "to the victors belonged the spoils," and then asked for a special examination. The present civil service commission, having ordinary wits, had no trouble in putting two and two together, and refused the examination and blocked Mr. Geer's plan of getting a lot of favorites on the eligible list. He has been, however, temporarily equal to the occasion. First he got permission to increase his force, and then he reduced the pay of his employes so as to take almost the entire force from under the civil service law. He is now in the process of dismissing one man to make room for two of his favorites, and putting them in under the spoils system. Here is President Harrison's opportunity, and his action will be watched with interest. The only honest way to deal with Geer is to turn him out.

The other important investigation made is that of the Milwaukee post-office. The first report of the commission was seriously adverse to the postmaster. Later the commission made a second and fuller report of the same tenor. To these Postmaster Paul has replied in various and vigorous ways. We have carefully read the statements and reports. Mr. Paul held the view that the service should be equalized between the parties. Any effort to carry out this view was unlawful. When he took the office the employes were all republican; now not half are republicans. This does not happen without special assistance. He was forbidden to have any knowledge of the eligible list; yet he had one eligible list in his office, and does not deny that he always had access to all of them. It does not matter that he cut the one from a newspaper; he knew that he had no right to examine it or to take any notice of it. He says that he was permitted by the previous commission to transfer names, for instance, from the eligible list of clerks to the carriers, and these names

were to be certified for places as carriers. This could have but the one meaning, that the transfer was always to be made by the local board and in every case from the top of the list; but it seems that the postmaster selected any name that he chose for such transfer. He denies that he compelled the re-marking of a paper, but not that he expressed great dissatisfaction with the marking. What right had he to know anything about examination papers which were then and are now kept secret? It is true that he has just published, with many expletives and repetitions, a general denial of all the statements in the report of the commission, but that is not the way to meet specific cases. A few instances have been given, but the report, signed by every member of the commission, makes the most explicit and damaging findings of the worst sort of trickery. It must be borne in mind that this office has been pretty thoroughly investigated. In July, 1888, the secretary of the commission was sent to investigate, and made an unfavorable report. In September, 1888, the chief examiner was sent to make a full inquiry, and reported gross and repeated violations of the law; and now the whole commission finds to the same effect. Mr. Paul's frankness may be questioned. For instance, he has repeatedly stated that he was not permitted to know the testimony, yet the report of the three commissioners states that Shiddy and Johnson testified in Mr. Paul's presence. These were the main witnesses. It is now reported that Mr. Paul is being supported by a republican congressman. Doubtless the latter is looking to the time when his henchman will succeed Mr. Paul, and he does not want any precedent against manipulating the law.

—Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt has received a letter signed by the President and other members of the board of officers of the Brookline Civil Service Reform Association, of Brookline, Mass., congratulating him upon his appointment as civil service commissioner and upon the earnestness with which he has taken hold of his duties. The letter concludes as follows:

"The republicans in this town—a thousand in number—are almost unanimously civil service reformers and believe sincerely in a non-partisan civil service, with admission to and continuance in office depending upon ascertained ability. We write this letter because it would appear from the tone of a portion of the public press that some of the 'spoilsmen' of our own party are inclined to evade the pledges of the Chicago platform, and to go backward rather than forward in reforming our public service—and that it may encourage and strengthen you to know that organizations of friends in your own party are noting and commending your good work."

FIRE CHIEF SHAY, at his own request, after thirty-five years of active fire service in New York City, was recently retired on a pension of \$2,500 a year because of disabilities received in the service. Ex-Chief Webster, of the Indianapolis fire department, after twenty-nine years of active service, was kicked out against the protests of the chief business men of the

city because he had declined to dismiss the dozen democrats in the service at the command of Councilmen Trusler and Connett. Meanwhile personal followers of these councilmen are being appointed instead of experienced substitutes awaiting regular employment, and Trusler is already pondering how to behead the man he put into Webster's place because he has not proved pliant. There is not a fireman in the city but feels that his place depends entirely upon the personal favor of three or four men, nevertheless, he goes on about his duty. Meanwhile we allow Fireman Davis to break his arm to save our property, and Politician Trusler, if so disposed, to dismiss him from the service to pick up a new trade and a living if he can. But for firemen and their families to live by the favor of Trusler, a sort of local Robespierre infinitesimally reduced, is "American, anti-Chinese and democratic," and they should be content and proud of their country and especially of their city.

LAST month was given an instance of a congressman countermanding two excellent appointments to the Indian service, although the appointees had closed their business and were on their way to their duties. The reason for this flagrant instance of despotism was that the person appointed did not live in the state where the Indians and the congressmen were located. This office-baron coolly informed the government that persons had been selected for all the places and notified of their selection. It is now proposed that all government places among the Indians, many of which require the greatest skill and tact, shall be filled from the sparse population of the state where the reservation is. The Indians are helpless, and the spoils system has no mercy for them. As long as we are to have the spoils system, it is fit and becoming that that system, worked by congressmen ferocious for patronage, should prey upon these defenseless wards.

PRESIDENT HARRISON's grandfather, President Harrison, said: "There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism. * * * * *

The President has shocked large numbers of citizens by appointing an unusual number of editors of great papers to important positions. It is doubtless true that those papers are muzzled papers from this time forth, but while this manifestation of the feoffing spirit is more conspicuous and offensive, the danger to free institutions is really less than with the practice of giving the country editor the postmastership or some similar position. In this position, under the direction of his congressman, and as his "man," he runs the primaries and conventions; he is absolutely dictator of the political use of his paper, and

with his paper and his office, he is unusually wanting in tact if he can not construct a machine with no creaking to ever reach the public ear. The danger in a democratic government of giving the censorship and power of the press into the hands of a great body of place-holders controlled, and holding at the pleasure of a powerful oligarchy, was apparent from a careful report on the federal civil service of Indiana made in 1886. At that time thirty-four editors had already received places, the bulk being postmasters. In the congressional nominations of that year they were prominent objects. In Lowry's district the editor and postmaster worked for his congressman. In Matson's district the editor and postmaster worked for Matson. In Holman's district the collector of internal revenue and editor "set the pins," worked and had his force at work for Holman's re-nomination and election. These congressmen were all bitterly opposed, and could not have ridden down the opposition of their districts without a subsidized press and an aristocracy of office-holders whose existence depended upon their personal service.

The postmaster at Decatur removed his newspaper office into the same building as the post-office, and was secretary of the county committee. A petition was presented for the removal of the editor-postmaster at Mt. Vernon because "he had used his position to dictate the political action of his party associates and to throttle their freedom of action within party lines." The editor-postmaster at Goodland was charged with getting his predecessor removed on a false charge. The editor-postmaster at Cannelton was active in all meetings and caucuses and was a prominent figure in a factional contest. The editor-postmaster at Boonville was active in "setting-up" Warrick county for a congressional nominee. The postmaster at Paoli was described in the state gazetteer as lawyer, postmaster and editor. These editor-postmasters gave their allegiance not to the President, but to their congressmen, and after the defeats of 1886 caused mainly by their disregard of his pledges, they did what they could to further break him down.

And now President Harrison is promised a like experience. He has appointed a newspaper man internal revenue collector, one White, of West Virginia, whose paper says, just before he takes his oath of office:

"He [Mr. White] is as anxious as any republican to get the changes made as speedily as consistent with good service, being a devoted believer in the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils; and, at the earliest practicable date, every democratic appointee in the office, from the humble and, poorly-paid apple-jack gaugers to the well-paid store keepers and clerks, will be succeeded by Simon-pure all-wool and yard-wide republicans."

This is such coarse disregard not only of the pledges of the republican platform but of General Harrison's own promises, that, as an honorable man, to submit to it must be intolerable.

Whether President Harrison, under the dictation of congressmen, is appointing to office editors of small party papers on a wide scale

is not yet known; if he is, it is the most adroit way that has been found of setting up an aristocratic and exclusive government of congressmen, under the guise of democracy.

THE AMERICAN, DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-CHINESE SYSTEM.

—Public Printer Palmer learned to-day what it is to have control of 2,500 positions, and to have about 10,000 persons, who want to fill them, actively engaged in seeking him. His immense establishment was thronged all morning and afternoon by office seekers, and his desk was heaped up with applications in written form, while he was dizzy listening to verbal statements as to the qualities of applicants.—*Indianapolis Journal Dispatch*.

—Senator Farwell arrived from New York this morning and found over 2,000 letters stacked up on his office desk. The first thing he did was to send for four stenographers, and by working until midnight he thought he would succeed in getting most of the correspondence off his hands. To-morrow he will start out to fix up a few more places for his constituents.—*Chicago Times*.

—Senator Farwell, of Illinois, says: "I have never seen or heard anything in my life like this hunger for office. It is something I can not comprehend. I wonder if it has always been so? I am getting along in years, as you see, but if I were younger and thought I should have to face what I have in the last few weeks, I give you my word there is not enough honor, money or anything else to keep me in the United States Senate. There is nothing that a man can think of that he won't say or won't promise to get an office. I was never as sick of anything in my life."

—During his first two months in office Clarkson answered over 100,000 letters and had "not less than 15,000 personal interviews with senators, congressmen and office-seekers." Giving out his fifty odd thousand post-offices by order of congressmen is only part of his work. His great influence with the President leads those wanting other offices to seek his help. Office-seekers follow him home, and keep him up until after midnight.

—Senator Cullom, of Illinois, says: "I have never been so pressed and harassed in my life as I have been since March 4th. If I had to go through all of this again, I almost think that the rewards of political life would scarcely be adequate compensation. You can have no idea of the persistence of these office-seekers, or of the embarrassing complications connected with the quest of one's constituents for place. The mere matter of letters is enough to stagger one. Why, they come by hundreds, and one is constantly occupied in keeping up with the current correspondence. Each letter involves two or three more, as each requires an answer, and an answer generally calls for a visit to the White House, or to the departments; and so the time goes. And, with all this watchfulness and attention to the interests of one's constituents, there remains the grim reflection that, whatever you may do, you will, perhaps, displease more persons than you can please."

—The *Washington Star* says:

Secretary Windom is probably the most crowded man in the cabinet. Day after day the office-seekers and their friends swarm in upon him, and his room frequently contains forty or more men waiting for a word in his ear. The result has been to delay the natural advance of public business—including the satisfying of the hungry—to a considerable extent, and the secretary is in the habit of telling

those who grumble at the slow grinding of the mill that "if they don't give the jury a chance to retire, they will never get a verdict." Saturday was a little too much for the secretary's patience, and he has given intimation that he will hereafter deny himself to all callers on Tuesday of each week until further notice, in order to give proper attention to important matters pending before the department.

—WASHINGTON, June 24.—There was a conference held at the White House to-day, which will have a great deal of influence in future appointments for Indiana, as well as of Indians for federal offices generally. Early this morning Mr. D. M. Ransdell, of Indianapolis, who arrived in this city yesterday, called upon Attorney-General Miller and was closeted with him for about an hour. He then went to the White House, accompanied by Col. W. T. Durbin, of Anderson, and was shortly followed by Mr. Miller. These men, in company with Private Secretary Halford, entered the latter's office and remained in consultation nearly an hour. It is said to-night that the subjects considered were the collectorship or internal revenue and several other minor offices for Indiana, including the pension board of Indianapolis.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

—The *Franklin Star* says that while United States Marshal Dunlap was in that city yesterday, he asked Postmaster Brown to resign and thereby relieve the strain as to who will be his successor.

—THE *Evansville Journal* says: "Mr. Smiley Chambers, United States District Attorney, has acted very injudiciously, to say the least, in the Vincennes post-office matter." Then it proceeds to condemn him for his "perfidy and superserviceableness in meddling in a matter that he ought to have allowed to take its course. There was no occasion," it says, "for Chambers to go on sundry pilgrimages to Indianapolis and Washington in order to prejudice the authorities against Adams, from motives of personal spite." The *Journal* continues:

He should have let bygones be bygones in the interest of party harmony. He had gotten all or more than he himself deserved. He had attained a position to which fifty other Indiana republicans had better claim. There was a great surprise when he was appointed U. S. district attorney.

—Collector Cooper at Philadelphia, formally took possession of his office July 15. A dispatch to the *New York Times* says:

Later on a number of people called to pay their respects to the new official. Among others were Congressman Smedley Darlington and State Senator Harlan of Chester county, both of whom were closeted with the collector in his private office for quite a while; ex-Surveyor of the Port George Leland, J. F. Weirick, private secretary to Congressman Kelley; Representative Horatio P. Connell, E. C. Knight, Senator George Handy Smith, Mercantile Appraiser Harry Hunter, and a number of lesser lights, all of whom shook the new official warmly by the hand.

Was this a spontaneous congratulatory gathering of the people, or was it the vultures for the prey?

—The anti-Chinese system now seems to be fully applied to Virginia. After a long struggle Mahone, by careful manipulation, assisted by the republican national committee and seemingly by the President, has put his enemies under his feet. He will now rule Virginia for the federal government. Once before the republican party put the state of Virginia into his grip, and no person was appointed or removed without his order. We may expect to see this repeated, and, we believe, with similar disastrous results.

—WASHINGTON, June 27.—Two of the appointments which were agreed upon the other day were announced this afternoon. John O. Cravens is appointed collector of internal revenue for the Sixth Indiana district. *It is understood that this appointment was made with the full approval of all parties interested in the distribution of Indiana patronage, and that the same is true of the appointment of Mr. Philip M. Hildebrand to be surveyor of customs of the port of Indianapolis.—Special to Indianapolis Journal.*

—Senator Higgins, of Delaware, appointed a postmaster at Bridgeville, Sussex county. He consulted one henchman in that county, but though five-sixths of the citizens, regardless of politics, protested, and the local republican club denounced their over-lord, he is obdurate. Later he gave to the brother-in-law of this henchman the position of commercial agent at Nottingham, England; then he appointed ex-Judge George P. Fisher first auditor of the treasury, and the *Morning News* (Rep.) says:

"It is unfair and hurtful to the republicans of this state to be exhibited before the country with a vulnerable candidate for a high and responsible financial office," and "that the republican party outside of the state, including the President himself, should be placed on defensive through an error of judgment in Delaware is a mortification which no rebuke can cure, and which must, therefore, be endured in silence."

Then he appointed Horace Greely Knowles, consul at Bordeaux. To make room for this young follower, an old soldier who left one leg on the field of battle, and carries two rebel bullets, is recalled from a post where he had rendered years of faithful service. Of this appointment, the same republican paper says:

"A man ought at least to be able to earn a thousand dollars a year at home, where he is known, before receiving some six thousand or seven thousand dollars a year under the government."

—The following extract is a vivid picture of a familiar scene. The "reportorial" artist is describing the return of the collector of the port and his private secretary to the custom house to attend to the public business, a place with which politics have no more proper concern than with a bank, a school or a hospital:

"Both had run away to get a rest from the demands of the hungry republicans. Both got back to the custom house at about the same time yesterday. There never was such a scene there as that which was before them. District leaders from New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, and scores of lieutenants from up the state, were waiting for them. They choked the iron-railed stone stairway leading to the collector's office. Clumps of the boys were in all the anterooms leading to the collector's office. In the big room where Collector

Magone had his desk, more boys filled the chairs and lounges. The collector and his private secretary were almost paralyzed. Colonel Erhardt fled to the inner office, and Mr. Hunt, resigned and apprehensive, went to his desk right among the hungry. Those in the outside corridors crowded in, and until sundown the demands of the faithful were heard. It was a continued shout for places, and long before the afternoon was over, the collector and his secretary were wilted. The demands were for the places of the democratic messengers, ushers and laborers. For every place there was a score of new applicants. There are just so many places, and as each hour goes by the number of applicants increases, until Collector Erhardt scarcely knows whether he is afoot or on horseback. Just before leaving the custom house he ordered that the corridors and entrances be placarded with this:

"The collector will have to ask the indulgence of those seeking employment for two weeks.

Official business will prevent his granting personal interviews until that time.

Applications may be directed to W. S. Robinson and given to the messenger."

This is a pleasant and creditable way of transacting the public business. It is called the American way, and is described as essential to the preservation of our institutions. Anything else is aristocratic, and belongs to effete monarchies. This is simple, democratic, effective and economical.—*Harper's Weekly.*

—Mr. Quay's agent, Mr. Andrews, nominally chairman of the republican state committee, has issued a call (without a meeting of the committee), for the Pennsylvania convention to assemble at Harrisburg on August 7. There is really no business to be done. One candidate is to be named—state treasurer; but as he has been designated by the Quay agents, for many weeks past, in the person of Mr. H. K. Boyer, speaker of the lower house of the legislature, the nomination by the convention is superfluous formality.—*The American (Rep.).*

—The situation there is a terrible commentary on the spoils system (the anti-Chinese, American and democratic system). I nearly got into trouble among the throngs down there on offices intent. It is very unpleasant. June has been very cool, and I ventured to say that perhaps their chilly prospects had affected the weather. It was a risky remark. There never was such a situation in the history of the whole world. There are 4,000 applicants for 150 consulates, and I believe that this proportion will be maintained, if not increased, through all the departments. The President, the members of the cabinet, the heads of bureaus, and the representatives are overrun, and the public business is almost at a stand-still.—*Chauncey M. Depew, recent interview.*

THE Civil Service Reform Association of Missouri has held its annual meeting, and the eighth annual report was read. It commends the President for his appointment of a civil service commission, and it censures him for the riot of spoils that has displaced 11,000 fourth-class postmasters in less than three months. It is an encouraging sign that civil service reformers are everywhere showing less tendency to conceal and excuse the shortcomings of the presidential office, by whom ever filled.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—R. A. Haynes, a cousin of Russell Harrison's wife, has been appointed law clerk of the post office department. Salary \$2,500.

—Mr. Spalding, a brother-in-law of Private Secretary Halford, has been appointed postmaster at Champaign, Ill.

—John Hughson, Pullman car porter and rescuer of the wife of the President's private secretary at Johnstown, has been appointed as skilled laborer in the treasury, at a compensation of \$720 per annum, upon the recommendation of the private secretary.

—A friend of Russell Harrison's business partner has been appointed postal stamp agent at New York, salary \$2,500. Visionary people probably expected that Mr. Pearson's plan of promoting one of his hundreds of trained men would be followed.

—Pension Commissioner Tanner has appointed his daughter, just out of school, as his private secretary.

—Indian Commissioner Morgan has appointed his wife as his private secretary. Salary, \$1,200 a year.

—Commissioner of Indian Schools Dorchester has had a special office created for the benefit of his wife. Salary, \$6 a day.

—The postmaster at Augusta, Me., has been removed to make a place for "Joe" Manley. The sole object for Manley's existence is, and has been for years, the glorification of Secretary Blaine. This is his pay.

—Senator Gorman, who is literally a curse to the state of Maryland, has appointed a postmaster at Laurel, Md. Although a democrat, and although a republican had been named, Gorman claimed the place as his and Wanamaker allowed it. Thus modern feudalism is nourished and grows strong.

—Congressman Smith has appointed Dan Hogan collector of internal revenue for the Cairo, Ill., district.

—Mahone has appointed John G. Watts marshal of the western district of Virginia.

—Quay has appointed Thomas V. Cooper, state senator and ex-chairman of the republican state committee, collector for the port of Philadelphia. Regarding this appointment the *American* [rep], in a few words, shows the grip of Quay upon the state of Pennsylvania:

"Upon this ground it is that Mr. Cooper is selected. He must be furnished with a place. He will serve Mr. Quay. The President, therefore, is pressed to appoint him. And the President consents. He declines the advice of the citizens of Philadelphia, who have in mind the efficiency of the public service, while he yields to the demand of Mr. Quay, who has in mind his own present schemes and the further operations which are to grow out of them."

—Congressman Cannon has had the salaries of certain democratic clerks in Washington reduced, as follows:

Charles H. Rickets, of Charleston, Ill., from \$1,600 to \$1,400; T. T. Doran, of Mattoon, Ill., from \$1,600 to \$1,200; W. Durbin, of Champaign, Ill., from \$1,400 to \$1,200; Wm. H. Smyzer, of Champaign, Ill., chief of division, from \$2,000 to \$1,600; Wm. Carmer, of Douglas county, Ill., from \$1,400 to \$1,200.

It seems that Cannon claims that in 1884 these clerks opposed him, and by reason of the civil service law, he was obliged to modify his order for dismissal to the above.

—Jerry McCarthy, Congressman Banks's nominee for the internal revenue collectorship, and qualified for the office "by a training in the political contests in Massachusetts since his boyhood" and by being "as simple as a child in manner," had the misfortune to find Congressman Lodge's man preferred by the administration.

—WASHINGTON, June 27.—Hon. W. D. Owen, of Logansport, left for his home to-day. Mr. Owen is entirely satisfied with what he has accomplished during his short stay in Washington, and goes away happy.

—Charles H. Litchman, a labor-worker in the last campaign, has been paid by a special agency of the treasury.

—Horace A. Taylor, editor and proprietor of the Hudson [Wis.] *Star and Times*, and ex-chairman of the state republican committee, has been appointed commissioner of railroads.

—O. T. Porter of Albany, Oregon, editor of a republican paper, has been appointed marshal for the district of Alaska.

—H. M. Cooper, member of the republican state central committee, has been appointed collector of internal revenue for the district of Arkansas.

—John Money, chairman of the Tennessee delegation to the national republican convention of 1888, has been appointed minister resident to Paraguay and Uruguay.

—Clarkson has been doing his work of removing fourth-class postmasters under the orders of congressmen at the rate of one every three minutes.

—Clarkson appointed L. D. Levan postmaster at Wilson, N. Y., although a statement had been filed in the department showing that Levan had been indicted and fined for keeping a disorderly house.

—The postmaster at Hollowell, Me., having been removed on charges, his friends believing the charges to be forged, asked to see them, but were refused by the postoffice department.

—The new assistant district attorney of West Virginia is defending a suit for embezzlement in a former public office. The principal deputy marshal is indicted for bribery, the superintendent of public buildings in Charleston is indicted for bribery, and another federal appointee, Ray, has admitted that he attempted to bribe a member of the legislature.

—Henry E Sharpe has been appointed postmaster at Lead Hill, Ark. He was convicted in the United States Court at Springfield, Ill., of sending obscene matter through the mails. He has come out with a defense as follows:

If any one can prove that during the last seven years my life has not been *strictly moral*, or that at any time in those seven years I have related smutty jokes, or indulged in any obscene or improper conversation, or that I have gambled, or been intoxicated, or committed any dishonest act, I will give him my horse, sulky, harness, cow, and calf; all of which are unencumbered by any lien whatever.

It appears that within the last seven years he assaulted his wife and threw her down stairs, and has been more than once a prisoner in the Jefferson Market Police Court, New York City.

—The President has appointed Robert Smalls in face of his well-known record and of strong protest, to a federal office in South Carolina. Here is an extract from his record:

Josephus Woodruff, then clerk of the senate, testified that, in consideration of Smalls' vote to support a joint resolution appropriating \$200,000 to pay the claim of the Republican Printing Company, he gave Smalls a check for \$5,000, payable to cash or bearer. L. W. Zealy, cashier of the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company, testified that Journal A, 437, showed that Smalls indorsed and presented said check on the same day, Jan. 18, 1872, and that it was placed to his credit.

The records of the court will show that for this offense Smalls was tried before a republican judge and a jury, the majority of whom were republicans and of his own race, and was found guilty, sentenced to two years in the penitentiary, and subsequently pardoned by Gov. Hampton.

OPPOSED TO AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

—"My only object—and I think you understand it—is to secure fit men for responsible places without admitting the right of senators and representatives to control appointments for which the President and the secretary, as his presumed adviser, must be responsible. Unless this principle can be practically established, I feel that I can not be useful to you or to the country in my present position."—*Secretary Chase to Lincoln*.

—In the first place patronage is thoroughly un-American. It is a system handed down to us from the worst days of English politics, and it befits a corrupt monarchy, not an enlightened republic. There is nothing American in a system which fills offices by favoritism, friendship, obligation and influence. The American theory is to give to every man a fair field and no favor; while patronage goes entirely by favor and gives no field at all. The great error hitherto has been in arguing as if the purpose of the change was to improve the public service, when we have had for years a good civil service, so good that it may well be doubted whether any change of system would very greatly improve it. The true and the terrible evil of patronage is in the effect upon politics generally, and upon public life and public men. It takes the power of appointments from the heads of departments who are fit to make them and places it in the hands of senators and congressmen, who in the nature of things can know but little about them. *Senators and members of congress are elected to their great offices—for they are great offices of high trust—by the whole people, and their proper duty is to attend to the business of the whole people and not to the wants and importunities of the few.*—*Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge at Lowell, July 4, 1889.*

—I think that at present there are more congressmen who keep in power, not because

they can render good service to the country, but because they know how to manipulate fourth-class post-offices; and when you see a congressman from a country district denouncing the civil-service reform law, you may be sure that that man devotes his time to peddling patronage and not his talents and energies to the service of the republic.—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

WANTON REMOVALS.

The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place, he will be impeachable by this house, before the senate, for such an act of maladministration; *for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.* * * * Can we suppose a President, elected for four years only, dependent upon the popular voice, impeachable by the legislature, little, if at all, distinguished for wealth, personal talents, or influence from the head of the department himself; I say, will he bid defiance to all these considerations, and wantonly dismiss a meritorious and virtuous officer? *Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.*—*Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.*

—The sixth auditor of the treasury, Coulter, has removed his deputy and the eleven chiefs of division to make places for republicans. Coulter says "That's what we are here for, and it is about time that the men who did the horn blowing during the last campaign should have something to show for their labor." The places are worth from \$2,000 upward.

—Miss Moony, postmaster at Maspeth, L. I., has been removed and the place given to a man named Smith. Practically all the patrons of the office wanted Miss Moony retained, and three hundred, including nearly every voter in the district, petitioned for it, but the local politicians were opposed and the change was made. The papers which brought about the change are kept secret by the department.

—President Cleveland removed Postmaster Hankness of Albert Lea, Minn., for cause upon petition and appointed Mr. Stacy, who has served two years. He was a soldier, is poor and has made a good postmaster, but Congressman Dunnell and apparently the government also cared nothing for these matters and removed Stacy and appointed Hankness.

—The postmaster at Vineland, N. J., was removed on the charge of being short in his accounts. Wannamaker, however, kept all the papers secret. Thereupon a committee of prominent republicans, headed by ex-Mayor Mason, made a thorough investigation and reported: "We have examined Postmaster Brewer's accounts, and find them correct, said accounts showing that the amounts due the government have been sent promptly at the time they became due and payable." Dr. Brewer is, of course, a democrat.

—James P. Smith, postmaster at Lehigh, Pa., has been removed to make place for a republican. The new appointee himself remarked, during his canvass for the office, that "he could see nothing derogatory to Smith," but if there was to be a change, he wanted it.

A GREAT MORAL QUESTION.

THIS paper has hitherto had occasion to notice the humane work of the Indian Rights' Association. Mr Herbert Welsh, whose devotion to that cause needs no public mention, has become convinced that any permanent progress in his peculiar work is blocked by the spoils system. This is the conclusion of most other patriotic citizens who have tried to do practical work in any direction having for its object the honor and well-being of their country. To men having had the opportunities of Mr. Welsh, for accurate knowledge of the practical works of the spoils method, it is its immorality that is the essential evil. It is that its yoke-fellow is always some manifestation of brutality, ingratitude, deceit or treachery that makes the system repugnant to all religious and moral creeds. The feeling is becoming a conviction that clergymen of all churches and moral teachers of all sorts, must not shirk the issue or fall behind in the actual work; it can not longer be put aside as a question of politics, it is a question of morals. It was this that induced Mr. Welsh to consult widely, especially with clergymen of all faiths, whether on the national thanksgiving day a sermon might not be appropriately preached on the evils of the spoils system. The approval of the plan has been remarkably spontaneous and hearty. That to preach this sermon is not to condemn any party, any man or set of men; that it is not in any sense a comparison of any periods, is plain from the following circular, which we print in full:

APPEAL TO THE CLERGY TO PREACH ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ON THANKSGIVING DAY, NEXT ENSUING, ADVOCATING IT "SO FAR AS IT INVOLVES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF RIGHTEOUSNESS."

No public question seems to us of more vital or more pressing importance than that of reform in the civil service. It is distinctively a question of public morality and of the national character and integrity, contemplating the arrest of the corruption which now most plainly threatens that character and the honesty of the government. The chief source of this corruption is the practice of treating the enormous emoluments of the public service in all its ramifications and details, including the smallest places and employments, as the prize of the successful party at an election. This is an abuse and an evil for which no party can be justly held responsible, but which has become a tradition of all parties, and with the rapid increase of the patronage the demoralizing consequences are already startling. It turns the patronage of the government, designed solely for the public convenience, into a vast bribery fund. It breeds general corruption by teaching the citizen to expect payment for discharge of a duty incumbent upon every voter, and it tends to transform an election from a popular verdict upon differing public policies into a desperate struggle for the emoluments of place.

The disastrous effect of this corrupting system not only upon the politics and the public service, but upon the standards of public duty and official conduct, upon the self-respect of the people and a pure public spirit, can not be too seriously stated or too carefully considered. The greatest American statesmen of all parties, the most eminent jurists, the most patriotic and devoted divines, and political students and observers of all countries have pointed out the nature and consequences of this evil, the correction of which is a necessity transcending in importance all merely party aims and political policies of administration. Already public opinion has

manifested itself so strongly that admirable national and state laws of limited application have been enacted, and their honest enforcement is conceded to be of the greatest public benefit. But in such a movement nothing should be considered done while anything remains to do. Every patriot in every pursuit or profession, and especially every leader and guide of the public mind, may well assist in the beneficent work.

The moral appeal which shall instruct, inspire, and strengthen public opinion to complete the good work, it seems to us would come from the pulpit with peculiar power. Believing that it is its office to apply eternal principles of religion and morals to human conduct, and to aid nations as well as individuals to walk in the right way, holding that George Mason of Virginia spoke a terrible truth which history confirms, in saying that Providence punishes national sins by national calamities, we appeal to the pulpit to demand of the public conscience that specific and acknowledged evils affecting the highest public welfare shall be redressed by simply, obvious and adequate means. In respectfully suggesting, therefore, that on Thanksgiving day, or such other day as may seem to you fitting, you should devote a sermon to the consideration of this subject, we confidently invite your earnest co-operation in a Christian endeavor to quicken the conscience of the people and to lead the nation to righteousness.

Among those who have already allowed their names to be given as favoring this plan, are:

The Rev. Howard Crosby of New York, the Rev. James McCosh, ex-president of Princeton College; the Rev. Francis L. Patton, president of Princeton College; the Rev. James O. Murray, Dean of Princeton College; the Rev. John T. Duffield, of the College of New Jersey; the Rev. W. Henry Green, the Rev. Charles A. Aiken, the Rev. Benjamin B. Warfield, the Rev. C. Wistar Hodge, professors in Princeton Theological Seminary; the Rev. Charles Wood of Germantown, Philadelphia; the Right Rev. Thomas M. Clark, bishop of Rhode Island; the Right Rev. O. W. Whitaker, bishop of Pennsylvania; the Right Rev. Leighton Coleman, bishop of Delaware; the Right Rev. Henry B. Whipple, bishop of Minnesota; the Right Rev. W. H. A. Bissell, bishop of Vermont; the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, bishop of Central New York; the Right Rev. Charles T. Quintard, bishop of Tennessee; the Right Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, bishop of Missouri; the Right Rev. John Scarborough, bishop of New Jersey; the Right Rev. W. E. McLaren, bishop of Chicago; the Right Rev. T. U. Dudley, bishop of Kentucky; the Right Rev. George F. Seymour, bishop of Springfield, Ill.; the Right Rev. Cortland Whitehead, bishop of Pittsburg; the Right Rev. Francis M. Whittle, bishop of Virginia; the Right Rev. David U. Knickerbacker, bishop of Indiana; The Rev. S. McConnell of Philadelphia, the Rev. Phillips Brooks of Boston, the Rev. Thomas F. Davies of Philadelphia, the Rev. Charles H. Hibbard of Germantown, the Rev. J. De Wolf Perry of Germantown, the Rev. W. N. McVickar of Philadelphia, the Right Rev. John F. Spaulding, Bishop of Colorado; the Rev. James Morrow of Philadelphia, the Rev. J. Andrews Harris of Philadelphia, the Rev. George Dana Boardman of Philadelphia, the Right Rev. John F. Hurst, bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.; the Rev. George P. Fisher, professor of Yale College; the Right Rev. J. S. Johnson, bishop of Texas; the Rev. William Ely of Philadelphia.

Bishop Huntington wrote in response to the request made of him:

"The measure you propose for bringing to the attention and the conscience of the people of the country the righteous reform in which you are engaged not only commends itself to my judgment, but it falls in with convictions which have long been vital and strong in my mind. Supreme above all political questions in the nation is the question between right and wrong, integrity and corruption, honor and greediness, in the national character.

Who shall deal with it if not the ministers of Christ, the Master of society and King of men? What have prophets and teachers to do, if not to proclaim the principles of that Master, and so to serve the kingdom of that King?"

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Whitehead, of Pennsylvania, in a recent interview, said:

"I have replied to the circular saying that I would be perfectly willing to exert my influence to have the question of civil service reform brought before the public in the manner suggested. I am very sure that the movement will receive widespread support throughout the country, and very probably the majority of the preachers will elect to take the question as their subject on Thanksgiving day. I can not, of course, lay my commands on ministers of my church to speak on that or any subject, but I shall certainly use my influence as far as possible in furtherance of the movement. Ministers of my church do not preach on Thanksgiving day, but no doubt those of other denominations, the Methodists and Presbyterians, will speak on the question before their congregations.

"It is a matter which may be very fairly treated from the pulpit, as it is entirely of a non-partisan nature, and one which appeals to the good citizenship of every member of the community. We are all of us interested in the question of civil service reform for the reason that our individual as well as our national prosperity depends on the class of men who as office holders carry on the administration of our national affairs. So it is necessary to point out that if righteous-principled and capable men are elected to office, a pure and trustworthy administration may be looked for in return, and that if men of opposite character are placed there, it is not easy to foresee what must be the result. We don't desire that every Tom, Dick and Harry that comes along seeking office should be elected because he has sufficient influence to place him there. The question is one on which the public should be thoroughly informed, and when such men as Bishop Huntington, of central New York, interest themselves in it, it will be sure to obtain very general attention.

"I have not had an opportunity of forming an intelligent opinion as to the particular manner in which the question should be treated, but since the reform leaders promise to distribute a quantity of literature throughout the country, dealing fully with the matter, and that as Thanksgiving day is still some way off, ample time will be afforded everybody to familiarize themselves with the question."

Whether every clergyman in this state or whether a handful preach this sermon, good has already been accomplished by the suggestion, but it would be unfortunate to miss a noble opportunity. And those ministers of the gospel who will investigate an evil that is no less deadly because it loves darkness and privacy, who will have the courage to say that the spoils system is a slave system brutalizing to those in power, and debasing to all who work under it, they will find in unexpected quarters sympathy and approval. We should not allow Mr. Welsh to bear all the burden of the working out of this plan. A very little labor on the part of those who approve might surely be given. The clergymen who will preach a sermon on this topic, the layman who will speak to clergymen of their acquaintance might send their names to this paper that further communication may be had.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"Of all the evils which beset public life and which destroy the usefulness of parties and of public men the greatest beyond all doubt is the evil of patronage."
—Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge—Plymouth Address.

VOL. I, No. 6.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1889.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Practical men with their eyes open are aware that patronage is a disintegrating force, and the distribution of the offices almost always makes trouble within the party."
New York Tribune.

WE hoped to publish the questions used here in the civil service examination August 6, but we could not get them in time. They will appear next month, with the rules for marking.

DURING the month the administration has continued its process of making a clean sweep at a good pace for summer vacation time, Clarkson now boasting of 15,000 changes in the post-offices. The plainest sign of the blindness of the administration to its own promises and to the greatly increased sentiment of the country against the use of the offices as bribes, is shown in the rehabilitation of Mahone in Virginia. He has no possible hope of carrying that state except by buying it with the enormous booty of the aggregate federal offices which pertain to Virginia. His triumph would be the triumph of the wicked, and every good citizen should hope for his total defeat.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY CHAMBERS has an assistant named Cockrum who declares that the prosecution against Dudley had no foundation in fact. Nothing has commended President Harrison so much to the country as his refusal to have anything to do with Dudley. This refusal was because by an overwhelming and irresistible weight of evidence, it was, and is, clear that Dudley wrote what is known as the "blocks of five" letter, saying, in effect, that money would be furnished to buy voters in Indiana, and advising that those purchased be taken to the polls in fives. No honest citizen can view Dudley with anything but a true citizen's hatred for a professional corruptor of public morals. It is very exasperating to all such to see one of the public prosecutors stand out, brazen-faced, as the defender of such a man. A proper sense of the proprieties in his superiors would lead at once to the relegation of Cockrum to private life.

PRESIDENT HARRISON was in Indianapolis on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the monument to Indiana soldiers. He was received respectfully, but in no sense enthusiastically. The reason is that he has simply been engaged in a business which does not arouse the approval of the people. It is a good sign that it does not. At the centennial celebration in New York he said that "exacting public duties" had prevented him from preparing a suitable speech, and here, the other day, he gave lack of time as the reason why he had not prepared for the occasion. He has been President now for about five months, and during that time the whole world knows that he has had the one occupation of making vacancies by turning men and women out of public offices and putting other persons into their places, and that these other persons have been given the places to reward them for personal or party services. There has been nothing in his career as President to break the monotony of this work, and it is a matter for congratulation the people are not enthusiastic over it.

COLLECTOR CRAVENS, of this district, has made a good start in his work of putting one set of men out of employment and putting in another, without cause; and he is keeping well to his word that no man shall, through him, work for the people, unless "he is an unwavering, active republican" and "an active party worker." It is natural to expect that President Harrison will restrain this officer who pours contempt upon him and his promises in his own home. It certainly can not be believed that a small politician can thus impudently trample upon the promises of the republican platform and letter of acceptance with no damaging result. The republicans should keep in mind that, sooner or later, they will have to face all the facts. In 1886, after President Cleveland had been in office one year, a careful investigation was made to discover how his acts, in Indiana, squared with his promises. The results were put into a report which attracted attention and did its work over the whole country. The same kind of investigation is promised, next year, of the acts of the present administration. This will be eminently fair and, in fact, it is the only consistent course. The report based upon

the coming investigation will also do its work. If the facts have not kept pace with the promises, the administration will have to shoulder the burden. And beyond all this, in 1892, there will be a more searching examination of President Harrison's management of the civil service than any president has ever yet had. These things should make the republicans move with caution, but, if history repeats itself, they will, in their turn, regard all this as of no consequence.

THE Indiana Civil Service Reform Association has, since the annual meeting the last of January, had \$57 new members, coming from sixty different towns in the state. The high character of the men, the diverse localities from which they come and the varied occupations and professions represented are most encouraging for the future of the Association and for the merit system in this state. Among the accessions are represented the Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist and Christian clergy, which means that this question is at last being considered in its true phase, as a moral and not as a political question. There is an unusual chance for spreading knowledge of the merit system in Indiana if the Association had funds at its command. Every member of the Association should be provided with some of the popular tracts defending the system of competitive tests, so that if inclined he might have at hand arguments and facts for judicious distribution; further, this is the time to arouse discussion and to get a scrutiny into the practical workings of the spoils system by a series of prizes offered to the various colleges and high-schools of the state. The actual workings of congressional patronage, the inhumanity of the spoils system, the democracy of securing places through competition might, with excellent results, be the subjects of prize essays. Especially should every effort be made to convince the teachers of American history throughout Indiana that, although the text-books may omit all notice of the rise and progress and workings of the spoils system, it has, nevertheless, a place in the history of the country that should not be ignored. To print and circulate the needed pamphlets among the teachers of the state would require a considerable outlay.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is not the paper of any particular person, nor is it "controlled by republicans who voted for General Harrison as a civil service reformer." It belongs to the friends of the merit system in Indiana and throughout the west and over the whole country. It means to advocate that system without any regard to the persons or party whom such advocacy may help or hurt. As has been said before, it has no money-making object; the editorial work upon it is done without charge or compensation except the ample reward of knowing that the greatest question now requiring the attention of the American people is making an advance such as it has never made before, and that the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is aiding in that advance. It is true that the paper is actively controlled by those who voted against the re-election of President Cleveland, who had made his record in the management of the federal civil service, and in favor of the election of General Harrison, who had his record yet to make. He is making it now, and at the proper time he will be judged upon it by all friends of the merit system. When that time comes, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will try to judge him fairly. In the meantime, its highest duty is to point out the facts which illustrate the moral and physical rottenness of that enemy of government by the people, the spoils system, the system of using hundreds of thousands of state and federal offices to pay personal and party debts.

AT the request of Postmaster Van Cott the civil service commission has designated the places in the New York post-office which are exempted from examination. These number 30, to about 2,200 employes, while the Indianapolis office has some 16 exempted places to about 100 employes. There is a great deal of humbug and "politics" about the necessity of having exempted places. It is claimed that they are "confidential" places, but the acts of the appointing officer show that this is usually a mere pretense. An inspection of the acts of most appointing officers shows that he fills these "confidential" places purely on the principles of the spoils system. Any officer who is really in favor of the merit system will follow the example of Postmaster Pearson, and will hold these places for the benefit of the rank and file in his office. If Mr. Pearson had a vacancy in the headship of a division, he did not hunt through the city of New York for a man who had done for his party a good deal of campaign work, but he remembered the good of the service and the deserts of the 2,200 men under him, many of whom had had years of experience, and he threw the vacancy open to the subordinate who, upon strict business tests, showed himself best fitted for it.

It is reported that the President has refused the request of the civil service commission that the places of clerks of the census bureau be thrown open to free competition. He has apparently with deliberation rejected another unusual opportunity to advance good government and build up the merit system. That the present commission should ask it is conclusive of its practicability. The reason given by the President that the employment is of limited duration, is another way of saying that in his opinion congressmen, who serve no interest but their own, will make better selections than would be made by competition; and the saying is not true. The other objection of the President is that congress did not intend that these places should be put under the civil service rules. He will not claim to find non-intention anywhere in the law. But it is true that, when it was going through congress, the talk among congressmen, as individuals, was that whichever party was successful in 1888, should have these places as spoil. President Harrison knows of this talk and is apparently governed by it. Nevertheless, it was simply the unofficial talk of a pack of political pirates masquerading under the name of congressmen.

THE Reform Club of New York is spending \$1,200 a month and soon expects to spend \$3,000 a month disseminating its views in relation to the tariff. This amount of effort is worth the attention of civil service reformers. The merit system is in the field against the spoils system, and the complete overthrow of the latter is absolutely certain as soon as the people understand the facts about both systems. These facts can be spread only as rapidly as the means of doing so will warrant, and for this purpose money is much needed. The friends of the merit system are so well organized that the smallest amount of money can be made to count, and if any one feels that he would like to contribute and have the assurance that his money would be well spent, he need not hesitate. Any one may at any time learn what was done with his contribution. There must be many people in the west who would like to help the merit system, but who are not actively engaged in its behalf. Contributions for the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association should be sent to Noble C. Butler, Indianapolis; and for the use of the National League of Civil Service Reform Associations to William Potts, 35 Liberty street, New York City.

WE publish in full a letter from Mr. Welsh to the Boston *Transcript* on the treatment of the Indians by the present administration. It must be remembered that

Mr. Welsh understands entirely what he is talking about, and that, as secretary of the Indian Rights Association, he is giving years of time to the welfare of the Indians. He is, therefore, disinterested. The man who ordered the dismissal of the teachers from Virginia was Congressman Mitchell, and he and his likes are allowed to rule in this matter of the Indians. They care nothing for the Indians. They care only for quartering upon the public treasury certain people who will help them most to re-election. Their view of the Indians is like that of the army contractors who furnished shoddy clothing and wormy food to the soldiers when the best effort of every honest man seemed necessary to prevent the overthrow of the nation. The Indians are to them simply a thing from which personal benefit is to be wrung if possible.

THE EXAMINATION.

The examination held here, August 6, for places in this post-office, may be made to mark an era in the progress of the merit system in this state. Almost at the last moment, the civil service commission added Noble C. Butler and William P. Fishback to the local board; the former is the clerk and the latter is the master in chancery of the United States courts for Indiana. These two citizens are well known throughout Indiana as not caring to work republicans or democrats, as such, into or out of minor public offices. They are in favor of the enforcement of the civil service law, and they want to see the merit system embodied in that law put into successful operation. Because the republicans are in power they do not want the democrats, the labor men, the greenbackers, the prohibitionists, or any other non-republicans to stay away from examinations; on the other hand, they want them to come forward and compete as the law provides they may do, and to all such their names are an ample guaranty of fair play. It may be said, also, that their convictions are accompanied by an entire fullness of courage; in homely language, they are not afraid of any one. The recent examination was conducted in accordance with these views and qualifications; and that with the examination of papers required six days of hard work, without compensation. If democrats did not compete and get upon the eligible list it is their own fault, and it will be their own fault if they do not do so in the future.

And now the successful contestants having obtained their respective places on this list by fair competition, the merit system in this post-office has reached a decisive point. When vacancies occur and three names are certified to Postmaster Wallace from which to make his selection, are the

selections to be decided by "pulls" and a dozen other back-door influences, or will the man who has honorably won the highest place be given his earned reward, unless there is a good business reason for taking the next lower? This, of course, depends upon the postmaster. If he performs his sworn duty he will not dismiss a man without good cause, and he will not hunt for causes nor call things causes against one set of men and not against another. He will, when making selections to fill vacancies, put out of his mind all questions of politics, or friendship, or social, or other outside influences, and will sacredly respect the rights which those on the eligible list have obtained, and will give freely the best of reasons if the highest man is not appointed. The public is an interested spectator and will watch the action of the postmaster in every case with keen interest and with ready criticism for any unfairness. Messrs. Fishback and Butler are entitled to the thanks of the public for days of hard, disinterested work without compensation, and for having consented to be the means of breaking down the tradition that the local board must be appointed to please the head of the office and from those under his control. It is fair to say, however, that Mr. Butler was appointed and consented to serve after the special solicitation of Postmaster Wallace.

THE MAJORITY AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

Senator Hoar writes to the *Civil Service Record* for August as follows:

I think you do not allow for the fact that a very large majority of the American people are not yet convinced of the soundness of the principle which lies at the bottom of what is called civil service reform. They think that it is better to have the party in power appoint men who have shown activity and zeal in its service to executive positions, to hold the party responsible for them, and that in that way we shall get, on the whole, a more honest, zealous, and efficient service than by selecting public agents in any other way.

We deny the last statement. The American people have never believed that it was better to have the party in power fill the offices with men who have shown activity and zeal in the service of that party. The majority did not believe this during the first forty years when it was not done; nor did they believe it when Andrew Jackson did it; nor did they believe it while all the presidents since Andrew Jackson have done it; nor do they believe it while the Clarksons and Wanamakers of the administration are attempting to do it to-day. There has never been a time when the average American citizen, and the great majority are the average, has not condemned the spoils system, as applied by Jackson and his successors. To say anything else is to say that the American citizen's intelligence

became so dulled that he lost his grasp of sound principles of government after seeing those principles practiced for forty years. We are ready for the question, why do the people allow the practice of giving out the offices as rewards to party workers to continue? Why do the Russian people allow the crimes, described by George Kennan, committed by the organization which calls itself the Russian government, to continue? Does any one believe that a majority of the Russian people are in favor of such continuance? Or why do the people of Continental Europe permit themselves to be burdened to the utmost of their endurance by standing armies? Does any one believe that the majority, with an untrammelled choice, would not at once sweep away the whole system? These things continue because the government machines so skilfully unite and handle the minority that the majority are kept under; and it is often only after years of agitation and protest, and sometimes rebellion, that a small part of improvements which a people believe in can be obtained.

In exactly the same manner the people of the United States are kept to a spoils system which they condemn. We speak with deliberation; the number who are in favor of using the 142,000 offices of the United States to give to active party workers, possibly to a new set every four years, is confined to the party machines and to those who are looking forward to an office. They do not comprise one-sixtieth of the people.

Why, then, does the practice continue? Certainly, there is no lack of promises; a glance at the platforms and letters of acceptance upon which Cleveland and Harrison were elected, shows that. These documents were bawled from one end of the country to the other. But the election over, the president installed, the party machine lays its grip upon him. In walk the Gormans, the Vests, the Voorheeses, the Quays, the Mahones, the Hiscocks, and the Ingallses and scare the president off the platform upon which he was elected and upon which he is bound by every principle of honor to stand. Then the Platts, the Hattons, and a small crowd of congressmen who can not possibly maintain their hold upon public life without spoils to distribute, set up a cry that the present is the only genuine American - democratic - anti-Chinese system, and that the effects will be baneful if congressmen are not allowed to continue to pay those who manage primaries for them, out of the public treasury. Then people like Senator Hoar, who are in favor of the merit system, come forward and say that the great majority of the people like these political bosses and want, for instance, Ingalls to arrange it so that those

who ride fifty miles exclusively to help his personal fortunes, shall be paid for this service by a salary out of the public treasury. This is the circle in which we are now traveling.

It is true that, while the American people want some escape from the looting system under which they are now governed, they are not entirely clear as to the best escape. It is only a question of time, however. The merit system, which, in clerical positions, puts public employment up to be competed for and to be gained by the most deserving, wherever it becomes known, makes its way as the fairest and most democratic method of distributing public work that has ever been discovered. As Senator Hoar says, the majority are not yet in favor of it; but the sole reason is that they are not familiar with it. With the final success of this will go the gathering of the smaller offices, like the fourth-class post-offices, into divisions where appointment and tenure shall be governed by the same principles that govern them in every other business. The men who now live upon the spoil of office will then have to go out into the world and earn their living upon the merit system there.

THE TREASURY DOOR SWINGS BACK.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has already noticed the maliciousness akin to devilishness with which republican and democratic administrations attempted to break down the late Postmaster Pearson, carrying this to the extent of allowing a bill of three dollars for repairing desks, only after an exhaustive struggle, and of delaying for four months filling orders for blanks, of which millions were used in a year. The *Christian Union* thus sets it out:

"We give on another page an inside view of the pathetic experience of a man in the employ of the United States Government, whose only fault was his fidelity to the people whom he had been appointed to serve, and who was obstructed at every point of his service because of his loyalty. He was refused proper supplies; was given insufficient and imperfect material for his work; was denied sufficient force for his work; was treated habitually as a suspect; was compelled in frequent instances to pay out of his none too large salary the money which was morally due from the department. Finally, when eight years of this sort of treatment—half of it under a republican, half of it under a democratic administration—had brought him to a sick bed that proved his bed of death, he was dropped from the service altogether to make room for a professional politician, whose appeal for means to do the postal work of a great city will probably not fall on ears as inattentive. And Mr. Pearson's whole fault was, we repeat, that he would devote his energies and those of his subordinates to the service of the public in the department which had been intrusted to him, and would not allow either his own or their energies to be diverted from that service to building up a political machine and paying for political services that either had been rendered him or were expected by him in the future. We leave the story to carry its own moral; moralizing on it would be an insult to the intelligence and conscience of our readers."

It was a fitting end of this treatment that Mr. Pearson should be turned out of his place, without thanks, or gratitude, or appreciation from his superiors. Mr. Van Cott is put into his place at the dictation of Platt, and instantly the energies of the administration are quickened. A commission is sent to look through Postmaster Van Cott's office and see what he needs, and its report is made. There is no complaint now of lack of appropriations, but, at once, Postmaster-General Wanamaker allows an additional \$78,000, and directs the employment of 102 new men. If these 102 new men and this money had been allowed to Mr. Pearson, his men would not have complained of overwork, the labor element would not have interfered, and President Harrison would not have had the excuse of refusing to keep him because he overworked his men.

TYPICAL OPPOSITION.

The Central Labor Union of Buffalo was recently addressed by Mr. Loomis and Mr. Shepard of the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association. As is always the case where the democracy and the practicability of the merit system are explained, great interest was aroused and many questions were asked, and the discussion was carried into the other labor organizations throughout the city. The equal chance for all is the principle which makes the merit system appeal to the judgment and gain the approval of men who compete in the general labor market. The only surprising thing is that labor organizations do not demand that the government labor market shall be taken out of the field of favoritism and "pulls" and brought within the general labor field. A marked accompaniment to this interest in Buffalo was a long discussion in the public prints, especially between Mr. Loomis and the Buffalo *Evening News*. This is the first instance we have seen of a paper attempting to go at length into an argument against the merit system; and the attempt is a very lame one. The arguments of the *News* are statements that it is the "Mongolian system." That it is "the un-American, Chinese competitive system," and is the twin sister of the "un-American, Australian system of balloting." That it is "emasculating the civil service." That the interference "of non-partisan nonsense" with the civil service impairs party organization. That the examination questions are not "practical." That Mr. Loomis is "Mandarin Loo Mis," and so on. The facts to support these statements were entirely wanting.

Very unwillingly, it was obliged to yield to the demand of Mr. Loomis, and publish the questions used in the April examination for positions on the Buffalo police force, which each applicant had had an opportunity to study for a week previous to his examination, and which were:

1. When may a patrolman leave his post? 2. When and under what circumstances may a patrolman absent himself from duty? 3. What is a felony? 4. What is the duty of a patrolman in regard to houses of disorder and ill fame? 5. Is petit larceny to be

regarded as a felony? 6. When is a patrolman empowered to arrest without a warrant? 7. To whom may a patrolman communicate police information or information respecting orders? 8. State three different reasons for which a patrolman may be reprimanded or dismissed from the force. 9. What is a patrolman's duty when requested by an accuser to arrest another person? 10. May a patrolman enter a dwelling-house in pursuit of an offender, and, if so, under what conditions?

To these questions the *News* opposed the following mighty argument:

"It is certainly a proper thing to instruct a patrolman in regard to his duties, *though the more business-like method would be to do so after he has been appointed.*"

Apparently not satisfied with this argument, the *News* goes on:

"Now if Mr. Loomis really wishes to put the matter fairly, let him take the examination papers for places in the federal department."

To this Mr. Loomis replies that he knows of no federal questions of the kind mentioned by the *News*, and suggests that the *News* publish those upon which it has based its statements. This the *News* does not do and never will.

THE NEW INDIAN COMMISSIONER.

Indian Commissioner Morgan's talk has a very healthy sound. He says:

"I have never been an active politician, have never solicited or held public office until now. In company with others I asked for the retention of Mr. Oberly as commissioner of Indian affairs."

Having entered upon his duties he proceeded to re-appoint Indian agents who recommended very largely for his approval their present subordinates. He says:

"These approvals are made with the distinct understanding (1) that the parties named are thoroughly competent to fill the positions for which they are nominated, and that they will be zealous and faithful in the performance of their duties; (2) that their tenure of office is permanent so long as they remain competent and efficient; and (3) that the office reserves the right to remove—for cause only—any employe upon sufficient evidence of unfitness for the position held."

He has also re-issued a circular prepared by Commissioner Oberly:

"No superintendent or other school employe shall be suspended by an agent without authority first obtained from the commissioner, except when, in his opinion, the moral welfare or the discipline of the school imperatively demand the immediate suspension of an employe, in which case the agent may suspend such employe and select a competent person to temporarily perform his duties. Every such suspension must be immediately reported by the agent to the commissioner, with a specific statement of his reasons for the action."

Inquiring into the fitness of the present farmers, he says:

It is not the desire of this office to make any unnecessary changes in the force of farmers, nor to unnecessarily disturb those who are competent and faithful. On the other hand, the quality of service rendered is a paramount consideration, and the good of the Indians must be regarded as outweighing any personal interests in favor of the farmers,

He also states that he will appoint no per-

son as a teacher in the Indian schools who would not be able to secure a similar position in the best white schools where he resides.

THE National League of Civil Service Reform Associations will hold its annual meeting in Philadelphia October 1st and 2d. There is a prospect of a large meeting, larger than was ever before held by the League. It is to be hoped that Indiana will have a large representation taken from different sections of the state.

MR. WILLIAM POTTS, secretary of the National League, has compiled the decisions and opinions on the construction of the civil service laws of the United States and of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The compilation is printed by James B. Lyon, of Albany, and is valuable to students of the subject and to all officers in any manner connected with the administration of civil service laws.

THE Indianapolis *Journal* says "the appointment of ex-Governor Warmoth as collector at New Orleans probably indicates his purpose to engage again in active politics, and that means republican activity in Louisiana."

If, as the *Journal* also says, Warmoth is very wealthy, why does he need the bribe of an office to stimulate his flagging energies?

POSTMASTER PAUL of Milwaukee sent in his resignation, and Postmaster-General Wanamaker accepted it, after telling Paul that the administration had determined to remove him. This is a clear snub to republican Congressman Van Schaick, who was backing Paul on the ground that to investigate this post-office without this congressman's permission was an infringement of "prerogative."

POSTMASTER-GENERAL WANAMAKER says that he is tired to death of receiving delegations favoring this or that man for postmaster, and that he is anxious to get down to real business and improve the service. In about six months he has changed about one-fourth of the employes under him. At this rate he will be ready for real business in about a year and a half. His real business for his remaining two years will then consist in trying to keep his new hands as far as possible from wrecking the public business.

—The attorney-general has decided that when three names are certified to an appointing officer, and one is a soldier, the soldier must be appointed, other things being equal. But he also decided that the appointing officer may still judge of the relative capacity and personal fitness of the soldier. Ordinarily a person is entitled to but three certifications, but the President has just approved a rule that each name on the eligible list shall be certified three times exclusive of certifications with the names of soldiers entitled to a preference.

WE have a large class of political leaders, great and small, in Indiana who, under the name of rotation in office, believe in seizing every place of public employment into which they can work a partisan, exactly as the barbarians seized the lands of the Romans and the Gauls. These leaders never tire of eulogizing Thomas Jefferson. He lived a good while ago, and they evidently believe him a safe man to talk about. Their attention is earnestly called to an extract in another column from Jefferson's letter to Madison regarding the four-year-law, which he characterizes as "the late mischievous law, vacating every four years nearly all the executive offices of the government."

SENATOR BLAIR, of New Hampshire, says:

"Civil service reform, forsooth! It is a humbug. Has the government business been advanced since the application of this principle for the filling of offices? Have we heard of any great improvements which have taken place in the direction of public affairs since this competitive system was inaugurated? I defy any one to show me one single instance where benefit has resulted. The law should be blotted from the statute books."

This is a fair instance of the argument by which the opponents of the merit system think they demolish it. Senator Blair had better examine the history of the New York post-office for the last twelve years, or the bureau of engraving and printing while under E. O. Graves, or the Indianapolis post-office while Aquilla Jones was surreptitiously following the system dear to the Blairs.

L. D. LE VAN was appointed postmaster at Wilson, New York. It then appeared that he had been convicted of keeping a disorderly house, and he accordingly was removed. It turns out that the only foundation for the charge was card-playing in his shop when he was not present, and that the charge was brought in spite by one of the players. It is also a fact that Mr. Le Van is a man of good standing in Wilson, and was a creditable appointment. It also turns out that this very mean trick was played upon him by republicans of the Crowley faction, who wanted offices for themselves, and who hunted up the court records and carried the story to Washington as a genuine proof of Mr. Le Van's real character. This is a fine illustration of the anti-Chinese system, and we commend it to the clergymen who will discuss the spoils system on Thanksgiving Day.

THE Boston *Herald* says that the result of President Harrison's management of the civil service "is to be the perpetuation of the spoils system. * * * President Harrison has settled it. He has fixed his own policy to be that of proscription of all his opponents in office. He has made it impossible for his opponents to have a policy more liberal on their side."

It is well that this hedging for the democrats is begun early. They will have plenty of time to ponder the matter. They will have to decide whether they can get back into office

with the understanding that they are to perpetuate the spoils system. An affirmative decision will indicate a belief that the people will ratify the displacement of over 140,000 office-holders by new hands every four years at the dictation of men like Quay, Gorman, Mahone, Vest, Hiscock, Voorhees, Platt and so on.

WANTON REMOVALS.

The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place, he will be impeachable by this house, before the senate, for such an act of maladministration; for *I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.* * * * Can we suppose a President, elected for four years only, dependent upon the popular voice, impeachable by the legislature, little, if at all, distinguished for wealth, personal talents, or influence from the head of the department himself; I say, will he bid defiance to all these considerations, and wantonly dismiss a meritorious and virtuous officer? *Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.* —Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.

—August 17, the President appointed thirty-nine postmasters. One was at the end of a term, twenty-five were upon removal, and thirteen upon resignation, voluntary or forced.

—In the first five months of his term President Harrison has made 13,000 changes in fourth-class postmasters, against 4,000 made by Cleveland in the corresponding time. Harrison has also made 1,059 presidential appointments to President Cleveland's 854.

—Five hundred and sixty-three new postmasters have been appointed in Iowa since Clarkson was made assistant postmaster general, and he publishes their names in his paper, the *Des Moines Register*. There can be no complaint of the shortness of this measure of his contempt of those who expected his party promises to be kept.

—H. C. Smith, a colored lawyer, by competition secured a place on the eligible list at Nashville, Tenn., and July 22, 1884, was appointed clerk in the office of the sixth auditor of the treasury. He was forced to resign July 14, this year, by Auditor Coulter, the man who said that the horn-blowers should have the places. In answer to Smith, Coulter said: "We want your place. You see the old soldiers are clamoring for places, and we can't put them off any longer."

—Postmaster James A. McKenna, of Long Island City (N. Y.), has been removed after having been in office twenty-eight months. A petition signed by 221 republicans and a large number of others was presented for his retention, and one signed by 410 republicans and all the clergy of the city was ready for presentation. The board of aldermen passed a resolution to the same effect, and the banks and business men generally were opposed to his removal. He had been an unusually good officer, as the facts connected with his office show. No cause for removal was assigned; an inexperienced politician has taken his place.

—President Harrison's postmaster, Godfrey,

at New Albany, discharged all of the letter carriers with these words:

"Gentlemen, there are no charges against your official conduct. You have done your work well, performed to my entire satisfaction every duty required. You are gentlemen, and I wish you well and hope you will have success in life; but you know, boys, you are democrats."

To this the Indianapolis *News* says:

"The New Albany post-office is not under the civil service law, and hence no law was violated by this barbarous deed, but the instincts of fair play, the promptings of common sense, considerations for the public service, and the whole spreading spirit of the time are affronted by such a ruthless act. It is a plea for the extension of the civil service such as President Harrison said he would favor."

THE AMERICAN-DEMOCRATIC ANTI-CHINESE-SYSTEM.

—There are 49 applicants for the collectorship of customs at El Paso, Texas.

—Alderman Gove, of Boston, says: "A candidate's qualifications should be those stated by Zach Chandler—first, is he competent for the place? and, second, is he a d—d good republican?"

—Some fifty republican leaders selected Higgins out of seventeen candidates for postmaster at Fort Wayne and by resolution informed the President. Then some seventy old soldiers met and nominated Dougall. Then some fifty old soldiers met and indorsed Higgins. And thus the "good of the service" is being wrought out.

—The American anti-Chinese system in Brooklyn: It was the duty of Politician Butler to visit the navy yard, find out the vacancies that may be filled, report them to chairman Birkett of the republican general committee, who then made the appointments by selecting persons from the various ward associations. Politician Watkins carried the list of the elect, but, wishing to get in a caulker from his own ward, he asked Butler not to tell Birkett of a vacancy. Butler demurred, and they came to blows, but without decisive result.

—In 1884, Blaine carried Michigan by 3,308, the republicans electing five congressmen and the democrats six. The democrats distributed spoils until 1886, and the republicans then carried the state by 7,432, electing six congressmen and the democrats five. Don Dickenson then gave the democrats the balance of the federal spoils and, in 1888, the republicans carried the state by 22,918, electing nine congressmen to the democrats two.

—Hugh Cullom was in the employ of the city of New York, at two dollars a day, and, as he stated to his grand army post, was twice "assessed" and paid, but the third assessment he refused to pay, and was discharged. He was unable to get work elsewhere, and committed suicide. The New York *Times* justly says that under the merit system of hiring laborers in force in Massachusetts, Cullom would not have been discharged, and the city of New York would not have been the agent of driving him to kill himself.

—Supervisor George Green of the twenty-second ward, Brooklyn, is insane. The reason given is that "during the last six months he

has had his first experience at providing places for the hundreds of men in his ward who placed him in public life. Since Harrison was elected Mr. Green has had no rest. Day and night the place-hunters have flocked to his office or his house, importuning him for his assistance. He was the member of the executive committee of the republican general committee from his ward, and so had to attend meetings almost nightly. A month ago he broke down. It was reported that he had gone away, but he really was kept in close confinement at his home. His physicians held a consultation yesterday and decided that he must go away for six months or he will become violently insane."

Nevertheless the twenty-second ward association does not propose to lose its grip. It "met on Thursday night, and after considering Mr. Green's condition, appointed John Sutton, Henry Bristow, and Major Thomas Bell a committee to look out for the interests of the ward in patronage matters until Mr. Green's successor can be elected."

—Mr. William Barnes of the *Albany Journal* came over to see the President before he left here for Deer Park, this morning. Mr. Barnes was anxious to settle the muddle which has arisen in the division of federal patronage for Albany. He has succeeded in settling the post-office contest, and it is announced to-night that Col. Werner has been agreed upon as postmaster, and that his appointment will be made early next week. Up to the present time the Barnes and Draper factions have been unable to reach an agreement in the matter of the surveyorship for the Albany district. Mr. Draper is backing for the place his law partner, Alden Chester, while Mr. Barnes desires to secure the position for John M. Bailey, ex-member of congress, ex-collector of internal revenue, and ex consul. The Draper people think that Bailey has enough "exes" before his name, and they say that it is time that some other man had a chance at the patronage trough. It is thought that Chester stands the better chance for appointment. Mr. Clarkson is anxious to get the Syracuse post-office out of the way, but he has not been able to settle the matter yet. The present incumbent is Editor Northrup of the *Syracuse Courier*. He has a warm personal friend in the person of Congressman Belden, and as his term does not expire for more than a year Mr. Belden does not seem to be in a hurry to recommend his successor. Senator Hiscock wants Mr. Carroll E. Smith of the *Journal* appointed, and he wants the change made at once. Mr. Clarkson would like to oblige the senator, but as the republican representative is generally recognized where there is one, he finds it difficult to furnish a reason for the appointment of Mr. Smith without Mr. Belden's recommendation. Mr. Smith will be appointed eventually, in all probability, but it is not probable that Senator Hiscock will be able to bring about the change just yet.—*Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 18.*

—Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote to a friend as follows:

SALEM, March 5, 1849.

I am informed that there is to be a strong effort among the politicians here to remove me from office, and that my successor is already marked out. I do not think that this ought to be done; for I was not appointed to office as a reward for political services, nor have I acted as a politician since. A large portion of the local democratic party look coldly on me, for not having used the influence of my position to obtain the removal of whigs—which I might have done, but which I in no case did. Neither was my appointment made at the expense of a whig; for my

predecessor was appointed by Tyler in his latter days, and called himself a democrat. Nor can any charge of inattention to duty, or other official misconduct, be brought against me; or, if so, I could easily refute it. There is, therefore, no ground for disturbing me, except on the most truer party system. All this, however, will be of little avail with the slang-whangers—the vote disturbers—the Jack Cades who assume to decide upon these matters, after a political triumph.

SALEM, June 8, 1849.

I am turned out of office!

There is no use in lamentation. It now remains to consider what I shall do next. The emoluments of the office have been so moderate that I have not been able to do anything more than support my family, and pay some few debts that I have contracted. If you could do anything in the way of procuring me some stated literary employment, in connection with a newspaper, or as corrector of the press to some printing establishment, etc., it could not come at a better time. Perhaps Epes Sargent, who is a friend of mine, would know of something. I shall not stand upon my dignity; that must take care of itself. Perhaps there may be some subordinate office connected with the Boston Athenæum. Do not think anything too humble to be mentioned to me.

ANSWERING A FOOL ACCORDING TO HIS FOLLY.

Theodore Roosevelt says in the *New York Herald*:

"The other day I was passing by one of the large Washington hotels and overheard a prominent politician, a member of congress, declaiming in stentorian tones against the civil service law and winding up the speech with the frantic interrogation to his hearers as to what they thought of asking a letter carrier how many rings there were to Saturn. I do not believe in betting and realize thoroughly that a bet is the fool's argument. Nevertheless, there are occasions when it is necessary to 'answer a fool according to his folly,' and I deemed this to be one of them. I could not resist speaking and saying that I had unavoidably overheard what was being said and that I was willing to wager \$100 to \$10 at that moment that neither the speaker nor any one else could give an instance where a letter carrier had been asked such a question as that about the rings of Saturn. At first the orator vociferously insisted that his statement was perfectly true, though he declined to back it up by betting, even when the odds were raised to twenty to one. Finally he stated that he had said what he did on the authority of a friend whom he knew was well informed, and then further admitted that it was not a letter carrier, perhaps, after all.

"I had almost precisely the same experience when I was last in Indianapolis, where one rather loud-mouthed gentleman insisted that the candidates at the recent examination for the railway mail service had been asked the distance from the earth to Mars. He was only reduced to silence by the same final argument of a bet at any odds he chose to make. These two instances are simply examples of the reckless and persistent untruths that are continually uttered about the civil service examinations."

ANTI-AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

—"It [the four years tenure] saps the constitutional and salutary functions of the President, and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leaven the mass not only of senators, but of citizens. It is more baneful than the attempt, which failed in the beginning of the government, to make all officers irremovable but with the consent of the senate. This places, every four years, all appointments under their power, and even obliges them to act on any one nomination. It will keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants of office; render them, as well as those in place, sycophants to their senators; engage these in eternal intrigue to turn out one and put in another, in cabals to swap work, and make of them (i. e., the senators) what all executive directories become, mere sinks of corruption and faction."—*Thomas Jefferson to James Madison.*

—"My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trusts which you have committed to me."—*Senator Benjamin Harrison.*

—"The public will never be made to believe that the appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone, uninfluenced by family views; nor can they ever see with approbation offices, the disposal of which they entrust to their presidents for public purposes, divided out as family property."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—Congressman Posey, of the first Indiana district, has appointed Stokes Bennett postmaster at Evansville. Bennett was chairman of the republican county committee.

—E. J. Marsh, editor of the *Portland Commercial*, has been made postmaster at Portland, Ind., in place of Lourie, removed.

—William Monaghan, chairman of the republican state committee of Ohio, has been appointed consul to Chatham, Ontario.

—Editor Goss, of the *Barnstable Patriot*, has been made collector of that port.

—Editor John Mahen, of the *Muscatine Journal*, has been made postmaster at that place.

—Delegate Rentfro, a Harrison man at the last national convention, has been appointed collector of customs at Galveston.

—Charles Hedges has been appointed chief of the postal division of the sixth auditor's office. Salary \$2,000 a year. He was the agent of the Associated Press at Indianapolis during the campaign of 1888, and is charged, on good authority, with having used his position unfairly to help the republicans.

—Marion Strong, a negro who can neither read nor write, has been appointed postmaster at Delmar, Alabama.

—It is said that Congressman Gest has appointed such a postmaster at Plymouth, Ill., that it "has already caused a revolt of 150 staunch republicans."

—Congressman Sawyer is reported to have said that he had been offered \$1,000 for his influence in behalf of a candidate for the Batavia (N. Y.) post office.

—Sixth-Auditor Coulter, of Ohio, is reported by the *Dayton Journal* (rep.) as saying:

"I have a list of all the democrats in my office, and every one of them must go before the Ohio election comes off, civil service or no civil service."

—John R. Lynch, colored, fourth auditor of the treasury, has been to Mississippi to preside over a political meeting, and W. B. Gibb, the new postmaster of Jackson, acted as secretary of it.

—The President wanted to appoint W. P. Nixon, editor of the *Inter-Ocean*, collector of customs at Chicago, but, to his regret, he felt that he could not ignore the congressional recommendations of State Senator Campbell.

—Congressman Cheadle, of Indiana, appointed Frybarger postmaster at Noblesville. The latter did not live in Noblesville, and Cheadle's henchmen in that place rebelled. He, therefore, set aside Frybarger and has appointed Nathan Royer.

—Congressman Delano, of New York, has been hard at work changing post-offices. He says: "There are 190 fourth-class post-offices in my district, and 140 of them are now run by republicans. The others pay so little that there is no demand for a change. I am pretty well satisfied with the administration."

—The postoffice department was to-day notified of the nomination by Congressman Van Schaick of W. A. Nowell to be postmaster at Wilwaukee, vice Paul, resigned. Owing to the absence from the city of President Harrison and Postmaster-General Wanamaker no action will be taken in the case for several days. There is not the slightest doubt, however, of Mr. Nowell's appointment.—*Washington Dispatch*, August 6.

—Judge Settle, of North Carolina, has a twenty-seven thousand dollar "pull," as follows:

Thomas Settle, son of Judge Settle, solicitor; Tyro Glenn, brother-in-law of Judge Settle, United States marshal; Douglas Settle, son of Judge Settle, cadet at West Point; B. C. Sharpe, son-in-law of Judge Settle, general storekeeper; Oliver H. Docker, brother-in-law of Judge Settle, consul general at Rio de Janeiro; Mrs. Hellen, sister-in-law of Judge Settle, stamp clerk at Winston.

—Congressman Hall (Rep.) of Minnesota denounces the civil service law as "un-American," and says "to the victor belong the spoils," and "the sooner we get rid of the civil service sham the better for all concerned, and any proposition looking to the accomplishment of such an end will receive my hearty support."

—"I have been treated with the utmost courtesy by Mr. Harrison and the heads of the departments. In almost every instance my requests have been complied with, and I have secured more patronage for my district than it ever possessed before. Not only is this the case in my own district, but in other districts, not represented by republicans, my advice in the matter of appointments has been followed almost without exception. What do I think of the civil service law? At the risk of being called a southern republican spoilsman I consider it a transparent fraud. Young men in my district—and it is a district prolific in bright and brainy young fellows—have to travel over two hundred miles to attend a civil service examination. Several have been on the so called eligible list for several years, and will be on it I suppose till the 'last syllable of recorded time' without holding office. I consider the heads of departments just as competent to select their subordinates as a civil service mugwumpian commission. I shall vote for an absolute and unconditional repeal of the law."—*Congressman Ewart, of North Carolina*.

—Congressman Henderson, of Illinois, removed the postmaster at Woodhull and put his man into the place. The Grand Army post of that town thus recognizes and denounces the power of this office baron:

"WHEREAS, Congressman Thos. J. Henderson, of the Seventh Illinois District, has rejected the application of a worthy and competent soldier for the position of postmaster at Woodhull, Ill., who had the indorsement of the members of this post and other ex-soldiers of the community, * * * and has caused the appointment of a man who was neither a soldier nor the son of a soldier, and *no more deserving than many other equally good and capable republicans of this community.* * * *

"WHEREAS, To make room for this civilian, he has caused the removal from office of Comrade J. A. Widney of this post, who has been an efficient postmaster, and who, in the administration of the office, has given general satisfaction, etc.

"Resolved, That in the name of 200 patrons of the Woodhull postoffice, including the soldiers, we do most earnestly, not as soldiers only, but as citizens, protest against such action of our congressman, which seems to us to be an unjust discrimination in favor of a civilian."

—The distractions caused in Pennsylvania by the distribution of the federal "spoils,"—or rather the effort to distribute them—are noticed in many directions. The Philadelphia and Allegheny quarrels have been scarcely more earnest than those in several other counties. Thus, in Berks there is a general revolt against the dictation of a Mr. High, who professes to represent the President's authority in that bailiwick; and in Lehigh county a strong protest has been made against two individuals who claim the right to say who shall and who shall not be appointed. In Lancaster county the naming of a collector of internal revenue is "accorded" to Senator Cameron, and he would like to get the job off his hands, but the disputes among his friends over a half-dozen aspirants are so vehement that he hesitates to designate any one. At Reading, a postmaster is to be named, in order to turn a democrat out, but the fight is so bitter that no decision has yet been reached, and factional feeling is rampant. And there are a dozen or so quarrels over smaller post-offices in the close and doubtful seventh congressional district, where the republican member-elect finds the "patronage" a wearing and distracting burden, and may well doubt whether its disposal has not made him more enemies than friends.

Similar instances abound from one end of the state to the other. They illustrate how much injury was done the republican cause,

in Pennsylvania, when the President took the amazing step of delivering it over to the control and bestowal of Mr. Quay. That step signified a low level of political action, and it is on a low level indeed that federal affairs in Pennsylvania now stand.—*The American*, August 17.

—About the first of the month Congressman Brower, a republican of North Carolina, gave out that he would be a candidate for speaker of the house, and that he would be supported by some fellow-members from the south. This would prevent the republicans from organizing the house, and was a startling proposal. Brower gravely asserted that this duty was forced upon him by the fear that otherwise the internal revenue laws would not be repealed. Through his friends, however, he adroitly lets the real reason be known, as follows:

"Mr. Brower makes no concealment of the fact that his ground of complaint against the administration is that he has been ignored in the distribution of federal patronage in his state. There are two internal revenue districts in North Carolina, parts of which are included in his congressional district. He had candidates for both of these offices. All of his recommendations to the collectors themselves were disregarded, and now he says that the deputies appointed by the new collectors are not only opposed to him, but are endeavoring to organize a movement in his congressional district to defeat his renomination. They are, it appears, working for another federal appointee of the Harrison administration."

Now comes the President of the United States, holding in his hand 142,000 offices, the duties of which are paid for by the people, and uses some of them with the following effect, shown by this from the *Boston Post* of August 5:

BROWER IN HIGH SPIRITS.

Congressman Brower, the revolting North Carolina republican, was in high spirits last night. His slate for the presidential post-offices in his district, announced in the *Post* of Saturday, was accepted by the President just as it was presented to him by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, and the appointments were announced. Judge Settle's widow is set aside for one of Mr. Brower's friends at Greensboro, and the leading republican worker at Reidsville has to give way to another personal friend of Mr. Brower. At Salem and Winston, also, Mr. Brower's candidates are preferred. In every case the democratic postmaster was removed without fault or cause, except that he stood in the way of a republican deal. What the effect will be upon Mr. Brower's canvass for the speakership remains to be seen, but it is more than likely that, having found "kicking" so profitable, he will continue it for a time at least, with a view of getting something more.

And by this from the *Indianapolis Journal*:

END OF THE "REVOLT."

WASHINGTON, August 13.—The bottom has dropped out of Congressman John M. Brower's little boom for the speakership, and it is likely that his candidacy will not be heard of again. Mr. Brower's object has been to secure recognition in the appointment of postmasters at Greensboro, Winston and Reidsville, N. C. Within a few days his wishes have been satisfied, and his friends say he is now out of the race for presiding officer of the house.

Thus a modern baron brought the Lord Paramount to time.

HERBERT WELSH ON HOME RULE IN THE INDIAN SERVICE.

From the *Boston Transcript*.

To the Editor of the *Transcript*: I rejoice to find that the friends of the Indians in Boston have

spoken on the subject of the so-called "home rule" policy of appointment for Indian reservations, and that the press of the city has given such publicity to their protests. I believe that no more dangerous system of appointment could be adopted, and I trust that you will give me the opportunity to point out the danger of this new method by a single illustration.

Mr. Oberly, the ex-Indian commissioner, recently appointed, upon the basis of information obtained from a recognized authority on education, a gentleman and his wife as teachers in the Umatilla School, Oregon. Let it be noted that these persons were republicans. They closed their affairs in Virginia, whence they came, bought their tickets for their distant home across the continent and started on their way, relying upon the good faith of the authorities who had given them their commission. An indignant protest was sent from politicians in Oregon against this violation of the home rule plank in the republican platform, accompanied with the demand that "earpet-baggers" should not be sent into the state. It was claimed by these gentlemen that already Oregonians had been chosen for posts in this school, and that, moreover, they had been notified by the politicians of the state that they were so selected. Upon this protest Secretary Noble cancelled these appointments and virtually admitted the right of these gentlemen to usurp the powers committed to the President by the constitution.

I know of no persons so far who have been appointed to Indian agencies, under the present administration, excepting in accordance with this home rule principle. I know that many Indian agents at least have been so appointed. Let it be clearly understood that this policy discriminates not only against citizens who are not of the Republican party, but discriminates by its very nature against those Republicans who of all others should be appointed to positions on Indian reservations. Experienced, trained and tried men, by the confession of Secretary Noble himself, will be thrown out under this system, and men in many instances selected by territorial politicians will be accepted. Already under this system an agent was appointed at a western agency whose reputation among the Indians and among competent judges of our own people was bad. So obnoxious was this man to the Indians over whom he served that they have come on to Washington to protest against his retention.

An experienced and successful republican who had served seven years at the Rosebud Agency, Dak., was suggested for reappointment at that place by Bishop Hare and myself. His merits were fully admitted by Secretary Noble, but his son, a young and inexperienced man, and whom we have good reason to believe is not suited for such a post, received the appointment upon the ground that he had been seven years a resident of Dakota.

This policy is a distinct announcement upon the part of the administration that it waives the right to select as agents and employes for the civilization of the Indians from the great mass of virtue, intelligence and training in the United States, and that it will adopt the policy of choosing such employes only from a very limited class of people, who by the force of circumstances, are in many instances avowedly hostile to the Indians.

The appointment of a republican school teacher, a man trained and equipped for his work, an abolitionist of former days, who was recommended by such men as Edward Everett Hale and Lyman Abbott, was directed by Commissioner Oberly, as superintendent of the Indian boarding-school at the San Carlos agency, but up to date failed to receive his appointment, presumably for the reason that the Indian school force in Arizona must be selected from Arizona itself, where naturally, and from the force of circumstances, the popular prejudice against the Indians is intense, and where, from the fact that the population is largely engaged in the mining and cattle industries, the number of trained teachers to select from must be at a minimum.

I ask whether this theory, so-called home rule, as applied to the Indian service upon the reservations, is not the *reductio ad absurdum* of the spoils theory of appointment? And will not these members of the

republican party who believe in the application of wisdom and justice to the solution of this problem enter their protest against the continuance of such a theory as this in the management of Indian affairs?

Respectfully,

HERBERT WELSH.

THE THANKSGIVING DAY SERMON.

The People's Cause, published at 330 Pearl street, New York, contains in its August number many replies from clergymen approving the suggestion of Mr. Herbert Welsh that the Thanksgiving sermons this year should be to set forth the moral objections to the spoils system.

This paper is permitted to publish the following:

Believing, as I do, that there is a moral side to this great question of civil service reform, and that it deserves the serious consideration and attention of the American people, it seems to me entirely appropriate as a theme for a national thanksgiving discourse. On Thanksgiving Day matters that concern the present welfare of the people should be discussed and generally are discussed by the pulpit. I therefore heartily approve of the suggestion.

O. M. HUGHES,

*Pastor of First Presbyterian Church,
Richmond, Indiana.*

OWING to limited space this month, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is unable to print the many letters of approval received by Mr. Welsh, but the following are additional names favoring the plan:

Rev. Phillip Brooks, Boston; Rev. Robert Collyer, Chicago; Rev. J. Andrews Harris, D. D., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia; Rev. William Ely, Philadelphia; Rev. Robert Collyer, D. D., New York; Rev. Leverett Bradley, Philadelphia; Rev. M. E. Gates, D. D., president Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; Rev. J. K. Murphy, Germantown, Philadelphia; Rt. Rev. Hugh M. Thompson, D. D., bishop of Mississippi; Gen. S. C. Armstrong, Hampton, Va.; Prof. J. B. Thayer, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.; John Jay, of New York; Rt. Rev. H. W. Warren, D. D., Denver, Col., bishop M. E. Church; Rt. Rev. L. R. Brewer, D. D., Bishop of Montana; Rev. J. T. Gracey, D. D., International Miss. Union, Buffalo, N. Y.; Rev. William Kirkus, of Baltimore, Md.; Rev. John Cotton Brooks, of Springfield, Mass.; Rev. C. C. Everett, D. D., of Cambridge, Mass.; Daniel C. Gilman, president Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Teunis S. Hamlen, D. D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., of Chicago, Ill.; Rev. H. L. Wayland, D. D., of Philadelphia, editor *National Baptist*; Rev. George Williamson Smith, D. D., president Trinity College; Rev. Wm. Preston Johnson, LL. D., president Tulane University, New Orleans; Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., editor *Christian Union*, New York; Rev. C. W. Park, Birmingham, Conn.; Rt. Rev. Thos. Bowman, D. D., St. Louis, Mo., bishop M. E. Church; Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., rector Trinity Church, New York; Prof. Charles W. Shields, D. D., of Princeton College, N. J.; Rev. F. A. Farley, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. J. W. Chadwick, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. J. H. Allen, editor *Unitarian Review*, Cambridge, Mass.; Rt. Rev. W. F. Mallalieu, D. D., New Orleans, La., bishop M. E. Church; C. K. Adams, president Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Rev. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston, Mass.; Rt. Rev. I. W. Joyce, D. D., Chattanooga, Tenn., bishop M. E. Church; Rt. Rev. Ingraham Kip, D. D., bishop of California; Rev. W. C. Gannett, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. T. L. Eliot, Portland, Oregon; Rt. Rev. Wm. Stevens Perry, D. D., bishop of Iowa, Davenport, Iowa; Rev. Henry M. Ladd, Cleveland, Ohio; Rt. Rev. S. M. Merrill, D. D., Chicago, Ill., bishop M. E. Church; Rev. William R. Richards, Plainfield, N. J.; Rev. T. T. Munger, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Forest F. Emerson, Newport, R.

I.; Rev. Wallace Radcliffe, D. D., Detroit, Mich.; Rev. Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio; Rev. T. J. Brown, Utica, N. Y.; Rev. Henry M. Storrs, D. D., Orange, N. J.; Rev. J. Henry Brittain, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. D. J. Burrell, Minneapolis, Minn.; Rev. Henry Van Dyke, Westhampton, N. Y.; Rev. J. V. Stratton, Andover, Mass.; Rev. John De Witt, D. D., Chicago.

THE ELIGIBLE LIST.

At the examination, held August 6th, for positions in the Indianapolis post-office, out of 130 examined for places as carriers 68 passed; out of 60 examined for places as clerks 37 passed.

The following is the eligible list as it now stands in this office. Those marked with a star were examined in February. A successful contestant retains his place on the list one year. When Postmaster Wallace has a vacancy to fill the local board certifies to him the highest three names and from these he must make his choice. The two not chosen are entitled to two more certifications, but if not then chosen they are no longer on the list. Nothing but the soundest business reason warrants a postmaster in omitting to take the men as they stand on the list. The next regular examination occurs in February, 1890.

CLERKS.

Lee S. Nicholson.....92	John G. Edmunds*.....87
Arthur M. Potts.....91	Frank L. Rumford.....87
Walter P. Hanna.....91	John Laughlin*.....86
Chas. H. Baughman.....90	Samnie Barrett*.....86
A. B. Combs.....90	Clarence H. Morpen*.....86
James W. Hobbs*.....89	Bartholomew O'Leary.....85
Walter L. Dynes.....89	Charles O. Williams.....85
Wm. S. Lockman.....89	Royal C. Hammer.....84
Engene M. Wilson.....88	Jesse B. Brown.....84
Joel Armstrong.....88	J. W. Newlon*.....83
John E. Clinton.....88	R. H. Obriet*.....83
Raphael Van Wie.....88	Calvin Hollwell*.....83
John F. Brasier.....83	William G. Tallentire.....77
Allison Mundell.....83	James R. East.....77
William E. Tousey.....83	Michael L. Jefferson.....77
Hugh A. Cummings*.....82	Lemuel F. Apple*.....76
James H. Malcolm.....82	Crawford Thomas.....76
Henry M. DeWitt*.....81	Thomas Hembl.....76
J. C. Brown*.....81	Henry S. George*.....74
William E. Avery.....80	Jonathan A. Guyman.....74
Don D. Wells*.....79	Wm. B. Culbertson.....74
Charles H. Evans*.....79	George B. Bowers.....74
Harry E. Negley.....79	Thomas Judd*.....72
William H. Doll.....78	John F. Ford.....72
Charles W. Fenton*.....78	Edward Nell.....72
John L. Etter*.....78	Elwood Crone.....71
William T. Pfaff.....77	Allen C. Simms.....70
Thad E. York*.....77	John B. Connett.....70
Charles Pott.....77	

CARRIERS.

Charles P. Sample.....94	Stanton T. Jones.....83
Lawrence A. Newby.....91	John H. Reardon.....83
Frank L. Stillwell.....91	Albert E. Braydon.....83
Gustav Schenedel.....90	James R. Fry.....82
Benj. J. Lautz.....90	Wm. Schaub.....81
Walter N. Leonard.....89	Hugh Johnson.....81
Ulysses G. Smithson.....88	Charles Meador.....81
Melville C. Alexander.....86	Abram L. Turnham.....81
Jefferson D. Porter.....86	Edwin D. Duval.....80
Alfred A. Taylor.....85	Charles O. Lombard.....80
Oliver J. Kidd.....85	Otto F. Pfafflin.....80
Frank J. Smith.....85	Robert H. Taylor.....80
Wm. Dawson, Jr.....85	Wm. H. Richter.....80
Albert M. Magley.....84	Elmer E. Denny.....80
Robert H. Jones.....84	Almer B. Richwein.....80
Wm. E. Privett.....84	Willis S. Baughman.....80
Frank J. Gilland.....79	Auslem Hobbs.....72
Charles L. Young.....79	George Knight.....72
Charles U. Hoover.....78	Andrew Auch.....72
William C. Long.....77	Charles G. Pugh.....72
Abram B. Tharp.....77	Edward A. Kiefer.....72
George L. Davis.....77	Benjamin Roberts.....71
William E. Jones.....77	Francis A. Preston.....71
Harry E. Weaver.....77	George M. Duncan.....71
Geo. H. Stieglemyer.....76	Jacob Sonenberger.....71
Ira McK. Bales.....75	Howard White.....71
Charles H. Sterling.....75	Oscar Abbott.....71
Thomas E. Kenworthy.....75	John Sellers.....71
Robert Senour.....74	Robert Felton*.....70
Earl H. Bryant.....74	Albert L. Kerr.....70
George L. McLain.....74	Oscar W. Bush.....70
Henry Barrett*.....73	John W. Bales.....70
Riley T. White*.....73	Oscar P. Hoover.....70
Walter W. Sotherland.....73	John L. Evans.....70
William T. McVey.....73	Charles C. Stapp.....70
Charles E. Kerner.....73	

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For Sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

VOL. I, No. 7.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

POLITICAL DICERS.

Congressman Hall [Rep.], of Minnesota—The sooner we get rid of the civil service sham the better.

Congressman Ewart [Rep.], of North Carolina—I shall vote for an absolute and unconditional repeal of the law.

Congressman Blair [Rep.], of New Hampshire—Civil service reform, forsooth. It is a humbug.

Congressman Ingalls [Rep.], of Kansas—I want to give the men who make my cause their own some of the things we have won.

Congressman Houk [Rep.], of Tennessee—If alive when Congress meets will introduce a bill to repeal it.

Congressman Shearman [Rep.], of New York—To the victors belong the spoils.

Congressman Evans [Rep.], of Tennessee—The civil service law is a humbug.

Congressman Cannon [Rep.], of Illinois—I think it is an infernal nuisance.

Congressman Browne [Rep.], of Indiana—It is a cumbersome piece of political patchwork.

Congressman Perkins [Rep.], of Kansas—The entire system is a farce.

Congressman Taylor [Rep.], of Ohio—The republicans who won the victory in 1888 are out in the cold.

AUGUST 29.—The Pennsylvania Republican Association met in Washington, and Mr. S. R. Stratton, president of the association, spoke as follows:

"The reason why I have referred to our party machinery at all is because I am constantly reminded on the street and elsewhere of the fact that 'we have met the enemy and we are theirs,' that the spoils of victory are in the hands of the enemy to an alarming extent, that the still sow drinks the official swill, and that these still sows are a part and parcel of the democratic herd, bequeathed as a legacy to the republican party by his late eminent highness Grover the first and last. This pork is fat enough to kill, and it ought to be disposed of while the political knife is sharp and the water hot, so as to give place to a few of the lean and hungry republican shoats who have been rooting and digging for the last four years in hopes to get a whack at Uncle Sam's crib before the corn is all gone."

August 28.—The federation of republican clubs of the third Maryland congressional district gave vent to its pent up feelings as follows:

"Resolved, That we, as republicans, pledge ourselves not to support any one for office, either national, state, or city, who is in favor of the present odious civil service or its application in the distribution of public patronage, whereby the majority of appointments are awarded to young men fresh from schools and colleges, while active, intelligent, educated and deserving men of our own party are barred out on account of age or have failed to answer foolish ques-

tions not pertinent to the service in which they are seeking employment. We believe that the present civil service law is a relic of European governments, is injurious to party success, and not at all appropriate to a republican form of government, and therefore should be repealed."

Later the Tippecanoe Club of Baltimore thus joined in the cry:

"WHEREAS, Injustice is done to many good and worthy citizens of this state and county by the existence of a law known as the civil service law.

"WHEREAS, Such a law is known to debar men in the prime of life, although capable, from holding office in the service of the government.

"WHEREAS, Questions not pertaining to the qualifications necessary to fill government positions are asked by the civil service examiners, and we doubt if the civil service commissioners could pass the examination now required for a one-thousand-dollar clerkship,

"Resolved, By Tippecanoe Republican Club of Baltimore, that civil service, as now administered, is farcical and a fraud on the people. We believe the party or people aspiring for political honors and advocating civil service will be relegated to private life at all coming elections. The law was conceived by the democratic party during the prosperity of the republican party. We believe it was concocted through jealousy, and not for the benefit of the American citizen who wields the power of the ballot.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our representatives in congress, and that we urge them to do their utmost to repeal the civil service law."

In Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, Mr. Quay's agent, Martin, who was lately appointed collector of internal revenue, and who has since rapidly organized his office as a partisan machine, appeared as a new assailant of the reformed system. He offered, at the annual meeting of the Anti-Cobden Club, a republican organization, a resolution instructing the club's delegates to the state convention of republican clubs, which will meet in Pittsburg on the 24th instant, to urge the adoption by the convention of a resolution demanding the repeal of the civil service law. The resolution was adopted, and the ball is thus set in motion for a systematic attack upon the law by the united strength of the Pennsylvania republican clubs.—*The American* [Rep.], September 14.

The latest resolution is from the republican "boys" of the sixth assembly district of New York City, with the original orthography:

"Resolved, That we express through the press our opposition to civil service as it now exists, opposing to the benefit of the political opponents of the republican party."

Let it be once understood that no republican who desires a clerical appointment is to be considered in the distribution of federal clerkships, and the party will disintegrate at once. Not that the ordinary voter is a republican or democrat for office only, but because human nature is so organized that the rewards for party service stimulate to action.—*Dayton Journal* [Rep.].

Our mugwump contemporaries have been plunged into grief by Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson's statement that he has scalped 15,000 democratic postmasters up to date. Nevertheless we do not see that their woe has any restraining effect upon the energetic Clarkson. He is too busily engaged in enforcing the wholesome policy of reform.—*Philadelphia Press* [Rep.].

It (civil service reform) is a sort of reform that nobody is crying for, and if the common people could be given a chance to vote on it in any State in the Union—or in the Union as a whole—it would be snowed under so deeply it would never be heard of again. The people are tired of the sham.—*Harrisburg Telegraph* [Rep.].

Pennsylvania and Iowa republicans have already refrained from endorsing civil service reform. The fearful abuse that the Pendleton law received at the hands of the Cleveland administration and the asinine performances of young Teddy Roosevelt have filled republicans with disgust. Civil service reform can not command the support of a corporal's guard of republicans in New York, as well as in Pennsylvania and Iowa.—*Albany Journal* [Rep.].

Fifteen thousand fourth-class postmasters have been removed to date, and Mr. Clarkson remains in Washington with his coat off and his shirt-sleeves rolled up. Go it, Clarkson! Out with the whole 55,000 by Jan. 1. The people voted a change of postmasters last fall. Secure competent men and good republicans; and you can't turn out the democrats too rapidly.—*Albany Journal* [Rep.].

If Commissioner Roosevelt keeps up that sort of talk much longer, there is danger that he will make somebody believe he means it. He is very much in the position of the frontiersman who aimed his gun to kill if it was a deer and miss if it was a calf. It is all right to make the mugwumps believe him just as Cleveland did; but if he causes the working republicans to put much faith in his pretensions, he may cause the administration to see that it has picked up the poker by the hot end, and something must be dropped.—*Binghamton Republican* [Rep.].

The Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* (Rep.) says, "We are glad to hear it" of a statement that President Harrison is turning out postmasters fifty times as fast as did President Jackson.

The whole thing is a snare and a sham. It is, in theory, obnoxious to the American people. It has in no manner resulted in bettering the government service. Neither political party is honest about its enforcement. The republicans were for it when the democrats were in power. They are not for it now, but the democrats are.—*Washington Post* [Frank Hatton's paper].

Neither political party cares a continental about this humbug, civil service reform. The genius of our institutions is opposed to the whole scheme, and some day people will find this out. Heretofore the mugwumps have had everything their own way. It is characteristic of the American people, when there is a fad or furor, to take things for granted. Whether through indifference, or laziness, or cowardice, they don't investigate. But the time comes when they consider the reason of things, and when fakirs and imposters are subjected to the inquisition of public scrutiny. The Lymans and Curtises and Schurzcs will not always have full sway for their civil service tomfoolery.—*Evansville* [Ind.] *Journal* [Rep.].

It is suspected that during the lifetime of the fifty-first congress there will arise a man to lead, and enough men to follow, to repeal the law (the civil service law) which protects the enemy and hampers the administration.—*Burlington Hawkeye* [Rep.].

So there will be one bureau (the census bureau) to which competent persons can apply for employment without having to pass an examination on the rings of Saturn, the age of Julius Caesar, or the distance of the moon from the earth.—*Iowa State Register* [Clarkson's paper].

This is the case exactly. Humbug is the one word that describes it, and repeal is the one practical remedy for it. Not only this, but it is and has been from the start an unpopular humbug. It was brought out by such nice people, and was so nicely stuffed and painted that it had some standing for a while in the circles reserved for professional philanthropists and statesmen, but there has never been a day when ten per cent. of the voters of the country would have approved it at the polls, and it has now become such a bald and rickety affair that it only needs a leader with the courage of his convictions, like Senator Blair, to pass an act in congress which will send it to the scrap-heap. And when it is there, good citizens will wonder how it ever came about that they allowed themselves to be wheedled and bullied into tolerating it so long.—*Manchester [N. H.] Mirror [Rep.]*.

ARE THESE DICERS' OATHS?

Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.—*Republican National Platform, 1872*.

Under the constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.—*Republican National Platform, 1876*.

The republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the government, and that congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.—*Republican National Platform, 1880*.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.—*Republican National Platform, 1884*.

The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of

the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."—*Republican National Platform, 1888*.

That we are heartily in favor of such a reform of the civil service as shall make appointments to public office dependent upon fitness and character, and allow removals for cause only.—*New Jersey and Maryland Republican Platforms, 1871*.

We rejoice at the brightening prospects of a thorough reform of the civil service. For the President's efforts and pledges in this matter, we tender him our cordial thanks, and therein we pledge him an enthusiastic unwavering support.—*Connecticut Republican Platform, 1872*.

We are in favor of the adoption of a thorough system of civil service reform, and we indorse heartily the action of President Grant in selecting commissioners under the action of the recent so-called civil service act.—*Ohio Republican Platform, 1871*.

That we indorse * * his recommendations of * * civil service reform, and prompt execution of the power conferred by congress to inaugurate this reform.—*Georgia Republican Platform, 1872*.

The republican party * * is the only party that questioned the dogma that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," and endeavored to introduce reforms of in the civil service, so that honesty, capacity, and faithful attention to official duties might be a better recommendation to office than partisan service, and whose President has proclaimed this new rule of action to the nation.—*Illinois Republican Platform, 1872*.

The administration of President Grant, as illustrated by his * * efforts to reform the civil service and purify the same * * [entitle] it to the confidence and support of every patriot.—*Minnesota Republican Platform, 1872*.

It [the administration] has inaugurated and made zealous endeavors to secure a practical and efficient civil service reform.—*Missouri Republican Platform, 1872*.

We are heartily in favor of such a reformation in the civil service that good character and ability shall be the chief recommendations to office, and not political service rendered or to be rendered.—*New Jersey Republican Platform, 1872*.

That the success of the present national administration in * * reforming and improving the civil service * * has been such as to command the approbation of the great majority of the American people, and justly entitle it the confidence and commendation of every true republican.—*New Hampshire Republican Platform, 1872*.

That the civil service ought to be reformed. * * And in his [the President's] efforts to reform the civil service we recognize a laudable desire to promote its efficiency and purity.—*New York Republican Platform, 1872*.

We favor * * civil service reform as proposed by the President.—*West Virginia Republican Platform, 1872*.

That good administration and freedom from temptation to official dishonesty can be best secured by such an organization of the civil service as shall insure a competent body of civil officers, who shall be undisturbed by the changes and temptations of active politics.—*Connecticut Republican Platform, 1874*.

In conducting the civil service, officers should be selected because of their qualification, integrity and moral character, and the patronage of the government should be so disposed in the matter of faithfulness and economy that it shall not be brought in conflict with the freedom of elections.—*Indiana Republican Platform, 1876*.

The republicans of Ohio re-affirm their unfaltering confidence in Rutherford B. Hayes as a statesman, patriot and republican, and cordially approve and support his efforts for the * * establishment of its civil service upon a basis of purity and efficiency.—*Ohio Republican Platform, 1877*.

That the work of reforming and improving the civil service, which the republican party has undertaken, and to which it alone stands committed, ought to be persistently and resolutely carried forward. We fully indorse the utterances of the Cincinnati platform, and of the letter of acceptance of President Hayes on this subject, that nominations to office ought to be made upon the sole responsibility of the executive department, without the dictation or control of members of congress; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only claim and qualification for office; that partisan service should not be expected or desired from public officers, who should give their whole service to the government and the people, and that the term of office should depend upon untarnished personal character and the satisfactory performance of official duties, and not upon political changes; and we cordially sustain and approve the policy and action of the President in conducting his administration in fulfillment of his distinct pledge upon these principles. Recognizing that the work of correcting the abuses that have crept into the civil service is only begun, and that much remains to be accomplished in Massachusetts as well as elsewhere, in order to show convincingly that the principle of civil service reform is accepted as an enduring principle, and not a temporary method of administration, we call upon all departments of the government to give the President their cordial and effective support in making the reform thorough, radical and complete. That the order promulgated by the President for the purpose of restraining the executive officers of the government from exercising an undue and improper influence upon the action of the people in the selection of candidates for office, and in the management of political affairs, it is in accordance with the principle and practices established by the founders of the government. We heartily endorse the order as the first and most important step toward a practical reform of the civil service, and we assure the President of our cordial support in its enforcement.—*Massachusetts Republican Platform, 1877*.

No official or office-holder should be subject to political or partisan assessment, or to interference in any way with his political rights or action, and plain laws should forbid and punish all attempts to make or enforce such assessments or to control or to abridge in any respect the absolute freedom in political action which in this country belongs to all voters alike. In connection with this subject we recur with satisfaction to that portion of the letter of acceptance of Mr. Hayes wherein he declares that the founders of our government meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duty satisfactory. In furtherance of this view we commend as worthy of consideration legislation making officers secure in a limited fixed tenure, and subject to removal only as officers under state laws are removable in this state, and charges to be regularly and openly preferred and adjudged.—*New York Republican Platform, 1877*.

We demand a just and wholesome reform of the civil service as against the democratic "spoils" system.—*Delaware Republican Platform, 1882*.

Such a practical reform of the civil service as shall relieve the executive from the pressure of hordes of office-seekers as shall, by providing some intelligent method for appointments to office, enable our representatives in this branch of the national congress to turn their attention to matters of national concern.—*Illinois Republican Platform, 1882*.

The California republican platform, 1884, demands civil service reform.

The republican party inaugurated civil service reform and enacted the present civil service law. It will faithfully maintain it and cheerfully aid in any needed amendments to give it full force.—*Iowa Republican Platform, 1884*.

The Minnesota republican platform, 1884, rejoices at the improvements in the civil service under the present law, as now administered, and insists on its continuance in the nation and its extension to the states and cities.

We give to the civil service act passed by a republican congress our hearty and continued approval, and in accordance with our last national platform we demand the extension of the principles of that act to all the business offices of the government, and the repeal of the four-years' tenure law.—*Massachusetts Republican Platform*, 1885.

We condemn the hypocrisy of the democratic party in pledging itself, before election, to civil service reform, and after election denouncing, through its press and its leaders, the civil service act as unconstitutional, while the national administration removes tried and faithful public servants and replaces them with persons whose only recommendation is active, and in some instances, disreputable political work. We denounce the hypocritical pretenses under which faithful republican officers are removed on the plea of offensive partisanship, while such men as Higgins, Thomas, Throop, Chase, Pillsbury, Aquilla Jones, and others, some of whose names appear upon the prison records of the country, and whose recommendation is political partisanship, are appointed in their places. While removing elsewhere on the ground of offensive partisanship republicans who edit newspapers, the national administration continues in a high judicial office in the city of New York a prominent democratic appointee who publicly announced himself as having assumed, since his appointment, the control of an avowedly partisan journal. *We believe it is the duty of the republican majority of the senate to oppose the confirmation of any person appointed in violation of the letter and spirit of the civil service act.*—*New York Republican Platform*, 1885.

We favor a thorough and honest enforcement of the civil service law, and the extension of its principles to the state administration whenever it can be made practicable, to the end that the corruption and flagrant abuses that exist in the mismanagement of our public institutions may be done away with, and they be liberated from partisan control.—*Indiana Republican Platform*, 1886.

It [the democratic administration] promised civil service reform, but has made that phrase odious by not only removing but attempting to blacken the characters of thousands of our best citizens, many of them old soldiers, who have been removed from official positions upon the cowardly subterfuge of "offensive partisanship."—*Ohio Republican Platform*, 1886.

No purpose [with the democratic party] to promote a practical civil service reform. * * While conspicuous among the many short-comings of this administration are numberless appointees who have proved faithless and incompetent; the postal service disorganized, and its efficiency impaired, and the public business in other departments delayed and obstructed. * * The principle of the national and state civil service reform laws has our hearty approval. These laws should be executed in the spirit in which they were enacted and accepted by the people, and be advanced and made permanent.—*New York Republican Platform*, 1887.

That we unequivocally condemn the use of patronage to promote personal political ends, and require that all offices bestowed within the party shall be upon the sole basis of fitness. That competent and faithful officers should not be removed except for cause. That the non-elective minor offices should be filled in accordance with rules established by law. That the ascertained popular will shall be faithfully carried out in state and national conventions and by those holding office by the favor of the party. That public office constitutes a high trust to be administered solely for the people whose interests shall be paramount to those of persons and parties, and that it should be invariably conducted with the same efficiency, economy and integrity as are expected in the execution of private trusts.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1882.

We commend every effort to inaugurate thorough and correct civil service reform in all the departments of the national and state administrations.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1883.

We commend every effort to sustain and promote thorough civil service reform in all departments of the national and state governments.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1884.

We at the same time invite public attention to the acts of the present democratic national and state administrations; to the unjust war of the former upon offensive partisans; to the hypocritical avoidance of pledges touching the civil service; to its star-chamber proceedings against republicans, for whose removal no public reason can be given.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1885.

We arraign the democratic party and the present national administration for the general imbecility in dealing with all great national questions. The only energy they have exhibited has been in the displacement of experienced officers without cause and in direct violation of their civil service pledges. The national administration seems to have no policy beyond expediency and no principle beyond the establishment of its succession.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1887.

We as a party, as rapidly as practicable, enacted legislation looking to a pure business administration of government and a system of civil service in deference to a strong recognized public sentiment against abuses of the spoils system. A democratic President was elected largely on the issue of civil service reform, upon pledges which guaranteed an immediate remedy of existing abuses. These pledges have been notoriously violated, removals from office have been made without cause in a more sweeping manner than at any other period in our history of American political parties, and federal patronage has been boldly and constantly used for partisan purposes.—*Pennsylvania Republican Platform*, 1888.

THE annual meeting of the National League of Civil Service Reform Associations will take place as announced, in Philadelphia, October 1 and 2. Any member of the Indiana Association if present is entitled to take part in the meeting.

THE new postmaster at Albany, N. Y., Gen. Warner, is a friend of the civil service law; and, as he is also no coward, the law will be enforced. We are glad to see even one friend of the law put at the head of an office.

By the courtesy of the civil service commission the questions used in the examination for clerks and carriers, held here August 6, together with the rules upon which the answers were marked, are published in this number. Now is the time to single out the questions calling for the distance of Mars from the sun.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE may with propriety call attention to the history of the dismissal of Mr. Webster from the head of the fire department, published in its April number. The coming city election is the proper time to consider such matters and give them their due weight. There is no question as to where the responsibility for this outrage upon the taxpayers and upon a faithful officer belongs.

IN view of the wild talk now being indulged in by prominent republican leaders

and papers against the civil service law, we have thought it best to publish a reminder in the shape of some portion of the promises made in platforms of that party. It would be interesting if some enterprising reporter would ask Ingalls, for instance, the exact status of these promises which being in national platforms, are, *prima facie*, binding upon him. He is a ready and willing talker, and curious people would be glad to know his opinion.

COLLECTOR CRAVENS, who said that before any one should work for the people under him, he must not only have always voted the republican ticket, but he must have been an active party worker, writes to the papers to say that, up to August 23, he had found work for forty-four men. This means that he had turned forty-four men out of employment for no reason but to make places for forty-four active republican party workers. Will President Harrison say that the party platform and his letter of acceptance have in this case been carried out? If they have not, will he punish Cravens? The latter has some eight or ten more places.

THE St. Louis *Republic* knows how to fight the battle of good administration. It is rendering a valuable service to the country in putting its hand heavily upon the exact evils with which administration is now corrupted. The practices in Missouri growing out of the infamous rule of letting defeated or elected candidates for congress distribute offices may be cited as an example. The facts connected with these practices the *Republic* brings out with merciless precision. There is the greatest need for a paper to do the same work in Virginia.

It is stated that the late Commissioner of Pensions Tanner asked a passing visitor "if he wanted to see the wheels go round." Thereupon he proceeded to the details of an official decapitation. Such devilish enjoyment in inflicting suffering seemed hardly credible, but later reports appear to confirm the account. Now his own decapitation has come, and though deserved, it is painful to think of the pain and disappointment he has brought upon himself and his family. His salary was \$5,000, his pension \$864, his daughter as clerk got \$1,800; his allowances for coachman, horses, and the like, were estimated at about \$1,200 more. Yet this man could exult in wilfully depriving a clerk of a chance for a living.

A FEW days since Secretary Windom had to appoint a chief of the miscellaneous division of his office. The appointment lay between the acting chief, who would

thereby be promoted, and an outsider. The sole objection to the acting chief was that he "had lost his political identity." That means that he had attended to his duties instead of neglecting them to become a party worker in Iowa, where his home was. He was simply competent and had earned promotion from the ranks as a soldier earns it, by doing his work well. Secretary Windom is reported to have said: "This is a republican administration, and, all things being equal, we want active republicans to fill the offices." He appointed S. N. Hartshorn, who had "been a local leader in Ohio politics, and had been of great service to Major McKinley in conventions and campaigns."

GENERAL JOHN POPE has emerged from the involuntary oblivion into which General Lee sent him twenty-seven years ago, to make, in the last *North American Review*, the original suggestion that congressmen in their respective territories should be allowed to appoint the federal office-holders. He also lays down the principle that the successful issue of a method of administration in a foreign country is conclusive proof that that plan would not work here. It must be true, then, that the main principles of the constitution, having been taken from the English constitution, ought to be expunged. It might be well for General Pope to read something of modern administrative literature. He would learn that in Massachusetts and New York there is a competitive system in highly successful operation, and that such a system has become firmly rooted in the federal service.

FRANK HATTON, a pretended republican and-ex office-holder, and now editor of the *Washington Post*, has been occupying himself lately with trying to induce his party and the President and cabinet to break the long list of their pledges for the reform of the civil service; but especially has he devoted himself to the abuse of Mr. Roosevelt. Hatton's last exploit was to print a fac-simile of the civil service commissioner's handwriting and inquire to what clerkship he would succeed had he to pass an examination. Mr. Roosevelt has not applied for any position as policeman, or tea inspector, or engineer, or gardener, or boiler inspector, or foremanship of sewers, or stenographer, or copyist, or clerk, or carrier. If he had, he would expect to subject himself to a test for the position desired. What he has undertaken is the test of answering spoilsmen like Frank Hatton, of holding up the law to a lot of bullying congressmen, and of looking into the acts of certain public officials, who are trying secretly to break the law and their official

oaths. It is the general opinion that he is passing an excellent examination and will be marked high.

NAVAL OFFICER BURT.

The removal of Naval Officer Burt is such as to very nearly indicate that the President means to insult the reform sentiment of the country and the men who originated and have struggled to maintain the reform system. Col. Burt has been twenty years in the public service. He was formerly in the naval office in New York, and was removed by President Arthur to make room for a politician, but was restored by President Cleveland. He has always been a friend of the merit system, and employed that system before it was embodied in the civil service law. His office was a perpetual and complete proof that the system was the best that has yet been devised to govern the employment of public servants. He, like Pearson and Graves, was its fearless and outspoken friend against all comers. Beyond this, Col. Burt was a trained officer, skilled in the complicated duties of his office, with executive ability of a high order, entirely conscientious in the performance of his duty, and knowing no party in connection with his office. How he voted we do not know. He had a right to vote as he wanted to, and the people had a right to his services.

Now, before the end of his term, he is dismissed by President Harrison, and the first information he receives of his dismissal is when he reads it in the morning paper. His efficiency and honesty challenge criticism. In what other employment in the world would a man with twenty years faithful service behind him be treated like a delinquent or a public enemy? The manner of his dismissal looks like the gratification of a petty spite against the men who do not choose to bow their necks to Platt.

Three officers, Pearson, Graves, and Burt, had won a national reputation by the success with which they applied the merit system. All of these, President Harrison has now forced out of place and he has succeeded them with men who knew nothing of the working of the law and who have never been known as its friends. He was in not the least governed by business principles; the new men will not in years be as good as the old. These changes were made because men of the stripe of Platt, the worst public enemies this country has, ordered it. It is an additional proof that President Harrison is working along certain set lines. He has undoubtedly given heads of offices within the civil service law to understand that the law must be enforced. Beyond this he evidently expects to control the country through sub-distributors of the

hundred thousand unclassified offices. If a state produces a dozen office-barons, as in Missouri, he will unite with them, but where one man like Platt in New York, Quay in Pennsylvania, or Mahone in Virginia has got his heel on the necks of all the rest, President Harrison will boldly and before all the country unite with him to the end that by a joint use of the public offices, they may control elections. It was supposed that the republicans had learned their lesson and would never again try to rule the country by bosses. To see the resurrection by President Harrison of men like Platt, Warmouth and Mahone is a surprising and humiliating spectacle.

THE ATTEMPT TO SUBJUGATE VIRGINIA TO MAHONE.

The present Mahone movement in Virginia can not be too carefully studied, nor can the causes which keep it going be too carefully marked. During his term as a senator, Mahone was a nonentity, except that he developed a ravenous and vindictive appetite for spoil. He ruled the distribution of offices in Virginia. Other republican leaders did not like to be ruled, and a strong opposition developed, led by Wise, Post, Brady, Carver, Groner, and others. The quarrel was carried to the Chicago convention, where Mahone was beaten. Since President Harrison was inaugurated each faction has importuned him in turn, and when his opponents went Mahone stood on the corner and jeered. Later an attempt was made to bring about a compromise, and Quay, Clarkson and Dudley, of the national committee, managed the negotiations. This was a crowd congenial to Mahone, and over their signatures they announced that peace had been made. The five-thousand dollar Norfolk collectorship was given to James D. Brady, a very active Mahone opponent, and he "heartily concurred" in the peace. Mahone held his state convention, and never was a convention held that more servilely waited to learn the will of one man and then do it. Mahone had himself nominated for governor. John M. Langston, a negro, who was a republican candidate for congress in 1888, and whom Mahone caused to be defeated, has published a letter announcing his surrender. His reward will appear later. Perhaps Mahone will have the House seat him. Beyond those actually bought, the compromise seems not to have reached, and some could not be bought. C. A. Heermans, having been offered a district attorneyship, wrote:

"From the public prints and from private sources I learn that this appointment and its confirmation was and is at the sufferance of William Mahone.

"There is an irrepressible conflict in the republican party of Virginia that must be settled before I accept office under such conditions, nor should any patriotic republican accept such at the expense of his manhood. Home rule vs. centralized power, the people

vs. bossism, liberty vs. tyranny—these are questions not only of vital importance to the republican party of Virginia, but to the whole people. Whenever a party so far forgets itself as to sacrifice its principles for a mess of pottage—whenever it sacrifices the will of the people to a personal tyrant—whenever it surrenders the rights of the people to one man, then it becomes the duty of the masses to rebuke the men who forget they are servants and assume the role of masters.”

The *Valley Virginian*, the leading republican paper of Virginia, also says:

“We do not question the sincerity of the *New York Tribune* in its appeal to the republicans of Virginia to support Mahone. Were its premise correct there would be some force in its appeal. But when it assumes that he represents “civil liberty,” and that in the “preliminaries to the present convention he made concessions,” our able cotemporary is resting under a delusion. Mahone represents nothing but the most odious phase of machine politics—of boss despotism. His concessions are on the surface. In the practical work of the preliminaries the old vindictive methods were used more relentlessly than ever before. For this reason those who did not believe in those methods refrained from participating in the primaries or the convention, reserving to themselves the right to be felt where the machine can not work—at the ballot box.

“We would suggest to the republican press of the north to keep their hands out of this contest in Virginia. They know nothing about the internal workings of Mahone’s machine. If they did they would not have a word of protest to enter against those republicans who do not mean to be governed by it. It is a fight against the most cruel and relentless political despotism ever known in this country. It is a struggle to emancipate the party from the clutch of the most unreasonable and selfish leader that was ever entrusted with power. It is a contest to break the force of an influence, which, if successful, will wreck the republican party of the country—an influence that has been condemned by the republican voters of the nation whenever called to pass upon it—an influence that came near breaking up the Chicago convention in 1880; which nerved the arm of a lunatic to slay a president—which defeated the republican party in 1884, and which was repudiated by the party in the nomination of Harrison, as well as by the republicans of New York and Pennsylvania in 1882.”

The success of Mahone at the coming election means the subjugation of Virginia to him and the delivery of another state into the grip of a boss. President Harrison has turned over to Mahone the Virginia “patronage.” The whole scheme is a piece of political morality worthy of Italy in the middle ages.

THE PUBLICITY OF THE ELIGIBLE LISTS.

Ex-Commissioner Oberly has published the opinion that making the eligible lists public is the end of the competitive system. This is a strange conclusion. Under the rule of secret eligible lists, the Baltimore post-office, within forty miles of the office of the civil service commission, and employing several hundred men, got out all but less than twenty-five and got democrats into their places. When Postmaster Brown succeeded Postmaster Veasy, he turned out some two hundred of these democrats and put a like number of other demo-

crats into their places. The Baltimore custom house performed a similar feat. In Philadelphia Harrity turned the old employes out of the post-office by hundreds, and not only were democrats worked into their places, but the rule of ward apportionment and giving places to ward workers worked smoothly. In Indianapolis for four years democrats only were appointed, until just before the expiration of the late postmaster’s term when two or three republicans were put in. The advantages of a secret list have found a late illustration in the Milwaukee post-office. We hazard the statement that the offices where the eligible list has been kept from the knowledge of the appointing officer are exceedingly rare.

The appointing officer and the party managers knew how the list stood, but the people did not know. The pressure that Mr. Oberly so so fears did its secret and effectual work unchecked by public opinion. As an influential Indianapolis politician who had one son in the post office and wanted to get a second into his place remarked, “We watched the list until the second could be certified and then had the first one resign and the second one appointed in his place.”

Now the eligible list is printed in all the papers. Anything like a public competition has for thousands of years been a matter of public interest, and it is so in this case. Every appointment made is noted in the public press together with his position on the list. Doubtless “pressure” tries its hand, but public opinion will not permit it to avail. It will not be long before no appointing officer will dare to commit an injustice. Instead of being a damage to the competitive feature, making the lists public is the most beneficial step that has ever been taken in the administration of the law. It will bring members of all parties to the competition, and will drive out favoritism in making appointments. Still more publicity is needed. The examination papers should be open to public inspection, and the practice of requiring certificates of character ought to be resumed, but the names of the persons who certify should be accessible to the public.

IN the summer of 1888 Corporal Tanner stopped at Indianapolis on his way to take part in a campaign in some state farther west. He made a speech here, and so impressed the republican managers with his value as a campaign speaker that they urged every argument to induce him to remain in Indiana. Tanner steadily refused under plea of his prior engagement, and it was not until General Harrison personally requested it that he consented to remain. He made many speeches in the state. There is no doubt but that Tanner rendered President Harrison a real service in aiding to unite the soldiers against President Cleveland. President Harrison understood this and paid Tanner for it with the pension office. He was utterly unfitted for the place. This must have impressed itself upon any one taking the proper steps to find out about a man

whose appointment to office is contemplated. He has had to be forced out, and he must therefore have done serious damage. President Harrison is entitled to the melancholy credit of compelling Tanner to leave after his remaining had become a scandal. The irrepressible inquiry again comes up, How long are the offices to be used to pay personal and party debts?

THE *Indianapolis Journal* of August 15, has an interesting notice of the Dean Pump Works of this city. These works were founded and built up to their present large size by five brothers, themselves skilled workmen. The proprietors take great pride in their workmen. One of them, pointing to a long line of men said: “Nearly every man there owns the house he lives in.” Then the *Journal* goes on:

“There is a system of advancement in the Dean establishment. A boy who comes in to learn the trade, is given every opportunity to do so, and his success lies in his own hands. If he is capable and can keep up with the procession there is advancement for him. If he is not capable he is dropped.”

It is hard to see why rotation in offices should not be applied to these works, and why if the democrats carry the coming city election the Deans should not weed out all the republicans and put none but democrats on guard, and why Markey and one or two other south-side democrats should not control this patronage.

Collector Cravens, with the fifty odd gaugers, weighers and clerks under him, has about completed a similar work and it is impossible to say, if it is good for the internal revenue office it would be bad for the Dean establishment.

The reinstated republican railway mail clerks are reported as saying that the incompetence of the democratic incumbents is the cause of the complaints of the inefficiency of the service, and that they should “go.” If this is true, these republican clerks are using the same tricks to force men out of the service because of political opinions that were used against them. If we follow the line of argument of the *Boston Herald*, the fact that fellow-workmen four years ago by underhanded methods forced republicans out in large numbers, would make it impossible for them to do otherwise with the democrats; all the same, such talk comes with bad grace from men who could themselves never have got back into the service except with some congressman’s collar about their necks, had there not been a steady protest against their political proscription. The deranged condition of the mail service in certain sections of the country is because there has not yet been time to rally from the recent republican loot and to recover the efficiency it had gained since the preceding democratic loot. Congressmen injected their untrained men in great numbers into the service, and former employes were reinstated, good and bad, regardless of their records. Democratic incumbents were dismissed in the same manner. There are incompetent men in the service, doubtless, but they are not confined to one party.

CONGRESSMAN FLOOD of the Elmira [N. Y.] district, and Corporal Tanner had a serious difference regarding the spoil of the pension board, and Corporal Tanner felt obliged to describe that Congressman's mental equipment as follows:

"When Congressman Flood first came into my office my impression of him was that if his brains were blown through a crane's bill into a mosquito's eye the mosquito wouldn't wink. Flood got two of his friends appointed on the medical board, and I don't suppose he is a bit thankful."

Mr. Flood is reported to have visited Deer Park and threatened the President with his resignation if the commissioner were not dismissed. Flood appears to be a doughty chieftain with a firm grasp on the spoil in his domain. Boss Platt and Principal Henchman J. Sloat Fassett undertook to name the postmaster for Elmira, but Flood, when the President hesitated, threatened to resign if he were not permitted to name his own postmaster. Then he proceeded to appoint his brother to the place.

THE first experiment of the administration in using the offices to affect southern elections was in the third Louisiana district. It has come to a disastrous and therefore for the country a happy end. The democrats elected the congressman by 5,000 majority; this was nearly double their previous majority.

THE administration has removed Sharpe, the postmaster at Lead Hill, Ark., and Congressman Quackenbush's man, Stevens, postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., whose careers we noted in July. This would seem to indicate that the balance of the list will be reached—Bagby, McFarlane, Vandervoort, and so on.

WANTON REMOVALS.

The danger, then, consists merely in this: The President can displace from office a man whose merits require that he should be continued in it. What will be the motives which the President can feel for such abuse of his power, and the restraints that operate to prevent it? In the first place, he will be impeachable by this house, before the senate, for such an act of maladministration; for *I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.* * * * Can we suppose a President, elected for four years only, dependent upon the popular voice, impeachable by the legislature, little, if at all, distinguished for wealth, personal talents, or influence from the head of the department himself; I say, will he bid defiance to all these considerations, and wantonly dismiss a meritorious and virtuous officer? *Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.* —Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.

—SEPTEMBER 2.—Corporal Tanner removed fifty-nine democratic medical examiners and appointed republicans.

—August 31 twenty-seven presidential postmasters were appointed; of these, seventeen were removed, presumably because they were democrats.

—The New York Cotton Exchange have petitioned the President to take a business view of the matter and to retain the competent consul, F. F. Dufals, at Havre.

—The President has removed Postmaster W. R. Curran, of Hoboken, whose four years would have expired Aug. 1, 1890. There seems to have been no reason whatever for the removal except to make place for a republican politician. His office ranked high and had shown great improvement under him. There was no complaint. His place had been fought over for months by three factions, and when at last these became harmonized the spoil was thrown to them.

—Three separate petitions, from the shipmasters who visit the port of Rio de Janeiro, from the American residents and from the merchants who have trade relations with the United States, were sent to the President asking for the retention of Consul-General Armstrong, but he was removed. The *Rio News*, published at Rio de Janeiro, says:

"Were such a thing to be done in private life, it would be condemned in unmeasured terms; but when done by a partisan government in whose eyes good service and efficiency, the risk of life and health, all count for nothing, and in whose creed the public offices of the nation are looked upon as the legitimate spoils of a party, it must forsooth be permitted without a murmur. We have read much in some of our exchanges of the religious character of the President and of the high purposes of his government; if this one act is a fair sample of these, then perhaps something less pretentious will do just as well."

—Clarkson appeared in the matter of the Cannelton, Indiana, post-office as a very brazen and awkward prevaricator. He made a similar unfortunate appearance when he attempted to explain the dismissal of Mr. McKenna, postmaster at Long Island City, noted last month. According to the *New York Tribune* dispatch he stated that one or two anonymous letters protesting against the removal had been received, but nothing that could be traced to a definite source. Charles Benner, a republican and corporation attorney, April 4 and June 19, sent letters to the President protesting, and received acknowledgments from the President's private secretary stating they had been handed to the postmaster-general. The letter of June 19 contained a petition for McKenna's retention, signed by 221 republicans, 59 democrats, 16 independents, 90 whose politics were not stated, and 5 prohibitionists. The letter also stated that other petitions were in circulation. June 11, Bishop Southgate, June 13, Mr. Cooper, rector of the Church of the Redeemer, and June 26, Mr. Geddes, pastor of the Presbyterian church, wrote letters protesting against the removal of this faithful public servant. Meanwhile it is asked that Richenstein's appointment be reconsidered on the ground of unfitness, and petitions bearing over 1,500 signatures have been drawn up asking Mr. McKenna's retention.

—P. C. MacCourt, of the liquidating division in the New York custom house, received notice of his dismissal by Secretary Windom, no cause being stated. He thereupon appealed to the President in the following letter:

"As an Irish-American citizen—the race to which you owe your election in this city and state—I appeal to you as the executive of the nation to protect me under the civil service law from arbitrary dismissal by your secretary of the treasury. Yesterday Mr. Windom sent me a printed form dismissing me from the treasury department, I being classified under the civil service, and therefore, I submit, not to be dismissed without cause.

"I have been for four years an employe of the United States government, two of these years doing clerical work at \$70 per month in the assessment division, revenue department, for which my republican friends

doing clerical work, received double the salary. In this office there were twenty-six clerks, I being the one democratic appointee, and during the two years not one of those twenty-five republicans was removed under Mr. Cleveland's administration.

"I therefore appeal to you, Mr. President, as the head executive of the government, to protect me in my rights, and to request your secretary to have me placed on the roll of this custom house, where I have been in the liquidating division for the last nine months, and refer to my record as to how I have discharged my duty."

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

—Congressman Hawk [Tenn.] still breathes threatenings against the civil service law, and he says, if alive when congress meets, he will introduce a bill to repeal it.

—They don't want to remove anybody in some of the departments for purely political reasons. I have no time for this pandering to a lot of political dudes and mugwumps. Thank goodness, we have none of that breed down our way. —Congressman Darlington [Penn.].

—We are pretty well satisfied with the administration. Take New York in comparison with the other states and we have not much to complain of as to appointments. The presidential post offices come slow, but matters appear all right. I have in my district not a fourth-class postoffice worth \$200 a year—not an office that anyone wants—that had not been filled under Mr. Cleveland's administration. The first fourth-class post-office filled in my district was filled on July 30th. On July 30th of this year every one of these offices I had a candidate for—all above \$200 per year—was filled. I believe in civil service reform within the party and not out of it. In other words, "to the victors belong the spoils." In making appointments, however, such victors should be chosen as are most competent to fill the offices.—Congressman Shearman [N. Y.].

—"It (the civil service law) is a humbug. It ought to be materially modified or repealed. I couldn't pass a civil service examination to-day. It is wrong in principle. I don't want anyone to tell whom I may employ in my business. When I hire a man I want to see his face. I don't care whether or not he knows the distance from Mars to the

sun. I want to know if he can do the work I want done. The way to find out is to put him at it, and if he can't do it put him aside."—*Congressman Evans [Tenn.]*.

—Congressman Thompson (O.) says that Ohio republicans in the departments at Washington must go home and vote. The state committee has a full list, and all who fail will be "remembered."

—Senator Plumb says that there have been four times as many changes made in the post-offices in Kansas by President Harrison as were made by President Cleveland in the same length of time, and that in his congressional district there is not a democratic postmaster left.

—What may be seen in the state at large may be met with in less degree in our own county. The bright young man who attempts to get a foothold in political life without selling himself body and soul to the political boss finds his way exceedingly difficult and well nigh inaccessible.—*The Kennett Advance [Rep., Chester Co., Pa.]*.

—DEER PARK, MD., Aug. 28.—Clarkson spent the day with the President. Congressman Owen called. Thirty postmasters were appointed.

—WASHINGTON, Sept. 14.—Representative Cheadle was on the train which carried the President to Deer Park this morning. Mr. Cheadle is expected to return here the first of next week. It is probable that he is working for some offices for constituents, who, he says, have not been taken care of as he would like.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal*.

—In 1888 Joseph D. Upton was the republican candidate for congress in the sixth Missouri district, and was, of course, defeated. In the gradual development of our American feudalism, however, defeated and successful candidates have come to share the spoil. In the exercise of his "prerogative" as congressman, Van Schaick calls it, Defeated Candidate Upton has been dividing the offices in his district among his henchmen. He has 234 post-offices alone. He has proceeded in a business-like way, as the following affidavits show. They were taken in Henry county, Mo., August 28, 1889, and the affiants seem to be entirely reliable and financially responsible. This is secondary evidence, but under all the circumstances it commands belief:

Personally appeared before me, James D. Lindsay, a notary public in and for said Henry county, J. L. Shelton, who, being duly sworn under his oath says: That he is personally acquainted with James H. Trollinger, now postmaster at Palo Pinto, in Benton county, Mo.; that on or about the 20th day of July, 1889, he had a conversation at Windsor, Mo., with the said James H. Trollinger, in which said Trollinger told this affiant the manner in which he obtained the post-office at Palo Pinto, saying that he, Trollinger, had not thought of applying for such post-office until some man at Warsaw, Mo., suggested that he might as well get the post office as anybody, and that he ought to circulate a petition; the said Trollinger did circulate a petition and got about forty names thereon; that one H. W. Fristoe, one of his opponents for such post-office, had a petition with over one hundred names thereon; that he, said Trollinger, sent his petition to the post-office department, and heard nothing from it for some time; that after-

wards he received a letter telling him to be at Warsaw, Mo., on a certain day; that he went on the day named, and then and there met fifteen or twenty other applicants for post-offices; that he, said Trollinger, was there asked how much the post-office at Palo Pinto paid; that he replied it paid from \$60 to \$80 per annum; that thereupon the man who had made the inquiry told him, said Trollinger, to pay \$6 now; that the said Trollinger then and there paid \$6; that the applicant for the post office at Warsaw gave \$25, and that all the applicants for post-offices paid something, he, the said Trollinger, saying to affiant that the amounts thus paid "made a big roll; a heap too big to pay expenses;" that said Trollinger further told affiant that the money thus paid was for Joseph B. Upton, and further said that for a long time he, said Trollinger, thought his \$6 was gone, but that after awhile his commission came, but that he expected he would have to pay some more hereafter.

Before me, a notary public, in and for Henry county aforesaid, came A. C. Clark, who, being duly sworn, under his oath says: That he is acquainted with James H. Trollinger, now postmaster at Palo Pinto, in Benton County, Mo.; that on or about the 22d day of July, 1889, he had a conversation with said Trollinger, in which said Trollinger told this affiant how he obtained the postmastership at Palo Pinto; he, the said Trollinger, saying that he obtained the appointment as postmaster at Palo Pinto through the influence of Joseph B. Upton; that he paid \$6 for the office, and knew that the said Upton got the money; and that the other applicants for post-offices in Benton county paid in proportion to the proceeds of the offices they applied for, and that this money so paid was to pay Upton's expenses to Washington City. And further, deponent says that he resides near the city of Windsor, and in Henry county, Missouri, and that the conversation above narrated occurred at said city of Windsor, and further deponent saith not.

Before me, James D. Lindsay, a notary public for said Henry county, came George J. Shelton, personally known to me, who, being first duly sworn, under his oath says: That he resides at the city of Windsor, in the county aforesaid; that he is acquainted with James H. Trollinger, now postmaster at Palo Pinto, in Benton county, Mo.; that on or about the 22d day of July, 1889, he had a conversation with said Trollinger at the city of Windsor, in which said Trollinger told affiant then and there how he obtained the postmastership at Palo Pinto; he, said Trollinger, saying that the appointment cost him \$6; that Joseph B. Upton notified him, the applicant for the Warsaw post-office, and others, to meet him (Upton) at Warsaw, Benton county, Missouri, on a certain day; that Upton assessed them all according to the amount of salary attached to the offices; that the Warsaw post-office applicant paid \$25, and further affiant saith not.

—June 24.—Sixth Auditor Coulter informed Chiefs of Division Hardson, Cunningham, Peetrey, Dougherty, Ellis, Farron, Howell, Leach and Johnson, that their resignations were desired. Then Coulter declared that the horn-blowers of the last campaign must have places, and that every one of the democrats in his office must go before the Ohio election, civil service or no civil service. The next is the following:

WASHINGTON, July 24.—Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt said to-day that charges have been brought against both the pension office and the sixth auditor's office that men have been discharged because they were democrats.

The horn-blowers took charge as follows:

WASHINGTON, August 31.—An unusual scene has been enacted in the sixth auditor's office this week. The money order branch of the office is badly in arrears with its work, and in order to bring it up to date and close the business of the fiscal year, Sixth Auditor

Coulter ordered the entire force of the office to drop everything else during this week and lend a hand with this business. Last night the entire force, about 440 clerks, save those who are absent on leave, were at the office from six to nine o'clock.

—The corruption and attempted corruption of the franchise by means of post-office and other "spoils" go on in all directions. We have the word of a trustworthy local newspaper in Chester county—a county, by the way which joins to the distinction of exceptional intelligence and prosperity the less creditable one of being dominated by cast-iron partisanship—that at three post-offices of some importance in the southern section of the county, there are seventeen anxious and hopeful applicants for the place of postmaster, all of the seventeen being fed on hope by the congressman of the district, pending a political contest in which he is interested. At West Grove five applicants are thus "on the string," and at Oxford and Kennett Square six each. Primarily the scandal and the shame of this business lies at the door of the postmaster-general and the President, who put the "patronage" in the congressman's hands.—*The American [Rep.], Aug. 24.*

—The President appointed Theodore B. Willis naval officer of the port of New York, Ernest Nathan collector of internal revenue of the Brooklyn district, and George W. Lyon surveyor of the port. Of these appointments the *New York Tribune* says: "The appointments of Mr. Lyon and Mr. Willis, which directly affect this city, are excellent, and the selection of Mr. Willis as naval officer will be especially gratifying to the republicans of Brooklyn, who, under his direction as chairman of the campaign committee, did such capital work for the cause led by Gen. Harrison a year ago. Mr. Nathan has also established his claims to special consideration at the hands of his party."

—The *St. Louis Republic* states that Clarkson removed Peter Keith, an old soldier, the democratic postmaster at Strawberry Point, Ia., and appointed Keith's predecessor, a man seventy years old, who has always taken a great interest in working up subscriptions for Clarkson's paper, having obtained recently 132 subscriptions. There were two old soldiers candidates for the place when Keith's term expired. The Clayton county veterans passed resolutions denouncing Clarkson's action, and a protest was sent to Wanamaker.

—Birkett whose office as distributor of places in the Brooklyn navy yard was described last month, says, "there will be a clean sweep no matter what anybody else says. Our boys will all get what they want." Birkett a few days since saw the secretary of the navy in New York and took him sharply to task because *Congressman Wallace* has appointed 200 of his henchmen to places in the yard. This is a tremendous infringement on Birkett's prerogative as chairman of the republican general committee.

—Henry Rokestraw was appointed postmaster at Cheraw, S. C. He went to a neighboring town, and became intoxicated and disorderly, was arrested and fined ten dollars and sent to jail because he could not pay. Wanamaker was telegraphed that his recently-appointed postmaster at Cheraw was in the guard-house drunk, and what should be done about it. No reply was received.

—The republicans of Eureka Springs, Ark., held a mass meeting recently to denounce the appointment of T. W. True as postmaster at that place. They put the responsibility of the appointment upon that notorious republican Powell Clayton, and stated that he "has prostituted his high privilege as dispenser of federal patronage, and has thereby ruined republican success in this state."

—Orders have been prepared by Secretary Tracy for repairing, at the Norfolk navy yard, the war vessels Brooklyn, Alliance, Pensacola and Amphitrite. This looks like the old and corrupt trick of putting a large number of men under pay, and thus purchasing their votes at Mahone's approaching election.

—The husband of J. Ellen Foster has been appointed general agent of the department of justice. Another debt paid out of the common treasury. Salary, \$2,500.

—At a critical moment during the Chicago convention an actor named Pope from St. Louis, recited Sheridan's Ride. He has since received the consulship at Toronto.

—E. A. Dimmick has been made consul at Barbadoes. His wife is a niece of Gail Hamilton, the relative and eulogist of Mr. Blaine.

—Robert A. Mosely, Jr., has been appointed collector of internal revenue of the Alabama district. He is chairman of the republican state committee.

—Louis Weinsteil has been appointed collector of the fourth Iowa district. He is editor of the Burlington *Hawkeye*.

—Quay's henchman, Comptroller Gilkeson, who, it will be remembered, nearly brought on war between Quay and Sherman, has requested the resignation of W. P. Montague, head of a division. Of him the *Boston Post* says:

"Mr. Montague, who was one of yesterday's victims, is an accomplished young lawyer from Chelsea, Mass., who is so far from being a partisan that he never served on a political committee in his life. Comptroller Butler had great confidence in Mr. Montague, and relied much upon his assistance in preparing the data for some of his most important decisions. Mr. Montague is a democrat of the best type, and a decided civil service reformer."

THE THANKSGIVING SERMON.

The Indianapolis *Journal* recently said:

"Herbert Welsh, the civil service enthusiast, who has addressed a circular to the ministers of the country, asking them to preach next Thanksgiving Day on the subject of civil service reform, is said to be meeting with indifferent success, so far as may be judged by responses received. This disinclination of the clergy to join in Mr. Welsh's scheme by no means indicates a lack of sympathy with the reform in question, but does indicate a belief that there are other topics of more importance demanding attention of the pulpit. To uphold civil service reform ideas is not necessarily a proof of virtue, nor opposition to it a sin, and while so many unquestionable virtues remain to be taught, and so many sins to be denounced, it really seems that the pulpit has enough to do without taking up matters of political policy. The teachings that make men honest citizens insure the proper conduct of the civil service without special religious instruction in that line."

Those who have seen the long list of distinguished clergymen of all denominations who have responded need not be told that the *Journal* has been misled as to the interest manifested, but the apparent effort to belittle the importance of this question and to put it outside moral issues is the more surprising for only last November the *Journal* said: "They must be accomplished if our civil service is to be saved from becoming the mere prey of

spoilsmen and a perpetual source of corruption and danger to the government.

Whether the discussion of this question pertains to morals may be judged when the republican national platform in 1872 characterized the spoils system as "fatally demoralizing." And again in 1884 and 1888 demanded that all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, *to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided.*"

Were any further evidence needed, Abraham Lincoln, schooled to a nation's peril, gave warning that "if ever this free people, this government itself, is ever utterly demoralized, it will come from this wriggle and struggle for office." It has been only of late years that the facts to show the baseness of the spoils system have been accessible to the public. The details of this despotism were for years smothered. Papers were subsidized, social and business relations were threatened, and the victims were trained to silence. If cruelty, treachery, meanness and lying are immoral, then a system that can not exist without them is also immoral, and is a question appropriate for pulpit discussion. It is undoubtedly true that many conscientious clergymen will not feel called upon to follow Mr. Welsh's suggestion. They do not yet fully realize what is involved in the placing of thousands of favorites into public places. When men and women are proscribed from public employment in a free country in the nineteenth century because of political opinions, when offices are given as bribes, when the air is thick with details of broken promises and treachery, when, by unlawful and disgraceful assistance, an unscrupulous man like Mahone is given Virginia, Quay, Pennsylvania, and Platt, New York, it is time for those charged with the oversight of the spiritual and moral well-being of others to protest against the corrupting power of political patronage.

We are permitted to print the following letter from Rev. R. V. Hunter, pastor of the Seventh Presbyterian church of this city:

"I am in full sympathy with your idea of a non-partisan sermon to be preached on the coming Thanksgiving. I believe that it should be preached for many reasons. The people need a fair presentation of national issues, and this they can not get from partisan papers or speakers. The best citizen is the one who loves his country more than party. There are evils in all parties. There is, likewise good in all parties. What we need is to know the good and to applaud it. Likewise to know the evil and condemn it. Anything that will contribute to better government, to more enlightened political conscience, will be in place on that day."

QUESTIONS

Used in the Examination for Clerks and Carriers held at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, with the Rules for Marking.

CLERK EXAMINATION.

FIRST SUBJECT—ORTHOGRAPHY.

N. B.—Capitals should be used only where required by the rules of orthography.

1. Write, in the spaces below, the abbreviations for the names which will be given by the examiner. (The following were given:)

1 November; 2 Oregon; 3 Department; 4 Northeast; 5 Secretary; 6 Treasurer; 7 Justice of the Peace; 8 Arizona Territory; 9 Major; 10 Place.

2. Spelling, as dictated by the examiner. (The following were dictated:)

1 Irregular; 2 Schedule; 3 Issuing; 4 Foreign; 5 Receive; 6 Permissible; 7 Correspondence; 8 Parcels; 9 Accompanying; 10 Transmissible; 11 Classification; 12 Initials; 13 Equivalent; 14 Remittance; 15 Merchandise; 16 Superintendent; 17 Wrapping; 18 Register; 19 Envelope; 20 Subscription.

SECOND SUBJECT—PENMANSHIP.

N. B.—The marks on penmanship will be determined by legibility, neatness and general appearance, and by correctness and uniformity in the formation of words, letters, and punctuation marks in the second exercise of the third subject—writing from plain copy—and in the exercise of the fourth subject—letter-writing.

THIRD SUBJECT—COPYING.

First Exercise—Writing from Dictation.

N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject.

One of the examiners will dictate an exercise of not less than ten lines so distinctly that all the persons being examined can hear him. The passage will first be read for information, and then be dictated in phrases of five or six words, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty-five words per minute. If from any cause the competitor miss a word, he should not pause, but leave a blank space and go on with the next words he hears. Three minutes will be allowed after the dictation for punctuation and correction. The following was dictated:

"The secretary shall make minutes of the proceedings of the commission and record them in a book to be kept for that purpose and to be entitled 'Record of Proceedings.' He shall have charge of the secretary's division of the commission, and shall have custody of and be responsible for the safe-keeping of the books, records, papers, and other property thereof. He shall enter upon the registers of eligibles the names of persons eligible to places in the classified departmental service, and, by direction of the commission, upon proper requisition therefor, make certification thereof. He shall perform such other duties as the commission may direct."

Second Exercise—Writing from Plain Copy.

N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject.

Copy the following precisely, punctuating and capitalizing as in the copy:

The grade of each competitor shall be expressed by the whole number nearest the general average attained by him, and the grade of each eligible shall be noted upon the register of eligibles in connection with his name. When two or more eligibles are of the same grade, preference in certification shall be determined by the order in which their application papers were filed.

No person who has passed an examination shall while eligible on the register supplied by such examination, be re-examined, unless he shall furnish evidence satisfactory to the commission that at the time of his examination he was, because of illness or for other good cause, incapable of doing himself justice in said examination.

FOURTH SUBJECT—LETTER WRITING.

N. B.—This exercise is designed chiefly to test the competitor's skill in simple English composition, knowledge of the rules of punctuation, and conception of the proper form of a letter.

In marking the letter, its errors in form and address, in spelling, capitals, punctuation, syntax and style, and its adherence to the subject will be considered. The handwriting in this exercise will help

to determine the rating on "penmanship," which is the second subject, but will not be taken into consideration in ascertaining the "marks" of the letter.

Write a letter giving a brief account of your education, including the names and locations of the schools attended by you, and a description of the course of study pursued by you.

The competitor must avoid allusion to his political or religious opinions or affiliations. The letter must contain not less than 125 words, must be addressed as follows: "To the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.," and must be dated at the place where the examination is held. The examination number, and not the name of the competitor, must be used for a signature to the letter.

FIFTH SUBJECT—ARITHMETIC.

1. Add the following:

1,426,387
20,785,598
6,818,388
40,327,846
3,428,920
282,111
9,237,116

2. From 334,785 subtract 22,312, and multiply the difference by 235. Give work in full.

3. Multiply the following:

$$\frac{3}{9} \times \frac{1}{3} \times \frac{5}{7} \times \frac{4}{5}$$

Give work in full.

4. Add $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{2}{3} + \frac{3}{5}$

Give work in full.

5. The employes at a certain office authorized the retention of one-tenth of their salaries for a beneficiary fund. The force consisted of six clerks at \$133 $\frac{1}{3}$ each per month, nine clerks at \$83 $\frac{1}{3}$ each, five copyists at \$75 each, and three messengers at \$70 each. What was the amount retained per year for the beneficiary fund? Give work in full.

6. If six stampers can stamp 259,200 letters in one day of eight hours, how many can one stamper stamp in a minute? Give work in full.

7. The mail received at an office on a certain day weighed 5,000 lbs., one-fifth of which were letters averaging one-half oz. each, two-fifths newspapers averaging 2 oz. each, and the remainder packages averaging 4 oz. each. How many pieces were there in the mail? Give work in full.

8. What will it cost to pave with brick a courtyard 48 feet in length by 30 feet in width, and a sidewalk 72 feet long and 4 feet wide at 50 cents per square yard? Give work in full.

9. A merchant purchased stamps and stamped envelopes in quantities and of denominations as follows. What was the cost of each denomination and what was the total cost?

300 two-cent stamps.....	\$.....
90 three-cent ".....	
120 four-cent ".....	
37 five-cent ".....	
20 ten-cent ".....	
350 stamped envelopes at \$2.16 per hundred.....	
Total.....	\$.....

10. Multiply 265.5 by 4.04 and from the product subtract 32.75. Give work in full.

SIXTH SUBJECT—GEOGRAPHY.

1. Name in their order from east to west the States which border on the Gulf of Mexico.

2. Name the two important rivers which form portions of the boundary lines of each of the following-named states: West Virginia, Illinois.

3. What State forms the whole or the principal part of the northern boundary of each of the following-named states: Arkansas, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Kansas, Illinois.

4. Name the principal city of each of the following-named States: Kentucky, Louisiana, California, Michigan, Illinois.

5. Name five states of the Union on the Atlantic Ocean northeast of the state of Delaware.

6. On what river is each of the following-named cities situated, and of what state is each the capital: Albany, Harrisburg, Augusta, Nashville, Baton Rouge.

7. In what state is each of the following-named cities: Erie, Sandusky, Wheeling, Memphis, Los Angeles, Dubuque, Pittsfield, Lowell, Dayton, Macon.

8. Name five of the most important cities on the Mississippi river north of the mouth of the Ohio river, and name the state in which each city named is situated.

9. Name five of the most important cities (or towns if there be not five cities) in this state, and give the name of the county in which each city named is situated.

10. Name five of the principal railroad centers in the United States and give the name of the state in which each is situated.

CARRIER EXAMINATION.

FIRST SUBJECT—ORTHOGRAPHY.

- N. B.—Capitals should be used only where required by the rules of orthography.

1. Write in the spaces below, the abbreviations for the names which will be given by the examiner. (The following were given:)

California, Georgia, Doctor, Colorado, New Orleans, Attorney, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Captain, Professor.

2. Spelling, as indicated by the examiner. (The following were indicated:)

1 Mileage; 2 Allowable; 3 Cancelling; 4 Management; 5 Miscellaneous; 6 Authorize; 7 Route; 8 Official; 9 Territory; 10 Amendment; 11 Discontinue; 12 Guide; 13 Separating; 14 Conveyance; 15 Defacing; 16 Weekly; 17 Daily; 18 Privilege; 19 Addressed; 20 Handling.

SECOND SUBJECT—PENMANSHIP.

- N. B.—The mark on penmanship will be determined by legibility, neatness and general appearance, and by correctness and uniformity in the formation of words, letters, and punctuation marks in the second and third exercises of the third subject.

THIRD SUBJECT—COPYING.

First Exercise—Writing from Dictation.

- (Same directions as in clerk examination, but the following exercise was dictated:)

To the Congress: I herewith transmit the fifth report of the civil service commission, covering the year which ended June 30, 1888.

The cause of civil service reform, which in a great degree is intrusted to the commission, I regard as so firmly established and its value so fully demonstrated that I should deem it more gratifying than useful if at this late day in the session of congress I was permitted to enlarge upon its importance and present condition.

A perusal of the report herewith submitted will furnish information of the progress which has been made during the year to which it relates, in the extension of the operation of this reform, and in the improvement of its methods and rules.

Second Exercise—Writing from plain copy.

- N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject.

Copy the following precisely:

6. The grade of each competitor shall be expressed by the whole number nearest the general average attained by him, and the grade of each eligible shall be noted upon the register of eligibles in connection with his name. When two or more eligibles are of the same grade, preference in certification shall be determined by the order in which their application papers were filed.

7. Immediately after the general averages in an examination shall have been ascertained, each competitor shall be notified that he has passed or has failed to pass.

Third Exercise—Writing from plain copy in tabular form.

Copy the following precisely; use capitals and punctuate as in the copy.

Jan. 18. Peter Sullivan. 74 Madison st. Mail Letter. Removed.

Feb. 16. Adams & Smith. 39 Grant pl. Foreign Letter. No such number.

Sept. 25. Mrs. Alice H. Ripley. 164 St. Mary's st. Local Letter. Deceased.

Nov. 7. Miss Sarah Hobbs. 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ Maiden Lane. Mail Package. Not known.

Dec. 23. Weeks, Knowles & Co. No. 7 Jones' alley. Local Postal Card. Dissolved.

FOURTH SUBJECT—ARITHMETIC.

1. Express in sign and figures four hundred and fifty-six thousand three hundred and seventy-seven dollars and ten cents.

2. Express in words the following: 6 mi., 30 rd., 4 yd., 1 ft., 10 in.

3. Express in words the following: 1,001,640.

4. A carrier receives \$900 for a year of 300 working days. If he serves as carrier 273 working days how much will he have earned in that time?

Give work in full.

5. Divide 10.59 by 3, and to the quotient add 280.1. Give work in full.

6. Add the following, placing the sum at the bottom:

5,783,792.91
359,312,175.75
11,545,666.66
7,919,287,554.55
651,815.25
999,520.45
4,786,452,361.38
29,236,111,522.63
75,775,016.19
90,471,236,738.05

7. The fee for a money order exceeding \$5 and not exceeding \$10 is 8 cents. A man sends away by mail in separate letters 5 money orders for \$7 each and 2 for \$9 each. How much does he expend including money-order fees and the postage on the letters?

Give work in full.

8. A carrier having a legacy of \$500 adds to it the savings of 5 years and buys a house worth \$1,600. He has saved each year 11-50 of his salary. What is his salary?

Give work in full.

9. A carrier making a delivery trip is absent from the office 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours. It takes him 15 minutes to reach the beginning of his route, and while making his delivery he walks a distance of 100 feet every 3 minutes. Allowing 15 minutes for his return to the office after his delivery is finished, how many squares are there in his delivery trip proper, there being 500 feet to the square?

Give work in full.

10. A carrier makes 4 trips daily, delivering 68 letters, 53 papers, 21 postal cards, and 7 packages each trip. How many pieces of mail matter does he deliver in a year of 300 working days?

Give work in full.

FIFTH SUBJECT—GEOGRAPHY.

1. Name the principal river of the United States which flows into each of the following named bodies of water: Long Island Sound, Penobscot Bay, Gulf of Mexico, Chesapeake Bay, Pacific Ocean.

2. In what state and on what river is each of the following named cities: Louisville, Albany, Hartford, Dubuque, Kansas City.

3. Name five of the states which border in part on the great lakes.

4. Name two states of the Union which commence with the letter A, two which commence with the letter W, and one which commences with the letter R, and give the name of the capital of each state named.

5. Name two states which border on the Missouri river, two which border on the Connecticut river, and one which borders on the Delaware river.

SIXTH SUBJECT—KNOWLEDGE OF THE LOCALITY OF THE POST-OFFICE DELIVERY.

1. Name ten cities or important towns in the State and give the name of the county in which each is situated.

2. Name five of the principal hotels in this city and state how far (how many blocks or squares) each one is situated from the building in which this examination is held.

3. Name five of the most important business streets of this city which cross the street on which this building (the building where this examination is held) fronts, and name one of the most promi-

ment business establishments on each of the five streets named.

4. Name two of the principal lines of street railway in this city and give the names of the principal streets through which each line passes.

5. Name and locate five of the principal public school buildings in this city.

RULES OF MARKING ABOVE PAPERS.

[A perfect answer is marked 100, and below are given the deductions to be made for the respective errors.]

ORTHOGRAPHY.

From 100 deduct—

For each error in orthography..... 5
For each error in capitalization..... 1

COPYING—WRITING FROM DICTATION.

In this exercise no word or date shall be abbreviated

For each error in orthography..... 1
For each word omitted..... 2
For each word inserted or added..... 2
For each word substituted..... 1
Word or words have been written.....
For each transposition..... 1
For each abbreviation..... 1
For each error in capitalization..... 1
For each failure to use the period at the end of a sentence, and for each grossly improper use of a punctuation mark..... 1
For irregularity in left-hand margin..... 1

Copying—Writing from Plain Copy or from Rough Draft.

From 100 deduct—

For each error in orthography..... 5
For each word or figure omitted..... 5
For each word inserted or added..... 5
For each word or figure substituted..... 5
For each transposition..... 5
For each abbreviation not in the copy..... 5
For each failure to capitalize according to copy..... 5
For each failure to punctuate according to copy..... 5
For each failure to paragraph according to copy..... 5
For irregularity in left-hand margin..... 5
For each omission of the hyphen in dividing a word at end of line..... 1

PENMANSHIP.

Mark penmanship on letter (or in copyist's examination on copy of rough draft) according to its value on a scale of 100.

Mark penmanship on exercise in copying from plain copy according to its value on a scale of 100.

Divide the sum of the marks on letter and copying by 2. The quotient will be the mark on penmanship.

ARITHMETIC.

Notation and Numeration.

For each improper use of the sign \$, £, or other denomination of quantity, or for the substitution of one for the other..... 25
For omission of the decimal point, when a decimal is required..... 75
For error in denomination of decimal; for each place, not exceeding three..... 25
For an intended decimal expressed as a common (or vulgar) fraction..... 25
For a clearly indicated decimal expressed as a common (or vulgar) fraction..... 50
For each numeration point placed to the right of the decimal point..... 5
For each use of the comma where the decimal point should be used..... 5
For each use of the period where the comma should be used..... 5
For each figure substituted..... 10
For each figure inserted..... 10
For each figure prefixed or suffixed..... 10
For each figure omitted..... 10
For incorrect pointing..... 10
For writing cents and mills as a decimal part of a dollar when an amount of United States money is required to be expressed in words..... 10

Fundamental Rules.

For each error in computation..... 10

For omission of the decimal point in answer in which its use is required, or for expressing answer as a decimal when it should be expressed as a whole number..... 50

For errors in pointing off decimals for one place.....

For two places.....

For three places..... 3

For four places..... 40

For five places..... 45

For six places..... 50

For use of the comma where the decimal point should be used..... 5

Fractions and Problems.

Above charges for fundamental rules apply also to fractions and problems.

For wrong process producing incorrect result..... 100

For complex statement, right result being produced..... 10

For complex process or method, right result being produced..... 10

If, when "work" or "operation in full" is required, the correct answer is given, but no "work" is shown..... 75

For fractions in answer not reduced to lowest terms, or answer in denominate numbers not expressed in the several denominations, beginning with the highest..... 20

In denominate numbers, for errors in quantity of one denomination contained in a unit of a higher denomination, according to the gravity of the error..... 10 to 35

If part of work is correct and part incorrect, or if problem is incomplete, credit in proportion to correct work done.

For omitting days of grace in problems in bank discount, or in other problems when specified..... 25

If, when "work" or "operation in full" is required, the correct answer is given, and the process is clearly indicated, but not written in full..... 15

If no attempt is made to answer..... 100

For failure to indicate the answer in problems by the letters: *Ans.*, or otherwise..... 5

For each failure to use the sign \$ or £, or any other monetary or commercial sign, or any sign by which the relations of quantities are expressed, when the use of such is required in the statement or solution of a problem..... 5

ELEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Each error in a sentence given for correction shall be valued at the amount that would be produced by dividing 100 by the sum of the errors contained in the sentence. If, in correcting a sentence, errors are made in the answer that are not in the sentence given for correction, these errors shall be added to the errors of the sentence to be corrected, and each error shall be valued at the amount resulting from a division of 100 by this sum. The sum of the error values credited for errors corrected in the answer will be the mark of the answer.

Any exercise in this subject (letter-writing excepted) which does not present a definite number of points, so that it may be marked under definite rules, will be marked in the discretion of the examiners upon the following considerations: (1) Whether the answer covers the question; (2) whether it is accurate; (3) whether it is unambiguous; (4) as to the degree of information and capacity it exhibits. In the discretion of the examiners.

LETTER-WRITING.

In marking the letter, form, style, and matter will each be marked on a scale of 100, and the sum of these marks will be divided by 3.

In marking the letter, the errors below mentioned shall be charged to form, as follows:

Form.

From 100 deduct—

Omission of date line..... 10
Omission of name of place or date, in date line..... 5
Omission of address..... 10
Omission of name of person or place in address..... 5

For each incompletely written (1) name of place in date line or address; (2) date or address (3) subscription..... 5
For each error in spelling..... 3
For each error in division of words..... 3
For each error in syntax..... 3
For irregular left-hand margin..... 3
For repetition of address..... 5
For signing name instead of examination number..... 5
For each word omitted or repeated..... 1
For each error in punctuation and in the use of capitals..... 1
No definite directions can be given for marking the style and matter of the letter, and the judgment of the examiners must therefore determine the value of each.

GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

In marking these subjects, each answer shall be marked, in the discretion of the examiners, according to its value on a scale of 100.

When the question requires in the answer a specified number of states, countries, persons, places, locations, or things, the quotient arising from the division of 100 by the number of states, countries, etc., required shall be the credit to be given for each state, country, etc., correctly named; if a greater number is given in the answer than is required, the additional number of states, countries, etc., shall be added to the number required by the question, and the quotient arising from the division of 100 by the number thus obtained shall be the credit to be given for each state, country, etc., correctly named.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

1. Any error not covered by the foregoing rules will be marked in the discretion of the examiners.

2. The examiners, having satisfactory evidence that an answer has been borrowed or otherwise improperly obtained, the question will be marked 0, and the examination papers, with the evidence, referred to the commission.

3. The examination papers of every competitor must be marked by the board of examiners, and each examiner shall initial every paper marked by him. Should a review by another examiner be necessary, he shall also initial every paper reviewed by him. Each examiner who marks a subject shall mark and initial with pencil or ink of different color than that of the pencil or ink used by any other examiner marking the same subject.

4. All errors noted must be indicated by underlining or otherwise. The charge for each error must, when practicable, be noted on the margin of the sheet.

5. In finding the average of the marks on any subject by dividing the sum of the credits by the number of questions, the unanswered questions must be counted in obtaining the divisor.

RULES GOVERNING CAPITALIZATION.

The following words should begin with capital letters:

1. The first word of every distinct sentence.
2. Proper names and titles of honor or office; as, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, General Grant, President Cleveland, Governor Marcy, Lord Tennyson, Sir Walter Scott, the Ohio, Fourteenth street.

NOTE.—The name of any object personified may be used as a proper name, and should then begin with a capital letter; as, "Come, gentle Spring."

3. Adjectives derived from proper names; as, American, European, African.

4. The appellations of the Deity; as, God, the Almighty, the Supreme Being, the Most High.

5. The first word of every line of poetry,

6. The first word of a direct quotation, when the quotation forms a complete sentence; as, "Christ says, 'My yoke is easy.'"

7. Every name and principal word in the titles of books; as, "Pope's Essay on Man."

8. The pronoun I and the interjection O are written in capitals.

NOTE.—Other words of particular importance may begin with capital letters.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

We believe it is the duty of the republican majority of the senate to oppose the confirmation of any person appointed in violation of the letter and spirit of the civil service act.—*New York Republican Platform*, 1885.

VOL. I, No. 8.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.
Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

The question of the civil service involves every other question in our politics. With a proper administration of the government service there would be fewer disturbing questions. The present system of giving office as a reward for unscrupulous political work exaggerates every evil and increases every cause of disturbance. If the government is to be administered on the blocks-of-five plan, it is idle to expect that any real reform can be accomplished in any direction. *If we do not change our civil service methods we will have a thoroughly established despotism of, by and for the worst rascals in the country.*—*St. Louis Republic [Dem.]*.

NEARLY the entire space of this paper has been given this month to the proceedings of the annual meeting of the National League. The address of Mr. Curtis, being from him, does not need any praise; but it seems to understate the value of certain acts of President Harrison, and the effect is to leave the present administration without any credit regarding civil service reform. We can not concur in this general conclusion. For instance, the appointment of the present civil service commission was an act of tremendous importance, and displayed not only a purpose to have the law enforced, but entire knowledge of the way to go about it. The civil service commission is the backbone of the merit system so far as that system has been applied to the civil service. The appointment of the present commission, and especially of Mr. Roosevelt, has given that system an exceedingly rigid backbone. The effect is seen on all hands, as, for instance, in the Indianapolis post-office. We have now what has always been needed, a commission that can not be cowed by the threats of congressmen whose hurts and outcries are the best evidence of its efficiency. The recent outbreaks against the law are conclusive proofs that a new and serious barrier to working in henchmen in spite of the law has been encountered. The appointment here and there of the head of an office who earnestly favors the merit system can not be compared in importance to the selection of an "admirable civil service commission." The one affects but one office, the other all the offices in the classified service, and acts both as a prod and as a brake upon the President himself.

MR. BONAPARTE'S paper upon "Civil Service Reform as a Moral Question" has about it a nobility of sentiment and a clearness and ability of statement entirely worthy of its author. The discussion is comparatively new, but he may be said to have reduced the question to a demonstration. His declaration, "that to promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral; that it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery," is an everlasting truth. It has not guided government in the past, but it will be believed and adopted by the American people, and on this truth the spoils system will be broken to pieces.

THE Indianapolis city election was held October 1, and resulted in the complete defeat of the republicans. The election had no national significance, whatever, except as the occasional mysterious appearance of a Washington office-holder aroused criticism sufficient to show that that method of manipulating elections can no longer be safely tried. One important lesson was taught. The removal of Mr. Webster from his place as chief of the fire department some months ago by the republicans because he would not dismiss the dozen or so of democrats in that department hurt them more than a single act often hurts a party. Literally, hundreds of republicans kept that outrage in mind until election day and cast their votes to punish the party that did it. It was a salutary lesson and shows great progress in the breaking up of the spoils system in this community. There were other causes, as, for instance, the grip of the gas company upon the city, and the pardon of Coy by the republican machine, and its apparent desire to see him re-elected to the city council.

GENERAL M. D. MANSON was collector of the Terre Haute district in this state. He had served his country honorably in Mexico and during the rebellion. He is highly respected as a citizen, and as a public officer his efficiency and fairness have never been questioned. If the principles of civil service reform were to be applied to any executive appointment, this would seem to have been the one. But President Harrison wrote the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }
WASHINGTON, Sept. 4, 1889.

DEAR GENERAL—When I was at Indianapolis I endeavored to have a conference with you, but the demands upon your time and mine seemed to prevent you from responding to my request.

Mr. Ransdell informed me that you had said to him that you would address me a letter relieving me of a possible embarrassment connected with a change in the collector's office held by you, and I have been expecting to hear from you. I do not wish to make any official request or suggestion to you, but a change can not much longer be deferred, and my desire has been that it might be made in a way as agreeable to you as possible. This is the object of this personal note. Please inform me of your purpose.

Very respectfully yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

As a consequence General Manson resigned. The President appears at his littlest in this transaction, and few presidents have done littler things. He is the president of sixty millions of people, and yet he carries about in his mind, on the most solemn occasion, the edging of an efficient officer out of his place. He writes a letter that makes his best friends in Indiana ashamed, and to add to this, appears at his elbow that efficient agent of slyness, "Dan" Ransdell!

THE President has appointed J. P. Throop, of Paoli, in place of General Manson. The *Indianapolis Journal's* dispatch says:

"Mr. Throop was indorsed for the position by such well-known republicans of the state as Representative Posey, the state officers, District Attorney Chambers, Third Auditor Hart, B. Wilson Smith and Messrs. Durbin, Dudley, Huston, Ransdell, Heilman, Irwin, Brackston, Mowry, the DePauws and Harry Adams, and his appointment is considered by republicans here as an excellent one. He is described as "a republican hustler from way back."

Throop had been chairman of his party's county committee thirteen years. The Indiana official class selected a man fitted by training and inclination for the effort to perpetuate their power by the system of official bribes and punishments. No country, civilized or uncivilized, can show a finer instance of a government of court favorites, by court favorites, and for court favorites.

Jeremiah O'Donnell entered the government service as store-keeper October 4, just one week prior to his arrest for jury-bribing. He was recommended by such well-known men as Senator C. B. Farwell, Coroner H. L. Hertz, State Senator John Monahan, James L. Monaghan, representative from the fifth district; Billy Lorimer, John P. Cavanagh, Joseph E. Bid-

will, J. B. Taylor, Representative J. W. Kroll, P. J. Corboy, and Senator Garrity from the fifth district.

Collector Stone said yesterday that he had not heard of the man or seen him until he came to work a week ago last Friday. "*He had the necessary papers from prominent republicans," said Mr. Stone, "and desired that his bond be made out immediately so as not to keep his bondsmen waiting."*

When Senator Farwell was called upon yesterday he remembered the name O'Donnell very well. "I believe," he said, "I've got his papers here. But I did not suspect that the O'Donnell whom I recommended was the fellow arrested for bribery. I am surprised beyond measure. Such a crime I think is about as bad as murder. *You know how such appointments are made. The fellows down in Lawler's district brought in his appointment. There were so many good names attached to it that I sent it to Collector Stone without looking into it.*"

This is a fair illustration of the way federal appointments are made. It is hard to see how any president can witness the thousands of such cases which pass under his eye and not feel the enormity of his own dereliction in permitting such a pros titution of the trust which the people have committed to him. The duty to bring about a revolution in this whole matter and recover and exercise his constitutional authority, it would seem must cry out upon him day and night.

Following back the thread, collector Stone has a man put upon him of whom he knows nothing: he is ordered by Senator Farwell to give the man a place and obeys. Farwell knows nothing of the man except that he came from the "fellows" in Lawler's district. The "fellows" in return will keep an eye out toward Farwell's continuance in office; such is the bribe and such is the service. Meantime, the cant that an officer "who is responsible for his office, should have the selection of his subordinates," goes on.

At the dinner of the Bay State Club in Boston, October 12, President Eliot, of Harvard University, said:

"Have we not seen the public service degenerating more and more, and treated more and more as private property under successive republican administrations—the last of the series being the worst of all in this respect? [Great applause.] And have we not seen the single democratic administration of the twenty-eight years past the best of all American administrations during that period in this respect? [Tremendous applause.] No intelligent man will place any reliance upon the professions of a party when its public performances incessantly contradict them. [Applause.] We must rely upon the public acts of the men who represent the respective parties. Can any civil service reformer hesitate for a moment between the administrations of Cleveland and of Harrison on that issue? [Applause.] One honestly promoted the reform, and the other has betrayed it."

A man who talks like that in face of the repeatedly published and undisputed facts is not to be reasoned with. Such partisan idolatry is only to be contrasted with the motherly prejudice with which Senator Hoar gathers the republican party under his wing.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AS A MORAL QUESTION.*

On May 16, 1887, a well-known gentleman, who then delivered by request a very interesting address at the annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, criticised with some severity the sentiments of a writer in the last preceding number of the *Civil Service Reformer*. "To this . . . writer," he said, "the principle of civil service reform may seem to be one of high morality: it has not to the majority of the people of this country appeared to be that so much as to be a principle of wise and intelligent administration." The writer thus censured happened to be myself, and I take advantage of your courteous invitation to defend the view thus justly ascribed to me. I do this not because the merit of my own opinion is a matter of any public interest, but because the question involved seems to me of great and practical importance. When I admit my belief that "the principle of civil service reform" is "one of high morality," I mean that all men who have sufficiently reflected and are sufficiently informed to entertain an intelligent opinion must and do think alike on the subject; that no one who has any claim at all to public attention really doubts that "the principle of civil service reform" is just and beneficent: if he says that he doubts this, he tells an untruth; if he violates this "principle" in official conduct, he does so, just as he may commit theft or adultery, knowing that he does wrong.

I concede that there may be room for honest and enlightened difference of opinion as to the practical application of the principle; the merits of competitive examinations or fixity of official tenure are subjects of fair debate; we may approve of requiring stated reasons for removal or abolishing four-year terms without thereby pronouncing ignorant or insincere every one who thinks otherwise; but these questions of policy have nothing to do with the *principle* of civil service reform. An honorable and patriotic man may reasonably doubt (as many doubt) whether the Australian ballot system is suited to American institutions, but a man who promotes or excuses any form of cheating at elections is simply a scoundrel; a good citizen may justifiably question (as many question) whether prohibition is either expedient or practicable, but one who regards with complacency or indifference the evils of intemperance must be an enemy to mankind. So one or another means to secure an efficient public service may or may not commend itself to every one's judgment, but I, at least, can not imagine a good man who has thought on the subject, and who knows enough about it to think to any purpose, and who yet fails to see that to promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral;

* A paper read at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, at Philadelphia, October 2, 1889, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

that it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery.

Some confusion of ideas as to this may, perhaps, be due to an argument often used by reformers. Unquestionably, no one in his senses would think of managing his own business as the people's business is still managed in great part, and was managed universally before the reform legislation of recent years. A man who filled up his store or factory with workmen chosen because they agreed with him as to the tariff or state's rights, and changed whenever their places were needed for more effective political workers, would probably get into a strait-jacket even before he got into bankruptcy. But to a moralist there would be a vast difference between his behavior and similar conduct on the part of a president or governor or mayor. After all, he would be but doing as he chose with his own; unless he endangered the rights of his creditors or the comfort of his family, the worst to be said of him would be that he was a fool for his pains. If, during his absence, however, his trusted manager or foreman were to deal thus with his interests, the most charitable critic would recognize in the latter something worse than a fool. His conduct might not be a crime, while the larceny or embezzlement of his employer's goods would be; but this is only because for so unlikely a form of moral obliquity no law has made provision; it would be equally abhorrent to right-thinking men, equally dangerous to society. And this is precisely the conduct of every public officer who creates a vacancy or makes an appointment for personal or partisan gain. A president who deprives the country of an upright and competent postmaster or naval officer to meet the views or advance the ends of selfish and unscrupulous political intriguers is no less blameworthy than one who should give them the public moneys; he may be, indeed, less keenly conscious of his guilt, if he has lived long years in a moral atmosphere poisoned by the malaria of "spoils" politics, but while he has any conscience or honor left he will feel ashamed of what he does.

The question is equally clear if regarded in another aspect. All thoughtful and patriotic men agree that bribery, more or less direct and more or less open, in connection with elections is a great and growing evil, although it is no less evident that this evil can be much more readily recognized and denounced than remedied. But it is a perfectly legitimate and logical outcome of the spoils system in politics, and can not be consistently condemned by any one who approves of using appointments to influence political action or reward partisan service. Whether a "worker" is paid by a check or by a sinecure—whether a man's vote is bought for five dollars or for the chance to dawdle a fortnight at street sweeping, can make no difference as to the right or wrong of the matter; or rather, while the man bribed is equally guilty, whatever the form of his reward, it is surely more odious and more noxious to bribe with what is the people's than

with what is one's own, to purchase suffrages or influence at the taxpayers' cost, than to pay for these out of the corrupter's pocket.

It will be readily understood that, in my view, to establish the principle of civil service reform, or, in other words, to thoroughly eradicate from our politics the doctrine that offices are spoils, is a work which interests good citizens almost beyond any other. Compare it, for example, with the movement for tariff reform, with which it is often classed. I entertain certain very definite views as to the relative merits of free trade and protection, and I believe that every one who thinks otherwise is mistaken; but I must, in common sense and candor, recognize the fact that many intelligent and conscientious men, of whom some have devoted far more time and thought to the subject than I have, do think otherwise. Motives on either side, are, indeed, freely impugned in discussion, and, no doubt, many protectionists have a more or less conscious bias from self-interest, while free traders sometimes approach the subject rather as students than as statesmen; but, after all, the question is one regarding which the purest and wisest men here and elsewhere have not agreed, and do not agree, and while this is true, it is not a moral question, as I use the words. I shall always vote against a party professing my views as to the tariff if I believe that in so doing I shall, on the whole, promote the cause of honest government and pure politics.

In saying this, I do not overlook the fact that moral considerations affect the expediency of tariff reform. The most earnest protectionist, if sensible and candid, will admit that a tariff not solely for revenue is a prolific source of corruption and intrigue in the national legislature, and that this constitutes a strong argument for free trade. But this argument may not be to all minds decisive; protective imposts are in theory laid for the public good, and a conscientious man may uphold them, as many do, without denying their liability to grave abuse. There is the same distinction between approving them and approving the spoils system that there is between licensing saloons and licensing brothels: the former may be often nests of vice and crime, but they are not, whilst the latter are, *mala in se*.

In dealing with questions really political, charity and forbearance in argument, a readiness to accommodate differences by compromise, and the pursuit of practical good at the expense of theory or sentiment, mark the worthy citizen of a free state. He assumes his adversary's sincerity, and expects from him the same consideration; he recognizes in those against whom he contends, not his enemies, aiming to injure his and their common country, but his and its friends, seeking its welfare as earnestly as he does, though not, to his mind, so wisely. But when there arises, as I believe there has arisen here, a true question of morals; when the task allotted to friends of good government is not to convince mistaken fellow-citizens of their error, but to shame or

frighten faithless public servants into doing what these know to be their duty and to rouse a sluggish or careless people to a sense of wrong and danger; when, in strictness of speech, there is need, not for argument, since no one truly disputes what we maintain, but for an effective appeal to public opinion against insolent persistence in wrong-doing, then our bearing should fit the season. We can make no bargain with iniquity; we ask, and ask only, that public trustees shall do their duty; not the half, or any other fraction, but the whole of their duty; not that they do it here and there, or now and then, but that they do it everywhere and always, and we can and will be satisfied with no less. To tell us, in extenuation of this unfit appointment or that unjust removal, that elsewhere the guilty officer has done what he ought to have done here is no more to the point than obedience to the eighth commandment would justify a breach of the seventh. And in dealing with such an officer, we must see to it that he knows what we think of him. Believe me, such as he are not to be gained over to righteousness by soft words or tender silence or diplomacy in any form. They will never love us, do what we may; but they will and do shrink from hearing us tell them what in truth they are. No spoilsman, however hardened, is really indifferent when he hears, "You are faithless to your trust and false to your oath of office; your motives are unworthy, your excuses mere sophistry; and, however much you may stupefy your conscience or deceive your neighbors, you know in your heart that you are not an honest man."

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

[An address before the National Civil Service Reform League, at the annual meeting in Philadelphia, October 1, 1889.]

Since our last annual meeting, the second party change in the administration of the national government since the formation of the league has occurred. Seven months of the new administration have passed, and as friends of civil service reform our questions to-day are obvious and simple. What was the declaration of the successful party upon the subject of reform? What were the pledges of its candidates? Have those pledges been fulfilled, and what are the prospects of reform? Four years ago, in speaking of President Cleveland, then recently elected and inaugurated, I said that he "was not committed to the prosecution of reform as the candidate of a party which seriously desired it or promised it." Certainly, I can not say this of President Harrison. The promises of the successful party last year were as ardent as they were detailed and absolute. They left nothing unexpressed. The pure purpose of reform was depicted in the platform with a touch as glowing as that of the poet in his epitaph upon a highly respectable lady:

"Yea, Venus, Pallas, Diana, and the graces,
Compared with her should all have lost their places."

The irrepressible platform pledged the party to many things, but to nothing with such reduplicated and reiterated zeal as to reform in the civil service; and, having done this in the most precise and positive words, it pledged the party with especial fervor to keep its pledges. Indeed such was the frenzy of fidel-

ity that less excited friends of the good cause were fain to say:

"Choose a firm cloud before it fall, and in it
Catch, ere she change, the Cynthia of this minute."

To the ardor of the platform the protestations of the President, as a candidate, fitly and fully respond. He declared that it would be his sincere purpose, if elected, to advance reform. He said that fitness and not party service should be the essential test in appointment, that fidelity and efficiency should be the only sure tenure of office, and that only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office. The significance of these words is unmistakable. Naturally and fairly interpreted, they forecast an executive action absolutely incompatible with the practice known as the spoils system. The country had precisely the same assurance from the successful party of a policy of honest reform in the civil service that it had of an administration favorable to the policy of protection; and, that no doubt might arise from political differences between the executive and the legislative branches of the government, the result of the election showed that the executive and the legislature would be in entire political accord.

When a great representative body of American citizens voluntarily and solemnly proclaim that they hold certain views upon the tariff, or upon the system of public pensions, or upon the internal revenue, which they invite their fellow-citizens to support by voting for their candidates, they can not be supposed to trifle with popular government and with their own honor by deliberately hanging out false lights. In a republic where the government is administered by party, if the party pledges of an authorized convention prove to be tricks and lies, the party justly forfeits public confidence, and every member of it is vicariously dishonored. When its authorized representatives, in order to secure for the party the control of the administration, declare that the spirit and purpose of civil service reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and that all laws at variance with the object of existing reform should be repealed, there is no doubt of the meaning of the words nor of the impression which they are meant to convey. The declaration is a voluntary, definite, and solemn engagement with the country; and those who, in consequence of such an engagement, are entrusted with the administration of the government are bound in honor to fulfill it or to show adequate reason for their inability to discharge their obligations. If they sneer at declarations which by their acceptance of office have become their own as absurd, if they chuckle over violations of their own pledges, if they choose to figure officially as statesmen forsworn, they do not discredit or injure the cause to which they eagerly professed fidelity, nor do they show it to be unwise, untimely, or impracticable. The discredit, the shame, the dishonor, fall elsewhere than upon the cause of reform.

THE PROMISE.

President Harrison thus entered upon his administration as the choice of a party which expressly claims the honor of beginning reform in the civil service, and has vehemently promised to complete it. Not content with requiring that the existing law should be extended to all grades of the service to which it is applicable, the party went entirely beyond these grades, and affirmed that "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments." This, however, was not a pledge to any extraordinary action. It was merely a declaration that, if the party were successful at the polls, the administration would do its plain constitutional duty; for such it is. Whether the convention had

said anything upon the question or had remained silent, the executive duty would have been the same. For the executive is morally bound, as Mr. Bonaparte, president of the Reform Association of Maryland, said in his admirable annual address last May, to discharge all his duties upon acknowledged principles of equity and regard for the public interest and economy.

It is the duty of every administration, in obedience to such principles, not to remove honest and efficient public servants whose duties are in no sense political, but which remain the same whatever public policy the country may have approved at the election. The reason is not that they have any vested right in office, but that the country has the right to the most efficient and devoted official service, which is impracticable when office is regarded, not as a public trust, but as party spoils. Nobody is so foolish as to assert the right of any public agent to his place. There are always equally honest and capable and fit persons who, with the same experience, might be as serviceable and efficient. The simple and conclusive argument against change is not vested right: it is that there is no good reason affecting the public interest which in the case of satisfactory officers requires change. Arbitrary removal for causes not connected with the service is as pernicious to public as it is to private business. To make such removals, therefore, is contrary to public policy, which the administration is morally bound to respect.

But more than this. Mr. Madison, who was a wise interpreter of the Constitution which he largely moulded, said that an executive who should make such removals ought to be impeached. The assistant postmaster-general is reported to have stated that about fifteen thousand fourth class postmasters, more than one-quarter of the whole number of such officers, were displaced during the first five months of this administration. But the change in every instance, when not due to death or resignation, or to some reason connected with the service, is, according to Mr. Madison, an unconstitutional act. If a postmaster has been removed because of his religious belief, or his philosophical or scientific theories, or his views of a tariff, or of the question of the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea, or of a sub-treasury, or a United States bank, his removal has been not only a violation of the deliberate and repeated pledges of the party of administration and of the executive, but it is an act which, in the case of a great business company, would lead to the dismissal of the agent who had abused his power, and in the case of a President, Mr. Madison says, should subject him to impeachment.

Undoubtedly, the President has the power of removal. That was the decision of the first great constitutional debate in congress. But, like all executive power, it may be abused and exercised in an unconstitutional spirit. Removal, made arbitrarily or from an unworthy motive, can not be justified by the mere fact that the power of removal exists. In the last angry days of the slavery controversy, when Mr. Douglass argued that the people of a territory, meaning a majority of male white adults, had the right to establish slavery if they should choose to do so, the conclusive answer was that they had no moral right to choose to do a wrong, for a wrong slavery was adjudged to be by the common conscience of mankind. All power is to be exercised reasonably, not arbitrarily, and in case of the President it is to be exercised in accordance with the constitutional intention and with the announcement previously made to the country of the principles by which, and in the spirit in which, it will be exercised, and which the country has approved.

How, then, have the pledges of the success-

ful party and candidate been fulfilled? Have fidelity and efficiency proved to be the sure tenure of office? Has fitness and not party service been the essential test in determining appointments? Has the interest of the public service alone dictated removals from office? Has the great pledge of the platform that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments been honorably fulfilled? Or have such appointments generally been made precisely as they would have been made had there been no platform promises, no pledges of the candidate, and no public interest in civil service reform?

It is not an answer to these questions, it is only an evasion of them, to say that reform is not favored by a majority of the people. The only way in which the views of a majority of the people can be known is by the result of an election. If the election of last year showed that the country was in favor of protection, it showed, by precisely the same demonstration, that it is in favor of civil service reform. If there be any relation between party platforms, the pledges of candidates, and the results of an election, the country in electing Mr. Harrison declared for civil service reform. For, if an election can not be held to be a popular approval of the platform and the personal pledges of candidates, who shall decide how much of them, and in what sense and degree any of them, have been approved? In any event, whatever doubt may rest upon the views of the majority of the people in regard to reform, there can be no doubt of the views and purposes and pledges of one citizen. There may be some question of the extent and degree of the sympathy of others. But, if the simplest statement which the English language permits, if the plainest engagement to pursue a certain course of conduct, if the most solemn pledges uttered before God and the country have any meaning, there is no doubt whatever of the opinions and intentions upon this subject of the President of the United States.

Nor is it any answer to the questions to say that the President can not outrun public opinion nor proceed faster than his party will permit. When a party has made no distinct or intelligible declaration upon a question involving his action, the President may plausibly plead that his party has not declared its views, and that he must conform his conduct to a course which he believes the party would support. But when his party, in the act of nominating him, distinctly states its views and prescribes the rule of his action, he can no longer offer that plea. It is open to another, but not to him. His party engages to support him. His duty is to follow the course which his party proclaims, which he prefers, and which the country by his election, has approved. He can not plead that the party chiefs, secretaries, senators, representatives, local leaders, newspapers and committees are cruelly coercing him to violate the party promise and his own pledge, without conceding that the party platform was a trick, and that the party sought power under false pretences. Still less can an honorable president offer this plea when his party in nominating him has prescribed his course, because, when the same plea was urged for a president whose party had purposely made no such definite declaration, it was denounced as a futile and desperate excuse for sham and fraud, for monstrous hypocrisy and contemptible chicanery.

Our question, however, is not whether one president violates pledges more or less frequently than another. Still less is it a question of the comparative sagacity of the friends of reform in their party action. We meet not to explain or justify such action, not to defame or exalt any administration, but, as

friends of reform, and unmindful of party sympathies, to measure fairly and accurately the situation. Our question is whether the great pledge of the party of administration, that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments, has been fulfilled. If the pledge has been kept, our meeting must be one of unmixed congratulation. If it has been reasonably fulfilled, we must all rejoice. If the administration party, by the conduct of its executive, cabinet, senators, representatives and recognized leaders, by the general tone of its press and of its adherents, proves that the platform was a just statement of the actual reform spirit and purpose of the party, there is not an honest friend of reform who will not gladly confess any error of judgment in political action, while he intones triumphantly the *Gloria in excelsis*.

THE ANSWER.

What then is the answer? What is the spirit of the party and the conduct of the executive? The answer, of course, involves great detail, and can be only generally indicated. Let us look at the signs of party feeling.

A few weeks ago, a hilarious administration party organ at the capital of New York, one of the most influential and representative party journals, exclaimed: "Fifteen thousand fourth-class postmasters have been removed to date, and Mr. Clarkson remains in Washington with his coat off and his shirt sleeves rolled up. Go it, Clarkson! Out with the whole fifty-five thousand by January 1st." It adds, with natural enthusiasm, that civil service reform can not command the support of a corporal's guard of republicans in New York. In Missouri, the chief party organ thinks Mr. Clarkson's labors, although laudable, yet rather deliberate in the direction of true reform, and is confident that, "when the dog days are over and cool weather sets in, Colonel Clarkson will greatly accelerate his speed." The leading rural organ in the state of Indiana asserts plainly, "Neither political party cares a continental about this humbug civil service reform." In New Hampshire, the chief administration organ, arraigning reform as "a stuffed and painted and unpopular humbug," and "a bald and rickety affair that bullies and wheedles good citizens," inexorably condemns it "to the scrap heap." In West Virginia, a zealous organ believes devotedly that the spoils belong to the victor; and the editor, having secured his part of the booty, announces that at the earliest practical date every democratic appointee in the office entrusted to him, "from the humble and poorly paid apple-jack gaugers to the well-paid storekeeper and clerks, will be succeeded by simon-pure-all-wool-and-yard-wide republicans." In Pennsylvania, an administration journal of importance declares that "the people are tired of the sham of reform, and would gladly snow it under with their votes." In Ohio, a similar representative administration organ warmly commends an officer who disregards the humbug. In Iowa, the Washington correspondent of a journal of the same character says that no administration member of congress that he meets favors the law, and announces that "it will be repealed as it ought to be;" while one of the chief journals in Central New York holds, notwithstanding the express words of the platform, that the President is not bound to go beyond the law and enforce the spirit of reform. Another, commending the refusal of the President to place the clerks of the census bureau under the rules of the civil service, declares its belief that the decision will be satisfactory to the party.

This is the tone of the larger part of the press of the administration party. No jeer is too contemptuous for reform, no epithet is too acrid. No platform of the opposition was ever

denounced by party fury with greater scorn than that with which a representative body of the administration press now spurns its own. Naturally, this uniformity of tone in the party journals throughout the Union is echoed by party assemblies. The federation of republican clubs in the third Maryland district, representing twenty-three associations, pledge themselves not to support for any office a candidate who honestly adheres to the national republican declaration upon reform. The central committee of the District of Columbia denounces "the cowardly, treacherous policy that to the defeated belong the spoils." The republican central committees in two New York counties denounce as un-American and unfair the civil service law which the republican platform pledges the party to extend; and state conventions of the administration party in three of the great states which it controls, Pennsylvania, Iowa and Ohio, which formerly loudly declared for reform, are this year silent. Three members of the cabinet decline to profess their adherence to the most emphatic declaration of the party platform; and one laughingly remarks that he does not think he has appointed many democrats to office so far. Eminent senators and representatives of the party sneer with warmth at the cant of reform and dog the President for patronage. One representative announces that he will "test the sentiment of the house on the sham civil service law," alleging that "nine tenths of the members know that the law is a fraud, and say so in private;" and the energetic representative proposes "to smoke them out and put them on record."

These are facts wholly without precedent in our political history. To find a parallel, we must appeal to imagination, and suppose some secretary in Jackson's cabinet publicly laughing at the party platform, and democratic clubs and committees and a powerful part of the party press eagerly sustaining the United States bank and insisting that true democracy and the genius of American institutions demand its recharter and permanence. Or we must try to figure republican senators and representatives of the last generation arguing the justice and humanity of the fugitive slave law, and the republican press and local committees asserting the right of slave holders to take slaves into the territories, and declaring the freedom of the territories as demanded by the party platform to be unconstitutional and un-American. The republican platform of thirty years ago did not declare against the extension of slavery into the territories more forcibly and absolutely than the platform of last year declared for reform of the civil service. Such an attitude of party leaders and of the party press in former years toward the platform of their own party would have been that which the larger part of the administration press and of the boldest and most aggressive administration leaders to-day hold.

While this is the sentiment of the party as revealed in all the ordinary methods, what is the executive action? Does that conform to the platform promise and the President's pledge? The knowledge of every citizen in his own community answers. The daily record of the newspapers for seven months answers. The general political proscription; the policy which President Harrison when a senator defined as "the frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion;" the clean sweep which is proceeding in the post-office, the alarm which pervades every branch of the service, the open, flagrant contempt for public opinion, for private information, and for the party promise, which was shown in the appointment of the late commissioner of pensions; the executive refusal to include the census service in the rules and the removal of public officers con-

spicuously fitted for their posts by character, ability, and experience, who have absolutely and confessedly disregarded politics in their devotion to official duty and the public service,—all these facts, and such as these, answer the question, How has the executive action conformed to the party promise and the President's pledge?

There are two signal illustrations of the manner in which those pledges have been kept. The fundamental principle of reform or of reasonable conduct of the public service requires the retention and reappointment of public officers in important places who are especially fitted for their trusts by personal character and proved ability, by long service and great experience; who are in no sense active politicians, and who are exclusively and most efficiently devoted to their official duties. When the administration came into power upon a platform of reform, it found two such officers in the city of New York—the postmaster and the naval officer. Both of them had what is almost impossible under a spoils system, pride and enthusiasm in the public service, in which both of them were knights without fear and without reproach. The administration could have given no such practical proof of its regard for reform as their retention in office. One of them, the postmaster, was summarily dismissed at the expiration of his term, nor can any reason connected with the public interest be assigned as the cause of his dismissal. The other, the naval officer, was displaced before the end of his term without a word, or a sign, or a reason alleged. The ablest and most serviceable of experienced public officers are dismissed like messenger boys. There is no other civilized government which pursues in its public service such a course which the President has truly described as brutal, and which he has chosen to pursue.

There is no pretence that the public interest, or the principles of reform, or the professions of the party, or the pledges of the President, required their dismissal. The President, speaking for the party, had made the four pledges which I have mentioned, and every one of them was violated by these dismissals. It is not pretended that there was any reason for the executive action, except the desire to reward party service, which, whether a sound reason or not, the President had publicly disclaimed as a proper motive for appointment or cause for removal. The dismissal in the case of the naval officer was delayed only until the factions of the party which had proclaimed that the public service should not be made party plunder, could agree upon a satisfactory distribution of the spoils. The result is that the two public offices, one of them by far the largest and most important of its kind in the country, which were in themselves conclusive illustrations of the practical value of reform to the public welfare, have been degraded again into prizes of partisan activity by the administration of a party which solicited support upon the plea that reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under its guidance, should be further extended wherever it was applicable. The genius of Shakespeare, which embraces all experience and gives us words for every emergency, in the passionate scene between Hamlet and his mother depicts him as accusing her of conduct which "calls virtue hypocrite," and makes her vows "as false as dicers' oaths."

Do I conceal or distort the significance of the situation? It must be judged, of course, as a whole. Certainly, every act of the administration is not a violation of the party declarations. Every removal is not unjustifiable, nor is every appointment unnecessary. But, whenever a change is made, the essential question, according to the principles of reform

and the party pledge, is not whether party politicians demand a change, but whether there are legitimate reasons for it. It is not enough that the appointment of a postmaster or a naval officer shall be acceptable to the party machine of which he is a screw: the vital question is whether the interests of the public service and the express engagements of the party with the country require that a perfectly competent and satisfactory officer shall be dismissed. This question is not answered by saying that his successor is personally honest and intelligent. If all the public officers were changed every week, the supply of honest and intelligent successors would not be exhausted. The appointment of a good officer is no excuse for the needless and arbitrary removal of another good officer. This league justly held that the course in regard to the civil service pursued in Massachusetts by the late administration was no excuse for the course pursued in Maryland. It is true that Rome was not built in a day, and that a great reform can not be accomplished at once. That is a sound general proposition. But no executive bent upon reform in the civil service would urge as an excuse for displacing an entirely capable officer that he desired to reward a serviceable partisan with his place. Upon those terms Rome would not only never have been built, but the first stone would never have been laid.

NO MITIGATION

The President has selected an admirable civil service commission. Every member of it is a sincere believer in the necessity and the practicability of reform; and its vigilance and vigor are the best earnest of its effective service. He has refused, also, to extend the time appointed for including the railway mail service within the rules, and he has authorized the publication of the eligible lists. Besides these few executive acts, the significance of which is destroyed by the general executive course, there is little that shows any effective party regard for the resounding promises of the platform. The new administration senators and representatives who have professed to favor reform, and who lashed with stinging rhetoric the failures and inconsistencies of the late administration, now, when their conviction and courage find a fitting opportunity, are passive and silent. They see the general violation of pledges by which the party pledged them. They see the principles which they declare ought to control the power of appointment and removal openly disregarded. They see the abuses running riot, and apparently with their connivance, which they have themselves denounced. Yet, instead of frankly refusing to do what they joined in declaring should not be done, instead of indignant protest in the name of their party and of honest politics which should alarm those who make merchandise of the party faith and of the public service, they wail feebly that it is doubtful if the country really wants reform, that the pressure of trading politicians is very strong, and that there are many other important questions; and the Massachusetts convention, in face of the familiar and flagrant facts, congratulates the President upon the practical wisdom and honest purpose with which he has dealt with the complicated and difficult matter of appointments—praise which was as justly due to the first great presidential spoilsman, Andrew Jackson, as it is to his latest successor.

There is, indeed, a firm and strong protest in a portion of the party press against the abandonment of the platform. But these papers, like the leaders, do not condemn the constant contempt for reform shown by the administration. They commend the personal character of those who are appointed to office, without stating frankly that it is not the ap-

pointment but the removal which truly indicates the spirit and drift of the administration. They speak in no tone of challenge and command and conscious power to arrest the executive and the party chiefs of every degree in the reckless repudiation of good faith with the country. Unwilling to own that the platform promise and the executive pledge are of those professions

"That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope,"

they serve only like stakes planted in a current to show the swiftness of the stream. One of them only, so far as I know, and that a republican journal in Philadelphia, with an independence worthy of an American newspaper, with whatever party in sympathy, says of the administration what must be accepted as a just verdict: "The administration, in almost every one of its acts since it was inaugurated, on the 4th of March last, has scouted and flouted civil service reform and trampled under foot its own promises to respect it. It has turned it out of doors and barred the doors against it. That is the truth about the matter, in brief; and the administration and its organs could do no better, wiser thing, than to frankly confess that, having found civil service reform to interfere with its plans, it whistled it down the wind as remorselessly as it would dismiss an objectionable tramp."

So say you, Mr. Foreman, so say we all, gentlemen of the jury. There was never a more comprehensive and significant declaration of reform made in a party platform than that under which the present administration came into power. But no party ever broke faith with itself and with the country more completely. It is not, however, a new situation. During the nine years of the existence of the league, whatever may have been the profession, reform has not been the practice of either party. Nevertheless, it has advanced steadily and surely in the face of party contempt and wrath and denunciation.

"Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm *against* the wind."

Last year, I recounted in detail the actual achievements of reform in the laws and in practice. They mark the rising tide of public sentiment. "With public sentiment," said Mr. Lincoln, "nothing can fail; without public sentiment, nothing can succeed." The severe standards by which executive conduct in regard to the civil service is tested by intelligent and independent citizens who believe that honesty is the best political policy; the impressive and startling contrast offered in the centennial year of the constitution between the tone and the course of the first and later administrations; the deepening sense of shame that alone among the great powers of Christendom we degrade our own public service—all show unmistakably how profoundly the public conscience is stirred. The great spectacle of the moment is a great object lesson. The argument for reform is steadily driven home by wanton party prostitution of the public service. Happily, there is a conservative and patriotic public intelligence which is the sure and invincible bulwark of popular institutions, because it saves popular impulse from its own excesses. When that intelligence fails, the republic ends. But that it is not failing our recent history shows. It has already exerted from party a profession of reform. It will presently compel a policy of reform, unless, as Goldwin Smith suggests, party can be maintained only by corruption and the bribery of place. But that is not yet the American faith. We do not believe that popular government is possible only when dishonest. But, on the contrary, although taught by recent and startling experience that corruption is today the chief peril of the republic, and believ-

ing that nothing more certainly stimulates it than the practice of converting the vast sum of the salaries of the civil service into a bribery fund at every national election, we have seen the awakening and the advance of the spirit of reform. As with all progress worth fighting for, the contest is stubborn and resolute. Delays and defeats are inevitable, but temporary. The advance is sure. The thunders of the church did not persuade Galileo that the earth did not move; and the roar of the party machine and the gross violation of public pledges by the President, the postmaster general, by senators and representatives in congress, by party committees and local leaders, all of which we have heard and seen before, do not convince us that the reform sentiment of the country is not stronger every day.

THE TIDE-WATERS AND THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

The familiar plea by which the partisan prostitution of the civil service is defended is that the administration should be entrusted to the friends of the national policy which has been approved at the polls. This is true of every post in the administration of which the duties are in any degree affected by the election. But it is true no farther, and it is true of but a very small number of places. The subordinate executive agents, as such, have no political duties. They are sworn simply to administer the law. If they are honest, their political views can not injuriously affect their diligence and devotion to their duties. If they are dishonest, their political views can not qualify them for public employment. Those who raise the cry that the government, meaning the civil service, ought to be in the hands of its friends shall not escape by refusing to say what they mean. If the cry does not mean that a postmaster would be more honest, energetic, and efficient in the handling and distribution of the mail because of his political views, it has no legitimate meaning whatever. It is merely a black flag flown at a masthead. It means only that we have captured the administration, and not content with enacting and executing the laws, which is our true end as a party, we make prize of the vast emoluments of the civil service to distribute among our followers as booty.

But this cry is fatal for those who raise it; for it is the confession that a partisan service is so corrupting that it unfits men for honest and eminent public duty. It leaves the champions of spoils contending for a system which they admit to be demoralizing. It asserts that a public servant who is faithful and capable under an administration which favors a national bank, for instance, will become dishonest or inefficient under one which prefers a sub-treasury, because, if he remain honest and efficient under the new administration, then, as his views do not affect his conduct, the public interest does not demand a change. Whoever alleges that an American citizen, whatever his political views may be, will do his sworn duty less efficiently, or even connive at the violation of laws which he is sworn to obey, because his party has not made the laws, accuses him of being a fool or a knave. To assert this of the great body of public officers is to brand American citizens as rascals. Yet this is the assumption of the theory that every non-political employe in the public service should change with a party change of administration. Why should such public officers be expected to regard their oaths more strictly, or to do their duty more faithfully, because they agree with the political views of the president, than the employes of a great private corporation because they agree with the religious views of the superintendent?

I will take an illustration familiar to all of us. The late postmaster of New York was a republican. But when a democratic administration came into power, he was reappointed postmaster. Did that administration betray its trust and wrongfully imperil the public service by retaining an important officer, who, not holding the political views of the President, under the theory we are considering, would be passive, careless, and inefficient in the discharge of his duties? In fact and by the record, did this difference of political view in the least degree affect the energy, the devotion, the ability of this man, who served his country as faithfully and at a sacrifice as great as any hero of the war? Did he flout his oath, did he connive at inefficiency and sloth and delay and misconduct in the postal service, in order to discredit the party with whose political views he did not agree? Had he no honor as a man? Had he no pride in the good name of the American government? Was he so poor a creature as to derange the business convenience of the metropolis of the continent, despite his oath, his honor, and his fame, because he was a republican and the President a democrat?

To ask the question is to answer it. Mr. Pearson was the same upright, faithful and honorable officer under democratic ascendancy that he had been under republican administration. Yet, warm as my regard for the man, and high as was my admiration of the public officer, I do not think that he was singular in this honorable fidelity to his trust. Americans are not the scoundrels that the common spoils theory assumes. What Mr. Pearson was, in honesty and fidelity, the great multitude of public officers and employes would be, if selected and retained as he was for his fitness, and not for his opinions. It is one of the worst evils of the spoils system that it tends to corrupt this honesty and to destroy this fidelity by making personal favor and political opinion, not proved fitness, both the condition of appointment and of the official tenure. Therefore it is that the removal of every such officer solely that his office may be degraded to a reward for partisan activity is a gross public wrong, a deadly blow to political morality, to the self respect of honest public servants, and to the American name.

The successful party in the election of last year pledged itself to promote civil service reform, "to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided." It was not the power of patronage, but a great, humane, patriotic purpose that created the party which made that declaration. Did the complete control of the patronage of the government for a quarter of a century, a patronage enormously increased and extended, and bestowed solely upon partisans, strengthen the party in public confidence, or elevate its leadership, or secure its ascendancy? Is it not true that, with the great increase of patronage, political corruption has greatly and consequently increased within the party and throughout the country? Is it less true that the determination no longer to treat the vast sums paid in public business salaries as a fund to reward partisan service would be the first serious check to the corruption which now threatens our political life? Thirteen years ago one of the most eminent of republican leaders said in the senate—and if it was true then is it less true now?—"I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips that, when the United States presented herself in the east to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption." When, three years hence, we welcome that world upon our western shores to

another competition of proficiency in those arts, shall we be content with industrial superiority and material splendor? While our inventive genius, our daring enterprise, our swift civilization of a continent, may stir the wonder of the world, shall it not be our proudest boast that, as the material miracle has been wrought under popular government, our greatest achievement is the moral miracle of the constant purification of that government by the virtue and intelligence of the people?

THE THANKSGIVING DAY SERMON.

The progress of this movement continues to be encouraging. It is not possible to note this month more than the following:

Resolved, That in accordance with a suggestion made by Mr. Herbert Welsh, on behalf of the National Civil Service League, the ministers belonging to the Pacific Unitarian conference are requested to take for the subject of their sermons at the approaching Thanksgiving Day service "The Reform of the National Civil Service," or to devote at least a portion of their discourse to it, believing, as we do, that it is a theme of vital importance to our country, and should enlist the warm support of our pastors and people.

An appeal has been issued to the ministers of the United States, urging them to unite on Thanksgiving Day, or such other day as may seem suitable or convenient, in the presentation of the subject of civil service reform.

In general, a pastor can scarcely be too careful with regard to the public expression of his views on such matters as may invite the heat of discussion, or engender rivalries between those of differing positions, classes or political views. He is and must be first, last and all the time a religious leader. His one object, to which all others must be subordinated, should be to help men in their soul experiences to lead the life of Christ. As pastor he must know no republican or democrat, no employer or employed, no public official or private servant. His people are all individual souls, to be helped by him in their individual life with God. At the same time he is a citizen, and not only may but must have personal opinions on public affairs which must guide his public action. How to be unwavering in the one, and at the same time true to the other, is often a matter of great difficulty, and needs the most careful tact and judgment. It is as essential that a man be a Christian at the polls as in his home, yet to emphasize the requisites for Christians voting, and not to imply that they are coincident with the preacher's own political preferences, is no easy matter. The result has been too often that preachers refused to take up in the pulpit the great questions of government, and there are multitudes to whom the ideas of Christianity and politics are as far removed as possible from each other. This extreme is just as wrong as the other. While it is none of the business of the pulpit to discuss party politics, it is the bounden duty of the pulpit to present as fully and clearly as possible the principles that should control party politics.

The question of civil service reform, however, is in no sense a party question. It is one that involves the comfort and the rights of every community. It embraces in its scope the principles that should underlie all government in its local relations, in that it emphasizes the "service" element, brings out most forcibly the truth that public office is a public trust, that the public official should be as impartial, as unbiased in his public action, as the preacher himself in his church duties. *The Homiletic Review* for October.

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

[For want of space a considerable number go over to next issue.]

General Harrison has spoken in no uncertain terms of his purpose to promote and perfect the great reform. Between cringing on the one hand and trickery on the other, the present administrators of the civil-service law and rules have lost public confidence. By the elimination of those non-progressive agents of reform, and the appointment of men honestly in sympathy with the principles involved, such progress may be made under the new President that retrocession will be impossible hereafter. *With educated, alert, and faithful men in every branch of the civil service, it may one day become and be deemed as honorable to serve in that as in the naval or military service*—*Frank Leslie's [Rep.]*, December 1, 1888.

Of course many removals will be made—many ought to be made for the good of the government—but anything like a clean sweep will react upon the party and jeopardize its welfare.—*Baltimore American [Rep.]* November 27, 1888.

The cause of civil service reform has not yet made such progress but that there are some republicans who openly avow their approval of the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and who unhesitatingly advocate a clean sweep of all democrats in office. It was this very doctrine and practice that created a necessity for civil service reform. The movement did not come any too soon, and, if held to its original purpose, it can not be too earnestly prosecuted for the welfare of the country. The fact that it has been made more or less odious by hypocritical professions and Pecksniffian pretenses is not the fault of the movement itself. The movement is essentially right. It aims to reduce the business administration of the government to business principles, to place it on a stable basis, to remove the minor offices from the field of mere political spoils, and to make merit and efficiency ruling principles in appointments and promotions. It is impossible to deny the justice of a movement that aims at these ends. All good citizens and both parties alike are interested in their accomplishment. *They must be accomplished if our civil service is to be saved from becoming the mere prey of spoilsmen and a perpetual source of corruption and danger to the government. No government can be permanently maintained on a basis that openly defies business principles which are founded in the common sense of mankind.* Civil service reform in its true sense—that is, in the sense of introducing an element of stability into the civil service and conducting it on a basis of merit and efficiency, rather than of mere political spoils—civil service reform in this sense has come to stay, and will move forward rather than backward. The republican clean-sweepers should not be unreasonable in their demands on the next administration. The democrats made that mistake four years ago, and republicans should profit by their example. The more unreasonable the demands and expectations in this regard the greater the liability to disappointment, and of its proving a source of party weakness. *Those who make it forget that the republican party is fully committed by its platform pledges to civil service reform, and that General Harrison has declared himself in full sympathy with it; they forget that the clean-sweeping business was one of the main counts in the indictment against the democratic party, and the consequent demoralization of the public service one of the principal causes of its defeat.*—*Indianapolis Journal [Rep.]*, November 23, 1888.

The curse of office-seeking appears in two ways—it prevents a President, senator or congressman from exercising any possible statesmanship, and it leads to the election of men to those positions who have no ability for statesmanship even if they should have time for its use.—*Omaha Republican [Rep.]*

Shrewd political managers will see after awhile that the doctrines of civil service reform are as beneficial to the discipline of party as they are to the efficiency of the government service.—*Louisville Commercial [Rep.]*

The republican party is thoroughly committed to

the advocacy of this reform, and we do not believe that there is any possibility of the repeal of the law. The efforts in that direction by a few politicians and public men are wasted.—*Philadelphia Press [Rep.]*

The pressure for office is well nigh intolerable, even with the protection at present afforded by the law, and the only way out of the difficulty is to enlarge the scope of the competitive system to keep pace with the growth of the civil service, or, better still, to gain upon it.—*New York Tribune [Rep.]*

General Harrison, as is well known, has devoted all his waking hours, even at the risk of seriously endangering his health, to listening to office-brokers and office-seekers. So long as they are encouraged they will make their periodical onslaughts, but once the President puts his foot down and stops it there will be an end of the miserable business, and he need not fear that the people will not endorse and applaud him in taking any step which will relieve him from this unseemly and disgraceful occupation of his time, and give him the opportunity to attend to public business and to devote to it the leisurely care and consideration which it needs.—*Chicago Tribune [Rep.]*

We believe the mass of the republican party is in favor of strengthening the civil service laws rather than relaxing them or trying to get around them. *New York Press [Rep.]*

The Lowell [Mass.] *Courier [Rep.]* tells Senator Blair of New Hampshire that in denouncing civil service reform he "is not a republican in good and regular standing." The *Courier* explains that "the reform of the civil service is a republican tenet." It has been formally set forth in every republican platform since 1876, and whatever there is of law or practice of the reform is of republican origin. The republican party can not disclaim the doctrine without inconsistency, nor can it ignore it without disgrace.

Patronage kills off more Congressmen than it helps, * * * Even with the President himself, the recognition of his services and abilities as a statesman and national executive officer are almost lost track of in the continual uproar for and against his manner of dispensing the official patronage. Cleveland's failure to please his party in handling the official patronage was more responsible for his defeat than his course upon national questions of statecraft and governmental affairs.—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette [Rep.]*

Not until the whole rank and file of the host of office-holders are brought fully under the civil service regulations can the main work of the reform really be said to have been accomplished.—*Boston Journal [Rep.]*

Judging from the declarations of those people, the principle of civil service reform has been abandoned, and, like the old Roman augurs, even the coryphæi of the reform movement are laughing in their sleeves at it as if it were a good joke. But they are mistaken. If there were such abandonment of the civil service reform principle, it would not be difficult to secure a repeal of the law by congress, but this can not be done and will not be done.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press [Rep.]*

The republicans are battling with that element of weakness, the patronage, and are getting the worst of it. The scramble for offices is disgusting, disheartening; the antagonism of men who last fall professed the most disinterested zeal for the party, but are now squabbling over the division of the political spoils, are making glad the enemy.—*Brooklyn Times (Rep.)*

And here comes the *Philadelphia Press* to assert that "the republican party is not going back on its civil service reform pledges to please anybody, much less disappointed politicians." What a whack that is at Ingalls, Blair, ex-Senator Platt, the New York leader, and others, who would fain have the republican party follow the course of the old whig party respecting slavery. That organization would resolve against its extension before election, and afterwards turn round and join in any compromise that would strengthen the institution nationally. The natural result was that the whig party fell by the wayside.—*Boston Transcript [Rep.]*

The Buffalo Express [Rep.] is not a believer "in the system which makes the senators and representatives assistant presidents in so far as the patronage of their districts is concerned." The Express says that the system "has been tried and found wanting. The scandals it gave rise to under former administrations weakened the republican party by creating factions and faction-chiefs, and by driving from the entire organization some of its best members. Its only good result was the passage of the national civil service law."

Certain republican members of congress who have not obtained all the offices they want vent their discontent by flings at the civil service law, and democratic papers eagerly pick up their remarks as evidence that republican support of the reform is diminishing. But a handful of discontented congressmen do not represent the party. The reform is here to stay.—*Boston Journal* [Rep.].

The Milwaukee Sentinel [Rep.] says that it is not "disposed to commend Mr. Clarkson's activity with the cleaver."

That the faith of the republican party is pledged to promote the best good of the civil service of the country.—*Iowa Republican Platform*, 1874.

THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The National League of civil service reform associations held its annual meeting in Philadelphia, October 1 and 2. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

First. The National Civil Service Reform League gladly recognizes the steady advance of the reform sentiment in the public mind, and the good results already happily achieved in legislation.

Second. The national convention of the party now administering the government made the following declaration:

"The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884, and continue to adhere to the democratic party, have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We, therefore, repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided.'"

The president elected upon that platform declared in his letter of acceptance: "In appointments to every grade and department, fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office."

Third. It is the duty of the league to consider how these solemn pledges have been fulfilled. The personal character, ability and experience, and the unquestionable and fearless devotion to reform of the members of the civil service commission appointed by the administration and the support accorded to them by the President deserve the heartiest commendation. The administration of the reform law has been improved by regulations making the eligible lists public, and permitting the appointment upon local boards of members whose tenure in the service is independent of the heads of the respective classified offices.

Fourth. The execution of the law, however, is seriously endangered by the appointment, with few exceptions, as heads of offices within the classified service, of men who are not in sympathy with the law or its purposes, but who are in many cases its

open or secret enemies. A brief necessary delay in the preparation of eligible lists by the civil service commission was improved to sweep out of the railway mail service hundreds of employes, regardless of efficiency, and into these vacancies were hurried hundreds of partisans of the administration, with but a subordinate regard for their fitness. In the civil service generally, the President seems in great measure to have abdicated his constitutional power of appointment, by placing the appointments at the disposal of partisan leaders, thus enabling them to debauch constituencies and control elections. Thus the pledge of the President, that fitness and not party service should be the sole discriminating test of appointment, is disregarded.

Fifth. An equally flagrant violation of pledges is the removal of thousands of public officers, especially in the postal service, for mere partisan reasons, and especially of some trained by years of faithful service, and universally recognized to be peculiarly fitted for their several positions, and whose only fault was their unwillingness to seek the favor of influential politicians by subordinating to their interests those of the country. Against these excesses of the spoils system, whereby its injustice and cruelty are strikingly illustrated, the league records its unqualified protest.

The league also expresses its regret at the refusal of the President to extend the civil service examinations to the census bureau, inasmuch as the proper discharge of the duties of that bureau imperatively demands entire freedom from partisan spirit.

Sixth. The league renews its earnest declaration of the wisdom of the repeal of the four years laws, which are the fruitful source of political removals. When the power of removal is unrestricted, it is of the highest importance that every officer should be held to the responsibility which accompanies authority, and that every incentive to the arbitrary exercise of authority should be destroyed. To stimulate the official sense of this responsibility, the league recommends to its constituent associations the widest publication of the details of removals, that the public may be fully informed of any case in which its service may be made subservient to personal and partisan objects.

Seventh. The league renews its recommendation that public officers entrusted with power of appointment and removal should be required by law or executive order to place upon public record all appointments, removals and resignations, and the reason for every removal made by them; and appointing officers, when in their discretion they do not select those rated highest upon the eligible list presented to them, should be required in each case to file their reasons for such action.

While fully recognizing that the absolute power of removal must be vested in the appointing power subject only to a sound discretion, the league holds that the system of making removals upon secret charges of specified acts proffered by unknown accusers, with out opportunities for explanation or denial, is inquisitorial in its character, unjust in its results, and, like the spoils system itself, repugnant to the spirit of American institutions.

Eighth. The league warmly approves the appeal to the clergy of the United States to commend to the people the moral aspect of the question of reform. The promotion of public honesty, and the stay of increasing corruption, are not political or partisan questions; they are concerns of the truest patriotism and the pulpit in the discharge of its office of applying eternal principles of morality to human conduct, and aiding nations as well as individuals to walk in the right way, may well demand of the public conscience that specific and acknowledged evils affecting the highest public welfare shall be speedily and effectively redressed.

WORK MAPPED OUT.

A special committee of the league advocated the following plan of agitation, which was adopted:

The report from the special "Committee on Work," as named by Mr. Wheeler, was then read by that

gentleman. It outlines a plan of procedure, and is as follows:

Resolved, That the several associations constituting the league be requested, without delay, to take appropriate action to secure adequate appropriations for the civil service commission; to promote the confirmation by the senate of the commissioners lately appointed, and to guard against legislation hostile to merit system, and as means to these ends that each of said associations prepare and circulate suitable petitions; appoint delegations to visit Washington, present these petitions to congress, and obtain public hearings before committees of that body; hold public meetings at which addresses on the topics above indicated may be delivered, resolutions adopted and committees appointed to lay these resolutions before congress; interrogate senators and representatives from its state before the meeting of congress (whenever this course seems to be advisable) as to their respective sentiments on the foregoing subjects, and make judicious representations to them calculated to induce favorable official action on their part; promote public expressions of opinion by noted citizens and the press, advocating the adoption by congress and the President of a policy in accordance with the principals of civil service reform; collect and transmit to the secretary of the league, and to journals friendly to the cause of reform, the facts respecting removals from office, and the working of the reformed system whenever it is in force, and that the secretary of the league communicate such facts to the several associations.

Resolved, That the secretary of the league transmit the foregoing resolution to the secretaries of the several associations, with a letter urging its prompt consideration, and that the president of the league address to the presidents of the several associations a circular letter suitable for publication, impressing upon them the importance of the action therein advised.

Resolved, That the executive committee of the league co-operate with the several local associations in organizing the agitation proposed in the first resolution, and assist them in obtaining well known speakers for their meetings, and proper introductions for their delegations and committees in the national capital, and that it cause to be prepared maps, with appropriate quotations and statistics, for exhibition at public meetings.

Resolved, That the several monthly papers published in the interest of civil service reform be requested to have at least one article in each issue, between December and June next, devoted to the subject of congressional action relative to the reform, and to send marked copies of each issue to the persons whose names shall be furnished them by the executive committee of the league, the actual cost of publishing such additional numbers to be defrayed by the league, and that the several associations be requested to promote the circulation of these papers, especially among those who are not members of such associations.

Resolved, That the executive committee be authorized, in their discretion, to undertake a thorough investigation of the working of the civil service law under the present administration, and for this purpose to secure, if they shall think fit, one or more suitable representatives, who shall further, if approved by the committee, present the cause of civil service reform to popular audiences in different parts of the country and aid in the organization of associations in union with the league, and also obtain information as to proposed legislation at Washington; correspond with the executive committee and local associations, see that petitions and resolutions are duly presented and delegations and committees received, and generally promote, by all proper means, the objects of the league.

Resolved, That, to meet the expenses of the action which the executive committee is hereby authorized to take, the treasurer of the league request the treasurers of all the affiliated societies to send him the names of persons in their judgment able and willing to contribute toward such expenses, and then send to all persons thus suggested a circular setting forth the importance of the proposed work, and asking their assistance in paying for it.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

To promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral; it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery.—CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

VOL. I, No. 9.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"PATRONAGE has been the great drawback of my life. If it had not been for patronage I would have been nominated for president of the United States. You can put it down as a rule that when you make half a friend by some appointment, you will make from twenty to forty enemies. For instance, take the Columbus postoffice. There are eight applicants, and each one is strongly recommended. The one to be appointed will probably consider he is entitled to it anyway, and the other seven will each form a nucleus for a mass of dissension."—*Senator Sherman.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will be glad to receive copies or reports of those sermons preached on Thanksgiving Day that touch upon civil service reform. It is especially desired to know of those preached in this state.

THE admirable address of Mr. Henry A. Richmond, of Buffalo, N. Y., before the Young Men's Christian Association of that city, has been printed. Mr. Richmond was one of the civil service commissioners of that state, and he therefore speaks with authority. The Indiana Civil Service Reform Association has a limited number of copies for distribution.

DURING the Indiana campaign of 1888 James N. Huston was chairman of the republican state committee. Soon after his inauguration President Harrison having been elected upon a platform which said "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments," made the head of the republican machine, United States treasurer. Mr. Huston accepted the place and proceeded to Washington. His duties as treasurer, however, seemed secondary and announcements began to appear that he was holding gatherings to determine the distribution of offices in Indiana. For a time it was believed that he was the lord of the Indiana manor, and his rooms became as popular as the office of George Law's subscription books. He was turned out of one boarding house because the crowds seeking his favor swamped the operations of the house. Having moved to a hotel the rush continued for a while and then suddenly died away. It came out that

Mr. Huston was desirous of having "head-quarters" in Washington where all persons desiring a federal office relating to Indiana should apply and receive or be refused office by him. President Harrison, for reasons of his own, declined to sanction this plan which caused a coldness on the part of Huston. It was not known until lately how the matter was arranged. For this later knowledge we are indebted to the *Indianapolis News* which got the facts from L. T. Michener, who has succeeded Mr. Huston as chairman of the republican state committee, and who says:

"When I became chairman of the state central committee, the assignment of such fourth-class post-offices as remained in democratic hands in democratic congressional districts was put into my hands. I found most of the postoffices in these districts already provided with republican postmasters when I came in. Before I was given control of them, their assignment was in Mr. Huston's hands. If my recommendations of applicants have conflicted with those of Mr. Huston, and been given precedence over them, I am not aware of it."

THE fourth class postmasters have important duties to perform and they are more intimately associated with the great mass of the people than any other class of federal officers. They have no possible reason for existence as officers except to perform those duties efficiently and courteously. Mr. Michener as chairman of the state committee, is actively engaged in putting the republican machine in order for the campaign next year. With the consent of President Harrison he is using the fourth class post-offices to strengthen this machine, and as part of it, to help carry the election at that time. These men will be expected to see to primaries and conventions in the interest of the man who appoints them. They will be expected to contribute money and work in the campaign for the nominees of a party although they are paid by all the people. This is the personal and party service which they will render for the offices that are now being given them. This is the Mahone business over again, and the Mahone business has come to be a very dangerous business.

It is called the American system. This "is keeping the offices near to the people." A system like that described in Mr. Dana's article in another column, which would make these officers dependent only upon their efficiency and character and leave them to reasonably and fully exercise their

political rights, is un-American, aristocratic, savors of monarchy, forms a privileged class, and is attended with many other evils. Appointing to office according to the order of a chairman of a political committee is an insulting and offensive piece of despotism. To permit it is not only to violate the plain promises upon which President Harrison was elected but it is to make a corrupt use of the appointing power.

THE result of the election in Virginia more than met the repeatedly expressed hope of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE. The spoils system was used by the republicans in its most efficient development. No man in the country except Gorman can handle public offices and bring the emoluments connected with them to bear upon an election better than Mahone. President Harrison was very deliberate about it; he knew Mahone and his methods; he had other advice and plenty of it from Virginia republicans, but he decided to put the federal service connected with Virginia into the hands of the head of the machine. He risked the whole case upon putting the spoils theory into complete practice and he constituted Mahone in effect a feudal chief. The latter relentlessly used all the power thus given. *The Valley Virginian*, a republican paper, says, that the only question in the campaign was Mahone and Mahone methods. He was beaten by 42,000 majority, and the result must gladden the heart of every good citizen.

The elections in other states afford ground for similar satisfaction. In Iowa Clarkson had carried on his operation of dividing the offices to the greatest extent. In subsidizing the press, in rewarding friends and punishing enemies, and in a wholesale political proscription, he had given the spoils system its fill. He had impudently and boastfully tabulated his work and published it, columns long, in his paper. He had been made an assistant postmaster-general because of his supposed capacity to divide offices rapidly and with the least friction among the workers, refusing the weak and unimportant, making small gifts to others, placating the dangerous and insatiable with larger bribes, and distributing "plums" to administration favorites. He did his best, and the result is that the democrats have carried Iowa for

the first time since the republican party was formed, in 1854.

New York has been managed upon the principles of Plattism, and a studied emphasis was given to those principles by the displacement of such officers as Pearson and Burt. That state was full of republicans like Sherman S. Rogers, whose advice would have elevated the party, but instead the resurrection and domination of Platt, a sly machine worker, was preferred by President Harrison.

In Ohio the key-note of the campaign was given by Congressman Grosvenor in a speech abusive and contemptuous of civil service reform. Congressman Cooper, who as chairman of the nominating convention made a strong speech in the line of republican reform promises, was retired from the active list in the campaign. The head of the ticket, Foraker, characterizes civil service reform in private as "all rot." Here, too, the party had the full control and benefit of the federal patronage. Yet in Ohio and New York the republicans on election day were helpless.

PRESIDENT HARRISON entered upon his office with the determination that he would enforce the civil service law. He may or may not have had it in mind that he would not in his acts give the words of the platform and of his letter of acceptance the meaning which those words clearly have. He may or may not then have determined to give all the offices, over 100,000 aside from the few to which admission must be gained by examination, to personal and party favorites. If he had so determined, his course would have been what it has been. The machinery of our government can never be made to work faster in turning one set of office-holders out and putting in another. In this work the administration has proceeded without rest or relaxation. It has done no other work.

If the offices are necessary to keep a party together and to enable it to carry elections, President Harrison may have the consolation of knowing that he has done the best he could toward imparting that strength. Many bitter criticisms are made against him by the party workers, but unjustly. With only occasional exceptions workers got the places. Ransdall, who was made marshal of the District of Columbia, was certainly "a worker" if ever there was one in Indiana, yet no appointment the President has made has created so much dissatisfaction here. It is true Mr. Hildebrand, who was made collector of customs here, had not been a party worker, but all his deputies were, and his is an exceptional case. These are fair instances, yet all over the country appear such criticisms as this of Congressman Frank, of Missouri, who

says that "the President has disorganized the party by his appointments. The men who zealously labor for party success are not to be studiously ignored." The President must feel that party machines at least are ungrateful. He has sacrificed everything upon the altar of the party workers, and now they turn and rend him.

It is not likely that the President values the advice of men outside of his party machine. He has not yet given any sign of changing his course; in fact the signs are that something like a Mahone attempt is to be made in Indiana next year. Nevertheless the administration ought to try to save the respect of somebody. The President ought to be willing to hear reason. He knows that the republican party was in power for twenty-four years and that the offices by means of the party work of the incumbents, and of assessments and of ruthless proscription of any independence of party lines were large factors in keeping the republicans in. But equally powerful was the theory that the democratic party would wreck the country. With the election of Mr. Cleveland the spell was broken. A party can no longer keep control of the country by slave drivers' whips in the hands of the Gormans and the Mahones however much that party may strengthen their arms by federal patronage. The public mind is turned toward administrative reform, and a party in power must not be or appear to be besotted. Apparently President Harrison had not read the signs of the times.

He tried the spoils plan with all his strength, and he has failed. If he keeps on he will fritter away his opportunity to render a great service to his country. He can not make or unmake laws, but in the three years and a half yet remaining he can destroy the spoils system. This is the only field in which he can make himself rank among our greater presidents. We know the objections; his party will fall off from him. It will not fall off more than it has now. He will be at war with the modern barons who pose as congressmen; that is true, and speed the day. He will not be renominated; that may be true, but what of a renomination followed by defeat? The demand of the time is that he disregard objections and be fearless of the consequences. With a statesman's plan, executed with a statesman's boldness, he would accomplish what is now utterly wanting. He would stir and rouse the patriotism of the people, who will gather about a strong man fighting on the right side.

THE road is plain to any one who will see it. Let the President demand of congress an appropriation sufficient for widely extended operations of the civil service

commission. Let him bring every clerical position in the federal service within the civil service law. Let him make rules that the non-technical labor service of the country shall be hired according to the system of the Boston labor service. Let him throw the fourth-class post-offices into divisions on lines similar to the railway mail service and operated upon the plan elaborated by Mr. Richard H. Dana. Let him provide a system of filling the larger post-offices by competition among subordinates in a group of offices. These are paths along which the President may pursue a brilliant course. Braced by remembering "the dangers to free institutions that lurk in official patronage," he should, by his constitutional fiat and at whatever cost, once and forever cut off congressmen from that patronage. It is true that like the nobles with a king granting privileges to the people, our oligarchy of spoils dividers would attempt to wreck the President, but in the end the wreckers would be wrecked.

MR. HENRY C. LEA, of Philadelphia, is a far-sighted and powerful advocate of civil service reform. He was a republican, but voted for Mr. Cleveland in 1884 and did all he could to defeat him in 1888 on the ground of betrayal of this reform. In 1889, although presidents and parties may sacrifice their principles, Mr. Lea does not depart from his, as the following extract from his letter in the *Philadelphia Times* of October 15, shows:

Believing that republicanism represents the higher and nobler interests of the community, I am anxious for its success so long as it fairly upholds those interests. When it proves false to them it is false to itself. It can then be brought to a sense of its duty only by defeat, and its truest friends are those who will not hesitate to rebuke it in the only way made practicable under our system. If it is to remain in power, it can hope for supremacy only by deserving it.

Unfortunately the President seems to have misunderstood wholly the lesson taught by the last election. He has abused the appointing power to place the party in New York under the domination of Tom Plattism, in Pennsylvania under Quayism, in Virginia under Mahoneism. He has degraded it and himself in obedience to a short-sighted opportunism which seeks to utilize the baser element of the party at the expense of the principles to which it and he alike are pledged. Unless his course can be arrested it needs no prophet to foretell that by the end of his administration he will have sunk the party so low in the estimation of its honest members that even the phenomenal capacity for blundering of the democracy will, in all human probability, not save it. If it would teach him wisdom, the most wholesome thing for the party this year would be defeat in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Mr. Lea is following the only course by which an administrative evil can be rooted out—dealing with the man who is now doing the evil. As he wrote in 1888, "when a farmer nails a chicken hawk to his barn door he not only gets rid of a plunderer, but he gives a wholesome warning to its fellows."

CONGRESSMAN LODGE ON THE DIVISION OF SPOIL.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, now a congressman from Massachusetts, has written a letter to the *Civil Service Record* elaborating some ideas expressed by him before the Middlesex Club recently. He describes himself as a "strong party man," which seems to mean that he is a republican first and a civil service reformer next. He says that President Cleveland is not to be criticised because he made a clean sweep outside of the classified service, but for saying that he would not do it. "All these cries" about the "spirit of the reform" and "wholesale removals" are understood by the American people as depending on party feeling. The republicans look upon the civil service reform associations as democratic clubs in disguise and "do not value their utterances at all." The present spoils system is "thoroughly vicious" in its effects upon "the entire public life of the United States." The only way to get rid of it is by law backed by public opinion. Mr. Lodge also tells us that Mr. Cleveland made a clean sweep of the 300 employes of the Charlestown Navy yard, and now he says "the patronage of the yard has fallen largely into my hands." Also, "if I have not administered it well or judiciously, I am open to fair criticism, as was my predecessor on the other side; but neither is he nor am I open to criticism for the fact that we administered it."

In this naiveté he is only to be compared to Reuben Davis, who has recently written his life of broils and fights, and of whom the *Nation* recently said, "the author has not a suspicion that he is not a strictly moral and religious man." Mr. Lodge superintends the expulsion of 300 laboring men, many of them supporting families, from their places without a reason in the world except that they do not belong to his party, and that the places are wanted for party favorites. For this he is not to be criticised. It is useless to ask Mr. Lodge the meaning of that sentence in General Harrison's letter of acceptance which reads, "Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office." Equally useless would it be to ask him the meaning of that part of the republican platform which reads, "The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments." It is useless also to reason with a man who in his own words thus grades his political morality. We can, however, tell him some plain facts: Following Mr. Josiah Quincy, because many drunkards will have drink, Mr. Lodge is not justified in keeping a doggerly. As to the law which Mr. Lodge wants, the power of appointment is found in the constitution, and in that instrument there is

not the slightest authority for using the 300 places in the Charlestown navy yard as Mr. Lodge has used them. Apparently we do need a law to put congressmen in jail for law-breaking. Finally we quote to Mr. Lodge the words of Mr. Bonaparte: "To promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral; it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery." And we assure him that that statement is an absolute truth, and that while he and many others are with the President engaged in violating that truth by using over 100,000 public offices to pay for such service, they are to be and will be criticised, and the criticism ought to be proclaimed from the house-tops.

REMOVALS IN THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Trusler and Thalman, two members of the common council of this city, are taking the lead in putting through that body an ordinance providing that no fireman shall be dismissed until charges are filed against him and he has a hearing, and both branches of the city legislature dismiss him by a two-thirds vote in each body. All the republican members seem to be aiding in this business, and the party journals offer no objection. It is given out that the object of the ordinance is to keep politics out of the fire department. Doubtless this is meant as a joke, in view of the fact that early this year these same republicans, led by Trusler, displaced Mr. Webster from his place as chief of that department because he would not dismiss the dozen democrats out of the 82 employes of that department. The restoration of this officer was one plank of the democratic platform in the late city election, and if anything was decided, it was that the people wanted him restored, and with his restoration the banishment of politics from the department. By reason of that election the republicans are soon to lose control of the city government, and now they propose to fly in the face of the expressed will of the city by legislating, not to keep politics out of this department, but to keep politics in in the worst form. The reported declaration of Thalman, "We must take care of our friends," contains the whole matter—the object is to prevent removals except with the consent of the republican minority.

Let it be admitted that the democrats would do the same thing. The duty of a party is not to be gauged by that. The judgment must be upon whether a majority does the right thing for the public business. Civil service reformers are accused of favoring perpetual office-holding. The most extreme have never favored such inflexible permanence as this ordinance proposes. Under this a fireman may be disobedient, and for every reason worthless; yet he has only to have a "pull" upon one-third of the councilmen or aldermen and he is safe. Trusler and Thalman will be

part of that third, and they will take care of their "friends."

Now, those who have studied this question most are a unit upon the principle that, to secure efficiency, the power of removal must be left in the head of each department, and must be untrammelled. Beyond this they simply ask that, as no removal is made without a motive, the removing officer shall make a written record of the cause and that such record shall be public. The public then may judge whether a removal is for cause, as, for instance, drunkenness, or whether it is an abuse of power, as would be a removal to make room for a partisan. Although this is the doctrine of the "civil service theorists," its practical sense will appeal to every one. They rely upon public opinion alone to prevent improper removals, and this reliance will not fail. It is only when things can be kept secret that ward politicians control heads of departments. No such officer will ever write in a public record "Removed because he was a democrat and Trusler had a man who worked three weeks for him in the last city campaign and whom he had to provide for." Even the Truslers would be ashamed to have such a public record. We have reached the point where a man's fellow-citizens will take up his cause when he is unjustly dismissed. The case of Mr. Webster, the motive of whose dismissal was well known, is ample proof.

Placed side by side, each system proves the motive which prompts its adoption. The one means a department head, with power to bring and keep his men up to the highest efficiency; this is for the public benefit. The other means a department powerless to enforce discipline without the consent of a minority made up in part of men who have already shown that they will sacrifice the public welfare for a petty partisan gain. The fire department is of vast importance to this city, and it should be governed by the strictest business rules, with concentrated authority and absolutely free from partisan influence. When men seek to put upon it a drag like this ordinance, they cease to be public trustees and become public pests. Doubtless we shall always have with us the Truslers and Thalmans, but there is hope that sometime the public will require fitness in a public officer, and this will effectually keep them out of public office.

MR. WANAMAKER IN POLITICS.

At a recent meeting of postmasters in Washington, Postmaster General Wanamaker is reported to have said:

There is necessity for a radical reform in the railway mail service. It matters not to me if a man can talk all day about cube and square root, theorems, and geometry, and climatic effects in Africa and Asia, so long as he does not thoroughly know the section of the country through which his postal car may be running. I would sooner have a postal clerk who knows every nook and corner in his district than some theorist who could tell all about zones and geographical centers remote from his own country; and I shall recommend to congress

that the civil service examinations be modified to this extent.

This has been denied, but whether he said it or not it is consonant with his career as postmaster general. In other ways the belief has spread that he means harm to the merit system. Lists of questions have been put to individuals over the country, couched in a form which indicates that the answers are wanted to enable some one to make an attack upon the merit system. From all indications those answers are wanted for Mr. Wanamaker. It is also reported that he will attempt to influence congress to accomplish his end. Mr. Wanamaker belongs to the class of rich men wholly ignorant of what is peculiarly known as politics, who are often chosen as a respectable cat's-paw when the party bosses want "to pander to the moral sentiment of the community." Flattered by the distinction the man thus chosen readily quiets his conscience and adapts himself to the new requirements that while a Sunday-school is run upon one set of principles, politics have to be run upon another. The result is that acting upon this practical tenet in this newsphere he generally out-Quays the Quays. His newly rounded character is now upon the level of the plantation negro who worships lustily in the evening meeting and steals chickens on the way home.

In this case Mr. Wanamaker was first selected to raise money for the campaign. He collected a large sum, and with arguments which look queer when placed beside the principles which are supposed to guide a religious man, he attempted to raise another large sum and failed. Next he was made postmaster-general, and under him hundreds of railway mail clerks have been dismissed in plain violation of promises, and deprived of means of supporting their families, and in the same manner some 30,000 fourth-class postmasters have been dismissed without cause, and to make room for 30,000 political mercenaries trained to uphold the Quays.

On one day in the week he exhorts a large Sunday-school to acts of Christian charity, kindness and tolerance, and on the other six days he affords an object lesson on an enormous scale of sly intolerance, cruelty, and meanness that would be shocking in a barbarian.

THE MARYLAND ELECTION.

In the recent election another effort was made in Maryland to break the grip by which Senator Gorman holds the state. There is no other case of modern feudalism in the country which compares with this. Year after year the attempt has been made to break up his machine. It would have been accomplished in 1887 if President Cleveland had not sustained Gorman by giving him control of the federal patronage. The surrender of President Cleveland to Gorman, and of President Harrison to Mahone, are and always will be two very black spots upon the presidential office. The recent result shows that the long-continued and determined efforts of some of

the best democrats in Maryland to free their state from Gorman's control is having its effect. In the meantime they may rest assured that their work is not without appreciation. We quote from a private letter from a correspondent exceptionally well informed in relation to the election:

I do not think that the party workers who passed the anti-civil service reform resolutions, as a rule, knifed the fusion ticket. So far as I could see, the great majority of them supported the movement with a fair degree of earnestness.

Of course the issues upon which the fusion leaders made the fight were away above the heads of the "boys". But as the "spoils" of the republican victory of 1888 are in Maryland as yet for the most part undistributed, the "heelers" as a rule seemed to think that their best policy was to work hard for the ticket which the republican party had officially endorsed. While this however is, I believe, true, it is also true that some republican votes were given to the ring ticket, and that a great many more republican votes were not polled at all.

There are in Baltimore, and I suppose almost everywhere else, a certain number of party men who are always stupidly and bitterly opposed to any fusion with any persons belonging to the other party. They will not vote for a ticket which is the result of such a fusion. Then whenever the ring's control of the city and state is threatened, it fights a good deal harder than it does when only the president or a member of congress is at stake. It buys republican votes, white and black, probably more of the former than of the latter. It pulls all the wires that control of the courts and police force give it over people engaged in liquor selling and other still more questionable pursuits, a minority of whom are republicans. It is probable that in this canvass, from these several causes, the regular democrats received the votes of at least 1,500 republicans, while perhaps 2,000 more deliberately refused to vote. The ring began their preparation for the campaign by raiding the registration lists. By striking off all the republicans, for whose striking off they had color of excuse, and by leaving on all the democrats they were not actually compelled to strike off, they managed to get off the lists at least 2,000 more republicans than democrats. On election day repeaters were extensively employed throughout the city, and in many parts of the city workers for the fusion ticket were assaulted and beaten by the democratic roughs. In some precincts the judges of election were changed on the night before the election when it was too late to protest against the new appointees. In some precincts the fusion watchers were excluded from the polling rooms. This violence and fraud must have been worth at least 3,000 votes to the ring.

Mr. Cleveland's plurality last year in Baltimore was 5,000. As above stated, the registration lists were manipulated so as to cause the republicans a net loss of 2,000 votes, 1,500 republicans, making a change of 3,000 votes, voted the democratic ticket, 2,000 more did not vote at all, and fraud and violence counted for 3,000 more votes. If we add to Cleveland's plurality of 5,000, the republican net loss in registration 2,000, 1,500 republicans voting the democratic ticket 3,000, republicans who did not vote 2,000, ring gain by fraud 3,000, the majority the ring would have had, had no democrats voted against them, would have been 15,000. But their actual majority was only 3,000, so that 6,000 democrats, counting 12,000 on a division, must have voted the fusion ticket.

The ring, then, by the exertion of its every resource, and by the perpetration of every kind

of election rascality, returned itself a majority of 3,000 votes in the city, but for the first time since the war it failed to return a solid democratic delegation to the legislature. One of the three legislative districts of the city returns a solid republican delegation of six. Year after year, as the fights keep on, one part of the state or city after another slips from the control of the dominant party.

We are by no means discouraged and intend to keep up the fight as persistently as ever.

The Old Dominion Republican League, made up chiefly of office-holders, is one of those organizations that exist in Washington solely to raise money to help party leaders carry state elections. This body took measures to help Mahone carry Virginia, and its committee got out a circular asking for money for this purpose and mailed it to government employes in government buildings. Three members of the committee were office-holders. Mr. Thompson, of the civil service commission, first heard of it, and promptly took steps to bring violators of the law to account. Certain newspaper correspondents began to telegraph out from Washington that Mr. Thompson's "reconstruction was not thorough," but Mr. Roosevelt at this juncture returned and seconded Mr. Thompson with his well-known vigor. Probably Mr. Roosevelt will now have to be "reconstructed." The law declares that no office-holder shall anywhere solicit money of another office-holder, and that no person shall solicit money of an office-holder in a government building. For office-holders to send a circular asking money of other office-holders, and for this committee to send such a circular into a government building to office-holders seem clear violations of the law. The matter will be brought to the attention of the grand jury. Nobody is deceived by the pretense that the clerks in Washington wanted to contribute to Mahone. They were in constant terror lest Mahone should get them out of their places. There has been enough talk about this matter of assessments, and when three men go upon a committee and get out what is in effect an assessment circular, they know what they are doing. There are two men in Washington who have a duty to perform in this matter which they can not shirk upon the grand jury. These are Secretary Noble and President Harrison. They have no right to keep in the government service these three deliberate violators of the law.

How easy it would be to protect government employes and stop this blackmailing if their superiors really wanted to do it. The urgent invitation by the present civil service commission to all persons to come forward and compete for employment, and the bold assurance that all would be treated fairly, has for the first time inspired general confidence in the working of the law. So in this case, a government clerk is asked for money by campaign managers not because he is able to pay it, for he is no more able than the average citizen, but because he can be frightened into paying it by an implied threat. If the Presi-

dent is anxious to stop this business, let him give notice that while any government employe is free to contribute to any object he chooses, he is also absolutely free to refuse to contribute to any party purpose and he shall be safe in such refusal and that the law protecting him from the vengeance of party bosses for refusal to pay money shall not be evaded.

WHEN Mr. Saltonstall became collector of the Boston custom house in 1885 there were 334 employes. Of these 222 now remain. Of the 119 who were separated from the service, 34 were removed by the department to reduce the force, and 7 of these have been reinstated by the collector; 17 resigned, 14 died, 7 were dropped as private warehouses went out of bond, and 47 were removed for cause. There were no removals for political reasons. The collector has never found any difficulty in giving reasons for removals. After the first onslaught for places by the party workers had been successfully resisted, the "pressure" fell off and soon ceased. Collector Saltonstall's administration of the merit system has conquered criticism and now has the approval of his critics. It is an object lesson in civil service reform, and as is always the case under this system, with less force he has done more work. This comes from putting at the head of an office a friend of the law and a man who is not afraid of politicians. We ask Congressmen Hoar, Dawes and Lodge why Collector Saltonstall should not be retained?

GENERAM RAUM is reported in the Indianapolis Journal to have said:

"I find that the clerks are willing to cheerfully accede to any demand that I may make upon them if it affects their retention in office. They are all glad to buckle down to business and do everything that is required, and are perfectly contented if only permitted to remain. Very many of them have been expecting to be forcibly retired, and they seem to be more anxious to stay than I ever supposed an employe could be. Ever since the rerating agitation, and the statement that a number of the employes who had to do with the reratings would be discharged, trepidation and fear have reigned throughout the office."

Here is competent evidence that democratic and republican clerks, for the sake of a chance to support their families, are willing to aid the man responsible for the office with all their might. It is precisely what happens in private employment. A Methodist workman feels an interest in the success of his Baptist employer, although they hold diverse religious views, and his employer does not feel that to carry out the "policy" of his business his employe must be a Baptist.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—Blackstone.

—The editor of the Rahway [N. J.] Advocate has been made postmaster of that town.

—William Smyth, senior editor of the Owego

[N. Y.] Times has been appointed postmaster in place of Frederick O. Cable, removed. The Times is the home organ of Tom Platt.

—J. W. Watrons, editor of the Sunday Telegraph, has been appointed collector of the port of Milwaukee. He "was indorsed by the entire congressional delegation of Wisconsin." It is also stated that "the patronage of the office is large, including eighteen or twenty employes." The commission of the former collector did not expire until May 17, 1890, but he did not resign, and he was, therefore, removed without cause.

—According to the Boston Traveler, Postmaster Lawshe of Xenia, Indiana, runs a paper with a patent inside which it is fair to presume he does not read before publishing. In a recent issue two columns of the patent side were devoted to criticism of the administration. The postmaster has asked mercy by affidavits filed with the department.

—The republican postmaster at Syracuse, New York, served out his term, three years, under President Cleveland, and then the editor of the Syracuse Courier was appointed. President Harrison has now removed him and appointed Carroll E. Smith, editor of the Syracuse Journal. In making this appointment Senator Hiscock overruled Congressman Belden of the Syracuse district, although the latter made a hard struggle. Senator Hiscock has the President's ear and confidence, and in combination with Tom Platt he is irresistible when any spoil is to be divided in that state. Anything which throws light upon the history of such a man is always of interest, especially if it comes from a reliable source. Since Postmaster Smith, who has been the editor of the Journal all along, is Hiscock's man what he says in that paper must be very reliable.

Carroll E. Smith, Nov. 2, 1872.

HISCOCK is a NOTORIOUSLY BAD, UNSCRUPULOUS and DANGEROUS MAN, who seeks to get a seat in Congress for the sole purpose of introducing there the same CORRUPT AND ABOMINABLE PRACTICES WHICH HE, AS A RING ATTORNEY, has successfully practiced at Albany.

Carroll E. Smith, Oct. 26, 1872.

Mr. Hiscock is an accomplished politician in the LOWEST SENSE OF THE TERM. But when he strives to occupy the higher place in politics he fails utterly—for he LACKS MORAL APPRECIATION OF PRINCIPLE.

Carroll E. Smith, Nov. 1, 1872.

Republicans of honor and principle owe Hiscock nothing but EXECRATION AND OPPOSITION TO THE BITTER END.

Carroll E. Smith, Oct. 20, 1872.

By that record [the official record of the canal investigation], he appears to have had a prominent part in at least one of those GIGANTIC SWINDLES BY WHICH THE STATE HAS BEEN ROBBED OF IMMENSE SUMS OF MONEY. * * * The weight of proof is that 25 per cent. was the share of the Hiscocks in this operation—A COOL TEN-THOUSAND-DOLLAR transaction. These investigations must suffice for the public to make up their minds as to the worth and integrity of the man who will thus put large sums of money in his pocket which he and everybody knows were WRONGFULLY TAKEN FROM THE STATE TREASURY. It is cool and deliberate plundering of the people. Mr. Frank Hiscock has provoked this exposure by his lofty and unwarranted pretensions to the character of a reformer.

Carroll E. Smith, Oct. 30, 1872.

Like the criminal fleeing from justice, Hiscock and his apologists see an officer of the law in every bush!

NO MAN IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS A DEEPER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SCHEMES OF JOBBERY AND WRONG UPON THE TREASURY THAN THIS MAN.

A man who, skilled in the crooked ways of the law and in appliances for evading the conditions of solemn agreements, can first frame a law for relief, then "get it through" the legislature, then control the representative of the canal board taking testimony in the case, then secure a full report for the full amount of excessive damages named in the law, and finally pocket a quarter or fifth of that award—is one who PROSTITUTES GREAT ABILITIES TO THE BASEST AND MOST MERCENARY PURPOSES, perpetrates a flagrant outrage against the people, and becomes infinitely a greater offender against the public and is incomparably a more dangerous man than those who, on their own resources and responsibility, drive a sharp bargain and make all they can out of it in whatever ways the experience and shrewdness of public contractors have taught them.

—C. J. Hovey, a son of Governor Hovey, has been appointed postmaster at Mount Vernon, Ind.

—J. C. De Gress has been appointed postmaster at Austin, Texas. He is chairman of the republican state committee.

—M. P. Curran has been removed from the place of assistant appraiser in the Boston custom house without cause to make room for L. A. Dodge, a relative of Abigail Dodge, a member of Secretary Blaine's family.

—Mr. W. T. Durbin, of Anderson, who is a member of the republican state central committee, visited the departments to-day before his departure for New York, and as a result of his labors some appointments will be made from Madison and Hancock counties.—Special to Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 11.

—WASHINGTON, Nov. 13.—The railroad men of Indiana will this week get substantial recognition in the appointment of Augustus D. Shaw to be deputy third auditor of the treasury. Mr. Shaw is one of the bread-winners in the ranks, and is indorsed by railroad employes all over the state. He was one of the organizers and active promoters of the railway workers that did such excellent service for the republican party in the state last year.—Special to the Indianapolis Journal.

—Governor Foraker was not without weapons, although they did not seem to be of avail. He made up the board of public affairs in Cincinnati. This board appoints 1,400 municipal office-holders, lets all contracts for public works, and has a pay-roll of \$800,000 a year. The 1,400 appointees are personal or party favorites of Foraker.

—Congressman Wm. Pitt Kellogg, of Louisiana, has been "ignored" by the present administration. He did not want anything himself, but he wanted to dictate the disposal of the patronage in Louisiana. Harrison chose to make Congressman Coleman the dispenser of the spoils, and Kellogg has ceased to admire the Harrison administration.—Special to St Louis Republic, Nov. 11.

—Ex-representative Goff, of West Virginia, makes frequent visits to the capital, and always goes away with the scalps of some democratic office-holders. In fact, he has so much influence with the administration that republicans from his state say Boss Steve Elkins and the minor bosses who train with him have become dissatisfied with him and are laying their plans to secure a larger share of the distribution of patronage. Goff must "tote fair," they say, or prepare for trouble from the wealthy syndicate of politicians headed by Elkins.—Special to New York Times.

—Mr. D. I. Throckmorton, of Lafayette, Ind., is among the arrivals here to-day. He is a candidate for postmaster of that town, and his friends think he will be appointed. It is understood, however, that congressman Cheadle, who resides in Lafayette, prefers the appoint-

ment of an ex-soldier, who was a messmate with Cheadle in the army; but, as the former is said to be a saloon-keeper, the President will not consider the recommendation. The congressman, therefore, has signified a willingness to compromise on Throckmorton.—*Washington Special Cincinnati Enquirer*.

—The Concord postmastership is the subject of a bitter fight. Lysander Carroll, the last republican incumbent, is a candidate and has a host of competitors, and in this case Senator Chandler seems to have over reached himself. Mr. Carroll went to Washington in the early days of the administration, and Senator Chandler materially assisted in getting prominent signers for him. But now up steps Senator Corning, one of Chandler's strongest supporters in the legislature, and asks for the place, refusing to accept the dictum of "too young," and he is only one of several who have special claims on Senator Chandler.

—Census Superintendent Porter has completed a list of places which will be assigned to Pennsylvania in census work. The entire personnel of the service in the state, superintendent, supervisors, and enumerators, will be appointed upon the recommendation of Senators Cameron and Quay in conference in the republican districts with their representatives in congress. With this view a schedule for organization for the collection of statistical data has been prepared for the use of the senators. A great mass of applications of persons for the different places in the state have been accumulating in the census office for the past four months, none of which have been opened, but will be referred in bulk to the senators. As this is the rule which has been adopted, it is useless for persons desirous of positions in Pennsylvania under the census bureau applying to the authorities here.—*Special to Philadelphia Inquirer*.

—Most of the Brooklyn politicians who have been here hunting for spoils for the last day or two went home to-night. They were joined this morning by Representative Wallace, and they ought not to complain of the result of their visit. With Mr. Wallace's help they secured the appointment of Joseph C. Fuller to be one of the special inspectors in the custom house, and they say they are promised that Granville W. Harmon shall be made an assistant appraiser; that William C. Booth shall be superintendent of the federal building in Brooklyn, and that "Mike" Dady shall fill a similar office in New York. Messrs. Wallace and Woodruff and their companions do not claim that they were promised the speedy out-setting of Postmaster Hendrix they have been so anxiously seeking, but they insist upon it that Brooklyn will have a republican postmaster before many days have passed.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*.

—Postmaster Murray, of Johnstown, New York, was appointed by President Cleveland in February, 1887. His work as postmaster is spoken of in the highest terms. The free delivery system has just been added, and some carriers being needed, the post-office department required Murray to confer with the congressman, who sent him to the republican county committee. This committee named four republicans, refusing the postmaster's request that two of the four should be democrats. Murray sent the names of two republicans and two democrats to Washington. The department requested him to withdraw the names and comply with the orders of the county committee. Murray refused, and the department repeated its directions, to which Murray replied:

UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE,
JOHNSTOWN, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1889.

Hon. Thomas Marche, Acting Superintendent Free Delivery Service, Washington, D. C.:

SIR: Yours of the 16th inst. at hand. For reasons stated in my letter to your office of 12th inst., strengthened by public opinion in this village and community, I feel it would be a violation of my sense of duty and a disregard of the wishes of the patrons of this office to nominate for carriers some of the names mentioned in your letter of the 9th inst. I do not recede from my position stated in my letter of the 12th inst. The more the character and qualifications of the candidates for carriers are examined the more I am convinced that the candidates nominated by me should be appointed. Having in view the success of the service, I respectfully decline to nominate the persons mentioned in your letter, and ask the appointment of the ones nominated by me.

M. D. MURRAY, Postmaster.

—In the division of the patronage last spring the Lincoln postoffice fell to Congressman Connell, of Omaha. All the candidates for the place except one have cultivated his acquaintance in the hope of capturing the plum. This one, the Hon. Charles H. Gere, of the *Journal*, made his fight in another quarter when it became reasonably certain that the Hon. Ed. P. Roggen stood highest in the estimation of the congressman. Gere laid siege to Senators Manderson and Paddock and asked for a new deal. It is now currently reported that the senators have agreed to force Gere's appointment, they threatening to prevent the confirmation of any other appointment. It is even said they have tendered the place to Gere over Connell's shoulders. Connell was seen this evening and expressed his doubts concerning the rumor. There is a bitter feeling between the Roggen and Gere factions in this city.—*Special to Chicago Times*, Oct. 16.

—The senate will be reorganized just before time for it to convene in December. The introduction of eight new senators from the four new states will make the reorganization quite interesting, and will bring about an almost complete rearrangement of office-holders. Many of the old men, who have been held in inferior positions, will undoubtedly be asked to give way to new men, that the new senators may be given their share of the patronage. It is understood that the present sergeant-at-arms is calculating to give to each of the new republican senators one position worth from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year. This the new senators will not consent to, as there are many of the old senators who are given patronage under the sergeant-at-arms and under the secretary of the senate aggregating away up in the thousands, some of them having twice as much patronage as their own salaries aggregate. The demands of the new senators will undoubtedly cause a great deal of chagrin, and very rightly will dispose of a number of barnacles who have been bobbing along on the old ship of state for a good many years.—*Special to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 22.

—Mr. Brosius, the new member from Lancaster (who, though he never has sat in the house at all, has been elbow deep in office handling since the day his official term began), is criticised by his factional opponents for not getting the democrats out more rapidly. The *Examiner*, remarking that it doesn't care particularly "who is postmaster at May, Huber, Buck or Chestnut Level, if he be an honest, competent man," spurs up Mr. Brosius concerning the larger and more desirable places, Lancaster, Columbia, Manheim, Strasburg, New Holland, Lititz, Marietta, and all the big boroughs—which, it says, "mean something else." As to these, the *Examiner* insists, "the rascals"—meaning the democratic incumbents—"should be turned out as soon as possible."

—Now note the reply of the *New Era*, Mr. Brosius's defender. It sets out to show that he has done everything a reasonable spoils-seeker could ask. At Ephrata, a "big borough," a republican was appointed in June, the democrat who preceded having only had five months in the place. At Manheim a republican was appointed three days earlier than at Ephrata. At New Holland the change was made two months ago. At Strausburg the present incumbent is a woman, "and there is no applicant for her place." At Columbia, Marietta, Mount Joy and Lititz the incumbents were appointed in 1885, 1886 and 1888, and so can not be ousted, except by preferring charges, "as was the case with the change at Ephrata."

Certainly this shows pretty fairly for Mr. Brosius. What more could he do unless he manufactured an applicant for the lady's place at Strausburg, or invented some charges against the officers at Columbia and the other three boroughs? But the *New Era* clinches the nail at the close of its article. The facts in the foregoing statement, it triumphantly adds, "are still further strengthened by the additional one that Mr. Brosius has sent on to Washington the name of a person to fill the last fourth-class post-office in this country yet held by a democrat, for which there is an applicant.—*Philadelphia American [Rep.]*."

—The question whether the "patronage" of Berks county should be "distributed" by Mr. High, an agent alleged to have been designated for the work by the United States senators from Pennsylvania, has actually split the republican organization in that county, and two conventions were held on Saturday, two sets of candidates named, and two delegations appointed to attend next year's state convention. The High faction claim that their leader has in his hands the distinct and unmistakable power-of-attorney to parcel out the places—the post-office at Reading being most important—and that to look sourly upon him is not merely to affront the administration and flout the senators, but to forfeit the chance of any appointment. This seems, it is true, rather a sweeping claim, but who shall say where the powers of a local boss begin and end, under the spoils regime? A like designation is said to have been made in Lebanon, as was mentioned last week, and in Lehigh a bitter local fight took place over the matter some weeks ago. In Carbon the case is much the same as in Berks, a split having also occurred there, and two sets of delegates chosen.

Is this sort of thing good for the party that develops it? A dispatch from Reading to the *Philadelphia Press* says of the fight over High's assumptions, that "there has never been so much bitterness in any political contest in this county, and it is being carried into personal and business matters to an extent never before known."

The *Dispatch*, of Reading, a calm and contemplative party journal, remarks that "there is scarcely a county in the commonwealth where are not mutterings of discontent that break out in some places into the most emphatic kind of protests." It speaks at some length of the situation in Lancaster, and says that in Lebanon county also "the republicans are very much dissatisfied with the way in which patronage is dispensed there. It has been a common rumor upon the streets of Lebanon, for some time, that the people of that city are to have no say whatever as to who shall be the postmaster of that place, but that an attorney of Harrisburg is to name the successful man—that man his own brother."—*Philadelphia American [Rep.]*.

—S. B. Ginn, of Henrico county, Va., refused a \$900 post-office rather than agree to pay one per cent. assessment and have his deputy named by Mahone.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW.

Representative Chandler, of Georgia, [Dem.]—"The internal revenue and civil service laws must be abolished. One is a pernicious burden; the other a fraud."

Congressman Reagan [Texas] says:

I fear that if the civil-service law is to be carried out, and there are many valuable reasons suggested for its existence, it will end in retirement for the balance of their lives of people who may have grown old in the service. This would be such an innovation upon the character of our government that I think it will overbalance all the good that can come out of the law.

Congressman Payson says:

I think there is a growing feeling throughout the country that there is a necessity for some radical changes in the experience we are having under the civil service laws. Whether the laws themselves need radical amendment or the practice under them by the commission needs changing by express provision of law, and whether either would be effective, I am not prepared to say, because, to be candid, I am not at all an admirer of the system as I have seen it administered. I have had occasion to say more than once that I thought the railway mail service in the Arthur administration the best civil service in the world. Its employes were the energetic, brainy young men of the country, recommended by the members of congress and appointed permanently if they proved efficient after a probationary service. I see now very little except pedantry and book-learning. Questions are asked of candidates for letter carriers that members of congress—yes, indeed, members of the commission—could not answer. We are, as the commission is now working, simply creating a vast list of "eligibles," not one in 1,000 of whom scarcely will ever be called on for service; keeping up an expensive bureau which will constantly be enlarging its claims and jurisdiction, and with little practical good, in my judgment. There is too much sentiment and too little business in it, and I have no doubt this matter will be earnestly canvassed during the session. If carried on as begun it will eventually result in an office-holding class and a civil pension list. To this I know there is strong opposition. It may be that a reform among the reformers will meet the public demand, but I doubt it. But the whole matter will be thoroughly canvassed I have no doubt.

Congressman Cutchins of Mississippi does not look for the repeal of the civil service law.

Congressman Dolph [Oregon] says:

The civil service law will be amended, but will not be repealed.

Congressman Hitt [Ill.] says:

As for the civil-service law, too many senators and congressmen of both parties are pledged in its support to allow of its repeal. To be sure, it is not apt to be extended at all, but if anything is done it will only be in the line of an amendment to supply some want.

Congressman Simmonds [Conn.] says of the civil-service law:

Undoubtedly there is a decided opposition to the law among the workers of both parties, but speaking entirely from a partisan point of view, I think patronage is a positive evil. I have no slurs to cast upon a man who seeks office. I think any man may have an honorable ambition to hold an office, and that he has a perfect right to seek it; but the possession of patronage is a positive injury to a party, and I think the civil-service law should be maintained and extended as far and as rapidly as it can be of benefit to the public service.

ANTI-AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

THE Louisville *Commercial* [Rep.] says that all classes of officers, without exception, are being allowed in Kentucky to serve out their terms.

THE Lewiston [Me.] *Journal*, Congressman Dingley's paper, says that all the democrats holding four-year offices are being allowed, with few exceptions, to serve out their terms, while Mr. Cleveland made many removals of republicans holding four-year offices in Maine.

THAT changes have not been made more rapidly in this district is probably due to the fact that Congressman Hitt devotes more attention to intellectual problems that pertain to his position than he does to importuning the president to disregard his pledges and those of the Chicago platform, by which he is bound not to make wholesale removals in the business service of the country merely for political reasons.—*Rockport [Ill.] Register* [Rep.].

CONGRESSMAN MILLIKEN, of Maine, says: "Only three men in my district have been superseded by appointees of the present administration, and they were for cause. I have not asked the removal of any man whose term has not expired, and I don't intend to unless there is very great need for it in the interest of the service. *The republicans of my district, so far as I know, don't desire their removal.*"

CONGRESSMAN MOORE is the editor of the Nashua [N. H.] *Telegraph*, and he invited the republicans of Nashua to choose a man for postmaster. Thereupon the *Mirror*, another republican paper, declared that "the man who spends the most money and does the most work for his party and to promote the candidacy of a congressman should everywhere be appointed postmaster."

To this congressman Moore's paper replied:

"A more scandalous and pestiferous doctrine was never uttered by anybody outside of a mad-house; carried to its logical results, it would reduce our government to a system of gigantic favoritism, intrigue, and jobbery."

And the editor further adds, that if he owes any persons anything for helping him to get elected to congress, he will pay the claims out of his own money, but he "will not steal the public offices, that are public trusts, with which to pay them."

THE THANKSGIVING DAY SERMON.

The clergy of this city have been the subject of mistaken criticism in relation to the plan formulated by Mr. Herbert Welsh, looking to inducing clergymen everywhere to some time preach a sermon upon civil service reform advocating it "so far as it involves fundamental principles of righteousness." Some weeks ago the Indianapolis *Sentinel* published interviews with a few of them whose remarks showed that they had not seen the appeal. Those interviewed did not seem inclined to preach such a sermon upon Thanksgiving day. With a single exception all were in favor of breaking up the spoils system. Father Gavisk, Catholic, says of the reform, "I would be heartily in favor of it and would like to see it established in this country." Dr. Cleveland, Methodist, says, "I heartily believe in the principles of civil service reform and that their adoption

by the great political parties would bring an almost incalculable blessing to the country." Mr. Haines, Presbyterian, says, "I am in favor of the civil service reform movement. I hope it will speed and grow." Dr. McLeod, Presbyterian, is in favor of it but wanted to begin "by getting all the bad men out and putting the good men in and then keeping them there." Dr. Jenckes, Episcopalian, says of the reform, "It has to come sometime, but the adoption will probably be gradual;" and he believes that the present administration or the next one "will bring out civil service in good shape" without his intervention. Most of these gentlemen seem to think that in touching upon this subject in a sermon they would be carrying politics into the pulpit against the rule that church attendants have the right to presume that their political feelings will not be hurt. We are sure that upon reflection they will not hold to this impression. The use of more than 200,000 state and federal offices to pay personal and party debts is a gigantic system of bribery, and it is therefore immoral.

Mr. Lucas, Christian, says: "I used to be quite a civil service reformer myself, but the more I studied the subject the more I became convinced that it is a humbug and impracticable and of no use in a republican government." Also, "to say that some offices are political and others are not is an easy way of covering up the hypocrisy of the so-called civil service reformers." There is much more, including the statement that "all offices and positions in this country are political," and that "the men who are at present making the greatest cry and running the civil service commission of the country are greater politicians than many of those whom they oppose." It is a matter for congratulation that Postmaster Wallace of this city does not propose to put his pastor's principles into effect in the post-office.

TWENTY-SEVEN bishops of the Episcopal church have approved the suggestion that the clergy preach a sermon upon the moral aspects of civil service reform. In addition the house of bishops in the pastoral letter show that for them there is a duty in this matter to which they will not close their eyes, and that in performing this duty they are dealing with a fundamental evil which can not be passed by on the ground that it is "politics." We quote the following:

"And while the church of God—the kingdom not of this world—does not undertake to wage the warfare of the partisan, it is nevertheless charged with the duty of establishing and maintaining principles which shall find expression in the political as well as in the social and family life. Official place in morals and in politics is not the prize won by a vulgar selfishness, nor the refuge of patronized incompetence, nor yet the barter price promised and paid for political influence, but the place in which a righteous man may serve his fellow-men and advance the reputable interests of his country. The emoluments of office are derived from a fund contributed to the state by the loyal obedience and patient toil of the industrious masses. To say the very least, it should be distributed so as to secure

the most efficient and economical conduct of public affairs. The honors of office are the legitimate rewards bestowed by popular confidence upon upright citizenship. It must be an evil day for our country when both emoluments and honors are made the prey of a partisan activity which often discards all honesty in its methods and renounces all shame in its corrupt and corrupting success."

—We do not believe in introducing politics into the pulpit, but the time has come when christian ministers and christian men must lift up their voices in solemn and indignant protest against the rule of the political spoilsman.—*Charleston News and Courier* [Dem].

IS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM SIMPLY A QUESTION OF POLITICS?

--B. S. Clayton has been appointed postmaster at Columbia, S. C. in place of Wade Hampton Gibbes removed. Senator Wade Hampton, whose word will be credited, writes to Wanamaker under date of November 9, 1889, as follows:

"Perhaps you may remember, if your memory is not treacherous, your assurance to me a few days ago that Mr. Gibbes should not be removed until the expiration of his term in February next. Not only did you do this, but you voluntarily assured me that inasmuch as Columbia was my post-office, you would, when the successor to Mr. Gibbes was to be appointed, consult me.

"It is a matter of small importance to me who takes the place of Mr. Gibbes, but as I informed him in passing through Columbia, of the promise you had made, you may perhaps understand how your action has placed me in a false position. But it is fortunate for me that Mr. Gibbes will know that I at least told him the truth, though I was grievously deceived in believing what was said to me. I shall know better in future what reliance to place on statements emanating from the same source."

THE New York *Evening Post* of November 13 gives the following, through its correspondence, which it believes reliable: "The postmaster at Lawrenceville, Va., has filled the office for many years to the satisfaction of the entire community. Hearing that Mahone was to remove him to make room for a 'drunken illiterate,' a lady who receives through the post-office large sums of money as gifts for charitable and educational work among the negroes, and whose efforts in this direction have given her a national reputation, went to Washington to find means to avert the disaster. Wanamaker promised her, and in her presence gave the order to Clarkson that no removal should be made. Some weeks later the removal was made and the 'drunken illiterate' appointed, who has since had to resign."

TAKING THE POST-OFFICES OUT OF POLITICS.*

President Harrison in his inaugural address, said: "The civil list is so large that a personal knowledge of any large number of applicants is impossible. The President must rely upon the representation of others." This is perfectly true, and in no branch of the service more true than among the postmasters. The question is who are those "others" upon whose "representations" the President must rely? The proposition is frequently put as if the members of

congress belonging to the President's own party were the only persons on whom he could rely, and yet we all know they are the very persons most interested in turning the post-offices into electioneering machines, and the least to be trusted from purely business considerations.

Far from having to resort to the unconstitutional method of relying on the legislative branch for executive appointments, the administration has at hand, in the post-office department itself, a body of men, who, by the scope of their duties, are the very persons upon whose representations a president can rely for information regarding postmasters. These are the post-office inspectors. They are now selected under civil service rules and usually by promotion from other parts of the service. They are a picked lot of men, trained in the postal service, knowing the wants of the service, and having continually to examine into the conduct of the various offices, and report on the need of new post-offices, the discontinuance of old ones, etc.

When a vacancy occurs in any of the smaller post-offices, an inspector can be detailed to visit the locality, see the applicants, and make inquiries regarding their character and experience. For the sake of fairness and regularity the applicants should be made to fill out certain blank forms in their own handwriting, and on a basis of all this information the inspector would make his report, just as a road agent of an express company makes his report on the relative merits of several candidates for local agencies. The higher post-offices, say all above the fourth class—that is, all with salaries above \$1,000 a year—could be filled by promotion either from the classified service or from among the postmasters of relatively lower grades, promotions to be based on the efficiency with which they have performed their duties. There are already complete statistics kept regarding the management of all the post-offices, and these could be used for this purpose. For greater convenience, the country should be divided into postal districts, as is done in England for the postal department there, and in this country for the great express companies. Indeed this division into postal districts is greatly needed for many other purposes. Each district requires some general manager who can know its wants, see to expediting the mails, etc., as can never be done properly from Washington alone. Such a system as this would doubtless work well in the hands of an administration friendly to it, provided there was not too great an opposition from congressmen. Any system, however, which we propose will, in all probability, be left to the mercies of an indifferent or possible hostile administration, and will lie open to attacks from local politicians. If the appointments of all the fourth-class postmasters are left in the hands of the inspectors, there is a danger that the pressure, which no postmaster-general has yet been able to withstand, will simply be transferred from him to the inspectors. Though they are appointed under civil service rules, it would not be impossible to intimidate the weaker ones, and either remove the stronger ones or put them on other branches of work. We do not want to find ourselves in the position of having urged the adoption of a system which will allow the spoilsmen, when criticised, to turn around and say: "We have made these appointments which you complain of on the reports of your civil service inspectors. What more do you want?"

It seems well, therefore, that any system we propose should be as strongly fortified from attack as possible. Two very efficient means of fortification occur to one. The first is to incorporate into our system some regulation of removals. Let any bill we propose state clearly that there are to be no removals be-

cause of political opinions. With that as the fundamental rule give every man a hearing who wants it, and have no removals except on the written reports of inspectors who conduct these hearings. Suspensions can be made, in extreme cases, awaiting the reports. The hearings, too, need not be conducted with the formality of judicial proceedings, and a well-grounded suspicion, not satisfactorily explained away, may be sufficient cause for removal. There is nothing unpractical or unbusiness-like in this regulation of removals. Mr. Adams told me lately that in the Adams express company they give "the meanest man a hearing" before removal, and if he thinks he has been treated unfairly at a road agent's hearing, he is given another hearing by an assistant manager. According to the last official report, that for the year ending June 30, 1888, out of the 1,244 removals of postmasters, 663—that is, more than one-half—had been made on the recommendation of post-office inspectors. Why should there be any removals except on such reports, unless, indeed, a hearing be waived by the postmaster himself? How quickly many of the so-called reasons for removal, trumped up by politicians, would vanish into air if there was to be a hearing on them conducted by a trained and competent government inspector?

The second method of fortifying this system of reform would be by eliminating as far as practicable the personal element of choice left to the inspectors. I know no better method than a system of competitive examinations; if it were not too cumbersome, it would be well to apply the examination system to all the fourth-class postmasters. A great majority of these postmasters, however, have a very small salary, so small as not to be worth having, as a republican congressman from New York state said the other day, on boasting that he had got every postmaster in his district changed whose office was worth having.

Of the 57,376 postmasters, 2,502 are above the fourth-class and their aggregate of salaries is \$4,202,800. The aggregate salary of the 54,874 fourth-class postmasters, is only \$8,386,968, or just about an average of only \$153 a year apiece. As far as I have been able to estimate it, there are less than 6,000 having \$500 or more a year; the average salary of the remainder being about \$90 a year. The chief pressure that would be brought to bear upon the inspectors would be for these 6,000 places, and if they could be included within the classified civil service, the inspectors might be able to resist the weaker pressure that would be brought to bear for the large number of smaller places, many of them hardly worth the holding.

These 6,000 with fair salaries, with chances of promotion and security against removal without a hearing, would probably average a tenure of not less than ten years. That would give 600 postmasterships to be filled each year by examinations. If the country were divided into 12 districts, that would give 50 for each district. Now in Massachusetts alone, the civil service commission held no less than 172 examinations last year, all conducted by the chief examiner, and 73 of these were held in cities outside of Boston. Under the United States commission for the year ending June 30, 1888, there were held no less than 450 examinations. The examinations for postmaster of this grade would all be of the same general character and easy to devise, while no small part of the examinations just mentioned were for a great variety of positions, requiring many different kinds of test. A good deal of the machinery of local examining boards could be made use of and perhaps the post-office inspectors might conduct the examinations in distant towns. Furnishing good securities on the postmasters' bonds, as already

*From the paper by Richard H. Dana, of Boston, read at the meeting of the Civil Service Reform League, Philadelphia, October 1, 1889. Reprinted from the Philadelphia *American*, October 19.

required by the law, is of itself a guarantee of character, worth more than a usual letter of recommendation, as no person with property wants to go on the official bond of a dishonest or inefficient man.

The system I should propose would be summed up as follows: Removals never for political opinions, and only after a hearing, and on a written report of an inspector, who is himself selected under the civil service law. Appointments to all the postmasterships, with a salary above \$1,000 as rewards for executive ability shown in the postal service, made either from among other postmasters who may apply for a promotion, or from the classified postal service—a system that has been in successful operation in England for many years. Appointment to all with a salary between \$500 and \$1,000 by competitive examinations. And as to the still lower grades on the reports of inspectors, regulated in such a way as to secure the greatest possible uniformity and fairness. And for convenience in all of this, a sub-division of the country into suitable postal districts.

Why is not the reclaiming of the postmasters from the patronage system the next great work for the league to take in hand? Let us unite on some measure, as we united on the Eaton bill, afterwards called the Pendleton bill, and press for its adoption, and I believe we can get it adopted. If some of us have thought that our efforts since 1883 have been too diffuse, why is not this the very concentration we need?

AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

It is not the question of a few post-offices. I freely say to my colleague that the republican party would be stronger in Indiana if you put every republican out of office, and I think the democratic party would be weaker in precisely the same proportion that you put democrats in.—*Senator Benjamin Harrison, March 26, 1886.*

—It is high time that all those connected with this administration who have a real regard for civil service reform, and all republicans everywhere who would be sorry to see their party committed to the foolish and fatal policy of a return to the spoils system, should speak out boldly and emphatically. There is not the slightest danger that the civil service law will be repealed or the reform move in any other direction than forward. But there is danger more or less that the party position may be misrepresented and the affections of the voters alienated to some extent by the utterances of a few spoilsmen, whose boldness increases with their disappointment at finding that they can not make free and complete loot of all the government offices.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press [Rep.], before the elections.*

—Mr. Harrison is responsible only in as far as he has not found it practicable to put a stern and final veto on the projects of the spoilsmen. But he is responsible in a larger measure for the conduct of the post-office department; because the record which Mr. Clarkson is making there is a distinct injury to the party. It does not greatly matter to the public or greatly affect the service whether the postmaster at some cross-roads is republican or democrat. But it does affect the party in the eyes of the people to know that removals in the postal service have been made at the rate of about 20,000 in six months. We speak plainly, and speak as republicans, anxious for the future of the party; and we say most emphatically that this is neither civil service reform nor good politics. There are some signs already of discontent with it. Local elections here and there, notably that in Indianapolis, evidence the growing discontent that follows as a constant Nemesis on the footsteps of the party that, in these days, fails to come up to the height of its own aspiration and disappoints public hope and

expectation.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press [Rep.], before the elections.*

—“The truth is,” says the *Pittsburg Dispatch* [Rep.], after discussing the causes of Tuesday’s overwhelming defeat of the republican party, “that the republican success of last year, in connection with the reverses of this year, show, if anything, that the party is stronger without patronage than with it.”

—I am greatly surprised at the outcome of the Ohio campaign. A heavy defection in Hamilton and Franklin counties was to be expected, but I certainly expected to see Gov. Foraker pull through by a decreased majority. Now, what has lost the fight? In the first place, I noticed a sullen spirit among Ohio republicans. They were heavy and apathetic. *They were displeased with the administration. The offices were distributed without proper consideration, and those who got offices were not appreciative.*—*Gen. Geo. A. Sheridan, who was in Ohio through the campaign.*

—“Did the distribution of official patronage have anything to do with the result in Ohio?”

“Naturally; not in the way of bad appointments, because there have been none; but there were nearly two hundred thousand applicants for places in the service of the government from Ohio. Most of those applicants wanted post-offices. Congressman J. D. Taylor had two thousand applicants in his district. Now most of these people have had to be disappointed, and that made them indifferent to republican success this year.”—*F. B. Loomis, a newspaper correspondent, who was in Ohio all through the campaign.*

—Some persons are disposed to hold the administration responsible for the loss of the republican state ticket in New York. The same individuals declare that had the President been more generous in the distribution of offices, victory would certainly have perched on the republican banner. Take the Twenty-first Assembly District in New York city, for example. Warner Miller a year ago carried it by a majority of about 1,500. Yesterday the republican state ticket got a plurality of scarcely one-tenth of that figure. Ernest H. Crosby, as a candidate for assembly until last year, was accustomed to receive from 1,000 to 1,500 majority. Lewis, Crosby’s successor, gets less than 150. *President Harrison has appointed more men to office from this district than from any other in the state.* The collector of the port, the surveyor, the United States district attorney, the minister to France, the minister to Austria, the judge to the court of arbitration at Cairo, a United States commissioner for the Union Pacific railroad, and at least a dozen more appointments of greater or less importance, have been awarded to the Twenty-first. Yet her showing on election day was nearly as bad as the districts in which the republicans made little or no effort to win, and yet barely succeeded. What is true of the Twenty-first is also true of other districts which have been treated liberally, so far as patronage is concerned.—*Philadelphia Enquirer’s Washington Correspondence.*

—The distribution of this patronage, in perspective of any other issue involved, tends to create unpopularity for the administration. The congressman or senator through whose influence an appointment is secured is strengthened by the support of the office-holder, and this is felt in the district conventions, but the party at large loses votes. There are about 150 consulates at the disposal of the President. There were 2,000 applications for these positions. At the New York custom-house there are 1,500 places, of which about one-third may be available for party rewards. There were 25,000 men who wanted these 500 places.

Take the postmastership in a country village. It is an important post, but it is generally held by a storekeeper, to whom custom is drawn by the appointment. Here are six storekeepers in a place, all working to get the benefit of the extra trading that goes to the postmaster. The man who gets the appointment works hard for the congressman who secured it for him, but the five other men are disappointed, and either neglect to vote for the party at the next election or vote for the opposite side. Where one vote is secured for the distribution of patronage, three—yes, five—votes are driven away.—*Chauncey Depew in New York Tribune.*

—It will take hard work for the republican party to recover the ground which it lost on Tuesday. The administration will have to help in this work. One thing that it can do is to drop all such crazy folly as the Mahone business. Another thing that it can do is to fill the vacancy on the bench of the supreme court by appointing a man whose fitness no one can question. This is a perfectly easy thing to do. Another thing is to pay some attention to the public sentiment of a state outside of the political machine of that state. Another thing is to stop appointing republican editors to office. The appointment of editors is very complimentary, but when they are foolish enough to accept it takes away from the party its most effective advocates, and muzzles the paper from which the appointment is made. Another thing is to keep an eye single for the public good, and allow all officers who are doing their work properly to serve out their terms without molestation. Mr. Hayes’s saying that he who serves his country best serves his party best, is a very good one to apply in this emergency, no matter what the men who are after something may think about it.—*Wilmington Morning News [Rep.].*

—To his friends who called on Wednesday President Harrison is understood to have said that no administration could in its first year successfully withstand the assaults of the office-seekers. Later on he believed the political horizon would brighten and better conditions prevail.

If the President is correctly represented, here we have an acknowledgment that the republican vote only can be brought out when office-seekers are interested in the contest. If they are indifferent, there is no one to bring out voters, and the republican candidates accordingly suffer. The obvious meaning of this is, when the machine is out of gear, the republican party gets into trouble. It is doubtful, however, if the inactivity of party workers altogether explains republican defection. With anything but approval the people have watched the proceedings of the national administration. President Harrison complains that he has been unable to appease office-seekers, and that their resentment brought disaster to the republican party. Many voters believe that too much time and attention have been bestowed on the office-seeking class. They desire to see this administration address itself to work of greater moment, but do not seem to consider that down to the present time it has had but little opportunity to show affirmatively what it can do.—*Albany Express [Rep.].*

—Republicans of the “rural districts” did their duty nobly. The city did damnably. The returns show that only about 60 per cent. of the republican vote of 1888 in this city showed up at the polls, while Tammany drummed up and dragged out by systematic work nearly eighty per cent. of their vote. Equal republican activity and vigilance here would have given us a complete victory in this state. *Dissatisfaction and disappointment over the distribution of the favors of the administra-*

tion may have contributed somewhat to the apathetic feeling and lack of interest. The rum power and its ally, the prohibitionists, can each claim their share of the credit. They both did their worst.—*Tom Platt, Head Distributor of New York Patronage.*

—"Civil service reform had nothing to do with the defeat of the republicans in Virginia, Ohio and New York," says the Boston *Transcript* [Rep.] "The old system of patronage, in which the government honors all the drafts drawn on it by a certain recognized 'king maker,' did."

—The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, [Rep.] is convinced that there is no political efficacy in spoils. Speaking of the recent Republican defeat in the capital of Indiana, it says: "The Indianapolis episode this year, like the Maryland and Indiana incidents of a year or two ago, furnishes one more proof that federal patronage, in ordinary circumstances, brings weakness instead of strength to the party dispensing it."

—The Philadelphia *North American* [Rep.] does not conceal the significance of this week's elections. "The *North American*," it says, "can not commit the folly of underestimating what has just occurred, and it sees very clearly that the republican party must show courage, honesty, and clean-handed leadership to win success hereafter. Its power was broken by a too great belief that in those qualities it had degenerated, and its power was regained largely because it was supposed that it had profited by that rebuke to cast off the leaders and the methods which had weakened it."

—The elections furnish an excellent comment on Mr. Harrison's statement, made while he still was a senator, that a great party is weakened rather than strengthened by the possession of the federal "patronage." An English statesman once said that every place he bestowed made three enemies and one ingrate. Mr. Clarkson has been very busy for eight months past in securing to the party the kind of influence which is supposed to attend the possession of the offices. He certainly did not neglect his own state in doing so. Iowa has seen as thorough an application of the spoils theory in the matter of its post offices as has any state of the Union. We hope he is pleased with the result. His "Pyrrhic victories," if carried a little farther, would put an end to the republican party. They have been won not only in Iowa but in Massachusetts, in New York, in New Jersey, in Virginia, and in Ohio. In all these states the party was distinctly stronger before he began to sign commissions upon the requisition of the congressmen. And if the democrats could have stopped their quarreling, and pulled themselves together, there might have been an approach to the same showing in Pennsylvania. The truth is that the failure of the administration to come up to the expectation of the better self of the party in the matter of the civil service, is disheartening the party everywhere. Brooklyn may be taken as an example. The republicans had a good case there. The state and city tickets on the other side were bad. The registration was heaviest in the parts of the city where the republican strength lies. The canvass was as vigorous as could be expected in an off year. Two years ago Mr. Chapin had a plurality of 882. This year it is nearly ten times as great. The democratic state ticket has a plurality of close upon eleven thousand, and a district heretofore republican elects a democrat to the legislature.—*Philadelphia American* [Rep.].

—The failure of the administration to meet expectations in the enforcement of the civil service law has also alienated from the republican party many of those adherents of civil

service principles who voted with the party last year. The loss may not have been large, but it was something. The administration has undoubtedly been a disappointment to all who hoped for and expected something more than a change of politicians in the offices. The distribution of spoils and the waste of public money stand out most conspicuously as the distinguishing characteristics of the new administration in its brief reign. It is not a record that the people could be expected to endorse, and they have not availed themselves of the small opportunity afforded them for giving what, if there had been a sweeping republican victory, would have been construed as an endorsement. The general result, we believe, indicates that the trend of sentiment is against the kind of politics exemplified in republican management of public affairs.—*Indianapolis News* [Ind.].

—We are of the opinion that while other issues, such as the tariff, the liquor question, and pension profligacy, have contributed to the republican losses this year, the chief cause has been disgust among decent people at the sack of the civil service by the Harrison administration, combined with the rage of office-seekers who have not got what they asked for, or "something equally as good." It is needless to recount particular examples, but no man who has kept his ears open this year to the conversation that may be heard on the cars, or at watering-places, clubs, counting-rooms, or wherever educated people are gathered together, can have failed to discover profound and pervading disappointment with Mr. Harrison and his policy. Since his policy up to this time has been nothing but a spoils policy of the worst type, there has been nothing else to find fault with. He has done nothing but cut and slash among the office-holders, and now he has received a pretty severe rebuke. If this had been a congressional election he would be confronted with a hostile majority in the house.—*New York Evening Post* [Ind.].

THE STATE PRESS.

—Men who are after the "spoils," and who succeed in getting what they seek, as a general thing are not nearly as efficient officers as men would be who had been selected simply because of their fitness and qualifications for their work. In the very nature of things it must be so. "Spoilsmen" have no heart for the duties of the particular position they may fill. Their sole purpose in seeking it was the "spoils," and the "spoils" is all they care for. Patriotism, desire for the public good, conscientious discharge of duty, are the last things they think of. With them, public office is not a public trust, but rather a foothold whereby they mean to get as much as possible from the public with the least possible return for the "spoils" so won. "Spoils," "spoils," "spoils." Down with the whole system. Let civil service reform, in theory and practice, win the place it ought to fill in a government like ours.—*Steuben* [Ind.] *Republican* [Rep.].

—There is a great deal of kicking against the civil service law, and many disappointed applicants are venting their spleen against the administration, as if the President were responsible for the existence of the law, or deserving of censure for its enforcement. The civil service law is all right, and if it can only be kept on the statute books, with such amendments as may be needed to perfect it and extend its scope, it will in a few years work out its own salvation. *It is hard on the spoilsmen, of course, but few of that class are really competent to discharge the responsibilities of office and ought not to be appointed.*—*Indiana New Castle Courier* [Rep.].

—The spoils system of appointing men to place solely on account of politics has been tried long and often and has proved a failure. It is a relic of barbarism and will have to go along with many other

bad customs. It will not answer in this enlightened age, which is an age of business sense, progress and steady advance in civilized methods. The principles of the law will eventually be applied to every department of the federal service. The time will come when the people will no more tolerate the removal or appointment of clerks on account of their opinions than they will now tolerate ostracism of the same for their religious views. In other words, we are slowly progressing from the methods of barbarism to the methods of an enlightened civilization.—*Indiana Shelbyville Republican* [Rep.].

—Frank Hatton, a political cowboy, is running the *Washington Post*, to cater to the spoilsmen in the dominant party. Hatton is a republican for spoils, not for any principle the party cherishes. His political methods are of the same order as the frontier bully, swagger and general brutishness included. Hatton has neither the courage to oppose civil service reform in conventions and campaigns, nor the honor to regard the pledges there given.—*Indiana Richmond Sunday Register* [Rep.].

—That the spoils system has assumed an alarming tendency there can be no doubt, and the necessity for remedying the evil is apparent. What the remedy shall consist of is still debatable. In the case of local appointments, such as for postmasters, for instance, the most satisfactory results are usually obtained by effecting recommendations on the result of popular elections, but even this plan is open to serious objections. Real and permanent reform can only come through the education of the masses to cease looking upon "public office as a private snap," and the senators and representatives in congress should be first to encourage that idea instead of continuing the custom of standing out as conspicuous adherents of the spoils system in its most offensive phases.—*Indiana Lafayette Courier* [Rep.].

—The *Democrat* is a friend of civil service reform. It prefers the merit system to the spoils system. In common with thousands of good republicans and equally good democrats, it believes that business principles should obtain in the administration of the government. In no other way can corruption, profligacy and inefficiency be rooted out of the public service. Every political party has resolved in favor of the reform. Every republican president, save Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Harrison, urged its adoption upon congress. The present executive voted for the civil service law. Both by his repeated declarations and the pledges that led to its restoration to power, the republican party stands committed to a faithful observance of the law both in letter and spirit.—*Indiana Putnam Democrat* [Rep.].

—Politicians ought not to be blamed for trying to get rid of it, for it is greatly in their way. But the reason why the average voter should oppose civil service reform is not clear. The masses of the people have no hope of getting the offices, and in fact do not aspire to them. Good government is all they have to hope for, and all they have a right to expect. Why then should they wrangle over the offices, when their only real interest is to have good public servants? That an aspirant to public office should prove his efficiency for it by submitting to an examination is entirely practical and reasonable. That the ablest man should carry the prize will strike any man as being proper and sensible.

That the distribution of the offices as party rewards is liable to abuse is within the knowledge of any man. The extension of the merit system would be the most effective electoral reform ever thought of. The scrambling for offices is the primary cause for all the bribery and corruption which occur at every election. We can conceive of no reason why a sincere democrat or republican should be opposed to the merit system. It is eminently fair and democratic, as it gives the offices to the ablest aspirants.—*Indianapolis Catholic Record*.

—Four-fifths of the republican journals of character and influence in the United States are honestly in favor of a reform of the civil service on the general line of principle advocated by Mr. Curtis and his associates.—*Philadelphia Bulletin* [Rep.].

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 10.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1889.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

1840.

"Now, this doctrine, which proposes to give the spoils to the victors, has been imputed mostly to one of our political parties, and, as some suppose, has been avowed by that party. . . . We shall see, perhaps, how far the opposing party will abjure this doctrine of the spoils, and whether it is not yet to be the universal doctrine of politics in the land. If so, then shall we have a scene in this land never before exhibited on earth, one which would destroy the integrity and sink the morality of a nation of angels. . . . Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes actuated by such a law as this. It would make us a nation of apostates at the foot of Sinai."—From a Sermon by Rev. Horace Bushnell, in 1840.

At the recent dinner of the Cambridge and Boston Civil Service Reform Association James Russell Lowell said:

"When I was in Spain I could not help thinking that the decay of that noble country, with every element of greatness in it, due, no doubt, to many other causes, was due mainly to a civil service precisely like our own, but which had gone further in the inevitable road in which ours is going."

The *Civil Service Record* for December contains a full account of the recent meeting of the Boston and Cambridge Civil Service Reform Associations. Mr. Roosevelt was the guest of the evening, and the following extract should surely, coming from him, carry great weight:

"To me the spoils system is, in its essence, brutal and degrading, and I do not see how any man can see its workings and not feel as I do. In Washington any man who keeps his eyes open must see around him, continually going on, things that make his heart bleed. There are wrongs that have gone on for years, that are still going on, that should arouse every manly instinct in a man to make him protest against them."

MR. CLARKSON'S recent reverses appear to have thrown him into a state of irritation and mental confusion. His organ at Des Moines says:

"The civil service commission is the greatest humbug principle that has ever been forced upon the people of the United States. It is a species of feudal aristocracy that should have no encouragement in a republic."

A commission which superintends open competition for public employment can hardly be hurt by Clarkson's paper calling it names.

MR. JOHN Q. DONNELL, of Kingston, in this State, has recently delivered a series of lectures on practical economics before the senior and junior classes of Hanover College. One lecture was upon civil service reform. If we are not mistaken this is the first time that the students of this college have had a lecture upon this subject.

THE executive committee of the National Civil Service Reform League, in pursuance of the instructions of the annual meeting of the League in Philadelphia, has appointed a committee to examine into the management of the federal civil service. The committee consists of W. D. Foulke, chairman, of Indiana; Sherman S. Rogers, of New York; Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland; Richard H. Dana, of Massachusetts, and Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania. In a general way the investigation will be like that made in Indiana in 1886, but it will extend over the whole country, and will be so thorough in its collection of facts that its work will be of great historical value, and will deal the staggering spoils system the hardest blow it has ever had. That system can not survive the publication of the facts. Four members of the committee voted for General Harrison. The committee is a strikingly able one, and will be so regarded by the country. To a man it is impartial and fearless, and it will not blink the facts.

THE sixth report of the civil service commission, covering the time from July 1, 1888, to June 30, 1889, has been published. No one can read it, and every one ought to read it, without being convinced that a great advance has been made in the administration of the law. It can be obtained by application to the commission. We have room for but a single extract. How many years have Indiana reformers fought for the recognition of the principle there stated.

"But any sweeping and wholesale removals of large numbers of employes in the classified service for causes not in each case fully specified, certainly create a very strong presumption that they are made for political, and therefore improper, reasons, and the commission holds that if in any department or office a very large proportion of the employes is changed, the burden of proof should be considered to rest on the officer making the change to show that his conduct was proper, and the failure on his part to establish the necessity for these changes ought to be held to warrant his dismissal."

CONGRESSMAN CHEADLE, from Indiana, has introduced a bill to repeal the civil service law. It is fitting that he should do this. For months he has been on the road to Washington or back to Frankfort, his whole soul and mind bent upon obtaining offices, whether by bullying, extortion, persuasion or guile. He has had Broils, Intrigues, Conspiracies, Revolts, Tumults and Dissensions without number among his henchmen and his tributary Towns and Hamlets. The League investigating committee can do no better than to commence with Cheadle's Territory.

WE print that portion of the President's message which relates to the civil service. It must be said that he shows a clear appreciation of the purpose of the law, and that he knows when the law is honestly executed. He also understands that no progress can be made without an honest and vigorous enforcement of the act. His statement that incumbency, impartiality, moderation, fidelity to public duty, and a good attainment in the discharge of it, make a conclusive argument for retention in office can hardly be improved upon. There is nothing in his suggestion that heads of departments keep records of faithfulness and efficiency so long as he employs Clarksons and Ransdells, and makes feudal lords of the Quays and the Platts. After reading this message, the question is constantly suggested, why does a president who writes so well permit hundreds of railway mail clerks to be turned out without cause, and why does he permit Clarkson to turn out 30,000 fourth-class postmasters in nine months for no reason whatever, except on the principle that a pirate strips his prey, and why does a president write such an indescribable letter as President Harrison wrote to General Manson, and so on through a long list? Further, why does the President say that the duty of appoint-

ment "is devolved by the constitution or by the law," and then allow congressmen to bully him to a wholesale practice of removals and appointments not warranted by the constitution or the law, and to his own "actual distress?" Why does he not stop the practice? Does he not believe what he writes, or is he a weak man who can not carry out his principles, or is he afraid that he will not be renominated? Whatever the reason is, the message leaves the country in darkness as to any remedy.

"A PATRIOTIC INTEREST IN THE ELECTIONS."

There has been another Dudley episode in this city caused by his appearance here. A warrant was sworn out for him, but the United States commissioner, after making it, did not deliver it to the marshal because of the district attorney, Smiley N. Chambers, who says:

"I exercised the prerogative in this case that I would exercise in any other case of like character, and decided that the warrant be not issued upon this affidavit."

With the legal aspects of the case we have nothing to do. The judges have decided in effect that Dudley has not committed a punishable crime, and that ends the matter. But there are other aspects worthy of comment. That Dudley wrote the letter which has become famous there now seems to be no manner of doubt. When it was first published a few days before the election, it was a time for forgeries, and there were marks about it not consonant with Dudley's reputation for "fine work." For instance, the injunction to divide the floaters into blocks of five seemed impossible to come from Dudley, because every one posted in floater rules knew that a party-worker never "voted" more than one, or at most two floaters. The rule given in the printed directions used in Shelby county in 1884 was, "do not count the 'floaters' as 'doubtful,' because the 'doubtful' voter is not the man who votes for a consideration. * * * You must appoint at least one man for every two floaters."

Subsequent events, however, fix upon Dudley the letter, which is as follows:

"NEW YORK, Oct. 24th, 1888.

"DEAR SIR—I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very valuable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends here that with proper assistance Indiana is surely republican for governor and president, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the republican presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short every northern state, except possibly New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison's majority in the electoral college will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the state. Write each of our precinct correspondents, 1st. To find out who has democratic boodle, and steer the democratic workers to them, and make

them pay big prices for their own men. 2d. Sean the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on republicans watching every movement of the election officers. 3d. See that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else even offer to vote. 4th. Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away, and that all vote our ticket. 5th. Make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, Nov. 6th, to work at the polls, i. e., to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumbfounded the ordinary Democratic election bummer will be, and how quickly he will disappear. The result will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

"There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the national, state and county committees,—only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents, and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The rebel crew can't steal this election from us as they did in 1884, without some one getting hurt. Let every republican do his whole duty, and the country will pass into republican hands, never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

"W. W. DUDLEY.

"Please wire me result in principal precincts and county."

The man who wrote that letter believed in the principles there stated. Some of those principles are literally subversive of free government, and when they run their logical course, they take a country, through corruption and anarchy, to the rule of the strongest leader, and to despotism. The man who writes such a letter ought to be a political and social outcast. He ought to be as much under the ban as Benedict Arnold. Yet Dudley comes to Indianapolis and dines with the chairman of the republican state committee. He is called upon and congratulated by men who pass for respectable citizens. He is escorted by the United States marshal into the federal court room, and, without invitation, is conducted upon the bench and impudently forces the federal judge to shake hands with him. There has never been more convincing proof of how the ways of recent politics have rotted the public conscience. We have, however, one other proof in District-Attorney Chambers, which would, if needed, complete the demonstration. In an interview in the *Indianapolis Journal*, December 13, he said:

"I wish, also, to state that I have read the letters printed in the press, purporting to be written by the Colonel, and, in my opinion, unattended by any extraneous evidence, they do not advise bribery, as pertaining to the election of 1888. The letters, construed in the light of the knowledge that we all possess of how elections in Indiana are conducted by both parties, have nothing in them of a criminal character, but, upon the other hand, when so construed, are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections."

Several readings are necessary to make sure that one sees that statement aright. There is no one in Indiana who does not know that a floater is a man who requires and receives pay

for his vote; that the bargain is made with him before hand; that he is accompanied to the polls by the party worker to whom has been assigned the task of "voting" him; that before approaching the polls the worker has put the party ticket into the floater's hands and does not lose sight of it until it is dropped into the ballot-box; that some where within reach is the man who "handles" the money of the precinct; and that after the voting, the worker reports to the precinct boodle man and he pays the floater the stipulated price. The floaters come from every grade and class, not excepting the pecuniarily well to do. They are utterly dead to patriotism and to any concern whatever in the public welfare. This public debauchery has been carried on by party managers until there are in Indiana, according to the poll-book makers, from 20,000 to 30,000 floaters. They are well known to the committees of each precinct. Their number varies from 42 out of 260 voters in the township where Abraham Lincoln's mother lies buried, to 450 in Monroe county, in which is located Indiana University, and 800 in Shelby county, the home of the late Vice-President Hendricks. It is but just to Indiana to say that this system is identical with that prevailing to an equal extent in New York, Rhode Island and elsewhere.

What now shall be said of a district attorney who reads "your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters and gain enough of the other kind [democratic floaters] to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality * * * Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five and see that none of them get away," and after reading says that such injunctions are "honorable and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections." Bad as politicians have been charged to be, Mr. Chambers has voluntarily given an instance of political corruption which startles, and the more so considering his office. The people of Indiana would indeed be to be despaired of, if they could face such sodden immorality indifferently.

INDIAN COMMISSIONER MORGAN.

There is opposition to the confirmation of Indian Commissioner Morgan. This opposition comes first from the senators who have not succeeded in getting their fill of spoil. The following letter shows the unceasing assaults, of these senatorial freebooters upon the hapless wards of this country:

"GREENWOOD, SOUTH DAKOTA, Nov. 26, 1889.

"Mr. Herbert Welsh, 1305, Arch St., Philadelphia:

"MY DEAR MR. WELSH—Last Sunday there appeared a man here armed with a letter from Senator Moody, of South Dakota. It stated that he could not get for him the land office for which he had asked, but that if he would like it, he thought it possible to get the Yankton agency for him, and that that was the only agency in South Dakota which could be had, as all the rest of the agents were to be retained in consideration of the help which they had given the Sioux commission. This man, Foster, came from

Redfield, near Huron, where he is a farmer with a large family, whether with or without qualities for such a position I do not know. He did not intimate whether he would accept the offer of the position. He brought with him a man whom he proposed to make clerk if he did.

"Now I know nothing whatever about this man personally. He may be just the right material for an excellent agent, or he may not. That is neither here nor there. I write to you again to appeal to the Indian Rights Association to bring their influence to bear to save us from the change of agents here, and the risk of it. Major Leavy has not completed a year here yet, but he is the best and most acceptable agent, both to whites and Indians, that we have had here for twelve years. He is doing a good work here, and he commands the respect and love of all. He seems to have the confidence of the Indian office. They do most everything he asks, and I doubt not the commissioner does not desire to make a change. But, alas, these wretched politicians and spoils seekers! Help us, and ward them off if it be possible.

The agent himself will make no effort for himself. He says he can not ask for favors from republicans, although he would like to stay and see something of the working out of his efforts and his plans.

Sincerely yours, JOSEPH W. COOK.

There is also opposition to General Morgan from the officials of the Catholic church. It is claimed that he is hostile to the contract or denominational schools in which this church has large interests. Opposition on this ground is a matter of difference of opinion, and is strictly legitimate; but it is also claimed that General Morgan and Mr. Dorchester have discriminated in their removals against the employes of the Catholic faith. Unfortunately Mr. Dorchester's strong feeling against the Catholic church lends color to the accusation. Both General Morgan and Mr. Dorchester deny that any removal has been made on account of religion, or that the Catholic employes have been removed in greater numbers than those of other denominations. Mr. Herbert Welsh also says that he has made a careful investigation and does not find this charge sustained.

There is in these days of spoils intrigue and treachery, but one way to meet such charges and it is to follow the plan of Mr. Roosevelt—publicity—and to state to all the people the reasons for each removal. General Morgan has done this to a few, and while his motives for protecting incumbents from scandal are praiseworthy, it is not the true way to meet a charge publicly made though weakened by being general. Secret removals, secret reasons, secret charges, are all poisonous outgrowths of the spoils system that flourishes and grows mighty in the darkness and becomes in the light of day, a dwindling, contemptible thing which nobody fears.

Senators Farwell and Cullom continue to amuse the country with the cheerful alacrity with which they pursue small spoil under a multitude of rebuffs. Senator Farwell has had an honor conferred upon him here in the President's home. A few months ago a collection of persons organized themselves as the tin-horn club. Some few had places in the city government which were soon to slip away from them. Every member deemed himself a party worker, and every one wanted an office.

It was as strong an organization as could be made in this city of the much-heard of men who are claimed to "keep up" a party and who must be paid for their services. The tin-horn club wrote to various eminent persons for a photograph and received liberal responses. It rented fine quarters, and having thus adorned it walls it proceeded to resolve against civil service reform. It secured speakers, but, somehow, when the speakers came, there were so few present that the speech was put off. Finally one member got a small deputyship, and the club soon after, probably from jealousy, expelled him. Then the funds began to run short, and one night, the story goes, a man put the "truck" from those fine quarters into his wheelbarrow and dumped it in the back room of an obscure quarter. But a single meeting was held in the humble room. Some six members gathered together and as a sort of funeral obsequy deliberated upon a new name. The name of Oliver P. Morton was summarily rejected. But the inspiration came at last, and the name Farwell Club was chosen, on the ground that Senator Farwell is the only man who has the "sand" to oppose the civil service law.

Austin H. Brown, of this city, was chief of the horse claim division in the third auditor's office, a place of great responsibility. He was originally appointed to reward him for party services, but he had become competent, was liked and was respected by the people of Indiana, and his integrity was beyond question.

Not long since one Thomas Ryan came, it is reliably said, with a note from the President directing that he be made chief of this division, which was done. Ryan had been made a government agent in Alaska by President Cleveland and then removed for cause upon evidence which is now on file in Washington, and to which the administration refuses access. After his dismissal in 1886, Ryan turned republican and was active for the election of General Harrison. This is his reward. The members of the tin-horn-Farwell club are crazed because President Harrison has picked out a worker of only a few months and ignored them who have carried torches and transparencies longer.

The Indianapolis *Journal* has allowed itself to be taken in by Senator Gorman. Under date of December 2, it quotes him as follows:

"I never pay any attention to the small appointments, but there was one case in Baltimore, some time ago, that attracted my attention. A very bright young man, of splendid physique, and perfectly familiar with every street and number in the city, submitted himself for examination for a position as letter-carrier. He could read and write, and had been attending night-school, and was in every way fitted for a letter-carrier, but he failed when asked the most direct route from Baltimore to China. He said he had never been in China, nor did he expect to go there, and he only wanted to be a letter-carrier."

Then the *Journal* goes on to say that Mr. Roosevelt is an enthusiastic young man who

means well, but is hasty. Also that although Gorman is no friend of the reform, his testimony is not less worthy of attention. Also that Mr. Roosevelt and other advocates of the system should remedy such defects and not berate the critics. Now comes Mr. Roosevelt with an open letter and mortifies the *Journal* by showing that no such question was ever asked an applicant for a carriership since examinations began. Gorman is not dashed. Confronted with the proofs of his falsehood, he jauntily replies that he believes it to be true, and is content to let Mr. Roosevelt undertake to convince the people that the examinations are practical. The *Journal* should know that Gorman and his likes do not start such lies for civil service reform papers like the *Journal* to copy. He expects civil service reformers to know him too well. His purpose is to furnish a stock from time to time for the use of Bourbon spoils papers like the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*, which must occasionally have a change.

Frank Hatton's Washington *Post*, a co-worker and preceptor of the *Commercial Gazette* in this matter has taken itself in by an interview with General James R. Carnahan, of this city. The *Post* probably did not know that an interview with Carnahan, while it doubtless flattered him, would not carry great weight with either the spoilsmen or the civil service reformers. Needing some new stories it therefore puts into his mouth, statements which make him and the *Post* appear ridiculous. These statements can be understood from the answer made to them by a civil service commissioner:

He says, or implies, that in an examination for admission to the naval academy our commission, among other questions, caused to be asked the location of Bitter mountain. As a matter of fact, we never do nor have examined any one for admission to the naval academy. Again, he says a man examined as a copyist was asked the names and areas of the five great lakes. We never have and never do examine a copyist in geography, and we never ask such a question as that about areas of any applicant whatever. Then, he states that a certain country school-master passed almost perfectly every branch of a mail-carrier's examination, and when appointed made a failure, because he knew nothing of the streets or local geography of the city. As a matter of fact, a third of the marks, or thereabouts, in a mail-carrier's examination are given precisely on the subject of streets and local geography of the city, so that the General's statement must be incorrect. If the General has been correctly reported, I would suggest that he learn not only the places for which we examine applicants, but also the questions we ask them, before indulging in further criticism.

George H. Pendleton died in Brussels November 24. The cause of civil service reform is under lasting obligations to him for introducing and managing the bill which became the present civil service law. He had what few congressmen had or have, an intelligent conception of the way in which it was expected to break up the use of the federal service as spoil. The bill was drawn by Dorman B. Eaton, and Mr. Pendleton was its steady and

efficient advocate until he secured its passage, during which he was dogged in Ohio by his party after the following manner, taken from the *Butler County Democrat*: "Senator Dan Voorhees polished off the Pendleton snivel service hog-wash in a style just too beautiful." It is a just compliment to say that the law in honest hands answers its purpose admirably, and six years' experience has not shown the need of radical amendment. There is no doubt that Mr. Pendleton's advocacy of this reform made it possible by bribery to defeat his re-election to the senate. But that advocacy will give him a permanent place in the history of his country, and his place will be the higher when, in the future, history looks back upon the breaking up of the spoils system and rates it, as it will rate it, second only to the destruction of slavery.

In sending him abroad, President Cleveland rid Gorman, Voorhees and other looters of the civil service of a powerful opponent, of which another, though less conspicuous, example was in the appointment of Rufus Magee, of Indiana, to Sweden and Norway.

Mr. W. D. Foulke addressed the Commonwealth Club of New York City, December 16, on "Present Political Problems." No one doubts Mr. Foulke's republicanism, nor the sincerity of his regard for President Harrison, and such candid and just criticism any party or any president should heed. The worst enemies of any administration are those friends whose personal admiration blinds them and whose standard of comparison varies. We quote as follows from the report in the *New York Evening Post*:

A certain circular letter marked "confidential" was sent by one Marshall Cushing (who has since been appointed private secretary to Postmaster-General Wanamaker) to a number of civil service reformers, and one copy came to me. As the correspondence has been already published on several occasions, I do not suppose there is anything very secret about it, at the present time, but even if it were otherwise, I do not recognize the right of a public officer to make me the mask of concealing his insincerity, without my consent. The writer says: "I have undertaken some investigations of the present civil service system for a cabinet officer," and he asks a number of questions. Why are the law and the commission subject to so much criticism? Is not a civil pension list a logical result of the system? Are not the commissioners merely providing themselves with employment? Will not the efficiency of the departments be hereafter interfered with by the old age of clerks who can not be removed? And then follows the remarkable interrogatory, "Why should not both parties discard all their insincere professions for the law and have the patriotism to go back to the old system under which it was inquired simply whether a man was honest, capable, and faithful to the constitution?"

The questions asked have already been very fully answered by Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte and Mr. Lucius B. Swift. I shall not repeat these answers, but I want to say a word with regard to this last question. I believe this is the first time in our history where an investigation made on behalf of a cabinet officer is based upon the assumption that the professions of his own party contained in the very platform upon which he came into power were in-

sincere and unpatriotic. If Mr. Wanamaker is willing to declare this to the world, one of two things is true—either the party which he represents is, in fact, insincere, or he has no right to represent it and remain one of the instruments of carrying out its policy in regard to the matters in which he assumes that it did not mean what it said. So long as such a man remains at the head of the post-office department the administration of President Harrison is not a civil-service-reform administration, and he has not kept, and can not keep, the promise that "the spirit and purpose of reform shall be observed for all executive departments." For he has put at the head of the greatest of departments of the government, to carry out this spirit and purpose, a man who assumes that the declaration of his party and his own chief were insincere and unpatriotic professions.

We had a few years ago some little trouble in Indiana in reference to one Aquilla Jones, the postmaster at Indianapolis, who, when appointed to the place, said of the civil service law, "I despise it," and who consistently maintained his opinion by a constant course of evasion and violation of the statute. We thought then that the initial fault lay with the President in appointing such a man. That he could not expect the law and its provisions to be observed when he put such instruments there to do the work. But if this were true in a subordinate and unimportant office, how much more is it the case when a cabinet officer, whose work it is to carry out the policy of the administration, declares that the principles professed by his own party in its platform are nothing but a mockery and a sham. Men do not gather grapes from thorns nor figs from thistles, nor can the President carry out the principles of civil service reform to which he pledged his adherence in his letter accepting the nomination by means of a cabinet minister who assumes that this pledge was an insincere and unpatriotic profession.

There is one thing of which the politicians of the country may be well assured, that whether or not the people favor civil service reform, they will not continue to have confidence in the party which knowingly, with its eyes open, fails to perform its solemn promises to the country. There is something more immoral in this than even in the spoils system. The republican party has been successful in the past because it has been true to its great promises and plans—emancipation, the preservation of the Union, enfranchisement, payment of the national debt. These became embodied as fixed facts in the history of our country. The party was as good as its word. But if at the last convention it has in most solemn manner made a distinct pledge to the people, and if it fails to keep that promise now, the people will know just the value of every pledge hereafter made.

Daniel M. Ransdell, at present marshal of the District of Columbia, has an added importance because of his undoubted intimacy and influence with the President. When in Indianapolis soon after his appointment Ransdell said, according to the *Indianapolis News*: "I am very thankful that my office does not come under the civil service rules. I shall have no hesitancy about making places for just as many republicans as possible." With this preliminary statement, this officer, appointed by a President who said that only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office, and that fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test of appointment, set about

his work. He "controlled" thirty-five places. He turned officers out with the remark, "I recognize that these gentlemen have been good and efficient officers." Among his appointees he has made his brother-in-law, John R. Leonard, a deputy. Another is his brother, Edward S. Ransdell, who was formerly a letter-carrier of the Indianapolis post-office, who stole letters, was convicted in the federal court and then pardoned by President Arthur, the latter being induced thereto by influence brought to bear by Marshal Ransdell. Thus Marshal Ransdell is exemplifying his idea of the purposes of the government service. He owns these thirty-five places. He may give them to whom he wishes, without any regard to public feeling or to public decency. They are simply spoil to be divided. It may be said that his brother has repented. That is very likely the case, and if President Harrison, or any other friend of Marshal Ransdell, saw fit to aid him in an attempt to recover his foot-hold by giving him employment, the act would be praiseworthy, but no one has any right to quarter him upon the people. And the offense is doubly aggravated by the dismissal of an efficient officer to make room for him. And so the injunction of the platform that "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments," is carried out by this favorite of the administration.

THE PRESIDENT ON THE CIVIL SERVICE.

On the 4th of March last the civil service commission had but a single member. The vacancies were filled on the 7th day of May, and since then the commissioners have been industriously, though with an inadequate force, engaged in executing the law. They were assured by me that a cordial support would be given them in the faithful and impartial enforcement of the statute and rules and regulations adopted in aid of it. Heretofore the book of eligibles has been closed to every one, except as certifications were made upon the requisition of the appointing officers. This secrecy was the source of much suspicion and of many charges of favoritism in the administration of the law. What is secret is always suspected; what is open can be judged. The commission, with the full approval of all its members, has now opened the list of eligibles to the public. The eligible lists for the classified post-office and custom houses are now publicly posted in the respective offices, as are also the certifications for appointments. The purpose of the civil service law was absolutely to exclude any other consideration in connection with appointments under it than that of merit as tested by the examinations.

The business proceeds upon the theory that both the examining boards and the appointing officers are absolutely ignorant as to the political views and associations of all persons on the civil service lists. It is not too much to say, however, that some recent congressional investigations have somewhat shaken confidence in the impartiality of the selections for appointments. The reform of the civil service will make no safe or satisfactory advance until the present law and its administration are established in the confidence of the people. It will be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to see that the law is executed with firmness and impartiality. If some of its provisions have been fraudulently evaded by appointing officers, our resentment should not suggest the repeal of the law, but reform in its administration. We should have one view of the matter, and hold it with a sincerity that is not affected by the consideration that the party to which we belong is for the time in power.

My predecessor, on the 4th day of January, 1889, by an executive order to take effect March 15, brought

the railway mail service under the operation of the civil service law. Provision was made that the order should take effect sooner in any state where an eligible list was sooner obtained. On the 11th day of March, Mr. Lyman, then the only member of the commission, reported to me in writing that it would not be possible to have the list of eligibles ready before May 1, and requested that the taking effect of the order be postponed until that time, which was done, subject to the same provision contained in the original order as to states in which an eligible list was sooner obtained.

As a result of the revision of the rules of the new classification, and of the inclusion of the railway mail service, the work of the commission has been greatly increased, and the present clerical force is found to be inadequate. I recommend that the additional clerks asked by the commission be appropriated for. The duty of appointment is devolved by the constitution or by the law, and the appointing officers are properly held to a high responsibility in its exercise. The growth of the country and the consequent increase of the civil list have magnified this function of the executive disproportionately. It can not be denied, however, that the labor connected with this necessary work is increased, often to the point of actual distress, by the sudden and excessive demands that are made upon an incoming administration for removals and appointments. But, on the other hand, it is not true that incumbency is a conclusive argument for a continuance in office. Impartiality, moderation, fidelity to public duty, and a good attainment in the discharge of it must be added before the argument is complete. When those heading an administrative office so conduct themselves as to convince just political opponents that no party consideration or bias affects in any way the discharge of their public duties, we can more easily stay the demand for removals.

I am satisfied that both in and out of the classified service great benefit would accrue from the adoption of some system by which the officer would receive the distinction and benefit that in all private employments come from exceptional faithfulness and efficiency in the performance of duty. I have suggested to the heads of the executive departments that they consider whether a record might not be kept in each bureau of all those elements that are covered by the terms "faithfulness" and "efficiency," and a rating made showing the relative merits of the clerks of each class, this rating to be regarded as a test of merit in making promotions. I have also suggested to the postmaster general that he adopt some plan by which he can, upon the basis of the reports to the department and of frequent inspections, indicate the relative merit of postmasters of each class. They will be appropriately indicated in the official register and in the report of the department. That a great stimulus would thus be given to the whole service, I do not doubt, and such a record would be the best defense against inconsiderate removals from office.—*President's Message, Dec. 3, 1889.*

SECRETARY WINDOM ON THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Under the old plan appointments were usually made to please some one under political or other obligations to the appointee, and the question of fitness was not always the controlling one. The temptation to make removals only to provide places for others was always present and constantly being urged by strong influences, and this restless and feverish condition of departmental life did much to distract and disturb the even current of routine work. Under instrumentalities which are now used to secure selections for clerical places, the department has some assurance of mental capacity, and also of moral worth: the character of the candidate is ascertained before examination. The manifold duties of the department require the closest application on the part of the secretary and his assistants, and the freedom from importunity now enjoyed for appointments to places that are within the classified service, and the saving of valuable time heretofore devoted to the distribution of minor patronage, are of very great advantage, and enable these officers to devote more thought to

the important questions of administration constantly arising. The clerks received from the civil service commission usually adapt themselves readily to the duties they are called upon to perform, and rank among the most efficient in the department.—*Annual Report, 1889.*

A PAID PRESS.

Senator Benjamin Harrison, in the senate March 26, 1886:

"I find in looking over the list of appointments in Indiana that sixteen democratic newspaper proprietors and editors have been appointed to office. * * * If I could believe that in appointing these men Mr. Cleveland meant that they should pursue a perfectly inoffensive course politically, that these newspapers should not irritate the feelings of republicans, should not publish charges against republican candidates for office, should say nothing offensive to the republicans—if I believed he meant by these appointments sincerely to put these sixteen democratic newspapers under those bonds, I should have brighter hopes than I have now of carrying Indiana next time. But it will not be so. Here are these sixteen editors, two of the three collectors of internal revenue in Indiana, and the others holding influential post-offices; and Mr. Cleveland knows, and every honest democrat knows, that those sixteen newspapers will be fulminating with all the force and vigor and power and partisanship they can against the republican party. I am not complaining of that; but if a man is to be put out, as my old soldier, Mr. Bain, of Martinsville, who marched with the regiment which I had the honor to command in the war, was put out, because he was the editor and proprietor of a republican newspaper, and the editor of the democratic newspaper in the same town was put in his place—if that is good reason for turning a republican out, the same history, the same services to the democratic party, ought not to be good reason for putting the other in."

UNDER President Harrison in the state of New York, the editors of the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Press*, the *Utica Herald*, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, the *Owego Times* and the *Syracuse Journal* have received important offices.

And in Iowa there is already the government press, or, what is the same, a Clarkson-Allison press—as follows:

Iowa State Register—Its editor appointed first assistant postmaster general.

Burlington Hawkeye—Its editor appointed to the office of collector of internal revenue.

Muscataine Journal—Its editor appointed postmaster.

Fairfield Ledger—Its editor given an office in the interior department.

Keokuk Gate City—Its editor appointed commissioner of education.

Marshalltown Times—Republican—Its editor appointed postmaster.

PRESIDENT William Henry Harrison in 1841:

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press.

DANIEL Webster in 1832:

But remember, sir, that these are the attributes of a free press only. And is a press that

is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can the people look for truths to partial sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim the approach of national evils, nor seem to decry them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the palladium of liberty into an engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy, and patronage of government all to bear, with united force, on the means of general intelligence and on the adoption or rejection of political opinions.

THE *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* [fettered] says of the appointment of the editor of the *Syracuse Journal* in 1889:

Mr. Smith has rendered long, faithful service as a hard worker in the republican ranks, and as the editor of one of the most influential journals in the service of the party. He has always been ready to do the bidding of the republican party, and has done so promptly, courageously, efficiently, and unselfishly.

THE CLERGY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

In Geneva, N. Y., Rev. H. W. Nelson, Jr., of Trinity Church, said:

"To treat office as the prize of the successful party at an election is a tremendous source of corruption, and it turns the patronage of the government, designed solely for the public convenience, into a vast bribery fund. It teaches the citizen to expect payment for discharging a duty incumbent upon every voter. It tends to transform an election from a popular verdict upon differing public policies into a desperate struggle for the emoluments of place. For whether a worker is paid by a check or by an office, makes no difference as to the right or the wrong of the matter; or rather, while the man bribed is equally guilty, whatever the form of his reward, it is surely more odious and more noxious to bribe with what is the people's than with what is one's own; to purchase suffrages or influence at the taxpayer's cost than to pay for these out of the corrupter's pocket."

* * *

Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth preached on "Scientific Patriotism" in the Centre Congregational Church in New Haven:

"Looked at from the point of view of the social scientist, the spoils system has no reason for its existence save greed. It owns no higher law than sordid success, and holds no better promise for the future than the wreck and ruin of free institutions. Yet even under this weight of condemnation the spoils system might remain undestroyed were it not for the further fact that, looked at from the point of view even of political leaders as different administrations in turn come into power, the spoils system begins to be felt more and more heavily as a mill-

stone about the neck of the party in office, threatening, if it can not be broken off, to cast the administration into the depths of the Salt Lake. The spoils system is proving to be bad politics as well as bad statesmanship.

"This reform moves slowly, yet with steady and sure advance. In 1865 the first bill by which it was proposed to cut off some of the evils of our civil service was received by Congress with scorn. Yet, fifteen years later, the Pendleton bill was passed, and to-day some 27,000 inferior officers of the government can eat their Thanksgiving dinner in peace. The day is hastening when the whole Babylonish system of spoils shall be fallen."

In New York Rev. Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity parish, said:

"The practice of making public office the reward of political service that is the evil against which we are called to protest. I am glad to add my voice to those which will be raised to day throughout the land on this subject. Our House of Bishops has already spoken on this scandal of our system of government in their pastoral letter.

"There is a wide distinction between political office and public office. He who accepts a 'political' office is bound to promote the views of his chiefs; it is his duty to aid in carrying out the policy of the administration; he serves, first, the party in power. But the holder of a 'public' office has no necessary relation to politics and party. He serves the public, and the man who serves them best is he whose acts have no political reference. Cabinet ministers, and a few other prominent officials, must be, of course, in perfect accord with the head of the government. But it is not necessary to the public that the great army of the servants of a nation should have any personal partisan duty outside the line of their business."

Rev. Robert Collyer, of the Church of the Messiah, resigned his pulpit to Mr. Dormon B. Eaton, who said:

"It is a great mistake to assume, as so many republicans do, that civil service reform has no support among the democrats, and that its fate depends upon the republicans alone. The civil service bill in both houses of congress was introduced by democrats—by Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, in the senate, and by Mr. Willis, of Kentucky, in the house. The effective support which Mr. Pendleton, now just deceased, gave to that bill is one of his highest claims upon the grateful memory of his countrymen.

"President Cleveland faithfully sustained the examinations while president, and three members of his cabinet, Messrs. Bayard, Endicott and Whitney, gave them a more friendly support than they have received from any of President Harrison's cabinet.

"The passage of the civil service reform law of the state of New York was vigorously promoted and was signed by a democratic governor, Mr. Cleveland. It has been since executed, though in a way by no means satisfactory, by another democratic governor, Mr. Hill. The president of the New York state commission is also a democrat, and is showing a zeal for the reform which Governor Hill doubtless would like to check a little. The New York law has been well executed by two democratic mayors in the city of New York, Mr. Grace and Mr. Hewitt. In the triumphant and salutary administration of the civil service law of Massachusetts, Mayor O'Brien, of Boston, an Irishman, a catholic and a democrat, has had a most creditable part.

"In no city of the country have civil service laws and rules been better administered than in the city of Brooklyn, under its democratic mayor, Mr. Chapin. If Mayor Grant expects to run an even race for honors in his party with that young statesman he will need very soon to imitate more nearly the example of Mayor Chapin in promoting the cause of civil service reform.

"If, therefore, the republican partisans, patronage mongers, and bosses who have been so successful in making war on their President and discrediting his administration shall attempt to stave off the reform

by refusing adequate appropriations in this congress, we may be sure, I think, that democratic votes will prevent it. But, if the majority of the republican party really wish to reject the reform as too much for their patriotism, the democrats, I am sure, will be ready to take it up and go with it before the people in the next presidential election. Civil service reform will cause radical changes in the parties and politics of the country, if, indeed, it does not create a new party."

In Brooklyn, Rev. John W. Chadwick, pastor of the Second Unitarian Church, said:

"The worst operation of the spoils system is the dishonoring of the whole order of government in men's eyes. Government never can be regarded as noble and august under a spoils system. To have it understood that sharpness, that management, that trickery and fraud, that running with the machine, are the appointed ways of political advancement, is a sure way of making government contemptible, even in the eyes of those who are mixed up in all these things. To make it noble and august it must be understood that public office is a recognition of ability and character. If the spoils system had no other condemnation it would have one all sufficient in its responsibility for the birth and existence of the political boss. Without the spoils system his occupation would be gone. As it is, he stands between the people and the government, promising offices with one hand, asking for votes with the other, and corrupting both alike. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

"The fruit of the spoils system is the political boss, the most poisonous growth ever fattened in the sun. We shall never deal with them effectually until we cut up by the roots the monstrous growth upon which they feed."

In Syracuse Bishop Huntington preached on Christian Politics, using the text:

*"It came to pass when Samuel was old he made his sons judges over Israel, * * And his sons walked not in his ways but turned aside after lucre and took bribes and perverted judgment. Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together * * and said" * * "Now make us a king to judge us like all the nations." I Sam. viii, 1-5.*

"He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes—he shall dwell on high; his place of defense shall be the munitions of rocks." Isaiah xxxiii, 15, 16.

"About two months ago, after some preparatory personal correspondence, forty-six citizens, in different parts of the country, put their names to a request that ministers of religion in their several places should, on this day of thanksgiving, appeal to the conscience of the people in behalf of high principles and a purified practice in the civil service of the republic, in all its branches. Within a short time several hundred men declared in writing their hearty concurrence in this invitation. They represent nearly all denominations of Christians and Jews, strong institutions of education and enterprise, and are leaders of learned professions and practical industry, men of enterprise and men of thought. Such a call creates no new obligation. It carries no other than a moral authority. With me it has weight not only in the character and judgment of the petitioners, but for the following reasons: A movement at once so general, so spontaneous, and so direct in its object, is an evidence first that there is a perilous wrong working in the life of the nation, and then that it is in the power and the will of the people to set it right. Reform implies abuse. Here the abuse hurts the health and damages the welfare of the whole political body. It is treachery to a social covenant. It is a violation of a sacred trust. It is the enslavement of the common interest of the many to the self interest of the few. In a free government this is disloyalty. Everywhere it is dishonor. In officers, who are republican servants, it is a fraud. Most significantly this is now acknowledged in the platform of each of the great parties, no one of them daring to face an election without that cer-

tificate of honesty. So much the deeper is the guilt if under these plausible pretentions there is a crafty hope that after that fair confession of faith some one of a dozen ways may be found to discard the creed with a jest, and turn reform into contempt. Rightly, therefore, it seems to me, at a great national festival, when all eyes look upward, when all hearts in the wide land are supposed to be lifted from the heritage and the stewardship to the righteous Giver and Lord, do we ask light and instruction from God's word, while we adore him for his mercy. Why congratulate ourselves on a government of which we are loosening and unsettling the foundations? Will he accept us when we thank him for our laws if we break his own? To what purpose are our sacrifices of praise in his church unless while we worship at his altars we renew our pledges of obedience to his commandments?"

In St. Louis, Bishop Tuttle preached at Christ Church Cathedral, saying:

"It may sound manly to say 'to the victor belong the spoils,' as if manifestly a determination to abide the consequences of a square fight, but the manliness goes clear out when considering that the spoils are the public money and the motherland's dower of ownership."

Rev. S. J. Nichols, of the Second Presbyterian Church, said:

"It would be well to cast about for a few reasons why this debauchery of public sentiment prevails. I believe they could be summed up in the spoils system. A system that places partisan service above the public good, which makes character of the least account, which has done more within the past few years to corrupt the fountain head of government and undermine our freedom. It has supplanted the rights of the people with chicanery and fraud; it has stood in the way of the efficiency of the civil service, and made it a laughing-stock for the nations; it has dethroned the respectable citizen and elevated the political boss; has metamorphosed the primary into a den of infamy and has desecrated the sanctity of the ballot-box; it has placed a premium upon all forms of rascality and fraud, and has well nigh destroyed political integrity. The doors of office swing open to the political fine-worker, who enters to plunder instead of serve the people."

Rev. M. Rhodes, in St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church, said:

"Political assessments came next before the speaker's consideration. It is argued that an office is the political gift of a party, and that candidates seeking office at the hands of the party should be willing to pay for it. It is a plausible argument, but it makes a lottery scheme of politics, with money as the principal factor in winning the prize. It is under such conditions that in March, 1888, an open and direct bid of \$1,500 for the consulship at Guttenberg, Switzerland, was made. It is bound to have a demoralizing effect. It is a bribe paid to stifle conscience, judgment and manhood."

Dr. Holland, rector of St. George's Episcopal Church, said:

"The United States is not a democracy—it is a monarchy with far more despotic power vested in its sovereign than is vested in the Queen of England. We call our ruler a president, and instead of having a life tenure in the title hereditary in his family he is only elected for four years—not by the people, but by a set of men, chosen by another set of men whose American soubriquet is most appropriate. They are bosses."

Dr. John Snyder, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, preached on civil service reform.

In Chicago the Union Park Congregational, the First Congregational, and St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church united. Dr. Noble, of the Union Park Congregational Church, preached on political parties and municipal government.

In St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church the pastor, Rev. Wm. White Wilson, on the ethics of civil service reform.

Rev. T. P. Prudden, of the Leavitt Street Congregational Church, said:

"This present manner of dealing in offices is bribery. A candidate says in effect to men: 'Work for me, and if I am elected I will get you this or that position.' And the bribe runs all the way from a foreign mission to managing an elevator in a government building. What difference does it make whether the bribe is in money or something else? The bribery in our civil service is especially bad, because it prevents a free and full expression of opinion at election. It is especially bad bribery because it maintains an army of politicians who control conventions and laugh at conscience in politics. It is especially bad bribery because it is bribery with some one else's property. It is misappropriating funds to bribe with. But the immorality of our present civil service is further evident because it tends to corrupt men. It really puts into a man's hands a fund of offices for him to use as a bribery fund."

Rev. J. C. Learned, of the Church of the Unity, preached on the moral side of politics.

"The speaker began his address by referring to the granting of the Magna Charta in an article of which the king promised not to appoint any 'justices, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs but such as knew the law of the realm and meant truly to observe it.'"

"It has been said," continued the speaker, "that this ancient provision is the gist of civil service reform, which is only an attempt in modern times to restrain the encroachments of arbitrary power for selfish or partisan purposes, to limit such disposition as still survives even under republican form of government."

Sermons were also preached by Rev. W. H. Kaufman, Heber City, Utah, by Rev. Dr. Hickok, pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Wm. Richmond, rector of All Saints Church, in East Orange, N. J. In New Brunswick, N. J., Rev. S. S. Weatherby, of Pitman Church, Rev. Dr. W. J. McKnight, of the First Presbyterian Church, Rev. M. V. McDuffie, of the Remsen Avenue Church, and Rev. H. C. Applegarth, of the First Baptist Church, preached on the spoils system. Mr. Applegarth said:

"I can see how there may be differences of opinion as to how this evil shall be suppressed, just as there may be differences of opinion as to how the liquor traffic is to be suppressed or controlled, but I can not see how any one can stand up and say that the system ought not to be abolished, one way or the other, unless he is crazy or a veritable scoundrel and rogue."

THE STATE REPUBLICAN PRESS.

—Repeal [of the civil service law] would be a stupid blunder.—*South Bend Times*.

—There is hardly a republican criticism of the administration but that would have been avoided if there had been no offices to distribute.—*Lagrange Standard*.

—If republicans don't mean what they say in their platforms, they are dishonest. They put civil service into their platform of principles and now they must stand by it. President Harrison has nowhere else to look to. He must be guided by the principles upon which he fought and succeeded.—*Winchester Herald*.

—The action of certain Indianapolis republicans in naming a republican club the Farwell club, because Senator Farwell proposes to introduce a bill in the senate to repeal the civil-service law will scarcely

meet with the approval of republicans throughout the state. The republican policy is fixed and certain on the civil-service law, and a few disgruntled politicians can not change it.—*Columbus Republican*.

—The more we see of the wild rush for office under the government—the disappointments, the valuable time wasted, and finally the demoralization that generally follows one who has once held an office—the more we are inclined to believe in a civil service law honestly carried out.—*Marion Chronicle*.

—A newly organized republican club at Indianapolis has dubbed itself the "Farwell club," because the senator of that name is opposed to the civil service law. There is no accounting for tastes, and this is only equaled by that other club down in the southern part of the state which burned up its campaign paraphernalia because the President didn't appoint one of its members postmaster.—*Porter County Vidette*.

—It is the offices; and yet how slow we are to learn that the distribution of the offices is sure to weaken the party that has it to do. It is impossible to please. The sourness and the soreness that was felt towards Cleveland was all on account of office hunger, and it is precisely so in the case of President Harrison. It is impossible to satisfy all the hungry ones, and it is not practicable always, at least it is not always done, to appoint the very best man for a particular office. And then there are two kicks, and the kickers are much more numerous than the happy ones who draw the prizes. Shall not an editor, for instance who is an applicant for a good, solid office and gets left, lift up his voice and—weep?—*New Albany Tribune*.

—There is a growing independent element in the country which is less and less interested in partisan politics from year to year. It is a blessing that this is so. The party managers have not near the grip they had a few years ago, and machine methods are constantly declining in popularity and power. People have come to the conclusion that government is not for the office-holders, but for the wise and honest management of the people's business, which is too often miserably mismanaged.—*Terre Haute Mail*.

—The patriotism that puts patronage above principle, and threatens death and damnation to every one engaged in the distribution of a few offices contrary to its will and wish, is the source and support of civil service reform. The plain people who are not office-seekers, disgusted with these exhibitions of selfish arrogance, will consent to almost any policy which promises to abate them, and so the kickers decrease their chances of getting their noses in the public trough.—*Logansport Journal*.

—The Tribune will be glad to see President Harrison take strong ground in his message in favor of improved methods in the civil service, especially in the vital matter of appointment to office. And having spoken in behalf of it, we shall be glad to see him push it all along the line. The defects in the law should be promptly remedied by congress, and then let its operations be enlarged and extended. Such disgusting performances as that which occurred at Jeffersonville will soon bring thinking people to a rigid demand for more rigid laws on this subject.—*New Albany Tribune*.

—It is confidently expected that President Harrison will rub a liberal allowance of salt into the discharging wounds of disappointed office-seekers, next Monday, by renewing his pledges to civil service reform which gives the opportunity to remark that the President's determination to be a man of his word, and of a few words, will prove a God-send to the government service, whatever misfortune he may risk individually.—*Kendallville Standard*.

—Senators and representatives have no more claim to dictate appointments than the man in the moon, except so far as custom goes, and if there is anything in the petty plea set up by Senator Farwell by a juggling of the language of the constitution, democratic members of congress have the same legal right to say who shall or shall not be office-holders in their respective districts as the President of the United States. The practice has grown to be a great evil, and if the present head of the administration suc-

ceeds in taking some of the conceit out of the patronage brokers, and thereby correcting a most flagrant abuse, the result will be appreciated by large proportion of the people who cling to the old-fashioned notion that a statesman's duties consists of something more than office-begging.—*Lafayette Courier*.

The New York *Evening Post*, of December 9, contains a valuable interview with Mr. Deland, a government employe of eighteen years, on the practical working of the merit system.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

—Samuel A. Kercheval has been appointed examiner in the department of justice. His duty is to examine the records of attorneys, marshals, clerks and commissioners. Kercheval was chairman of the Spencer county republican committee during the campaign. After the election, according to the *Chicago Times*, in the bar-room of the New-Denison hotel of this city, Kercheval made the following statement, which has never been denied:

"Of course, it was an expensive campaign—the most expensive the state has ever known. The prices of votes averaged over \$20 each, and in some cases we had to pay as high as \$40 and \$50. But we got them, and we carried the state. In Spencer county we had a great many 'floaters,' and it was an open question whether we or the democrats could buy them. We got most of them."

"How could you be sure that a vote which you had paid for would be really delivered?"

"Nothing simpler. If you buy dry goods you get the package when you give the money. We went on the same principle. We had one man stationed at the polling places who was able to see the ballot from the time it left his hands until the time it went into the box. Now, suppose a floater is secured by a worker. Say you are a worker and this gentleman is the voter, and this gentleman here is the guard at the polls. Now, you agree with this man to pay him \$20 for a straight republican vote. You steer him up to the guard at the polls and call his attention to him. The guard gives him a ballot folded and ready to put into the judge's hands. The voter takes it, and if he votes as he has contracted to do, without looking at it or 'monkeying' with it in any way—and the guard can see whether he does or not, for he is never more than three feet away from the ballot-box—then he (the guard) signals back to you that the man is all right, and you take him off and give him his money. He has to trust you that far, although I have seen cases in this election when the 'floater' would not trust the worker, but insisted on having one hand on the money while he put in the ballot."

"How is the money paid afterward?"

"Well, down in our part of the country we took a room which had been used as a gambling hell. The door had one of those little openings to it in the center from which you could see out, but you could not see in. When a worker had got a vote, he wrote on a little piece of blue paper the amount of money to which the voter was entitled, and the voter poked his hand through the hole with that bit of card-board in it. The paper was taken off by a young man inside, examined and verified, and, if it was all right, the money—\$10, \$20, \$50, as the case might be—was placed in the still open hand. The man outside saw nothing; neither did the man inside. It was all done quietly and efficiently, and nobody was the wiser."

—It is reported that John C. Houk, son of Representative Houk, of Tennessee, and at present in the employ of the census bureau, is to be assistant doorkeeper of the house. Mr. Houk, it will be remembered, despises the civil service law as un-American and un-democratic. Mr. Houk does not wish his son to be subjected to the test of open competition. It is better to get into a place because he is the son of a feudal baron.

—WASHINGTON, Nov. 29.—President Harrison this afternoon appointed the following United States consuls:

Hiram S. Dunlap, of Illinois, to Breslau, Germany. *Mr. Dunlap is editor of the Campaign Gazette.*

William E. Gardner, of Wisconsin, to Rotterdam. *Mr. Gardner has been for several years connected with the Evening Wisconsin, Milwaukee.*

John B. Osborne, of Pennsylvania, to Ghent, where a vacancy exists. *Mr. Osborne is a son of the congressman from Wilkes Barre.*

—Col. C. S. Forbes, of the *Boston Journal*, and F. N. Whitney, of the *Burlington Clipper*, have been appointed deputy collectors of internal revenue for the district of New Hampshire.

—Senator Moody, of South Dakota, seems to have surprised even old stagers at office-grabbing by appointing his son a page in the senate.

—Wm. A. McDowell, of Lafayette, has passed a successful examination for a position in the census office, and, upon the recommendation of Congressman Cheadle, will soon receive an appointment.

—Dudley W. Fleming, of Warren county, has been appointed, upon the recommendation of Mr. Cheadle, to a position in the government printing office. —*Special to the Indianapolis Journal Dec. 5.*

—A postmaster at Lafayette is expected to be named this week. It is undecided yet who will get the position. B. Wilson Smith and Messrs. Throckmorton and Creigmyer are mentioned prominently. *The latter has received the indorsement of Congressman Cheadle.*

—"The people in my locality," said W. T. Durbin, of Anderson, "are beginning to realize that this is purely and strictly a republican administration. The party in Madison and Shelby counties is harmonious, and in Hancock the outlook is very bright. As to President Harrison's message, I have heard nothing but praise."

Mr. Durbin means that so far as his domain extends this is a Durbin administration, and that he has dispensed the patronage to the satisfaction of Mr. Durbin and Mr. Durbin's favorites.

—A hundred and ten prominent republicans, headed by Gen. Adam E. King, from Baltimore, came over to-day and called upon the postmaster-general for the purpose of making a recommendation for the appointment of a postmaster at Baltimore. After they presented their candidate the postmaster-general looked the delegation in the face and smilingly inquired: "Are there any more citizens left in Baltimore?"

"Yes," replied Gen. King, "there are a few women and children left over there."

Mr. Stockbridge, the newly elected representative of congress from Baltimore, has recommended the appointment of another man than the one urged by this delegation. Mr. King told the postmaster-general that they desire it understood the man recently elected to congress in Baltimore was not authorized to speak for 500,000 patrons of the Baltimore office in the selection of a postmaster, and that they desired to take issue with Mr. Stockbridge's recommendations.

"Well," said Mr. Wanamaker, "you have elected Mr. Stockbridge to represent you in congress, and I shall take it for granted that you have, by his election, decided it to be known that he is your authorized representative, and it is the policy here to recognize the recommendations of republican congressmen in the selection of federal officers in their districts."—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal, Nov. 25.*

—The delay in the confirmation of Maj. Cravens, internal revenue collector for this district, has caused the friends of the appointee to resent what appears to them to be unwarranted interference on the part of Messrs. Browne, Cheadle and Owen, republican congressmen from this state. These gentlemen (since there is no republican senator from Indiana) have assumed to control the patronage.

The collector of revenue has fifty-eight appointments to make, including storekeepers, gaugers and deputies. The deputies are appointed by the collector, and are responsible to him only. The other appointees are named by the secretary of the treasury, upon the recommendation of the collector. The appointment of ten of these has been "hung up" because the congressmen named will not consent to the recommendations made by the collector, and the collector will not name the men whom the congressmen are trying to hoist into place. The congressmen have even gone so far, it is asserted, as to resist the confirmation of Cravens, on the ground that he is "a back member," and only agree to "let up" in consideration of the concessions desired.

On the other hand, the friends of the collector say time will shame the congressmen out of their position. They are particularly severe on Congressman Tom Browne. "It is understood that this is his last term," said one of them, to-day, "and I don't see what right he has to interfere. He will have no further need for his friends' political support."—*Indianapolis News, December 18.*

—Frank H. Challis, editor of the *Manchester, N. H., Daily Press* (Rep.), was a candidate for the deputy collectorship for his district, but another man was appointed on Tuesday. Challis, therefore, says in his paper: "With the election of a republican president the editor was insane enough to think there was going to be an administration of the government of which a young republican might be proud, and of which it might be an honor to be, even in a small way, a part. He therefore foolishly allowed himself to become a candidate for the office. But the editor himself is eminently satisfied (he does not say pleased) with the outcome. He is glad that he is not to be placed in a position which might seem in any degree to demand a cordial support of the administration of the cheapest pattern of the *genus homo* that ever was wafted into the presidential chair."

—Joel Hyatt, of Indiana, who was superintendent of the clerk's document room, house of representatives, during the past three congresses, has been superseded by a Pennsylvania republican. Mr. Hyatt was one of the

most intelligent and popular officials under the late administration. This position was promised General Browne for one of his constituents at Muncie, but Pennsylvania seems to fall heir to about all the good places under Mr. McPherson, who is a Pennsylvanian. He has already given to his state the positions of chief clerk, assistant disbursing clerk, stationery clerk, index clerk and clerk to the document room. Besides these, the state comes in for the lion's share of committee clerks, chairmanships and positions under the door-keeper, sergeant-at-arms and postmaster.—*Special to the Indianapolis Journal, Dec. 13.*

—The new postmaster, of Kansas City, has made the son of the President's brother [a democrat] his deputy.

—The President, through Marshal Ransdell, has given A. D. Shaw a \$2,000 place as chief of a division in Washington. Shaw was president of the railroad men's club here in the campaign. Other members, however, say that it will take more than this appointment to reward the club for their services.

—The appointment of Eugene G. Hay to be district attorney for Minnesota, made to-day, ends a controversy that has been going on for some time. Mr. Hay was indorsed by Senator Washburn and opposed by Senator Davis, who had another candidate. Mr. Hay has lived in Minnesota only a few years. He was for many years a resident of Indiana, and is a warm personal friend of President Harrison.—*Indianapolis Journal, Dec. 17.*

—Maj. Kinney, one of the editors of *The Courier*, wishes to be postmaster, and he is backed by Senator Hawley, the editor-in-chief, who is said to have secured from the President the promise of Kinney's appointment. Leading merchants and other eminent republican citizens are also in favor of him. On the other hand, the rank and file of the republican party of the city are opposed to Kinney and in favor of a merchant named A. B. Gillette, who is an active member of the young republican wing of the party, and is backed by the republican city committee and its chairman, Mr. McGovern. Maj. Kinney supposed he had the inside track till yesterday, when McGovern issued a call for the republicans of the city to assemble in one of the public halls on Saturday next and decide by ballot between the two candidates. This has created consternation in the editorial camp, for it is feared that McGovern, as the leader of the machine, can get out his men in far greater numbers than the Kinney faction can get out theirs, and can thus show a large popular majority in favor of Gillette.—*New York Evening Post.*

—Primarily the national administration and President Harrison have not been acceptable to the republicans so far as the distribution of patronage is concerned, and the Ohio republicans have not received what they consider their full share.—*Interview with Judge Thurman.*

—The people demand immeasurably more from the republican party than they do from the democratic party. The second can retain its voters by doing comparatively well; the first can keep its hold upon its followers only by doing positively well.—*Philadelphia Press [Rep.], since the elections.*

—This is a question of the greatest interest to workingmen, inasmuch as the reform looks to the placing of all men on an equal footing for chances of appointment to the public service, irrespective of the power of influence or favor. Those who oppose it seek to delude the masses with the false cry that it is a scheme for placing the aristocrats and college-bred in control of the offices, to the exclusion of the common people, because an educational test of merit is required as an evidence of fitness. This is simply a shallow pretence, or worse, a bare-faced misrepresentation.—*Buffalo Sunday Truth [Labor].*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

No matter what a person's position, whether king on his throne, or judge on the bench, or only village postmaster, to disregard the principles which should naturally and justly govern his conduct, whether to advance his own selfish interests or those of some party he has associated himself with—this is *immoral*; and no obligations to his party, no traditions of the past, can make it otherwise than *immoral*.—*Rev. Joseph May*, November 28, 1889.

VOL. I, No. 11.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana, where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana

Probably if the letter books of all the congressmen in the country were published a blow would be struck at the spoils system from which it would never recover. The people of the country, irrespective of party, would be shocked to find for what mean and paltry reasons good men and women are discharged, how unworthy are the agents to whom, in great measure, the federal patronage is committed, and how poorly their own interests are consulted in the choice of officeholders.—Boston Post [Dem.] January, 11.

MR. OLIVER T. MORTON has written an article upon "Some Popular Objections to Civil Service Reform," which will appear in the Atlantic Monthly in March and April.

A STRANGE report comes from Philadelphia to the effect that Quay's Collector Cooper appoints men as laborers and then promotes them to clerkships within the classified service. It is also said that Mr. Roosevelt has investigated this and pronounced it true. The Philadelphia association ought to make open and continuous war upon this cheating and illegal practice. It hardly seems possible that President Harrison will wait to have his elbow jogged before he will correct such a clumsy fraud.

OUR barons are disturbed, and are showing their hands—a bad thing to come to in this country. They are proposing bills to put the some 150,000 federal places into congressional districts to be divided for their benefit, but at less personal trouble and risk than they now have. General Rosecrans has a bill called a civil service reform bill, which proposes to have the places lotted out to congressmen, and for each congressman, when a vacancy in his bailiwick occurs, to select five of his henchmen and to put these under an examination for the final test.

THE Farwell club is no more. Senator Farwell felt that it was more than even he could carry, and wrote them a letter refusing to have the club named after him, whereupon it expired. Its effects were gathered in a heap and sold to William

Pritchard for \$36.41 for debt. This is a very instructive life and death. The tin-horn-Farwell club was composed exclusively of that class constantly spoken of as the active party workers, the men who keep up the party, the men who get out the voters on election day, the torch bearers, the men who ride forty miles at night for the Ingallses, the boys with cold toes, the wheel-horses, the members who must be taken in out of the cold, and finally and above all, the men who must be fed with spoil or party ruin is inevitable. In this view, when banded together, they should have been irresistible. In fact they were the contempt and the subject of ridicule of every class. They got no spoil. They whined and threatened, and went to pieces. As individuals they breathe vengeance, but if the republicans had only them to fear, it would not need to dread the future.

A GOOD deal of space is given in this number to illustrate the operation by which those characterized by a president of a republican club as "lean and hungry republican shoats," crowd each other at the official trough. The information is given as it has been reported from time to time in the public prints, and in certain cases allowance will have to be made for partisan bias. In the main, however, any one conversant with the operations in this state will recognize that the statements under-color the true situation rather than the opposite. It is also recognized on every hand that the process has honey-combed the republican party strength. This is what certain congressmen describe as keeping the offices near to the people.

MR. HENRY A. RICHMOND, of Buffalo, New York, one of the first civil service commissioners under the law of that state, has placed in the hands of the editor of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE fifty dollars to be used to further civil service reform in Indiana. Believing that the destruction of the spoils system only depends upon the publication of the facts, it has been determined to offer the above sum as a prize for the best statement of the facts of the use of the federal offices as spoil in any given district. For instance, a concise account of the efforts of Congressmen Cheadle and Owen in this behalf, in their respective districts, would be very instructive. A

sample question might be: Why was the editor of the *Delphi Journal* given an office? Young men in college and out of college, and all others who are interested in such investigations, will be especially urged to compete.

THE annual meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association will be held in March or April. As the time approaches the project of holding it in Fort Wayne is being discussed. Many prominent men in that city have become identified with the Association, and have taken an active interest in its work. It is true, also, that cities like Fort Wayne, Richmond and Terre Haute should have the civil service law applied to their local federal offices; this object, agitation at home would tend to hasten.

A CRITIC'S INCENTIVE.

If the committee to investigate the civil service, of which Mr. Foulke is chairman, should do nothing more than to prepare a list of the newspapers that have been subsidized by office, it would be an impressive object-lesson. We know that a congressman receives the support of a county paper, and later gives its editor an office; but, all the same, it is difficult to rid the mind of the fiction that a newspaper reflects public opinion. Not till the lists of the subsidized newspaper editors and the office holders, made of the political committeemen, are printed, shall we realize the grip of a political machine and the tremendous agencies it employs to stifle public opinion. An instance of this has recently occurred at Delphi, this state. The republican paper, week after week, attacked the civil-service law and the merit system with bitter hostility. So far the editor may have been wrong, but honest, though all the old lies against the merit system were repeated with a gusto that forbade correction. But it later appeared that the animus of these philippics was an office wanted that had not come. Then the editor discarded generalities and made his wishes known in a way that must have caused his worthy congressman to shake with apprehension. Space must limit the the quotation:

If, when John C. New, of the *Journal*, asked for the London consulship, he had been informed that Cleveland's appointee would be retained, what a blue tinge the air would have taken on. And how Dan Ransdell and W. H. H. Miller and Porter and Huston and all the rest of them would have howled in agony if civil service slop had been doled out to them. Under these circumstances would the Indianapolis *Journal* be feeding the pampered, weak-

mindful, scrofulous child on choice bonbons? No indeed. The Indianapolis *Journal* would have been a center from which greased lightning would have darted in all directions. *The Journal ought to know that it is of infinitely more importance to satisfy the working republicans in the out counties on this point than the prominent politicians of that paper and in Indianapolis. For the out counties give the republican majorities.* * * * * *

We can see that President Harrison is merely executing the law as it now is. This is all right. But unless the present congress relieves him of the law by wiping it out of existence they will show to the country that they lack the courage of their convictions, that they are not in harmony with the republican sentiment of the country.

Let Congressman Cheadle go ahead. Let him force his bill to a vote. We want to see the names of the cowards who are tarred with the same stick that has made the names of Roosevelt, Curtis, *et al.*, odoriferous to a purgative extent.

Mr. Ricketts got his office forthwith.

THE LOOT OF THE INDIAN SERVICE

It would seem to be a simple matter for an association known to be entirely non-partisan and composed of men of the highest standing to have its word regarding evils investigated by it accepted by a President. But so dense is the officialism at Washington that the Indian Rights Association labored nearly four years before they succeeded in really making any headway in impressing President Cleveland with the gravity of the evil that had gone on. Every one else knew of the shameful wrong and scandal resulting from giving the places in the Indian service as spoil. At the close of his administration, the appointment of Mr. Oberly doubtless foreshadowed a reform in this service. During President Harrison's candidacy and after his election, every effort was made to induce him to subject this service to no risk, but to at once put it under the competitive system. General Harrison showed entire familiarity with the abuses that had gone on in this service, but he was reluctant to say that the competitive system was the best practicable system. Why has President Harrison also apparently given this service over to the clutch of congressional spoilsman? Last month the *Civil Service Chronicle* printed a letter from an entirely trustworthy source, stating that Senator Moody had sent over a henchman to spy out the Yankton agency to see whether it would suit him. A protest was made against removing the best agent the Yankton Indians had had for twelve years, but to no purpose. Since protests do not avail, it is the duty of the Indian Rights Association to appeal to public opinion and to give a particular account of every instance where a congressman attempts to remove a competent employe in order to put some man who has made "his hedge" or carried out "his dung" into a place. Mr. Welsh may be sure that if he will give his fellow citizens the facts, they will not be indifferent. Nor can the responsibility of the President end with the appointment of General Morgan. Has he said to him, these places are not congressional or other spoil, do your duty and I will do mine. If a recent interview with General Morgan is correct, he has already reluctantly come to admit that

these congressional barons, if they so insist, must be obeyed, and places made as they dictate, to be filled as they will.

THE CLERGY AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Civil Service Record for January prints a list, as the names have casually come to the knowledge of the editor, of the clergymen who have already preached or will in the near future preach a sermon on civil service reform. It is a noteworthy list of two hundred or more. Many of these sermons will be printed and circulated, the more the better. Those clergymen who have tried to maintain that this question was only a political one, and thus not for pulpit discussion, can not hold their ground in the face of the sermons, treating it as a grave moral question. That the list of the *Record* by no means indicates the number of sermons actually preached, but not reported, may be illustrated by Richmond, in this state. There Rev. I. M. Hughes, Rev. Alexander Gilchrist, Rev. J. W. Stone and Rev. A. W. Lampert, preached upon this question. In Indianapolis, Rev. John Hilliard Ranger, of Christ church, will shortly preach upon it. Rev. E. R. Johnson of Crawfordsville, in his sermon said: "To-day nearly, if not quite, 250,000 offices of the civil service are like so many distinct sums of money used as political capital in the hands of the wire-workers in both parties in order to secure the election of their candidates. In this way the offices of the country have become the stronghold of the party in power, and the party out of power makes strenuous efforts to become possessed of them." This is brave talk in Indiana, but we are informed that this sermon was fully endorsed by Mr. Johnson's congregation, and that the question of civil service reform is to be further discussed by the ministerial association of Crawfordsville. All this is most encouraging.

CONGRESS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The confirmation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Thompson as civil service commissioners marks a decisive advance of the merit system. They came upon the commission at a time when it was in sore need of a fearless attitude, and it can not be said that they have been meek. With Mr. Roosevelt as the chief spokesman the commission has allowed no direct attack to go unnoticed. It has given blow for blow, and very generally its critics are badly disfigured. The commission also has understood the duties laid upon it by the law and has not been backward in performance. Office after office accustomed to obey the law so far as party exigency permitted was brought up with a round turn. The commission proclaimed everywhere that democrats and all non-republicans and republicans would have exactly the same treatment when competing. It overhauled local boards and had it understood that these boards are not local party machines. It did not hesitate

to beard Mahone when his henchmen undertook to unlawfully collect money. The result is that the law is being enforced in a manner never known before, and it necessarily follows that this enforcement will not in the future be less rigid, but more so. That the senate, made up almost entirely of partisans, now confirms these appointments indicates that even partisans have come to recognize the inevitable—that the merit system is thoroughly rooted in the federal service.

Another indication of this decisive advance is the constitution of the committee on the civil service by Speaker Reed. The members are, Lehlbach of New Jersey, Bayne of Pennsylvania, Butterworth of Ohio, Hopkins of Illinois, Greenhalge of Massachusetts, Sanford of New York, Lind of Minnesota, Stephenson of Michigan, Dargan of South Carolina, Stone of Missouri, Alderson of West Virginia, Andrew of Massachusetts, Boatner of Louisiana.

The formation of this committee proves that the merit system is to be built up. Let congress now give the little sum of \$53,000 asked by the commission and that system will make progress that will please its friends and convince its enemies. It will relieve congressmen of the greatest burden they now carry—the importunities of place hunters. Once relieved of these importunities the very congressmen who are now struggling to retain the distribution of offices, will turn and thank the civil service reformers. It is doubtful if upon self-examination any congressman who is now an outspoken spoilsman would find that he had any other motive than fear of his party workers at home. This is an ignoble fear and to a large extent unnecessary. The fate of the Farwell club in Indianapolis proves that the men who do party work only for party spoil are the weakest of enemies. Any congressman has but to fight them openly and take the people into his confidence to put them to rout.

THE PRESIDENT'S OPPORTUNITY.

It is not true that incumbency is a *conclusive argument for a continuance in office*. Impartiality, moderation, fidelity to public duty, and a good attainment in the discharge of it must be added before the argument is complete. When those heading an administrative office so conduct themselves as to convince just political opponents that no party consideration or bias affects in any way the discharge of their public duties, we can more easily stay the demand for removals.—*President's Message, December, 1889.*

The President can find in the postmasters at Springfield and Quincy, Mass., public servants who have not only shown all the qualifications he would exact for retention, but whose retention is demanded by public opinion in the communities in which they have labored. Mr. Spear, the democrat appointed postmaster at Quincy by President Cleveland, is past middle life, an old resident and a successful business man. He has administered the office to the satisfaction of citizens of all classes. The republican, whom Congressman Morse intends to have appointed, is the chairman of the republican ward and city committee, and at present without any regular business. In

Massachusetts a congressman feels constrained to appear to defer somewhat to public opinion, and Congressman Morse therefore suggested a caucus to determine the wishes of the republican patrons of the office. Later the republican city committee, hearing that the caucus was to be conducted on the plan of the Australian ballot system, objected, and Mr. Morse saw fit to withdraw his offer. Instead, he sent some circulars around and asked that the preference be indicated by letter to him. Nothing becomes an aristocratic government by congressmen like secrecy! Nevertheless, a caucus was held, and out of 150 votes Mr. Spear received 100. Mr. Morse explained the situation by saying, "The republicans are indifferent, and do not care who is postmaster so long as he is a good man." This is simply the congressional way of saying that the republican taxpayers do not approve of turning out a good man.

The President can now decide between a public servant who has not allowed "party consideration or bias" to in any way affect the discharge of his public duties, and a republican chairman of a political committee whose whole experience unfits him to become the public official indicated by the President.

The case of Postmaster Rice is much stronger. He is all and more than the President asks for. At the end of four years there are more republican than democratic subordinates employed under this democratic postmaster. Over two hundred and seventy-five republican patrons of the office were willing publicly to petition for his retention. Fourteen republican papers, including the *Boston Journal*, the *Boston Transcript*, the *Haverhill Gazette*, the *Palmer Journal*, the *Brattleboro Phoenix* commend the efforts of the *Springfield Republican* to retain the services of such a man. The President has always expressed a tenderness for the veterans of the civil war. What ruler, except in the United States, would even consider the brutal discharge [the four years tenure is nothing except an opportunity for evasion] of an employe of the highest efficiency and popularity, a veteran with this record, which we copy from the *Republican*:

John L. Rice enlisted April 19, 1861, in the 2d New Hampshire regiment. It was the very day when the first Union soldiers, men of the Massachusetts 6th, were slain in the streets of Baltimore. In the first battle of Bull Run, in the final struggle for the Henry hill, just before the stampede of the Federal army, Rice fell with a musket ball through the lungs. He was borne off by his comrades toward Sudley church, which had been taken for a hospital, but being sharply pursued, and thinking him dead, they left him under a fence. There he lay two days, unconscious, and was found by a Virginian and his wife who had been taking care of the wounded men in Sudley church; they cleansed his festering wounds, tended and fed him, until the end of ten days he could be moved. He was taken to Manassas Junction, placed on board a freight car, and conveyed with other prisoners to Richmond. In Libby prison, 14 days after the battle, Rice for the first time had his wound properly dressed. Meantime, he had been reported dead, and his friends at home had held funeral services. In Libby he remained six months

when he was exchanged, and immediately rejoined his regiment, although for several months he was unable to carry more than his musket and ammunition. He served in its ranks, through all its battles on the Peninsula and in Pope's Bull Run campaign, at South Mountain and at Antietam. On the field of Antietam the governor of New Hampshire found him doing guard duty and promoted him to a captaincy. Capt. Rice was among the troops detailed to accompany Gen. Banks when he went to Louisiana to relieve Gen. Butler.

There ought to be no objection to a thorough investigation of the operations of the civil service commission and no friend of the merit system will make any. Some things are, however, clear without any investigation. One is that no relative of any member of the commission should be in its employ. After the years of public scandal of appointing officers giving offices to relatives, for the civil service commission to have such a case is *per se* improper.

In the same line, also, Senator Edmunds cuts a poor figure in the matter of the proposed Dudley investigation. That he could read Dudley's letter and not get up and heartily second the investigation is a grave disappointment to many who have for years believed that Senator Edmunds would never be afraid to hunt for the truth and face it. This matter can not be allowed to rest here. Dudley wrote that letter; "unimpeachable witnesses have sworn to his signature. The district attorney of Indiana illegally prevented his arrest and pronounced his letter honorable and patriotic, and still, by sufferance of President Harrison, unbearably disgraces his office by occupancy. These facts make a situation which can not be ignored. The administration and its party will have to learn the lesson that discovered scoundrels must become discarded and discountenanced scoundrels. Notwithstanding all that has occurred, it is not by any means certain that with a prosecutor who meant to do his duty Dudley could not yet be sent to prison.

A remarkable and disgraceful struggle between Congressman Dalzell and Congressman Quay over the Pittsburgh post-office has recently come to a close in the triumph of Quay. Complete statements of each side are given in another column. Their frankness is truly astonishing. Dalzell says, "The President * * seems to think that precedent could not stand against the demand of the chairman of the national committee. * * It is a wrong against the representative of my district." Quay says, "The President is the absolute arbiter of all federal patronage. * * * The fact is that the city organization of Pittsburgh has, until very recently, been exceedingly hostile to me, and the Pittsburgh post-office embraces about three hundred appointments, which to put it mildly, I decline to have placed in the hands of my adversaries. * * The President * * could not under the circumstances well avoid complying with my wishes." Will President Harrison read

the constitution of the United States and say that he is not disgraced by this transaction? Not only his oath of office, but his manhood is trampled upon and dragged in the dirt.

The Maryland opponents of American feudalism and of Mr. Gorman as its striking example, have now been for several years giving Senator Gorman Pyrrhus-like victories. There are signs that these assaults have told on even Senator Gorman's nerves, and that his hand has lost somewhat of its cunning. A ballot-reform bill would be inconvenient for the carrying out of his political methods, but a ballot-reform bill had been promised. He therefore prepared a crafty speech, which was intended only for the ears of the county weekly papers, and which was to give them the keynote of opposition to the Australian system, and to undo the chance of passing any bill. But Mr. Gorman's speech got into print, and the outcome was such a burst of public disapproval that he felt obliged to announce that he would explain more fully his opinions about ballot reform. There are bad days ahead for the Maryland boss.

Delegate E. M. Clements of Petersburg, has introduced into the Virginia legislature a bill providing for non-partisan boards of fire and police commissioners in cities, who shall after examination of applicants, without reference to political opinion, nominate men for positions in those departments. The common council has the confirmation of the nomination. The term of office in the departments named is six years, one third going out each year. This is not a complete merit system, but it is a step and it will be a very considerable step in a state that has been ridden by Mahoneism.

In connection with this bill the Petersburg *Progress* gives some interesting facts about the government of that city. In 1869 a military order put out the democrats and filled their places with republicans. Early in 1870 under the new constitution the democrats came in and turned out all the republicans. In May, 1870, after a city election, the republicans got control and turned out all the democrats. In 1874 the democrats in turn put out all the republicans. In 1882 Mahone coalitionists got control and swept out the democrats. In 1888 the city council again became democratic and made the last clean sweep. After the rotation of 1882, a large fire occurred from lack of a known convenient supply of water. Within one hundred feet of the burning building was a reservoir with abundance of water, but so complete had been the application of the rule of "giving some else a chance" that not a person connected with the fire department knew of this cistern. It was as completely lost as a buried city.

Two of the three recent post-office appointees from the top of the eligible list are stated to be democrats.

The appointment by the President of John B. Harlow as postmaster of St. Louis is not only a creditable act, in that it gives a large city a good postmaster, but the promotion of a faithful and efficient clerk to be the head of an office is the very essence of the merit system. A curious injustice of the spoils system has been the custom of going out to select an inexperienced man to be the head of a department, and to consume months in teaching him his duties, and to ignore the men whose fidelity and efficiency had earned them the right of promotion. The civil service law has thus largely been in the hands of its enemies. The men who have entered the service under the merit system, trained to the belief that their chief duty was to do the best work possible, have been superintended by working politicians, trained in the belief that the office was to be made the backbone of the party's strength. This has been a constant menace and peril to the law, and to the men who have entered the service under the law. Every time the President promotes a worthy federal employe he strengthens the principles of the merit system the country over.

Census Superintendent Porter, according to the *Indianapolis Journal*, says: "It will simply be impossible to see any more applicants for clerical positions. My whole time has nearly been consumed in talking with applicants. The business of the office has been neglected." The responsibility for this condition of things is upon the President. Long ago the civil service commission not only offered to furnish the clerks for the census bureau under the system of open competition, which permitted tests that would have supplied the best class of men, but urged upon the President the adoption of this course. He refused with deliberation, and it is no injustice to him to say that he refused with the sole object of giving his party the benefit of the use of these places as spoil. The result was, of course, inevitable. A superintendent of the census, who has in hand a work which would tax to the utmost the capabilities of the ablest specialist, if absolutely free for that work alone, has his whole time consumed in "talking with applicants," and in trying to find quarters at the expense of the people for multitudes of congressional henchmen.

The attention of the esteemed civil service reform league of Indiana is invited to the fact that the postmaster at Fort Wayne has just been elected a member of the republican central committee of Allen county. Mr. Cleveland didn't permit federal office-holders to become members of political committees, but he wasn't a good enough civil service man for the Indiana reformers, so they helped elect Harrison, who has no objection whatever to federal office-holders acting in this capacity. The Indiana reformers are what Sam Weller would call a "rum lot," sure enough.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

There is no more gratifying sign of the increase of public sentiment against the use of public offices as personal or party spoil than is

afforded by the *Sentinel* under its new management. This management evidently has not read the back numbers of that paper. If it had, it would find that Mr. Cleveland's postmaster Kaough, at Fort Wayne, was one of the most pestiferous party workers during his whole term of office. As chief marshal of the federal office-holders in the service of Congressman Lowry, he led his party to disaster in the twelfth district in 1886. He was one of the large class of brazen insulters and contemners in Indiana of Mr. Cleveland's orders and declared principles. In a friendly way, we advise the *Sentinel* to avoid comparisons like this. Those who lived here at the time were long suffering and are full of facts. Ugly as those facts are, they do not in any manner excuse President Harrison, and it is a vicious impropriety to allow the postmaster at Fort Wayne to be a member of a republican county committee.

THE AMERICAN-DEMOCRATIC ANTI-CHINESE-SYSTEM.

This pork is fat enough to kill, and it ought to be disposed of while the political knife is sharp and the water hot, so as to give place to a few of the lean and hungry republican shoats who have been rooting and digging for the last four years in hopes to get a whack at Uncle Sam's crib before the corn is all gone.—*S. R. Stratton, President of the Pennsylvania Republican Association in Washington, Aug. 29, 1889.*

—JEFFERSONVILLE—The republicans of this city are indignant over the appointment of Major A. M. Luke as postmaster. He, like all other appointees here, held office for years when Cleveland came in. The Lincoln League last night burned all campaign outfits and Harrison's pictures, as expressive of its dislike.—*Special to Indianapolis News.*

—SULLIVAN—The republican wrangle for postmaster at Sullivan yesterday culminated in a mass meeting, and E. P. Lacey, deputy postmaster at Sullivan in Garfield's time, was named as the choice. J. P. Clugage, editor of the *Union*, who is also an aspirant, refused to go into this meeting.

—BERNE—After a bitter wrangle John N. Sullivan, an old soldier, was appointed postmaster at Berne, and he moved the post office into a drug store owned by a democrat. This added additional fuel to the ill-feeling already existing, and the disgruntled republicans were successful in getting Sullivan's appointment revoked, and a township committeeman named Wagoner appointed. The latter refuses to qualify, and the tangle is greater than ever.—*Indianapolis News.*

—LOGANSPOUT—It is stated that the postoffice fight in Logansport has been settled, and that Congressman W. D. Owen will recommend the appointment of Daniel W. Tomlinson, chairman of the republican county central committee.—*Indianapolis Journal.*

—MUNCIE—We made a gain of 480 for Harrison, showing the second largest gain of any county in the state. Yet we have not secured a single appointment. Marion county lost 1,100 and the annual salaries of the citizens who have been appointed from Indianapolis will aggregate \$200,000. If this is good politics, we don't know anything about politics. Probably this accounts for the indifference up our way.—*Interview in Indianapolis News.*

—MONROEVILLE—Monroeville republicans are so determinedly opposed to Hugh Stewart, recently appointed postmaster, that a boycott has been organized against the office, and citizens have arranged for a pony express, and send their mail to a little town

across the Ohio line to be forwarded.—*Indianapolis News.*

—The Monroeville postoffice war continues. U. S. Marshall Blair was there last week for the purpose of looking into the affair, and found that the majority of the people would have nothing at all to do with the postoffice, mailed their letters upon passing trains, and purchased their stamps at Fort Wayne.—*Indianapolis News.*

—The squabble over the Monroeville post-office has been settled by the resignation of Hugh Stewart, who takes a place in one of the departments at Washington, while George Webster succeeds him as postmaster. Captain J. B. Davis, another applicant, has been appointed government agent for the Sioux Indians. The situation is still further ameliorated in Allen county by making Robert A. Liggett, of Fort Wayne, revenue guager for that district, vice Edward R. Sweet, removed.—*Indianapolis News.*

—KOKOMO—Almost the last act of President Arthur was to nominate Colonel Milt. Garrigus, of Kokomo, as collector of that revenue district, but General Harrison was a member of the senate committee, investigating certain charges which had been preferred, and Garrigus was not confirmed through his efforts. In the last campaign Garrigus was chairman of the Howard county central committee, and he increased the republican majority. After Harrison's inauguration he filed an application to be appointed postmaster of Kokomo, but his friends have been notified by Harrison that he can not be appointed, because of the old accusation, which has been withdrawn from the senate, and of which the only copy is in possession of one man, who has notified the President that no one save himself can produce the charge against Garrigus, and that it is his property. President Harrison, however, is determined not to appoint Garrigus, although Congressman Cheadle is making a personal fight for him, and in consequence, there is great hubbub in this section of the state.—*Special to Indianapolis News, June 8, 1889.*

—WINAMAC—A correspondent of the *Indianapolis Sentinel* states that Congressman Owen recommended the editor of the *Winamac Republican* for postmaster, but that the President refused, on the ground that there were too many old soldiers who had been neglected. However, he was told that any compromise which might be reached whereby Editor Atchison could receive a portion of the salary from any of the soldier candidates, the appointment would be made in harmony with the compromise. Mr. Owen so informed the committee, who made the proposition to each of the soldier candidates for the position that if he would pay Atchison \$200 per year out of the salary, that his appointment would be made forthwith. E. N. Hughes, George Douglass and Johnny James, all honest and highly respected citizens, were the soldier candidates, but they concluded that they would take the "entire swine" or none. Another soldier was then approached, who accepted the terms made by the committee, and he being the highest and best bidder, at the recommendation of Congressman Owen and by order of Chief Harrison, the post-office was "knocked off" to him.—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

—FRANKLIN—Our city is all torn up over the new postmaster. Certainly the slick six here got in their work. As against either of his leading opponents, Richardson or McLaughlin, he could not have got one vote in ten. I have heard prominent republicans denounce his appointment most emphatically. There was a call published to the old soldiers to meet Saturday, and, if possible, to defeat this very nomination, which was telegraphed to Washington, and the appointment hastened to head off any expression from them.—*Letter to Indianapolis Sentinel.*

—PORTLAND—It had a soldier democratic postmaster with nearly three years time yet to serve in office. He was removed and a republican appointed. Postmaster Lowrie was the most popular official who has ever served in the office, and a man in needy circumstances. He was given the "razzle-dazzle." There were six republican candidates—Levi L. Gilpin, a gallant soldier; Nimrod Headington, a gallant soldier; Thomas Bosworth, a gallant soldier; Theodore Baily, a gallant soldier; Mr. Buck, a gallant

soldier (every one has a good soldier record), and Elias J. Marsh, a civilian and a crank. Marsh was appointed. There is no more unpopular man in his own party. The kicking is mighty among the republican cohorts. It was totally unexpected here that Marsh would get the appointment. His candidacy was laughed at, but Congressman Browne, of Winchester, was enlisted in his behalf and the appointment, it seems, was easily obtained.—*Letter in Indianapolis Sentinel*.

—GREENFIELD—Word has reached this city that Mr. Isaac Davis has been appointed postmaster of Greenfield vice N. P. Howard, jr., removed. This change has been looked for for some time past, as it was known to be the choice of Col. Richard Alexander Black, the boss of the republican graveyard. It will require several days to file the necessary papers to enable Mr. Davis to enjoy the possession of the prize. The appointment is not satisfactory to a large number of republicans, especially our friend, Mr. Montgomery, editor of the *Greenfield Republican*.—*Hancock Democrat*.

—COLUMBUS—Republicans, twelve or fifteen in number, who want the post-office, with their friends held a convention last night to try to settle on a man to be recommended for the Columbus post-office. When the time arrived, three or four aspirants, with their followers, bolted and swore they would not abide by the decision reached. The wrangle was kept up until a late hour when the choice fell on Amos Hartman, a groceryman. There is great dissatisfaction, and the party is torn up in consequence.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

—The Reelsville post-office was a bone of contention until the appointment of G. L. Elliott was made a week or two since. Mr. Elliott no sooner got possession of the office than "an influence" was brought to bear on the powers that be by which his removal was effected, and the office was given to Mr. J. P. Gaskin. We are not advised as to the causes leading to the change.—*Putnam Democrat*, Jan. 8, 1890.

—INDIANAPOLIS—The appointment of Nicholas Ensley as pension agent at this point has stirred up trouble for the administration. President Harrison's old regiment, the seventieth, is sizzling hot. When the regiment met here to attend Harrison's inauguration in a body, there were 145 members from all parts of the country. Before starting to the union station the regiment held a meeting and passed a series of resolutions indorsing Colonel Merrill and asking President Harrison to appoint him to an office, as a compliment to the regiment and a reward for his services in Harrison's behalf. These resolutions were intrusted to Captain P. S. Carson, of Southport, and Lieutenant Hadley, of Logansport, who presented them to the President. No request was made for any particular office. The President is believed to have promised to look after Colonel Merrill at the proper time. He was suggested for the post office, but didn't get it; then for collector of internal revenue, and that appointment went elsewhere. The collectorship of customs also went fleeting.

"There was nothing left for us, then," said a prominent member of the regiment, "except the pension agency, and we felt assured that Colonel Merrill would get that. Harrison has gone back on us and we are disappointed. We are unable to understand the President's treatment of his old regiment. The boys had their hearts set on having Colonel Merrill rewarded. It looks to us very much like that portion of our regiment which has always been in office has absorbed all the pap there is for the regiment, and that it is not worth while for anybody to apply who hasn't the Slick Six's ears. We have nothing against Ensley, but here was a chance to stir up enthusiasm by a capital appointment, but it isn't made, and we don't understand it."—*Indianapolis News*.

—RUSSELLVILLE—The appointment of J. W. Harvey as postmaster at this place is not satisfactory at all to a majority of the republicans here. Uriah Brown, the present postmaster, was appointed under the democratic administration on the resignation of the former postmaster, on a republican petition signed by fifty of the most prominent republicans here, and since the present administration went in, another

petition signed by more than one hundred republicans was forwarded. Also a personal letter from Ira J. Chase was sent to the postmaster general recommending him. All the republicans except a few hustlers, the most of them applicants for the office, were satisfied. Mr. Brown is a staunch republican: has lived here for thirty years; is one of the best citizens, and not able to work and make a living. There is not a single person here that can say a word of harm of him. Harvey is a physician, has plenty to live on, has only lived here three or four years, and wants the office for some one else. Simply because Mr. Brown was appointed by a democrat he must be removed by his own party and against his party's wishes.—*Indianapolis Sentinel Special*, June 12, 1889.

—CLAY CITY—Petitions are being prepared in which a vigorous protest will be made against what is claimed to be an outrage upon the people of this place and neighborhood. Brown is a republican without guile, and has given universal satisfaction. Mrs. Wilbur, it is asserted, is unable to read and write, and the office is an important one. She is the widow of Joseph Wilbur, who, while intoxicated and returning from a republican rally last fall, fell from the cars and was killed. He was one of the republican committeemen of this township at the time.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

—CUMBERLAND—The applicants were Edward Bonge, a postmaster under a former republican administration; Lewis Wasling wanted it because his father had been a soldier in Harrison's regiment; Samuel P. Davis wanted it because he was a soldier and a member of the Cumberland G. A. R. post. Bonge and Wasling both circulated petitions, which were sent to the department. Bonge finally secured the appointment and the old soldiers were knocked out.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

—NOBLESVILLE—The greatest dissatisfaction seems to exist up in Congressman Cheadle's district, where both the Congressman and the President are being severely criticised on account of a good many unsatisfactory appointments. Congressman Cheadle and a good many of his constituents were around the hotel yesterday afternoon and last night, and it was quite evident from their actions that there was not a unity of feeling.

State Senator Boyd, of Noblesville, is one of Cheadle's constituents who has become thoroughly disgusted with the congressman's appointments. Cheadle, it seems, recommended Jake Frybarger for postmaster at Noblesville, although Boyd and nearly all the patrons of the office wanted another man. Frybarger is not even a resident of the township in which Noblesville is situated, and does not get his mail at that office. At Westfield, where two old soldiers were candidates for the postoffice, Cheadle gave the place to the widow of a democrat, and at Windfall, where nearly a unanimous vote was cast for a man named Swoveland for postmaster, he gave the place to a man who wasn't thought of for the place.—*Indianapolis News*.

—Congressman Cheadle has withdrawn the name of Jacob Frybarger, whom he had selected as postmaster at Noblesville, and Nathan Royer, a resident of the place, has been recommended.—*Indianapolis News*.

—MITCHELL—Another of the predictions made in these dispatches regarding the appointment of an Indiana postmaster has been verified. Wood, the original purchaser, has been made postmaster at Mitchell. Soon after the meeting of the chairmen of republican county committees of Indiana, at Indianapolis, to confer with Harrison and the state bosses in September, 1888, when, it will be remembered, the county chairmen were authorized to auction off the post-offices in their counties in order to raise some needed ready money, Wood bid \$250 for the Mitchell post-office, and it was knocked down to him. By some mistake—it is to be presumed it was a mistake—the county committee at the same time accepted a bid of \$300 from a patriot named Hobbs for the same post-office at Mitchell that had been knocked down to Wood.

After the election a dispute arose between Wood and Hobbs over the office. Both had receipts showing that they had paid their good cash for the office.

The fight became hot and embarrassed the bosses greatly. To add to the embarrassment the local grand army post put forward a wounded veteran for the office, who was a very capable man. Because of the fight the democratic incumbent has been continued in the service up to this time. Harrison was appealed to personally, and told the Mitchell brethren that they would have to fix matters amicably among themselves before he took action. It was finally arranged that Wood was to pay to Hobbs the \$300 he put up for the office during the campaign. The office, therefore, has cost Wood \$550—he bid \$250 himself originally, and had to give Hobbs, the other bidder, the money he put up, and which was fraudulently or mistakenly accepted by the county chairman.

Wood's name was sent to the senate a few days ago.—*Dispatch to St. Louis Republic*, Jan. 17, 1890.

—GREENCASTLE—Perhaps the most interesting postmastership contest now in progress in Indiana is to be found at Greencastle. The following list is supposed to contain the name of the next postmaster, together with the names of his defeated opponents: James McD. Hays, a merchant; Major Jonathan Burch, an attorney; Captain L. P. Chapin, a merchant; Private J. B. Sellers, of Putnamville; Mrs. Jeannette Preston; A. A. Smith, editor of the *Times*.—*Indianapolis News*.

—The office being of the presidential class, and President Harrison's experience with it in times past being somewhat educational, it would be strange if he were not disposed to profit by that experience. While a member of the Senate, he was required by a custom "more honored in the breach than the observance" to recommend the appointment of a postmaster for Greencastle by President Arthur. There was a long and bitter contest over the succession, which finally terminated in the reappointment of Postmaster Langsdale. The senator was besieged with letters, petitions, remonstrances, charges and countercharges, and visiting delegations with duly accredited spokesmen waited upon him at Washington and Indianapolis to lay their grievances before him. It is charged, and the President is doubtless led to believe, that the same influences are at work in the present contest.—*Putnam Democrat*.

The two candidates are A. A. Smith, editor of the *Times*, and James McD. Hays, a merchant. The latter represents the faction which stood by George J. Langsdale, now president of the state soldiers' monument association, when he was a citizen of Greencastle, being the postmaster and editor of the *Greencastle Banner*, and after he had aroused against himself the ire of about half the republicans of Putnam county because of his domineering methods, notwithstanding he was one of the brightest political writers and best political workers among the republicans in the state. Mr. Smith's paper was started in the interest of the anti-Langsdale faction.

—It has been several months since President Harrison appointed a postmaster for Greencastle, but many old soldiers of the town, and a good many other citizens, have not yet forgiven him for the way he went counter to the desire of the patrons of the office in making the appointment. Jonathan Birch, a maimed soldier, was indorsed for the position by three-fourths of the patrons of the office, and had the support of the old soldiers in Putnam county.

A leading Greencastle republican, who was in the city yesterday, tells this story of how Mr. Harrison treated Mr. Birch and his supporters: "Just before the time of the old postmaster had expired Alpheus Birch, the woolen goods manufacturer, went to Washington at the request of the old soldiers in the interest of his brother. After he had stated to the President the object of his visit, the President became irritated and demanded to know what was the matter with the people of Greencastle, that they were all the time quarreling about who should be postmaster. Mr. Birch said that if there was any quarrel his brother and his friends were not responsible for it. He saw the President would not give him a hearing, and he withdrew from the room. The friends of Major Birch were mad when they heard

of the incident. In a few days the appointment of one of the civilian candidates was announced (Langsdale's man, Hays, was appointed). He will probably make a good postmaster, but his appointment was unpopular."—*Indianapolis News*.

—HAMMOND—Congressman Owen's postmaster does not give satisfaction to the editor of the *Daily Tribune*, the republican organ. It says:

The salary that is paid to the postmaster at Hammond is enough to secure the services of a qualified officer, who would be willing to give to its duties his personal supervision; but this is not done by the present incumbent, nor has he pretended to do so since receiving his appointment, subscribing to the oath of office, and drawing the salary; but he farms out the office to persons whose chief aim seems to be: To discriminate between the patrons of the post-office; to deliver mail to unauthorized persons; to disobey the special orders of the higher officials of the postoffice department; to intercept and delay mail matter which has been deposited for transmission to other destinations; to withhold mail matter from delivery to the persons addressed, sometimes as long as six and eight hours after its arrival; and to study to make the service as vexatious as they can for persons against whom they harbor petty malicious spite—in short, the postoffice at Hammond is in the hands of those who appear to strive to administer the duties in a manner so outrageous as to make the service wellnigh contemptible to the public. Meantime the public service which he undertakes and is sworn to discharge, and for which he is paid a liberal salary to perform, goes to the dogs, and "you be d—d." * * *

It is singular, even strange, indeed, that President Harrison is so partial in the disposition of public benefits. Perhaps, however, the cause may be "a little owen," to use a backwoods vernacular, to the misrepresentation returned to Washington from the tenth congressional district. Time enough has elapsed for this slipshod manner of treating the public service to be discontinued, and for salutary reforms to be introduced and enforced in accordance with the spirit and design of the law. Something different is required by a city of six thousand inhabitants and a numerous transient shifting population, from the rural, back-country, fourth-class post-office service.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

The appointment of William W. Johnson as postmaster at Baltimore terminates a bitter struggle for that place extending over months. Large delegations of Baltimoreans, numbering, in some instances, as high as fifty, have visited the White House by appointment and submitted arguments for and against Johnson.

* * The appointment, therefore, may serve as an indication of the material Mr. Harrison has a liking for. In the first place the President rejected a thorough-going business man and selected a very active politician. Mr. Johnson organized the republican league clubs in Maryland, and is president of the largest one in Baltimore. He was a member of the Maryland republican central committee for four years, and as its treasurer handled the campaign fund in 1884.—*Springfield Republican*.

—Victor L. Ricketts, editor of the *Delphi Journal*, was some days ago appointed clerk to the house committee on immigration and

navigation, of which Mr. Owen is chairman. Mr. Ricketts, who is one of the leading republican workers in his district, has not yet arrived to enter upon his official duties, but is soon expected.—*Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*.

—While the case against one Chairs, a democrat of Leon county, Florida, was being tried in the United States court at Jacksonville yesterday, C. C. Kirk, a deputy United States marshal, was put on the stand and reluctantly produced the following letter:

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., July 5, 1889.

C. C. Kirk, Esq., Deland, Fla.:

SIR—You will at once confer with Mr. Bielby and make out a list of fifty or sixty names of true and tried republicans from your county registration list for jurors in the United States court and forward the same to Mr. P. Walters, clerk of the United States court, and it is necessary to have them at once, as you can see. Please acknowledge this.

I am, yours truly,

JOHN R. MIZELL, U. S. Marshal.

P. S.—Please get the names of parties as near the steamboat and railroad stations as possible.

The law provides that the names of jurors shall be selected without regard to political affiliations. Judge Swayne, however, would not admit the letter in evidence.

—The district attorney for the southern district of Iowa has made W. C. Howell, Mrs. Harrison's cousin, his assistant.

—A small fourth-class post-office in the town of Winters, Yolo county, California, was held by a poor widow, Mrs. L. W. McKinley. On the slender salary she supported herself, two children, and an aged father and mother.

Her appointment under President Cleveland was non-political. The office had been previously held by Mr. Moody, a distant relative of ex-President Hayes. Mr. Moody resigned on the change of administration in 1885, and his successor defaulted and was removed. On the petition of the people of the town, Mrs. McKinley was made postmistress and gave satisfaction to the department and the people, as appeared by the favorable report of the post-office inspectors and by a long petition for her retention. The third district, in which this post-office is situated, is represented by Hon. Joseph McKenna, who before his election had expressed his satisfaction with the efficiency of this lady as postmistress. After election came the payment of private political debts, and this poor widow had to be sacrificed to the political ambition of this brave representative.

The only breath of dissatisfaction that has reached her is the vague insinuation at the end of the following letter, addressed to her in reply to a request for reasons for her removal:

SUISUN, CAL., May 14, 1889.

DEAR MADAME—Received your letter. Engagements and absence have prevented answering sooner. With change of administration there is usually a change of officers appointed by the successful political party, and there is no blame necessarily implied by the removal. Of course there is more reluctance to remove a lady than a gentleman. You say I expressed this reluctance. Very likely; but there is some discontent of you into which I think I ought to inquire.

Respectfully, J. McKENNA,
TO MRS. MCKINLEY.

Notice the insinuation is that, after he has caused her removal, he is going to look into "some discontent of her." This is but one instance of thousands like it. Nor do we for this particular case lay any special blame on the President, apart from his allowing a method to continue which is sure to work such injustice to individuals as well as to corrupt politics.—*Civil Service Record for January*.

—Philadelphia, December 19.—A Washington dispatch to the *Press* gives the following statement of Representative Dalzell about the appointment of Mr. McKean to be postmaster at Pittsburgh:

I have long expected the appointment to be made. Mr. Wanamaker, at my first interview with him, openly announced himself on the side of Mr. Quay, as against me. The President, conceding the force of precedent, seemed to think that precedent could not stand against the demands of the chairman of the national committee.

I think the appointment an unfortunate one for many reasons, which I do not care to particularize; not because Mr. McKean is the man, but for other reasons. Mr. McKean has known all along that my feeling for him personally is of the kindest character, and that my fight against him involved, in my honest judgment, a principle for which I was morally bound to contend. Those who know me know that personally I care not at all for patronage, and that the dispensation of it is the most disagreeable part of my duties. The appointment does not change my opinion in the least. I stand now where I stood before it was made.

It is a wrong against the representative of my district. It is an indefensible violation of republican precedent. It is a wrong done at the dictation of a selfish grinding bossism, as to which the self-respect of the people of Pennsylvania will sooner or later (I think very soon) vindicate itself. Every wrong brings its own fruits. This one will prove no exception to the rule. I am glad that the suspense is over; I can now dismiss the subject from my mind and attend to what I consider the legitimate duties of a representative to try and legislate wisely for the country.

Senator Quay was shown Mr. Dalzell's statement. He read it over carefully, and then dictated the following reply:

In the first place the President is the absolute arbiter of all federal patronage. In the second place, in all presidential appointments the constitution gives the senate the right to advise and consent. Nowhere in the constitution or in written or unwritten law is there a single word requiring the President to consult representatives about presidential appointments; but in the nature of things the President can not be acquainted with the personal character or political standing of applicants, and he must, therefore, consult some one, it may be a congressman, or it may be a personal friend living in the district.

As to the Pittsburgh postoffice, no precedent has ever been established as to whether the senator or the representative should be recognized in relation to that office, for the reason that heretofore the people controlling the politics of Allegheny county and sending its representatives to congress have always been in accord with the senator from western Pennsylvania. The appointment of Mr. McKean does not violate, but establishes a precedent.

As to Mr. McKean, the circumstances attending my advocacy of his claim to appointment are briefly these: Gentlemen favorable to Mr. McKean waited on me in relation to

his candidacy. I told them that I wished to know before committing myself whether the appointment of Mr. McKean would be satisfactory to Mr. Dalzell. Mr. Henry S Paul, president of the Americus Club of Pittsburgh, and Mr. McKean subsequently informed me that they had waited upon Mr. Dalzell, and that he had said that the appointment of Mr. McKean would be entirely satisfactory if he were sustained by the sentiment of the business people of Pittsburgh. If I am in error in this statement either of these gentlemen can correct me. Neither of them is unfriendly to Dalzell. I then said to Mr. Paul that I would do what I could to secure the appointment of Mr. McKean. There is no absolute difference between Mr. Dalzell and myself in relation to Allegheny county politics. What difference there is lies under and beyond him, as all men familiar with the politics of western Pennsylvania well understand.

Promptly after the announcement of Mr. McKean's candidacy Mr. Ford was produced as a candidate. He is president of the select council in Pittsburgh, and is in absolute accord with the gentlemen who returned Mr. Dalzell to congress, and who, as everybody knows in western Pennsylvania, are my opponents. I have no more objection to Mr. Ford than Mr. Dalzell seems to have to Mr. McKean. Mr. Ford is a former resident of Beaver county, where he has hitherto often assisted me in county conventions, but he was at least no better qualified for the postmastership than Mr. McKean, and he did not have the business backing which Mr. McKean produced, and I saw no reason, when Mr. Ford's candidacy was announced, to change my position.

The fact is that the city organization of Pittsburgh has until very recently been exceedingly hostile to me, and the Pittsburgh post-office embraces about 300 appointments, which, to put it mildly, I decline to have placed in the hands of my adversaries if I can prevent such a result. Therefore, I adhered very persistently to my original agreement to sustain Mr. McKean, and the President, though very anxious to gratify Mr. Dalzell, for whom he has a high esteem, could not, under all the circumstances, well avoid complying with my wishes.

The appointment is not antagonistic to Mr. Dalzell. If the gentlemen on whom he is now relying should combine to bowl him out of public life, he can make the Pittsburgh post-office his bulwark if he desires to do so. I regard Mr. Dalzell as a brilliant, accomplished, and scholarly gentleman, a thorough lawyer, and one of the most valued representatives we have at present in congress, and I exceedingly regret that any bitterness has arisen between us over this question.

I note what Mr. Dalzell says in his statement about bossism in Pennsylvania. The truth is that there is less bossism in Pennsylvania at the present day than there has been at any time in the last half century, and I think Mr. Dalzell brainy enough to know this. He is yet very young in politics, but it is my belief that before the brilliant future which now seems opening before him is concluded he will discover that it is not wise to allow political differences to interfere with personal relations.

ENCOURAGING SIGNS.

—Postmaster Sperry, of New Haven, declares himself a believer in civil service reform, and says the law shall be strictly enforced in his office.

—Representative Simond, of Connecticut, has secured the postmaster-general's indorsement for the reappointment of Postmaster Montgomery at Bristol. This postmaster is a democrat. Mr. Simonds proposes also to have the postmaster at Canton, Conn., kept in office, and he announces that he will not consent to the removal of any fourth-class postmaster in his district until he has served four years.

—Representative Greenhalge, of Massachusetts, will recommend the reappointment of Postmaster Bancroft, the democratic incumbent, at Concord. Mr. Bancroft was a brave soldier in the war, and has the indorsement of the grand army people as well as of Judge Hoar and other prominent republicans. Some of the workers are very angry, but Mr. Greenhalge is willing to brave their opposition for the sake of standing by a worthy veteran.

—Iowa furnishes a fresh illustration of the way in which the spoils system forces the best sort of men out of public life. Judge Reed, who had served with ability on the supreme bench of the state, was elected last year to the lower branch of congress. He already announces that "he will not run for congress again because of the discontent he made in distributing the offices, and his own discontent with the work of a congressman."—*New York Evening Post*.

WANTON REMOVALS.

For I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him (the President) to impeachment and removal from his own high trust. Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.—*Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.*

—The statement originally made in these dispatches, several weeks ago, that First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson contemplated resigning, was verified to-day. Mr. Clarkson, in conversation with your correspondent, said that he had originally taken the office under the strongest importunities, and that he had accepted it then under the condition that he would not be asked to hold it more than a year. *When he accepted the office he did so only for the purpose of ridding the party of democratic postmasters, so far as it lay in his power. He hopes to be through with this before very long, and then he will return to the more congenial field of journalism.* He regards the time that he has spent in the office as the most instructive year of his life. He says he has learned more of the politics of every county and state in the union in the ten months that he has been in office than the rest of his life put together. *There is not a county in the states but that has had its leading republicans here before him fighting out their local battles, and he knows now the exact standing and exact work of every republican politician in the country.*—*Dispatch to the Indianapolis Journal, Jan. 6.*

—A number of fourth-class postmasters were agreed upon to-day for Washington county, and they are expected to be appointed to-morrow. Nearly, if not quite all the democrats holding the fort in that county will be dislodged by these appointments.—*Dispatch to the Indianapolis Journal, Nov. 11.*

—The Fostoria (Ohio) post-office matter is settled and off the hooks. Nobody at the post-

office department seems inclined to talk about it, and the air of mystery with which it is surrounded justifies the inference that there is something about the affair which will not bear scrutiny. Levi Wooster, the democratic hold-over postmaster, as may be remembered, refused to give Ex-Governor Foster unlimited authority to select four letter-carriers for him, although he had received orders from the department headquarters to do so, as the sole condition on which the town was to be given a free delivery. The controversy between the postmaster and his superiors in Washington waxed warm. He declared his willingness to appoint two republicans and two democrats, but he saw no reason why he should appoint all republicans and turn over their choice to an outsider at that. The department got the better of him by a process which has been steadily and most successfully employed since the present administration came in, whenever an obstinate office-holder was to be brought to terms. A detective of the department, politely known as a special agent, was sent to Fostoria with orders to find some flaw in Mr. Wooster's record. It is a familiar principle of postal management that there is no postmaster so honest and clever as to have entirely disarmed his enemies of a cause for censure. It may not be a great one, but there is invariably something—a letter gone astray through momentary carelessness, or a few technical errors in making up an official return, perhaps—that will form a groundwork for attack. The agent did his work well in Mr. Wooster's case, as nearly as can be ascertained, and, having contrived to bring some kind of a charge against him, practically gave him his choice between yielding his point and quitting the service. Mr. Wooster preferred staying in to going out, and the patronage plum was tossed into Mr. Foster's basket.

That Foster has made effective use of it for the purposes of the campaign just closed there is no room for doubt in the mind of any one who knows him. The case was effectively summarized by one of the department officers, who remarked to-day: "Yes, the Fostoria business is amicably settled. We put the special agent on the postmaster, and that fetched him."—*Dispatch to the New York Evening Post, Nov. 6.*

—Another post office outrage, on a par with that recently committed at Fostoria, Ohio, has just been perpetrated at Flushing, L. I., in the removal of postmaster Carpenter. The postmaster-general some months ago authorized the free delivery system at Flushing. This was preparatory to the late election, and postmaster Carpenter, being in a district represented by a democratic congressman, Covert, was ordered to report to Mr. Baldwin, chairman of the Queen's county republican committee, to have his four letter-carriers selected for him with reference to the needs of the party at the polls. This he refused to do, and was put on the black list at once and turned over to the tender mercies of an inspector. It seems to have taken the inspector all the fall to scrape together enough so-called charges to make a report on. But at last something was got which would pass muster. Yesterday off came Carpenter's head.

Your correspondent applied politely to first-assistant Clarkson, who has had charge of the case and knew all about it, to be informed what Carpenter's offense was. Clarkson, in his characteristically boorish way, snapped out a refusal, and threw responsibility for the whole matter on the postmaster-general, who was not in his office. As Clarkson was third in a line of officials, who declined to have anything to say on the subject, the public may draw their own conclusions as to the weight of the accusations which form the basis for the removal.—*Dispatch to New York Evening Post, Nov. 22.*

CURRENT ITEMS.

The civil service reform association of Philadelphia has presented a memorial to President Harrison protesting against Senator Paddock's bill to withdraw the railway mail service from the operations of the civil service act. This association has also printed for general distribution some 20,000 copies of a tract prepared by Mr. Henry C. Lea, giving the pledges of the republican party and the President upon civil service reform, and Senator Farwell's cowardly plan of killing the law by taking away its machinery.

The Massachusetts association urges the President to extend the operations of the law to offices having twenty five employees. Congress is urged to grant the \$53,000 asked by the civil service commission necessary to carry on the work of the commission.

The association of Missouri has issued its eighth annual report. This association proposes to print a compilation of extracts from the Thanksgiving Day sermons for general circulation and by so doing to endeavor to increase its membership. The association also asks the President to put a check upon his headsman in his work of official decapitation in the post-office department.

The report of the civil service commission of the state of New York states that no complaint has been received that the examinations have not been fair tests, and that the testimony has been uniform that the persons selected from the eligible lists have been efficient.

Again, the statistics of the report of the civil service commission of the state of Massachusetts prove that the competitive system benefits those who have had the common school education rather than the college graduates. Out of 1,483 examined 1,016 passed the examinations. Of this number 989 had a common school education and 27 had attended college.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

It seems to me something further can be said by way of answer to one of the questions of the disingenuous letter of Mr Wanamaker's private secretary about the civil service law.

He asks "Why are the laws and the commission subject to so much criticism?" Because the professional politician knows that his power largely depends on the spoils system, and consequently he and all his henchmen, his organs and those blind partisans who are his ready dupes, have combined to oppose, abuse and criticise that law, the extension of which would tend to overthrow machine politics. Was any serious criticism of the civil service law, or any opposition to a reform of the civil service ever heard, except from a professional or from a partisan, who is always—sometimes unconsciously—the tool of the professional?

For many years our political parties have had no reason for continued existence, except that furnished by the spoils of office. Since

the disappearance of real difference on questions of governmental policy, the professional politicians, to whom belong the spoils, have only kept their respective parties alive by the aid of blind party spirit, and what the partisan says against the civil service law is but the echo of the fear of his master, the professional.

Who are the authors of some of the recent criticism of the civil service law and the commission? The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Frank Hatton's *Washington Post* and Clarkson's *Iowa State Register* are good examples of the newspapers, and A. P. Gorman, C. B. Farwell and J. B. Cheadle of the individuals. The men are all products of the spoils system and naturally attack its enemy. The newspapers are organs, and mainly live by partisan politics.

A thorough reform of the civil service would limit if not destroy the usefulness of the party organs. These organs approved the candidacy of Blaine; they applauded the Murchison letter; they have never denounced W. W. Dudley's election methods nor that appointee of President Harrison, who forgot his oath of office and said that to "divide floaters into block of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of this five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket," indicates "simply a patriotic interest in the elections." Surely criticism from such sources as these could not disturb any honest inquirer.

No man e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law.

CHAS. B. WILBY.

CINCINNATI, Jan. 3, 1890.

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS.

They are the opinions which will prevail, which will control the legislation and administration of the future, which will compel the extension of the reform principle to other branches of the public service, and make a much closer adherence to its letter and spirit than is now practiced the obvious and necessary course of every president and other official who has the power of appointment.—*Worcester Spy* [Rep.]

—When the higher offices of the public service—the postmasterships and collectorships in our large cities—shall also cease to be the rewards of party activity, the public will have confidence in the impartial administration of the civil service law, and not till then.—*Philadelphia Record*.

—The civil service law will not be repealed at the coming session of congress, as the mugwumps profess to fear. That is what they would like, but the republicans are too wise to gratify such a desire.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat* [Rep.]

—The wrath of the office-seekers, who repudiate the republican platform, and "want no Chinese civil service," is one of the most encouraging testimonials to the sincerity of this administration that can be obtained.—*Pittsburg Dispatch* [Rep.]

—Civil service reform has come to stay and to grow, and the corruptionists, boodlers and manipulators of practical politics who oppose it may as well bear the fact in mind and remember that they are not masters, and that they can be servants only by obeying those who are masters.—*New York Press*.

—A remark of the *Buffalo Commercial* [Rep.], [one of whose editors has received an office], about "amusing phases of the civil service humbug," leads the *Syracuse Standard* [Rep.] to say that "the *Commercial* and other republican papers of its way of talking did not discourse in that manner during the latest or the preceding presidential campaign. Let us be honest and consistent, brethren of the republican press."

—The petty clerkships covered by the civil service law are not connected with the party organization, for the federal service can not be looked upon in the light of a party machine, and, in any event, the incumbents of these places can exercise little more influence upon the administration or on politics than do Kansas grasshoppers upon the government of Nova Scotia. So long as their work is well done, under the direction of responsible superiors, it matters not, either to the administration or the party, whether they are republicans, democrats, or prohibitionists.—*Cincinnati Times-Star* [Rep.]

—SPOILSMEN SHOULD "GET TOGETHER."—There seems to be an incongruity between the statements of various classes of spoilsmen concerning the civil service law, which breaks the force of all of them.—*Washington Star* [Rep.]

—The principle that merit, and not the mere complexion of a clerk's politics, shall determine the character of his tenure of public office, tends to give to the government better service for the money which it pays in salaries, tends to relieve the lot of the government employe of some of its features of harrassing and demoralizing uncertainty, and tends to convert a numerous and intelligent element of the capital's population from transitory guests into property-owning, reasonably permanent citizens.—*Washington Star* [Rep.]

—No one could describe the utter weakness of the spoils system more accurately than the secretary has in these few terse sentences. No word need be added to them to prove the imperative necessity of the reform law and the great value of the work which the commission is doing. As we have already intimated, Secretary Windom's opinions deserve attention because they are in the nature of expert testimony, and his hearty approval of the law, together with the powerful reasons he gives for approving it, far outweigh the clamor of the disappointed office-seekers and the twaddle of the spoilsmen who attack the law and the commission.—*Cleveland Leader* [Rep.]

—Honesty in politics.

Civil service reform.—*Part of the Cedar Rapids [Iowa] Gazette Platform* [Rep.]

—It is not presumed that professional political workers will be in favor of a law which opens the public service to all the people on a fair competition of qualification for specific duties. They prefer that the old regime when favoritism reigned should return. The reform law sets up a simple test of merit instead of favor, and allows an equal chance to all whether they have influential political friends or not. It is proper in this connection to remind the federation of republican clubs in Maryland that the highest republican authority—the national convention of the party—has repeatedly declared in favor of the reform law; and that President Harrison, in letters and addresses, is fully committed to the principles of this reform.—*Rockport [Ill.] Register* [Rep.]

—The Toledo (O.) *Blade* [Rep.] thinks the number of congressmen opposed to the civil service law very small. "The spoilsmen must go," it says.

—No one who has watched the party press during the past six months can doubt that the sentiment in favor of this reform is constantly growing. A few republican papers, following a few republican congressmen, have denounced the law and called for its repeal. But instead of exerting any influence against it they have simply succeeded in calling out the real opinion of the party on the subject.—*Philadelphia Press*.

—Valuable testimony as to the good effect of the civil service law, even in Maryland, is furnished by the *Hagerstown Herald*, a republican weekly. The *Herald* takes up and condemns the recent action of the republican clubs of the third congressional district of Maryland in calling for a repeal of the civil service law, declaring that "if the republican party should go before the country on the platform which these Baltimore politicians have laid down, it would be beaten out of sight." In arguing for the superiority of the merit system to the spoils policy, the *Herald* makes the following statement as to the operation of the former in Maryland under Mr. Cleveland, which is of value as the testimony of a political opponent: "Without the civil service law the democratic heelers in Baltimore would have held high carnival in the federal offices. With it we have had an honest management of the public business, and only in a few instances has the public sense of decency been shocked by the appointment of notorious rascals to responsible positions. If there had been no civil service law, so fair and moderate a man as ex-Gov. Groome would not have been made collector of the port, and certainly a very different class of men would have forced their way into all the subordinate places."—*From the New York Evening Post*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration."—*Washington's Farewell Address.*

VOL. I, No. 12.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana, where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE begins its second year with the next issue. It will be of material assistance if its subscribers will promptly renew, as it can not afford to hire a collector. It aims to gather into compact shape the current facts in regard to the civil service, especially for those who desire to keep well informed, but who are otherwise too much engaged to get for themselves these widely distributed facts. The paper aims also to aid as far as it is possible in the effort to add to the list of believers in the merit system. Much has been accomplished the past year by sending the paper to lists of college and other libraries, to teachers, ministers and others throughout the state. To any who desire to subscribe for this purpose, we may say that the field is large and that a careful selection will be made.

President Harrison is reported to have said:

"If I take the advice of Massachusetts senators and representatives in making appointments in that state you have no right to blame me. If they do not represent public opinion among you, you should send men here who do."

Senators and representatives are not elected to advise the President as to appointments; they are elected as law makers. With the exception of a small number of his personal supporters, the people in voting for a congressman do not think of, or have reference to his capability as an office-broker; when they think of him as such their feeling is disagreeable and not to his credit. The need of the times is a President who will break up this congressional usurpation. President Harrison's predecessor talked in this way to Maryland democrats and then gave Gorman the full swing of the federal patronage which he used to keep those same democrats under.

THE signatures to the petition started in Massachusetts asking for a fit appropriation for the work of the civil service commission is a remarkable one. In order to

show the significance of the names their political position has been indicated. It has often seemed that civil service reformers in Boston and elsewhere underestimated the strength of the reform sentiment in Indiana among the people at large; that they were unable to realize that the political leaders did not in fact represent the desire among the rank and file of both parties to be done with the spoils system. But when it comes to the matter of active politicians favoring the reform, this list shows that we are far behind Massachusetts.

THE Massachusetts legislature has passed the following resolution with one dissenting vote:

Our senators and representatives are hereby requested to favor such legislation as will extend the provisions of the United States civil service law to all persons employed in the navy yards of the United States.

ATTENTION is called to the office brokerage in Missouri, set forth in another column. These facts have been brought to light by the *St. Louis Republic*, and are believed to be authentic. It is much to be desired that the Civil Service Reform Association of that state should take the matter up and print the facts over their own name. They would then convince a class of people who feel justified in refusing to be convinced now because those facts have been unearthed by a party paper. The congressmen implicated have been peculiarly brazen and venal; but to sell an office for a small sum of ready cash does not differ in principle from sales by Quay and others for influence and for hire as a servile laborer.

IN an examination for firemen in the Brooklyn, New York, fire department was the following question:

"If you had a strong fire, and your steam was inclined to *raise*, what would you do?" The *New York Sun* (spoils) ridicules and condemns this question as not being up to a proper literary standard. The question was probably framed by a practical engineer who made use of the common colloquialism of his craft. How about the people like the *Sun*, who are always complaining that the questions are literary to an extent that none but the college-bred can answer them?

It is seriously "charged" against the civil service commission that there are now on the eligible list names of enough persons to supply clerks to the departments for several years. Civil service reformers have never been that hard pushed that they were compelled to urge as an objection to the spoils system that each congressman, by encouraging applications and making promises in regard to offices, had made a longer eligible list than he could use up if he were a congressman a hundred years. The competitive system need not fear a comparison. Under the spoils system place-hunters by hundreds go hundreds of miles to Washington. They stay there for weeks and months literally stopping the operations of the government. They are pests in Washington and are objects of derision at home. They go through a descending scale of living, beginning with the most extravagant hotel and ending with the place that sells "board by the day, week or meal." At best they become penniless beggars for a place; and yet they persist and some few succeed. This is the competition of the spoils system, and the eligible list never starts new. On the other hand, the applicant under the merit system, who has successfully competed at an examination near his own home, sees his name on the eligible list and goes about his daily business. He is proud of the fact, he talks about it, and if he applies for private employment, his successful competition is his strongest point, and is the one he urges the most. It helps him materially and it is an advantage in seeking other work, and not a disadvantage to him to be on that list; and the same is true of every other person on it, even though there may be enough to supply the departments for years. Importunity for place is useless, and they do not importune. If the year passes without appointment that is the end of the list and of their present chance. Justice to the new crop that wants public employment demands a new competition. No one can say that this is not an educational process of great value to the country, and which will render a great number of persons better fitted for public and private employment. And not the least of its advantages is its upbuilding of manhood in place of the cringing and humiliation which accompany ordinary office seeking.

After Mr. Pearson and Colonel Burt, it is perhaps not worth while to express surprise at the removal of Collector Saltonstall, which took place after the following correspondence :

I.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, }
WASHINGTON, January 17, 1890. }

The Hon. L. Saltonstall, Collector of Customs, Boston, Mass.:

MY DEAR SIR: The President is ready to make a change in the collectorship at Boston, but would be glad to do so in a way that would be most agreeable to you.

Very truly yours,

W. WINDOM *Secretary.*

II.

CUSTOM HOUSE, OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR, }
BOSTON, January 20, 1890. }

The Hon. William Windom, Secretary of Treasury:

MY DEAR SIR: I have this day received your letter of the 17th inst. informing me that "the President is ready to make a change in the collectorship at Boston, and would be glad to do so in a way that would be most agreeable to you." In reply, I beg to say that, placing entire confidence in the declaration of the President concerning tenure of office, I am prepared to serve the term of four years for which I was commissioned on the 5th of May, 1886, unless removed by the authority of the President for such cause as he has announced to be controlling in such cases. If such cause exists, I respectfully request to be informed of the same.

In the conduct of this office I have endeavored to perform its important duties with fidelity to the government, in a manner satisfactory to the merchants of Boston, and to conform to the spirit as well as the letter of the civil service laws. I therefore can not stultify myself by any act which would imply the consciousness of dereliction on my part, and prefer to leave the decision of this matter in the hands of the President, to whom I forward a copy of this letter. I beg to assure you that I communicate this my conclusion with entire respect for the President and for yourself, and hoping that it may not be misunderstood, I am, very truly yours,

LVERETT SALTONSTALL, *Collector.*

III.

CUSTOM HOUSE, OFFICE OF THE COLLECTOR, }
BOSTON, Jan. 20, 1890. }

To the Hon. Benjamin Harrison, President:

MY DEAR SIR—I herewith inclose a copy of my letter of this date to Secretary Windom, in answer to his letter informing me that you were ready to make a change in the collectorship at this port. I take this course, deeming it proper that you should be informed without delay of my views as to the tenure of the office which I have the honor to hold, and am, with great respect, very truly yours,

LVERETT SALTONSTALL, *Collector.*

No criticism is made upon Mr. Saltonstall, as an officer. He has carried out to the fullest extent the civil service reform principles of the republican platform. The *Indianapolis Journal* says that Mr. Saltonstall has been sick for six months and therefore was removed. The *Boston Journal* says that the collector is called upon at dinners to respond for the President and asks us to "imagine a gentleman who had defied the President occupying such a position;" by "defied" it is meant that Mr. Saltonstall is a democrat. Senator Hoar says that the office is akin to a cabinet position and that the collector ought to be a protectionist; also that a free trader "can not interpret our protective tariff." In the variety of reasons the real one becomes apparent. The place was wanted as party spoil and it was so taken, and the President

has added another to his broken promises. The removal was brought about by Senators Hoar and Dawes, whose greedy pursuit of this place marks distinctly the decline of Massachusetts republican statesmen. Senator Hoar will hardly expect his excuse to be treated soberly. The law and the rules of the department regulate the duties of a collector. With these as his guide one honest and capable officer produces the same results as another. There is no way to honestly "interpret our protective tariff" except according to law. Any other way is a system of tips and winks; and this shows that Senator Hoar can not mean what he says. It is a satisfaction to know that the course of the administration is reprobated by such republican papers as the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Boston Traveller* and the *Boston Transcript*.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S FIRST YEAR.

In a few days President Harrison will complete the first year of his term. With this number the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE also ends its first year. It has been well known that those in control of the paper actively favored the election of General Harrison; but in commencing this publication, they laid down the principle that the standard of criticism which, in other fields, they had before applied to the management of the civil service should not be changed; President Harrison should be judged by the same rules by which they had judged his predecessor. And now at the end of the year they feel that they have kept to the mark. It would have been easy to say that the President has a hard row to hoe, that those at a distance can not realize the pressure upon him, that he can only reform the civil service as fast as public sentiment will support him, that he means well, but he is deceived by those around him, that he can accomplish nothing without his party, and if he goes faster than he can carry his party, he will sit down between two stools, and so on; but it has seemed better to say that he is the President, and he is to be held to his constitutional responsibility without evasion or excuse. And this course has met with an approbation both personal and in the public prints from all parts of the country that will always be an unalloyed gratification.

President Harrison closes his first year, leaving behind him some acts of which history will never be proud. He has a settled policy of keeping appointees after their unworthiness has become notorious. In this way he bids fair to make cases like those of McFarlane, Bagby and Chambers, in Indiana, rival those of Tompkins and

Dowling under the late administration. His putting the federal patronage in Virginia into the hands of Mahone was an assault upon the rights of half of the people of that state, and its disastrous results do not seem to have taught him any lesson. His failure to dismiss the office-holders who attempted to collect money for Mahone does not indicate a determination to execute that part of the law. His removal of Pearson, Burt, Graves and Saltonstall indicate a spirit of putting his heel upon the neck of the reform sentiment of the country. His allowing the railway mail service to be looted while the eligible lists were being prepared, and the manner in which it was done were peculiarly in broken faith. His sweep of the fourth-class postmasters by Clarkson, his turning the census bureau over to be common spoil, his advance in the same direction with the Indian service, his subsidizing the press, his grudging retention of some democrats to the end of their terms, his greedy removal of others, like General Manson, his turning whole states over to men like Platt and Quay, his appointment of relatives to office, and his general use of the 100,000 places in the unclassified service to pay personal and party debts, unmistakably mark him as a man who believes in such use of a great public trust. That he has a constitutional right to so use it, he would not himself claim. Like other presidents, he has frittered away the golden opportunity of breaking up the spoils system. Yet he has not built himself up in other directions. He has refused to work in his one peculiar field, and no others are or will be open to him, except in a limited and routine extent. If he goes to the end as he has started, he will have been a common-place president whose term has had its full share of vicious administration.

There is one branch of this subject that must be treated by itself. President Harrison said that he would enforce the civil service law and, leaving out the Mahone assessments, he has done so. To begin at home, if a democrat in Indiana, examined by the Indianapolis local board, does not get upon the eligible list, it is his own fault. It may be stated with absolute certainty that any person coming before this board for examination will be treated exactly according to his merits, and will get the place on the list that he earns in open competition. And it may be added that if he secures a place upon the eligible list of the Indianapolis post-office, he will be appointed when his name comes to the top of the list. That office employs a large proportion of democrats, yet no one is dismissed without cause. We are glad to say this because we have been a severe critic of this post-office and we desire to give full

credit to the present course of its management.

And elsewhere, and so far as we can learn, everywhere the law is honestly enforced. When the post-offices in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Milwaukee and elsewhere are remembered, the revolution which has taken place becomes apparent. Possibly with a less courageous and less able man than Mr. Roosevelt in his place on the civil service commission, the result might have been different; but the President is to be given the credit due for a wise selection of a civil service commission and for then sustaining it. The result is that the merit system is vindicating itself on every hand. Never before did it overthrow so many enemies and so easily, and the general summing up must be that never has it made such rapid progress as during the past year. To such an extent does it now meet public approval that no party can safely go into a presidential campaign ignoring this subject, however much that party may be agitating some other question.

ROYAL DISFAVOR.

The President has again disregarded the wishes of Senator Farwell, and has appointed Mr. Clark collector of the port of Chicago. Goaded by his repeated defeats and by the unfriendly, not to say jeering, criticisms of the press, Senator Farwell has written the following letter:

To the Editor of the Chicago Tribune:

In your issue of the 24th, in the editorial columns, you have an article headed "What the Constitution Says," and indulge in some criticism upon the demands of the senators in regard to appointments, quoting the article of the constitution which refers to that subject. I fully agree with you in your definition of that clause, but the President is empowered and compelled by this to appoint postmasters having salaries of \$1,000 and upward and thousands of other officers—in fact, all officers of the United States but those below that grade—and if he acts intelligently in making these appointments he must consult with persons whom he knows and who know the persons to be appointed. As far as I am concerned I claim that the people have the right to select the officers they want, and inasmuch as they can not all come to Washington to make known their wishes it is but natural that their representatives should speak for them in this matter as well as in all other matters. Indeed, the circumstances of the case render it imperative that the President shall consult—if he do his duty—with these representatives; and the only complaint I make against the present occupant of the White House in regard to appointments in Illinois is that he prefers to consult persons other than the people's chosen representatives. The congressmen and senators of one neighboring western state, whose delegation in the late nominating convention in Chicago swung first into line for him, have no trouble whatsoever in convincing the President that their nominees are proper persons to fill the offices in that state. On the contrary, the representatives of Illinois who did not support the present incumbent of the White House in the nominating convention,

have found it impossible to convince the President that they are qualified to select anybody for official position in the state. I know of no other reason than this why we, as well as other United States senators, are not consulted in regard to important appointments.

The appointment of the collector of internal revenue at Springfield was made with the knowledge that it was against the wishes of the two senators. The President's refusal to appoint Mr. Campbell was an expression of that want of confidence in me above referred to, and impelled him to consult with private citizens. By this action the President has notified us that he does not wish to further consult with us in regard to Illinois appointments, and that he will rely upon other sources of information than the representatives of the people.

C. B. FARWELL.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.

To make his record complete it is necessary to add some remarks of Senator Farwell in various newspaper interviews which are apparently authentic:

"I believe," he says, "that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In the Chicago collectorship case the people wanted Mr. Campbell, the white-headed boy of the republican party of Illinois. I have nothing to say against Mr. Clark. I could no doubt, have defeated the confirmation, but it would have availed nothing; it would have resulted in punishing a worthy citizen; that is all. The President's nomination of Mr. Clark was a very astonishing and unusual proceeding, and in making it he wholly ignored the wishes of the Illinois delegation, and acted in a very strange manner toward them. He did not even consult any one of them.

Mr. Campbell was chairman of our campaign committee, and devoted months of his time and his whole energies for the election of Mr. Harrison. Mr. Clark did not do this. But, then, this is Mr. Harrison's way of rewarding political friends. I regret that he entertains such notions, for it results in a destruction of the party to which he and I belong. It seems to me that it is the duty of those holding important official positions to try and carry out the will of the people, but in this matter Mr. Harrison has wholly ignored them, and, so far as I remember, this is the first instance in which the wishes of an entire delegation in congress from any state have been so completely disregarded."

We have given space to this because when senators have ceased to exist as office-brokers the record will be curious and valuable. It marks the last stage of congressional usurpation of the appointing power. Only recently have congressmen become so calloused as to go into the public prints and claim office distribution as a right. It is fitting that the claim should be made by a man who could not stay in public life an hour on his merits as a statesman. In refusing him offices, the President knocks every prop from under him. The "people" whom Senator Farwell represents are the Illinois party machine. His party comprises about half of the people of the state, and the machine does not include one-fiftieth of this half. Congressmen are not chosen to distribute offices, but to make laws. So far as they interfere with the distribution of offices they are a common nuisance. They are the worst advisers a president can have, for with rare exceptions they distribute places according to the power and will of the re-

cipients to help their renomination and reelection.

The President, however, can not be given any credit. It is no virtue in him to pull down Farwell and Cullom, giving them no spoil, while he builds up Quay and makes him virtually dictator of the distribution of federal offices in Pennsylvania. A peculiar emphasis is given to this impropriety by the fact that he puts the latter state under the heel of Quay, in face of the steady and indignant protests, not of independents, like Henry C. Lea, but of men whose republicanism is unimpeachable, like Wharton Barker, who represent a large body of people in that state.

"WORDS, MERE IDLE WORDS."

The *Indianian-Republican* is published at Warsaw in this state, and General Reuben Williams has long been its editor. In a recent issue of his paper General Williams says he advocated General Harrison as a suitable candidate for governor in 1868, but the republican press did not respond. In 1872 and 1876 he again urged the same point. In 1885, in a column and a half article, he presented General Harrison's name for the presidency, and kept it up until after the latter's nomination and election. The rest of the story can only be told in the *Indianian-Republican's* own words:

After the election was over and victory achieved, those who knew how warmly we had advocated the President's claims, insisted that we should become an applicant for some position under an administration for which our paper had fought for so valiantly; and yet, fully aware of the intrigues and disappointments so frequently occurring in politics, we hesitated, until, in reply to a dispatch of congratulations we sent the President the next morning after the election, we received the following reply:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., NOV. 28, 1888.

Gen. Reub. Williams, Warsaw, Ind.:

MY DEAR GENERAL—I know that you will understand that my long delay in acknowledging your kind telegram of congratulations is not to be attributed to any lack of appreciation of your cordial and constant friendship. I know how unselfishly you have supported me, and value very highly the many evidences you have given me of your confidence. I shall be glad to see you at any time. Very truly yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The letter deceived us, and we at once made application for the state pension agency, stating in the original application that we had neither time nor money to fritter away in making an unsuccessful race, and that a hint that such would be the case would prevent us from making one at all. Every individual to whom we showed the above letter, construing it, under the circumstances of the long support of this paper of Mr. Harrison, as an invitation to become a candidate for something, and it was this interpretation by our friends that finally induced us to ask Mr. Harrison for the place, we selecting that special position for the reason that it permitted us to remain within the borders of the state. We believed, too, that thirty-four years of as faithful service as any man ever gave his party, entitled us to some consideration at his hands, to say nothing of the twenty years of personal loyalty to the individual just elected to the highest position within the gift of the people,

and we are free to say that under these circumstances we felt our defeat most keenly. The press of the state was practically unanimous in our favor, and certainly no one who ever obtained a position under the government was ever more enthusiastically or emphatically indorsed by leading republicans from every section of Indiana in private letters, while petitions in large numbers were also forwarded. It was a blunder of our own. During the thirty-four years of political service we have given our party, we have seen so much of intrigue, of insincerity, of double-meaning phrases, that we ought to have considered the above letter at its proper value. With our experience we should have interpreted its contents at what it really was—words, mere idle words. It was our blunder, and we exonerate Mr. Harrison wholly. We should have known better than to have expected anything!

So far as is possible sympathy ought to be extended to General Williams. Coming down to the level on which he and the President stand, he makes a very fair showing of "claims;" thirty-four years of party service, and at least twenty-two years of personal service in repeated nominations of General Harrison for public office and in urging his interest in column-and-a-half editorials clearly entitle General Williams to "recognition." By that is not meant a nod or a hand-shake, but a payment for the thirty-four years of party service and the twenty-two years of personal service in nominations and in column-and-a-half editorials, by handing over a good solid office like the pension office of this city, worth thousands of dollars a year in cash.

After all his experience, however, General Williams and Solomon have come to the same conclusion. All things are "words, mere idle words." We now invite him to a higher level and ask him to recognize the fact that the President has no right to give out public offices to pay Huston, Ransdell, Leonard, Hornaday, Bagby, McFarlane, Chambers, Dunlap, Ensley, nor even General Williams himself. All offices except the highest should be given upon a system of merit and promotion solely for business reasons and without any regard to personal and party service. This is the practice that is going to prevail in the state and national service, and General Williams can render his state and country a substantial benefit by helping to establish it.

SECRET CHARGES.

As soon as removals began to be freely made during President Cleveland's administration apparently without cause, civil service reformers began to complain and to question. They were met with various charges on file against these office-holders, and there seemed to be fair ground why they were not entitled to any special consideration at the hands of the administration or of reformers. It took a considerable time to realize how easily a post office inspector, though he be a republican under a democratic administration or a democrat under a republican administration, learns to

feel that his own tenure will be longer by not kicking against the pricks, and that his duty to his superior officers is to aid rather than to oppose their desire for removals "for cause." This evil has thriven. Mr. Vilas's men knew what was wanted, and Mr. Wanamaker's men likewise. General Harrison was very outspoken regarding the impropriety of secret charges during the preceding administration. In a letter to the democratic postmaster at Mt. Vernon, dated December 19, 1885, he said:

The course pursued by the postmaster-general in removing republicans upon secret charges, embarrasses us, and may possibly embarrass some of his nominees, for I shall not feel free to consent to the removal of any efficient public officer upon charges, until he has been advised of their character and has had an opportunity—which I shall certainly extend to you—to meet and refute them.

But President Harrison has put no stop to secret charges. Faithful public servants are still harrassed by false accusations made by those who feel that though they may not succeed, they will not be known.

Mr. English, the democratic postmaster at New Haven, was removed by President Harrison at the end of four years of service, though he had been efficient and had enforced the civil service law in the teeth of the local democratic machine hungering for spoil. Out of the twenty-three clerks whom he found in the office, nearly one-half remained at the end of the four years. Of the twenty-three letter-carriers, ten were left. Of the whole forty-six, fifteen were removed, and, according to the postmaster's statement, every one of these for causes quite disconnected with politics. Twice during the four years the New Haven Civil Service Reform Association investigated the office, and each time it commended in the highest terms the postmaster's record. He refused to allow, during the last presidential campaign, certain democratic managers to "go through" his office, and he told them, moreover, that they had no business to ask for such contributions at all.

For months after the incoming administration reports were rife of "charges" against Mr. English. Last summer he was informed by the post-office department that he was charged with allowing party contributions to be collected in his office. He went at once to Washington and asked Mr. Wanamaker to see the charges. The postmaster-general drew a bulky bundle from a pigeon-hole and informed Mr. English briefly of the charges, but he refused to show the papers or to give the names of the accusers. It does not seem too harsh to infer that Mr. Wanamaker believed the charges to have been trumped up by local republican politicians, and that he sanctioned their course as one of the peculiar necessities of politics to an extent that he deliberately shielded them from exposure and from the odium of their fellow-townsmen.

The Indianapolis *Journal*, for January 27, has a careful statement of the nature of the

examinations for department clerkships, letter-carriers and clerks in the railway mail-service, and gives samples of the questions asked.

The February *Civil Service Record* (Boston) contains illustrations of tests for penmanship required of applicants for the highest class of clerkships, and gives various examples with the marks and the reasons for the different gradings.

Richardson, a member of the Maryland legislature, has offered a resolution in the house of delegates instructing the Maryland representatives in congress to vote for the repeal of "that obnoxious, unconstitutional, undemocratic and unrepugnant measure, known as the so-called civil service law, which strikes at the fundamental principles of free government, which disfranchises three-fourths of the American people from the right of holding public office."

—The Kokomo *Dispatch*, of January 16, says that Daniel Webster Martin, recently appointed postmaster at Oakford [Fairfield Station, Ind.] was formerly postmaster there, but was superseded in April, 1887, by J. W. Croussore. That when the official envelope containing Croussore's appointment came, Martin laid it away, and for the next five months, until August 27, told Croussore repeatedly that there was nothing for him. That a second official package, registered, was treated in the same way, until January 6, 1888, when Martin returned both letters to Washington indorsed, "No such person getting mail at this office." That some weeks later Martin was trapped by an inspector and a decoy letter directed to Croussore and denied to him in the presence of the inspector. If these statements are true, it would be interesting to know what particular "influence" secured the reappointment.

The effect of the first session to-day of the house committee on reform in the civil service was to make the most favorable impression for the commission. Mr. Roosevelt made a speech which was a strong argument in favor of the most searching investigation, and Commissioner Thompson spoke equally forcibly. When Frank Hatton was called on he was evidently very nervous, his voice being beyond his control. His disavowal of any personal animus in his pursuit of the commission, his suggestion that the commission be reorganized under a single head, and that head be Mr. Roosevelt and his fears lest the witnesses he will produce may suffer some damage from telling the truth, caused a general smile.—*Special Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, January 20.

It is not surprising to see Hatton and his paper beginning to sing small. Politicians are trained to a warfare, always under cover. They make charges secretly, and they answer them secretly. Met in their underground fights they are adepts in all manner of knifing and are dangerous foes. But when they occasionally meet a man like Mr. Roosevelt who has nothing to fear and who insists that the fight shall be open and public, they dwindle into the most contemptible of opponents.

CATHOLICS AND CITIZENSHIP.

[From an address delivered before the Catholic Club of Baltimore, Wednesday, February 5, 1890, by Charles J. Bonaparte.]

In an address of welcome to the prelates of the Third Plenary Council some five years ago I said, speaking of the presidential contest of 1884, then just concluded: "The Catholic Church has no politics: she knows nothing of candidates or platforms, of administrations or policies, of tariffs or currencies; she is mute on every question as to which honest men may honestly differ, and no more tells her children what ticket they shall vote than what food they shall eat or what clothes they shall wear. But as she demands that they shall eat with temperance, that they shall dress with decency, so she requires of them to vote with an unclouded judgment, with an undrugged conscience, with the good of the country as their motive, with the fear of God before their eyes."

I avail myself of your very flattering invitation for this evening to recur to this subject and point out why and how the church, as one and the first of those forces which in modern society "make for righteousness," can and of right should affect the nation's political life. Macaulay claimed that to say of Charles I "He was a good man, but a bad king," involved a contradiction in terms. No one who violated in the discharge of public duties the principles of morality and honor could, he urged, be reasonably and justly thought of as "a good man." If this be true of an English king, it is no less true of an American citizen. His conduct as a citizen can not be ignored in any fair estimate of his character.

When, however, men were told that for every idle word or wantonness of wrath they should one day strictly answer, no exception was made for words spoken at a primary. The decalogue contains no clause suspending its operation while ballots are counted or votes returned or appointments sought. A Christian can not draw a sponge over his record as a member of civil society; that record will avail to fix his destiny, and if it does, it concerns the church. Even if she would, she can not limit her mission, can not escape dealing with evils by closing her eyes to their existence. Doubtless it is a delicate task to deal with those evils. Her serpent wisdom must endow with prudence and tact those who speak in her name. Zeal not according to knowledge, however well meant, may here be readily harmful, but all this amounts to saying that the work must be done wisely, not that it should be left undone. For be well assured that if this field is given up to the enemy, his tares will spread to those adjacent. You can not abandon a heart to sordid passions in the forum and hope that it will be pure and honorable and generous at the fireside. Burke has well said, "There never yet was long a corrupt government of a virtuous people." The church, then, must help good men to purify and elevate politics. But how shall the help be given? Not, I need hardly say, by participation in political struggles. Her kingdom is

not of this world, she covets not the things of Caesar, and her ministers, while entitled to the unobtrusive exercise of their rights as citizens, and, indeed, in my opinion, bound in conscience to thus exercise these rights, can not be too rigidly or sternly forbidden to display any partisan activity. She can promote honest government, pure politics, sound and lofty public spirit, by teaching through the words and acts of her representatives that she believes in and prizes these things and does not hold them mere phantoms: by making those who fight for them feel that in spirit and sympathy she is on their side, and those who fight against them know that she counts as her enemies enemies to their country's welfare. When we read that mediæval barons bestowed on churches and monasteries wealth acquired as the spoil of a life devoted to rapine and bloodshed, we can be charitable to the imperfect manners of a barbarous age; but there is room for no such indulgence if the material interests of any enterprise, however laudable in itself, are advanced through agencies which imply a condonation for intrigue and corruption and suggest indifference to wrong-doing. The courage of consistency is the first virtue of a moralist. He will never lead others who is afraid to show by his life that he believes what he teaches.

"Those love truth best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of dare to do."

MR. ROOSEVELT ON POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS.

In a recent report on political assessments in New York, Commissioner Roosevelt says:

"Experience in a number of investigations of this sort has convinced me that the talk often heard about the injustice of not allowing clerks to make 'voluntary contributions,' which the law in nowise prevents, is all nonsense. Government employes do not, as a rule, contribute simply from a desire to help the political cause in which they believe. The so-called 'voluntary contributions' are, nine times out of ten, made from some personal motives, that is, either in the hope of being retained in office, or else with the object of gaining some advantage over the other clerks. In other words, the employes are coerced into making them, for fear that their positions will be jeopardized if they fail to do so. It is probably safe to say that 90 per cent. of the money collected for political purposes from minor governmental employes represents so much blackmail. This particular species of robbery is mean enough at best, and one of its meanest features is the fact that the men most apt to contribute money, the men most susceptible to pressure, are those of opposite political faith to the dominant party. Those who agree in politics with the party in control feel some assurance of protection if they refuse to be coerced into parting with their money; but the unfortunates of opposite political faith feel they have no power behind the throne on which to rely, are nervously afraid of giving offence, and yield helplessly

when threatened. The amount paid is not absolutely very great in any individual case, but to a poor clerk just able to get along, the loss of 3 per cent. of his salary may mean just the difference between having and not having a winter overcoat for himself, a warm dress for his wife, or a Christmas tree for his children. Such a forced payment is a piece of cruel injustice and iniquity.

"Another fact to be remembered is that very much of the money so collected is never turned into the party campaign chests at all, being kept for their own private uses by the jackals who have collected it. If the head of the office is determined to have his subordinates contribute, the latter soon know it, and the fact that they must pay becomes common talk among them. In some offices the system of making political assessments has obtained steadily for so many years that many of the clerks have come to regard it as part of the established order of nature, against which they do not think of rebelling, but, whatever their own politics, regularly pay their contributions into the campaign chest of the dominant party; as one of them expressed it, 'They feel that the desk, not the man at it, owes just so much to the party in power.' Many politicians take this view as a matter of course. One of the witnesses in the present case, a strong republican, who was holding office under the last administration, testifies that he was advised to contribute to the democratic campaign by one of his friends, a New York republican district leader, as being the only thing to do if he wished to keep his place."

The result of his inquiries seems to show that in the naval office under Colonel Burt this disgraceful practice was broken up. But under Collector Magone there was widespread effort to collect money. There was, however, no active coercion. In the surveyor's office, under Mr. Beattie, the contributions were levied generally. Both democrats and republicans gave to the democratic fund. By means of covert threats even the most unwilling were forced to pay. Some who refused at first were made very uncomfortable by being removed from their posts to others less agreeable. After payment they were sent back.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of The Civil Service Chronicle:

In the current number of your entertaining publication I notice your offer of fifty dollars, given you by an admirer to "use in furthering the cause of civil service reform in Indiana," as a reward for the "best statement of facts of the use of federal offices as spoil in any district." You aid those ambitious to secure the prize by giving this sample question: "Why was the editor of the *Delphi Journal* given an office?"

Assuming the statement you require must be in answer to the query, I base my claim to the fifty dollars upon the following explanation: The *Delphi Journal* is a republican newspaper published in one or more of the important towns in the tenth congressional district. That district, one politically doubtful, is now repre-

sented in congress by a preacher politician named Owen, whose chief ambition at the present writing is to bring about his renomination and re-election. As the district is uncomfortably "close," a kicking newspaper might be able to create dissensions disastrous to the congressman's ambition. The *Delphi Journal* is of this variety, was a very rank Gresham organ previous to the nomination of Mr. Harrison, and was compelled to indulge in a number of feats of retromingency before it became finally and firmly adjusted to the situation. It was, therefore, excellent policy in Mr. Owen, by the use of the patronage allotted him by the President for that purpose, to secure the influence of the *Journal* in his own behalf, and, by so doing, spike another of the annoying Gresham guns.

Further, the *Delphi Journal* office was only recently purchased by the present proprietors, the purchase-money being advanced and secured by a number of local republicans who are, therefore, personally interested in the financial success of the paper. Ordinarily the prospects for this success would be clouded with doubts, but, through the aid of the editor's salary as a federal employe, the future is made to look perceptibly brighter, and, as the young editor's application for appointment was doubtless "backed" by these same interested local republicans, it is safe to assume that their interest in Mr. Owen's re-election has at least been revived.

Carroll county, in which the city of Delphi is situated, is a "close" county which has twice given a small republican majority, whereas, formerly it was good for at least a hundred the other way. Was it not, therefore, proper that something handsome should be done for the boys who converted a majority for Cleveland and a democratic congressman into one for Harrison and Owen?

I think the sagacious editor of the *Chronicle* will sustain me in the proposition that similar tactics in each of the towns in the tenth district would summarily dissipate any doubts as to the chances for Mr. Owen's renomination, and this would be demonstrated by the modern law that, though Mr. Owen is inconsequential in congress, indifferent to political principles, ignorant as to the tariff, silent concerning silver coinage, deaf to civil service or other reform, a "dummy," in fact, as a representative of the people, he is a success because he "gets there."

A personal acquaintance with the men and the circumstances, and a consistent regard for my own hereafter, prompts me to insist that there is no other reason why the editor of the *Delphi Journal* should have been given an office.

D. A. FAWCETT.

La Grange, Ind., Feb. 3, 1890.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

I have read with interest an article published in the *CHRONICLE* for January, entitled "The Loot of the Indian Service." Will you kindly grant me space in your columns for a few words in connection with this subject?

As secretary of the Indian Rights Association I have endeavored, so far as my power and opportunities permitted, to direct my course upon the lines of policy adopted by our society. That policy is one of impartial investigation into the condition of the Indian service, and an honest and frank statement of the facts concerning it, and the recommendations for such a reform of the abuses as in our judgment is called for by these facts. I called attention last summer, through various prominent newspapers, to a development of the spoils system known as the "Home Rule" policy of appointment, which the President and secretary of the interior were applying to the Indian service. By this policy the appointment of Indian agents for the various western reservations was to be placed in the hands of local politicians in the states and territories in which these reservations were located, thus removing the power from where it belonged—the executive at Washington. I protested against this policy as applied to the Indian service as false in principle and likely to be disastrous in practice, claiming that it was an absurdity to call that a "Home Rule" policy which restricted the selection of the managers of Indian affairs to localities often notoriously hostile to Indian interests. This protest, as might be supposed, had no influence upon the subsequent action of the President and the secretary of the interior. The removal of Agent Levy at the Yankton reservation, referred to in your article, is an illustration of the evil effects of the policy. An exceptionally excellent agent who had gained the confidence of both Indians and whites at a reservation which had suffered the blight of incompetent administration of the past, is removed to gratify a senatorial demand. In this instance a sound principle of administration, viz., the retention of a competent and faithful officer, is deliberately violated in favor of a vicious principle of administration.

I know another agency at which the question of the removal of the Indians located there, against the best interest of the Indians and in order to gratify the desire of neighboring whites to possess their lands, is being agitated. The agent at this reservation and another employe there were chosen under the "Home Rule" policy. Both these men freely admitted that they had accepted their positions with a view to securing lands on the reservation when it should be thrown open to settlement. How far men accepting their posts through such motives could be expected to take an impartial view of the question at issue, or in other ways to serve the best interests of the Indians, may readily be inferred.

A letter reached me this morning informing me of another instance where this same disastrous policy was to be put into operation, and the removal of a good agent was to be secured under its dictation. The "Home Rule" policy is but a phase of the spoils system, and as such is essentially vicious. You and your readers may rest assured that there will be no hesitation on my part in publishing whatever

facts come to my knowledge showing the evils connected with Indian administration. Though our society in this matter can hope to be little more than a voice crying in the wilderness, we can at least have the satisfaction of rendering our testimony to evils which are so strongly entrenched that only a distant and brighter future is likely to see them corrected.

In closing, I should like to make one point clear concerning General Morgan, the present Indian commissioner. He is not responsible for the "Home Rule" policy of appointment, nor has he anything to do with the selection of Indian agents. These appointments are in the hands of the President and the secretary of the interior. I have had close experience with General Morgan's management of Indian affairs and I have never known him to make an appointment on any but sound reasons. Indeed, he has excited the wrath of some senators in his own party on account of his refusal to act at their dictation in making partisan appointments to offices within the range of the commissioner's jurisdiction. Gen. Morgan is wholly in sympathy with the management of Indian affairs upon reform principles and for this reason should receive the earnest support of reformers. His confirmation is now hanging in the senate on account of his fidelity to the principles for which reformers have fought. The violence of the assault made upon him—I say it after a careful examination of the facts—is the highest tribute to his courage and faithfulness as a public officer.

Respectfully, HERBERT WELSH.
Philadelphia, January 29.

The ideal citizen is always a disturbing influence in his own political fold. He is in the position of the missionary to a congregation of southern negroes, who persisted in preaching against theft, covetousness, and other violations of the ten commandments, while his hearers were longing only to hear of the wonders described in the book of Revelations and to exult in anticipation of rambling through the golden streets and stately mansions of the great hereafter. "Pahson," said one emotional and tearful brother, "ef you don' quit talkin' 'bout stealin' chickens an' bein' fon' of other men's wives, you'll knock all de 'ligious stuffin' out ob dis meetin'."—*From Address on The Ideal Citizen, by John Habberton.*

Speaking of civil service reform, Mr. Cleveland said it was quite apparent that many of the politicians of both parties would be delighted if they could smother it out of existence by withholding the necessary appropriations for its maintenance. Of course, they would not have the courage to kill it directly. There was little fear they would succeed even by indirection, for the principle had too firm a hold upon the country to be destroyed, and he looked for the time when its scope would be enlarged and its benefits extended.—*Baltimore Sun, February 12.*

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for May, 1889, printed the letter of A. C. Eubanks, of Missouri, a defeated candidate for congress, in which he said:

In thinking about the matter we were talking about last night, I concluded that an office like your P. O. ought to afford me \$25—say \$15 now and \$10 when you get your commission.

The St. Louis *Republic* also has photographs of other letters, one of February 8, 1889, in which he said:

I was the republican candidate for congress, and hence by custom am measurably entitled to have the patronage to somewhat reimburse me for labor and expense incurred in the campaign, which was considerable.

And in an offer to sell an office to one C. F. Davis, he said:

Your district being but partly in this, you can suggest about what would be right in the premises, and if you have other recommendations you would wish to call my attention to you will do so.

The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for September, 1889, printed affidavits showing that Joseph D. Upton, a defeated candidate for congress, had been given the patronage of his district, about 234 post offices alone, and had proceeded to realize upon them, selling the Warsaw office for \$25, and that various applicants for other offices were commanded by Upton to meet him on a certain day at Warsaw, where he "assessed them all according to the amount of salary attached to the offices."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for May, 1889, also printed portions of a speech to a campaign committee by James Love, another defeated candidate for congress, in which he said that he should control the patronage of his district and that he would receive all applications for local offices and present them to the President or the proper department at Washington, and further, "Of course, it will be understood that there will be some expense attached to the proceedings, and applicants will be expected to contribute to this expense."

This open talk causing a scandal, Clarkson proceeded to "investigate" the facts which, so far as made public, we printed in June, 1889. Clarkson declared Love innocent of any "charge affecting your honor."

The St. Louis *Republic*, later had the following affidavit which we have delayed printing to see whether it would be denied or taken notice of by the administration.

KINGSTON, Mo., Sept. 12, 1889.—Wm. J. Ward, of Pattonsburg, Daviess county, Mo., deposes and on oath states: That he was an applicant for the Pattonsburg post-office, and that in the forepart of May, 1889, he made a visit to Liberty, Clay county, Mo., for the purpose of soliciting the indorsement of James Love, late defeated republican candidate for congress, called at his home between 1 and 2 o'clock, on the date of his arrival at Liberty, was introduced by one Martin, presented indorsements for Love's con-

sideration. Mr. Love produced a clipping from the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, which contained the statement that the department had made ruling requiring indorsement of the defeated candidate for congress, and he stated that no one would be appointed to office without his indorsement. After an inspection of the indorsements he said that he was going to Washington, said that the congressional committee had made considerable fuss over the speech that he had made at Gallatin, but that it would have no effect, as his relations with the department had been established, and nothing the committee could do would serve to disturb them. After some other conversation with Mr. Love, I left his home and did not see him until the next day. In the morning I met him on the north side of the court-house yard. He spoke to me, and after we had conversed a short time Mr. Love said: "Ward, I understand that you are a man of considerable means." I told him that I was only in moderate circumstances, and had had some reverses in financial affairs, and was not worth very much. In speaking of his Washington trip, said he would be to considerable expense. I told him that I was willing, if he made my case a personal matter, to contribute a portion to said expense, but that under no circumstances would I pay him for his indorsement. He said that he did not think there was anything wrong for a man paying for a favor, and that, in indorsing applicants' petitions, he was doing such a favor as would secure the appointment. I told him that I thought it was wrong to pay anything for an indorsement. I then left him, and was well satisfied with the conversation that I had that I would not succeed in securing his indorsement, as I was unwilling to pay anything, and he was unwilling to indorse unless I did.

The report as above detailed is substantially correct in every particular.

WM. J. WARD.

County of Caldwell, } ss.
State of Missouri.

Sworn and subscribed to, before me, a Notary Public, this 12th day of September, 1889.

[SEAL]

JOSEPH MYERS,
Notary Public.

That the administration has not rebuked this office brokerage would appear from the following facts given in the St. Louis *Republic*, December 11:

In the fourth congressional district Mr. H. R. W. Hartwig was the defeated republican candidate in the general election in 1888. The elected democratic member subsequently died, and a special election was held, at which Mr. F. M. Postgate was the republican nominee. The quarrel between these two for recognition has given us some of the facts, and the knowledge of these has led to further investigation. Mr. Hartwig finding Mr. Postgate in possession of the spoils during his absence, on his return wrote President Harrison a letter, saying:

I passed through a long and exciting canvass, myself bearing all the expenses, amounting to a sum exceeding \$20,000, used for local, state, and national purposes. . . . Taking into account the work done and the great sacrifices for the party made by me and my friends, it would be rankest injustice to ignore my claims for recognition—an act without precedent and calculated to destroy confidence in our party integrity, discourage party workers, and disintegrate party organization and effectiveness.

Respectfully, H. R. W. HARTWIG,
Late Republican Candidate, Fourth District, Missouri.

—President Harrison has appointed John C. Kinney postmaster at Hartford, Conn. The *New York Times* says: "The contest over this place has been long and earnest between Senator Hawley and 'Pat' McGovern. The latter is the boss of the practical ward heelers of the party in Hartford, and he insisted that one of his lieutenants should be postmaster.

He wanted the men who did the party's work at the polls to be recognized, and long ago he announced that if he did not have his way he would transfer his force to the democratic side. Mr. Hawley insisted upon his right, as a senator, to name the postmaster in his own city, and he selected Mr. Kinney, a young man employed upon the senator's newspaper, who is said to control nobody's vote but his own. Mr. Hawley's claim has been allowed, and the party workers in Hartford will have a chance in the near future to vote as they please."

—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S. }
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 8, 1890. }
Captain Edward F. Phinney, South Farmington, Mass.:

DEAR SIR—You are well aware of the contest which I have had over the post-office in your town. I consider it settled, and your appointment has been made and sent to you. It gives me pleasure to congratulate you on having received it, and I think after the citizens consider it fully they will decide that my action was judicious. It is a satisfaction to me that, after looking over the ground with a great deal of care and doing justice to the claims of others, I have had the pleasure of indorsing an old soldier who has an honorable record in the service of his country. I feel that it is only a few years that we may recognize the veterans; they soon will pass off the stage; and, as you well know, whenever my judgment will permit me to do so, giving careful consideration to the claims of others, my preference is to recognize the members of the Grand Army of the Republic. I wish to say also that your conduct during this contest has been very dignified. You presented to me your petitions without reflecting upon any of your competitors, and left the matter to me to decide upon the merits of your claims. I have no doubt of your success in the office, and I feel interested that it shall be equal to any other in the district in prompt attention to business and in the courteous and careful attention to the demands of those who do business with it.

Very truly yours,
JOHN W. CANDLER, M. C.,
Massachusetts Ninth District.

—Ten days ago Robert I. Patterson was appointed postmaster here. O. J. Sturgis, editor of the *Republican Standard*, had been led to believe that he was to have the place, and had been indorsed by Senator Quay. Next day Sturgis charged in his paper that Patterson's success was due to the interference of Henry C. Frick, the millionaire coke manufacturer and partner of Andrew Carnegie. Frick, he charged, is a friend of Postmaster-General Wanamaker and buys goods from his store. The statement was also made that Frick had contributed \$20,000 to the republican campaign fund.

Now Sturgis comes forward with another story. He says in his paper: "The first post-office appointment made in Fayette county under the new administration was at Bradford. Very shortly after the inauguration Congressman Ray recommended J. H. Flenniken, and First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson appointed him. Mr. H. C. Frick thereupon protested to Postmaster General Wanamaker, who at once recalled the appointment. Mr. Ray declined thus to be stripped of his prerogative by a private citizen living outside the district, and insisted on the appointment. Merchant Wanamaker refused to offend Merchant Frick with his twenty stores in the coke region, and so the matter hangs fire to-day—the office still in the hands of a democrat. What is the use to send representatives to Washington if they are to be overridden by outside interference?"—*Dispatch to New York Times from Uniontown, Pa., February 9.*

--Congressman Morse this evening filed the following dispatch at the Western Union telegraph office:

"Warren W. Adams, Quincy, Mass.—Upon my recommendation to the postmaster-general you are nominated by the President of the United States and confirmed as postmaster of Quincy by the senate to-day."

This is the end of the efforts of the citizens of Quincy to secure the retention of their competent postmaster, Mr. Speare. A popular vote, taken before the party screws were put upon the voters, would have given Mr. Speare a majority of the republicans. Mr. Adams has been a hard worker in the party ranks, and he gets his reward. President Harrison made some declarations once about fitness and not party service being a tenure of office. There are a few people in Washington who remember them.—*Boston Post, January 31, 1890.*

—The President to-day ended a long contest for the postmastership at this place by appointing Capt. W. Underwood to the position. Underwood was months ago selected by Congressman Ray, but Secretary Blaine recommended his cousin, Samuel Ewing, for the place, and the matter has been held in abeyance ever since. Meanwhile another cousin of the secretary, Col. William Ewing, has entered the lists for collector of the port at Pittsburgh, a soft berth, which Senator Quay had picked out for his neighbor, John F. Drapo of Beaver. Col. Ewing is also said to have the indorsement of his distinguished relative at the capital.

For some weeks it has been common rumor that the President was willing to accept one of these cousins, but drew the line on a double dose. As the aspirant for postmaster has fallen by the wayside, it is thought the other cousin will get the collectorship.—*Dispatch to New York Times from Washington, Penn., February 13.*

—Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, has been appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Russia.

ENCOURAGING SIGNS.

--Congressman Bayne, of Pennsylvania, thinks that it would be a good thing if the appointment of postmasters of certain grades were regulated by the laws of the civil service commission.

—Congressman Moore, of New Hampshire, recommended the reappointment of the democratic postmaster at Franklin Falls. He was selected at a caucus by a vote of 178 to 38 because he had been an efficient officer.

—Congressman Charles H. Turner, of New York, has at his disposal a cadetship in the naval academy at Annapolis. Instead of following the usual practice of handing this place out to pay for personal service, or of letting a few of his personal followers compete for it, he has already asked the youth of his district to compete for the place.

—Congressman Greenhalge has formally recommended the reappointment of Postmaster Buttrick at Concord.

The *Boston Post* says: "He served with credit in the United States navy, and is a direct descendant of the Major Buttrick who led the Concord farmers in their assault upon the British troops. Mr. Buttrick has performed his duties to the satisfaction of the whole town, and, though a democrat, he is supported by the leading republicans of the place, including so staunch a party man as Judge Hoar."

--Congressman Morse says that unless the situation changes he shall recommend the reappointment of Postmaster Harlow at Whitman. Mr. Harlow is a democrat, and his term expires in March, but he has given such satisfaction that he has the indorsement of the republican town committee and nearly all the republican voters. Mr. Charles H. Edson, who is in town to day, had a talk with Mr. Morse, and assured him that Mr. Harlow's appointment would satisfy everybody.—*Boston Post, January 29.*

—Secretary Tracy's recommendation of Capt. Folger to succeed Commodore Sicard as chief of the bureau of ordnance is strictly in the line of civil-service reform. There is no abler young officer in the navy than Capt. Folger, and his specialty has been ordnance. His record as superintendent of the gun factory at the Washington navy yard has been admirable from a technical point of view, and he has especially distinguished himself by serving under two administrations, and allowing the adherents of neither to run his factory as a political machine.

The republican bums of the district have done their best for the last six months to drive him out of his place, because he would not let them dictate his appointments. But, instead of getting him sent to sea, or put on inferior duty they have succeeded merely in hastening his promotion.—*Dispatch to New York Evening Post, Jan. 24.*

—The interest which has centered in the choice of postmaster for Newtonville has been intense and outspoken. With remarkable unanimity the republicans in a village caucus held last September, voted for the reappointment of J. B. Turner, a democrat, who was appointed to the position when President Cleveland was at the helm. Mr. Turner has made a faithful official. He has introduced better business methods into the management of the office, has systematized the work, been accommodating and thoroughly efficient, and has thus given satisfaction to both republicans and democrats. The caucus did not seem to settle the matter satisfactorily to the opponents of Mr. Turner, so it was finally decided to hold another; and Congressman Chandler, in a letter to C. B. Coffin, chairman of the Newton republican ward and city committee, stated that he shall recommend for the place the nominee of the caucus. A call was issued and the polls were open at a vacant store in the village from 4 to 9 P. M. to-day.

The vote was taken by the Australian ballot system, six booths being set up, each of the three candidates being allowed two tellers. It was a quiet but interesting afternoon, and as the hour for closing approached the room was a place of attraction for quite a number of citizens. The names were plainly printed in alphabetical order. There were 240 ballots cast, as follows: C. A. Burgess had 25, E. S. Cotton 43, J. B. Turner 172. The result was greeted with applause, and will without question be final. The office is first-class, carrying a salary of \$2,100 besides the rent and an allowance of about \$900, which pays the salaries of the two clerks.—*Springfield Republican, February 3.*

—Postmaster Childs will remain in place for another four years. Such was the verdict of the people at this afternoon's caucus, called by the congressmen of the state to decide upon whom their benediction should fall. The vote has been counted, and Frederick W. Childs, the present incumbent, who was appointed by President Cleveland in 1886, wins by a vote of 467 against 401 for George A. Hines. Mr. Hines was the nominee of the republican managers, led by Col. George W. Hooker, who de-

manded the office as spoils for the victors. The home of Mr. Childs this evening is besieged by the people offering congratulations to the successful candidate. In one town in the United States to-night principle rather than bossism holds sway.

This struggle between the people of Brattleboro and the republican politicians has attracted wide attention. Given the most efficient, brightest and most enterprising postmaster the town has ever had, the business men and citizens generally, as early as last spring, determined to interpret literally the republican national platform and demand his reappointment, even though he be a democrat. Dea and Col. Estey of the *Estey organ* works were foremost in this crusade for reform, and, with others equally interested, had circulated the petition for Mr. Childs, which was signed by four-fifths of the republican voters. Col. George W. Hooker then came forward and, without impugning Mr. Childs's executive ability, popularity or brilliant success, declared that he must not succeed himself because he was not a republican. Not even a charge of offensive partisanship was laid at Mr. Childs's door. The most that the ex-sergeant-at-arms has said was that no government salary should swell democratic campaign funds while a republican administration was in power. But in Mr. Childs's case not even that objection holds, since he not only has never contributed to democratic funds but has a letter from Don M. Dickinson, the last democratic postmaster-general, informing him that to so contribute is a crime, and that failure to respond to any request from democratic committees would in no way jeopard his tenure of office. That letter was written during the heat of the last presidential campaign.

A remarkable feature of the contest has been the enthusiasm with which the best class of the republican party has rallied to Mr. Childs's support. That they have worked for him as for one of their own political belief is very clear. Why they have done so was concisely stated by Col. Julius Estey this afternoon: First, because Mr. Childs's retention is required on good business grounds; second, because such retention will give practical application to orthodox republican doctrines.—*Special Dispatch to the Springfield Republican, Feb. 1.*

—The *Brooklyn Times* prints the following letter from the republican assemblyman-elect for the second district of Queens county to the republican postmaster of Long Island City:

William Richensteen, Esq.: DEAR SIR—James Purcell informs me that he is an applicant for appointment as letter carrier, and states that you have promised to appoint him if Mr. C. W. Hallett and I will join in a letter asking you to make the appointment and designate in such letter the particular carrier now in position whom we would like to have removed to make room for him (Purcell).

Mr. Purcell is a republican and voted and worked for my election to the legislature last fall. It is alleged that all the present carriers are "democrats and consequently undeserving of consideration at the hands of republicans, and ought therefore to be summarily removed."

I do not believe that a man ought to be appointed to office because he voted for me, nor do I believe that one ought to be removed from office because of having voted against me.

I have reason to believe that several of these democratic letter carriers voted for me at the same time Purcell did, although they have not confessed to me that they did so. Others, no doubt, voted against me.

I have no means of knowing (without asking) who voted for me and who against.

If the claim of position is based upon the votes cast at the recent election, and the decis-

ion in the premises is left to me, I must confess my inability to select the carrier for removal to make room for Purcell, and therefore decline the honor of designating a victim for sacrifice in the interest of reform.

If there exist other than partisan reasons for the removal of any carrier I am not aware of them.

I have enough confidence in your judgment to believe you will make no removals without good cause, and enough faith in your republicanism to believe that in filling vacancies you will not refuse an appointment to an otherwise good man because he is also a republican.

I was once a republican postmaster, and tried to be a good one. I asked a democratic president to allow me to retain office under him to the end of my term, and the request was granted.

Under all these circumstances it is perhaps unfortunate for Mr. Purcell that I should be made the arbiter of his fate in connection with the office he seeks, and this I regret, for there is good reason to believe he would make an efficient carrier.

This long letter is prompted more by a belief that you want to share with your friends the responsibility of deciding embarrassing questions of this kind, than that you seriously think I will select a man from among your subordinates for removal for no better reason than to provide a place for a man who voted the same ticket that you and I did. Very respectfully yours,

HENRY C. JOHNSON.

Astoria, L. I., Dec. 11, 1889.

WANTON REMOVALS.

For I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him (the President) to impeachment and removal from his own high trust. Such an abuse of power exceeds my conception.—Congressman James Madison, June, 1789.

--John A. Pyle, appointed postmaster at West Chester, Pa., by President Cleveland, has been removed. A letter to the *New York Times* says (January 19):

Now, Postmaster Pyle is complimented on all sides by republicans, prohibitionists and democrats for the many reforms he has introduced for the convenience of the public. He has brought the office up to a very high standard, and it has been visited on numerous occasions by postmasters of other localities to gain information. There has never been a word of complaint against Postmaster Pyle or his assistants. Every patron of the office, excepting the office-seeking politicians, is satisfied with his management.

But Mr. Pyle is a democrat, and not even an "offensive partisan." He never fails to vote the democratic ticket, but beyond that he does no ward work except upon himself.

--After fifteen years of continuous duty in the Scranton post-office and four years in the railway mail service, A. H. Hartley, who has recently been acting as superintendent of mails in this city, has been summarily dismissed without cause, for the reason that, although a republican in politics, he has not been in harmony with the local machine. The *Scranton Truth*, of this evening's issue, calls the attention of Postmaster-general Wanamaker to the case, and asks if this is the sort of civil service reform the people may expect under the Harrison administration.

Hartley was appointed to a position in the Scranton post-office in 1871 by Postmaster Slocum. He became a most efficient clerk and soon mastered the details of the office. In the discharge of his duty some years ago he incurred the displeasure of Congressman Scranton, who was then postmaster of this city, and he has not been in favor with the local bosses

ever since. His conduct was commended by the highest officials of the post-office department, however, and when the whirligig of politics precipitated his dismissal he obtained a responsible position in the railway mail service, where his ability was soon recognized and approved. When President Cleveland was elected Mr. Hartley was again offered an important position in the Scranton post-office under Postmaster Connolly and he accepted. It was thought that the guillotine would be applied to him as soon as Postmaster Jones came into office by the grace of Congressman Scranton, and there was some disappointment because this did not occur forthwith, but it finally came to pass when everybody supposed that Hartley's experience and knowledge of post-office affairs were sufficient to cancel the old grudge and make him a fixture.

The business men of Scranton, who have reason to appreciate Hartley's valuable services in the post-office, are indignant over his summary dismissal, which is a direct violation of the letter and spirit of the civil service law, and many wonder whether Postmaster-General Wanamaker would treat one of his faithful and efficient employes in that manner after nineteen years of devoted service.—*Dispatch to New York Times, January 14.*

SPOILSMEN'S METHODS.

Frank Hatton's *Post* charged Commissioner Roosevelt with having used a spoilsman's methods to secure a place in the census bureau for a friend. "Opposition was made to the appointment of Roosevelt's man. Trades and dickers were necessary. Roosevelt made them. The Wisconsin man was appointed and charged to the District of Columbia."

Mr. Roosevelt in answer said:

"I had no intention of noticing that attack till it could be made a subject of official investigation. Then I could have got the true story out under oath, and shown how unblushingly false some of these statements are. It is a fact that I have interested myself in procuring the appointment of a man from Wisconsin to a place in the census bureau, and with that the truth of the article begins and ends. I not only do not deny that part of the story, but I want to state here and now that I have nothing to regret, but shall take a precisely similar course whenever similar circumstances arise. When we went to Milwaukee to investigate the charges against Postmaster Paul, the principal, and, indeed, the vital witness for the government was a man named Shidy, who had been in the civil service about twenty years. He had begun life as a physician, but night work threatened to wreck his health, and he had to give up his practice and take a place far less profitable, but with easier hours, in the public employ. He had a family to support, and was dependent upon his salary; so at the last moment he came to the Commission and pleaded to be excused from testifying, on the ground that his evidence would surely cost him his position. We refused to let him off, but I pledged him my word that he should be protected in telling the truth. It was as he predicted. Mr. Paul lost no time in driving him out of office. The commission did its utmost to keep him in his place, and when that failed I got the postmaster-general to write a letter recommending him to a position in the census bureau. There was not a 'trade' or a 'dicker' of any kind. Superintendent Porter consented to appoint him if he could pass the necessary examination, and when the appointment was finally made out, Mr. Lyman went in person to Secretary Noble, explained the circumstances, and asked in the name of the commission that it might be confirmed. Now you see just what that assault in the *Post* has back of it.

"How about the assignment of this Wisconsin man to the quota of the District of Columbia?"

"I know nothing about that. When Postmaster

Paul heard that we were getting this place for Shidy, he did all in his power to block our efforts. From various quarters came protests, to which Superintendent Porter paid no attention, having given me his promise. Among the rest, the Wisconsin senators inquired into the case; but I assured them that I did not want to interfere in any way with their prerogative; I wished Shidy charged to the commission's account—not to theirs. Mr. Porter said that he should be appointed, not from Wisconsin's quota, but from the 'general list.' Whether matters are in such condition that the general-list appointments are all from the District, I'm sure I don't know. Now, as I said in the beginning, I have nothing to conceal or take back. I shoulder the entire responsibility, and am ready to do the same thing over again when a witness for the government is persecuted because he does his duty and tells the truth. It is the government's business to protect its witnesses from foul play. If it doesn't stand by them, the time is not far distant when it won't be able to command the services of a witness, except one who is moved by feelings of revenge or by some other impulse equally damaging to the value of his testimony."

When Mr. Roosevelt's remarks were repeated to Commissioner Thompson, and he was asked if the commission were ready as a whole to stand by them, he answered: "Yes, though Mr. Roosevelt is willing to accept all responsibility, this affair was really the commission's joint act throughout. Shidy is an educated man, and there is no reason why he should not make an efficient clerk in his new place. I fully approved of Mr. Roosevelt's conduct. Indeed, the commission discussed every stage of the proceeding. But there is one part of the story which Mr. Roosevelt has not told you, and which I think ought to be told, in justice to him. In the same letter in which Shidy was notified to come on and submit to an examination for admission to the census bureau, Mr. Roosevelt wrote that he must not let money considerations stand in his way; and that, if he should fail in the examination, the entire expenses of his trip from Milwaukee and back would be paid out of Mr. Roosevelt's own pocket. That involved, of course, a possible expenditure of \$75 to \$100; but it is my colleague's notion of the way to keep faith with a man to whom he has given his personal word."

The brutality of the spoils system is well known, and there has rarely been a more perfect illustration of it.

AN INSTANCE OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

The Eastern Dispensary in New York city has for years carried on an invaluable work among the poor of the city. During the year 1889, it treated 61,228 patients 106,748 times. As an illustration of how invariably the merit system benefits the many while the spoils system aids a limited, privileged class, we quote from the account of the *New York Evening Post* Jan. 29:

"It is, perhaps, the only institution of its kind in the country where civil service principles are absolutely applied in the selection of physicians. Formerly the physicians were selected in the ordinary way, and the influence of friends always decided the matter where there was a question as to the appointment of one or another applicant. The employees gave such time and attention to the work of the dispensary as they could consistently with their other interests, attending upon alternate days and receiving no compensation. Three years ago the trustees adopted an entirely new course; when vacancies occurred, advertisements were inserted in the medical journals, public examinations were held under the direction of some of the most prominent physicians in the city, the applicants were graded strictly on the merits of their examination, and the appointments were given in every instance to the man having the highest rank. Care was taken, of course, to

ascertain that the physicians appointed were men of proper character. The physicians were required to attend at the dispensary a certain number of hours each day, and were paid a small salary. This system has been strictly followed, and with most excellent result. Much good work was done under the old system, but the new one has been found so much better that no one connected with the management of the dispensary would think of returning to the old method of appointment. Much of the increase in the work done by the dispensary has been due to this new method of appointing physicians, giving them compensation, and requiring their attendance at regular hours every day. Even the very poor people, many of whom are by no means intelligent, but often quite the reverse, highly appreciate the superior character and skill of the physicians appointed by this civil service method, and the advantages of being able without fail to secure first-rate medical attendance at certain hours each day.

THE CLERGY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

This spoils system must be destroyed, or the liberty of the American citizen will become a fiction. I am not an optimist, nor am I a pessimist; but I believe that this system will sooner or later subvert our republican institutions, unless it is itself abolished. And I very much doubt whether any other great reform or any considerable progress in any other direction will or can be made until elections and official life are freed from the baleful influence of patronage.—Rev. J. H. Crooker, in *Problems in American Society*, page 190.

Rev. Sydney Strong having delivered an address on the spoils system on Thanksgiving, Day at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, says: "I am glad that my eyes are opened. I think I opened the eyes of a few others. The fact is our partisan press and politicians keep the eyes of the people closed."

Most undoubtedly it is because the average citizen allows himself to be fooled and hoodwinked into thinking that the undeniable abuses will be corrected by the politicians; in other words, that this is a political question to be settled by the regular party machinery. Never was there a more disastrous blunder. The interest of the machine politicians on both sides is exactly identical, and it is inevitably and radically opposed to the interest of the people and the government. Do you still expect, after witnessing for years how the civil service reform plank is inserted in every party platform of both parties, as one of our great politicians forcibly but inelegantly said, "not to stand on, but to spit upon," do you still expect, after seeing how each administration differs from its predecessor only in the degree of shamelessness with which it betrays its pre-election pledges, do you still expect the politicians of their own free will to disgorge the control of more than \$60,000,000 a year—which they have appropriated in common from the public, and shamelessly speak of as their "spoils?" Then either you must be an extremely unsophisticated person, or else you marvelously underestimate the power of a machine politician and the ease with which he can agree with his brother wire-puller of the opposite party. Why should it be hard for a democratic spoilsman to agree with a republican spoilsman to hold on to the spoils from which both get their living, at all hazards, and "divvy up" after election as best they can? Surely, New Yorkers

do not need to be told of the notorious bargain entered into by the party bosses of opposite sides in the metropolis, by which a certain portion of the offices were allotted in advance to the heelers nominated by each ring, and the election was a mere farce to amuse the people, who might just as well have had no vote at all.—*From the sermon of Rev. Benj. Wisner Bacon, Oswego, N. Y., November 27, 1889.*

PETITION TO CONGRESS FOR LARGER APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

The following petition for larger appropriations for executing the civil service law has been started by the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform League:

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States in his last message to congress, speaking of the work of the civil service commission, says: "As a result of the revision of the rules, of the new classification, and of the inclusion of the railway mail service, the work of the commission has been greatly increased, and the present clerical force is found to be inadequate. I recommend that the additional clerks asked by the commission be appropriated for"; and

WHEREAS, The civil service commissioners, charged with the execution of the law, in their report, just published, say (pp. 4, 5): "The sum of money at present appropriated for the expenses of the commission is altogether insufficient for the purpose, in spite of the most rigid economy. . . . Therefore, the requirements to enable the commission efficiently to discharge merely its present duties will be about \$18,000 over and above the sum appropriated this year, or a total appropriation of \$53,000. To extend the system as it ought to be extended, the appropriation would need to be proportionately larger,"—therefore

We, the undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, believing that the great importance of the work of the United States civil service commission demands ample appropriations from congress, earnestly petition your honorable bodies to appropriate not only the sum of fifty-three thousand dollars asked for by the commission for its present work, but also the additional sum needed for such extension of the system under the present law as the commission recommend, and, with the President's approval, may be able to make.

The following gentlemen, among many hundred others, have already signed it:

Gov. J. Q. A. Brackett [Present Governor of Massachusetts].

Hon. George D. Robinson [Ex-Governor of Massachusetts].

Hon. Alexander H. Rice [Ex-Governor of Massachusetts].

Hon. Patrick A. Collins [Ex-Congressman, democrat].

J. O. Burdett [Chairman republican State Committee].

Wm. D. Sohler [Leading democrat in State Legislature].

J. Otis Wardwell [Leading republican in State Legislature].

Hon. George G. Crocker [Ex-President of State Senate].

Hon. Hugh O'Brien [Ex-Mayor of Boston, democrat].

Hon. Alanson W. Beard [Ex-Collector of Boston and present Collector].

Hon. Jonathan A. Lane [President of Boston Merchants' Association, republican].

Hon. A. P. Martin [Ex-Mayor of Boston, democrat].

Hon. Robert Howard [Prominent Advocate of laboring men].

Charles Theodore Russell [Leading democrat].

Hon. Thomas N. Hart [Mayor of Boston, republican].

Hon. John E. Fitzgerald [Ex-Revenue Collector, democrat].

Hon. A. E. Pillsbury [Ex-President of State Senate, republican].

Hon. Wm. E. Russell [Ex-Mayor of Cambridge, democratic candidate for governor].

Hon. John D. Long [Ex-Governor of Massachusetts].

Hon. Leopold Morse [Ex-Congressman, democrat].

Hon. Wm. Claflin [Ex-Governor of Massachusetts].

Nathan Matthews, Jr. [Chairman Democratic State Committee].

Josiah Quincy [Secretary of Democratic State Committee].

Hon. Henry H. Sprague [President of Senate].

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall [Ex Collector of the port of Boston].

Hon. W. W. Crapo [Ex-Congressman, republican].

Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Hon. E. S. Converse.

Hon. Henry L. Parker.

Hon. Edw. J. Donovan.

Hon. Henry L. Pierce [Ex-Congressman].

Hon. George M. Towle.

Hon. Wm. E. Barrett [Speaker of the House].

John Boyle O'Reilly [Leading Irish democrat and Editor of the *Pilot*].

The seventh annual report of the executive committee of the Indian Rights Association [Philadelphia, 1305 Arch street] is a document that ought to be read by all citizens. It is a depressing and shameful record of the efforts made to secure the commonest principles of fair and decent treatment to a helpless people. The report says:

"A prominent feature in the work of the association during the past five years has been an effort to prevail upon the government to introduce the merit system into the Indian service. It has been shown in numerous publications and reports hitherto issued that it is impossible to conduct a satisfactory and efficient Indian service upon a system of appointment which violates every sound principle of administration; which makes appointment to office the reward of party service rather than of merit, and which dictates removals not for misconduct or inefficiency, but for partisan reasons. Abundant illustrations of the fruits of this pernicious system, as practiced by the Indian bureau during the greater part of President Cleveland's administration, were collected and published by the association. This vigorous and impartial action was followed by excellent results, since the offending commissioner and assistant commissioner toward the close of the last administration retired from office under the incessant fire of criticism which their course had brought upon them."

And yet in the face of this President Harrison is deaf to the appeal to put this service under the merit system, and he has inaugurated a so-called "home rule" policy against which, thus far, the Indian Rights Association has protested to no purpose. We quote from the report:

"The 'home rule' policy is the legitimate offspring of the spoils system. It removes the power of appointment from the federal authority in Washington, where it belongs, and places it in the hands of local politicians in the territories, by whom it has been usurped.

Having chosen his course with the experience of the preceding administration before him, President Harrison must challenge the criticism which does and will follow.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 13.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Last year at this time you gave us all the keynote of reform for the year, and whatever may have occurred since then that note has not flattened upon our lips. If it was hopeful then, it is not elegiac now, for the note of the reformer is always cheerful and in the major key, and in view of the steady advance of the good cause, it rises naturally and involuntarily into a triumphant strain. I should think it a happy year for reform if it had done nothing more for us than to give us the present national commission—whatever may halt or falter, that marches on. It offers us the stimulating spectacle of an aggressive contest for reform. It is not apologetic, nor hesitating, but its attitude is well represented by one of the commissioners, whose bold mien and crisp and conclusive dealings with the enemy remind me of Sir Philip Sydney's advice to his brother Robert, then upon his travels: "If you hear of any good wars, go to them at once." If there be any better war at present than that in which we are all soldiers, I have not heard of it; and if there be any better fighting than General Roosevelt's, it is yet to be discovered. When I enlisted I certainly did not expect to be wafted to success on flowery beds of ease. But neither did I suppose that, against tradition and prejudice, and ignorance and honest doubt, and party spirit and falsehood, and wrath and ridicule, and the huge organized political machine, the demand for reform in the civil service would make such rapid and prodigious progress as to become within a very few years one of the two or three chief practical questions of politics. I am sure we all agree that fighting in this cause is, as virtue is said to be, its own exceeding great reward. A genuine American likes nothing better than to attack monstrous public abuses, save that when, as in this case, the country begins to ask about them, it will ask more and more loudly and imperiously, until it answers itself by correcting them."—*Letter of George William Curtis to the Maryland Association.*

THE investigation of the civil service commission by a congressional committee seems to have exhausted the ammunition of Hatton and those who are secretly supporting him. It is better, however, to defer extended comment until the committee has finished its work and made its report. It ought to be understood that the friends of the merit system are in favor of a thorough investigation, not only of the acts of the commission but of the workings of the law. They challenge the spoilsmen to make their very best showing. So far their case is a fiasco. Slight errors of judgment on the part of the commission appear, as for instance, the retention of a relative of Mr. Lyman's in their employ, a mistake, no matter how fit the man. This fault belongs upon Mr. Lyman's shoulders. He had settled the matter before his two colleagues became members of the com-

mission. They heard of the charge that this relative had improperly handed out examination questions, but they found that it had been investigated and the matter settled by the previous commission, and they very naturally did not reopen it. Mr. Lyman's re-appointment as commissioner was unfortunate. He is not equal to such a position. He had always been a clerk, and is filled with the technicalities of the clerical mind. His acquiescence under President Cleveland, in a misuse of the law by the heads of offices, proved him to lack entirely those fighting qualities which were absolutely necessary. The misdoings of the Milwaukee postmaster were known to him before the election of 1888, but he ignored them. If he had any duty, it was to denounce to the President the delinquencies of such a postmaster. The man fit to be a civil service commissioner is one who is not afraid to do his duty at the risk of losing his place. No blame can be attributed to President Harrison for this appointment, as it was urged by the great bulk of the civil service reformers.

When the commission was investigating the Milwaukee post-office, one member of the local board named Shidy told them that under the direction of Postmaster Paul he had manipulated the examination records so that Paul's favorites could appear at the top of the list, and that appointments had been made in accordance with this manipulation. He did not want to testify to this, and held up to the commission his certain loss of place and the certain destitution of his family which would follow. The commission promised to protect him. He testified, and was for that dismissed by Paul. Mr. Roosevelt explained the circumstances to Superintendent Porter, and the latter agreed that Shidy might try for a place in the census bureau. Mr. Roosevelt then personally guaranteed Shidy's expenses to Washington, where the latter came, and having passed the examination received a clerkship from Mr. Porter. He was pursued by Paul and the whole body of the Wisconsin spoilsmen as a traitor to the spoils cause. In the congressional investigation Shidy testified the other day:

If the superintendent of the census wants false reports he knows that matter. I am his servant. He can direct me in all matters. In regard to post-office

affairs, Mr. Paul was my superior officer and directed me. In regard to the civil service commission matter he ought not to have been my superior or to have directed me in any way, but, unfortunately, it was impossible to separate the two I's.

This is the spoils system in its highest development. The *New York Times* has already pointed out that Shidy is its natural product. The fear of losing his place and of beggaring his family makes him manipulate records at the order of a postmaster. The same fear makes him beg to be excused from telling the facts. And so long has he been accustomed to seeing public affairs manipulated for the benefit of the Pauls and the Hattons, the Clarksons and the Wanamakers, that he declares the correct principle to be that a clerk must trick laws and records at the bidding of his official superior.

Postmaster General Wanamaker has taken a hand in the investigation, and his course is well described in a recent press letter by Mr. Foulke. It seems that Mr. Roosevelt obtained Wanamaker's consent to get Shidy a place in the census bureau. Wanamaker now comes upon the stand, smooth and smug, and says that Mr. Roosevelt never told him of Shidy's misdoings, or he would not have consented, but would have warned any head of department against appointing him. As Mr. Foulke says, he evidently makes his evidence as strong as possible; he has no hesitation or doubts of memory. By an unfortunate slip, however, Wanamaker admitted that he had at the time read the commission's report of the Milwaukee investigation. That report contained the following:

"We examined the secretary of the board, Hamilton Shidy, and the chairman, J. B. Johnson. Shidy is admitted by all to have done the work of the board.

* * * Shidy testified that he was compelled by the postmaster to give the latter free access to the list of eligibles, although such access was at that time strictly forbidden, and he further testified that the postmaster, knowing those that were eligible as well as their standing, appointed whomsoever he chose, and then forced him [Shidy] to torture the list of eligibles and certification book, so as to produce a certification which should bear the appointee's name."

* * * "As for Shidy, he, equally with his colleagues, Johnson and Fahsel, was certainly guilty of grave misconduct in permitting the board to become the tool of Mr. Paul, but he did it under fear of losing his place if he rebelled, being wholly in the power of Mr. Paul, and, unlike his colleagues, who were equally guilty with himself, he had the manliness to come forward and tell what had occurred when the chance was given him. It is manifestly unjust to visit him with any punishment not also inflicted on Johnson and Fahsel."

* * * "Shidy and Johnson testified before us, in Mr.

Paul's presence, that on one occasion he examined the papers of an applicant, which papers they had already marked, and forced them, against their own judgment, to re-mark them, giving them a lower grade. * * * Mr. Shidy testified that Mr. Paul made his appointment first, and then forced him [Shidy] to gerrymander the list of eligibles, so as to produce a stuffed certification which should contain the name of the already appointed man."

By some curious manipulation of his conscience Mr. Wanamaker, without qualms, retains Johnson in the employ of the post-office department. After Wanamaker's profession of ignorance of Shidy's conduct, the commission brought out a copy of his letter to Paul on receipt of the latter's resignation, which said:

"Before its receipt the civil service commission had submitted a report of an examination of your office, upon which I should have taken action before this but for your request for delay in order that you might submit a statement in your own behalf. After the examination by the civil-service commission, a post office inspector was sent to examine your office and his report has been submitted to me. Upon these reports your removal from office has been determined on."

The report of the commission upon the Milwaukee post-office was full of references to Shidy's conduct, and for Wanamaker to say that he had read that report and did not know of Shidy's misdoings, and was misled by Mr. Roosevelt into consenting to Shidy's employment in the census bureau is to the ordinary mind incomprehensible and had better be left to Senator Hampton to characterize. The evidence is very strong in support of Mr. Foulke's opinion, that this proceeding is an attempt, mainly instigated and supported by high administrative officers to break down Mr. Roosevelt. The result will be that he will be stronger than he was before.

In another column is set forth a portion of the public career of Quay, whose hands have been further strengthened by the handling of the vast patronage of Pennsylvania. In this case the following letter shows of how little avail are the protests of influential citizens when once an office baron gets his feet on the neck of the people:

General Benjamin Harrison: FEBRUARY 18, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR—I have your letter of February 12. . . . You must be sure that I, who have so long urged your election as President, do not now wish your administration to fail. I am therefore compelled to address you a further protest concerning the course which it is evident you have decided upon taking. . . . Senator Quay's status in Pennsylvania is repugnant to the men whose support you need. He has been and is a "machine" organizer and manager. His control of the politics of this state is already causing serious discontent. Yet you choose him and the agent whom he designates, and you practically decline to hear the voice of remonstrance raised by men of high character and influential position in Pennsylvania affairs. . . . You are therefore not merely taking a negative step, you are taking one of positive weakness, and sure evil consequences. You are depriving yourself of support which you ought to have, and you are making your administration the ally of those influences and practices in politics against which the republican party has more than once revolted. I am sorry this should

be the case, and I can not therefore let the time pass of frankly telling you the truth.

I am, dear sir, very truly your friend,
WHARTON BARKER.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will be glad to receive information upon the following points:

The name of any newspaper editor or owner who has or may receive a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all members of political committees or delegates given a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all federal office-holders who are members of any political committee or who act as delegates, naming the committee or the convention.

Statements regarding any political activity in primaries, conventions or political work done for any nominees by federal office-holders.

These accounts should be as explicit as possible.

DAVID ESSEX PORTER, a son of Admiral Porter, has been arrested in Washington on a charge of obtaining \$1,900 in money and goods from a colored man, F. W. Johnson, for securing an office for Johnson, but which the latter never got. Porter admits that he received the above property and also other sums from other persons, but says it was for expenses incurred in trying to get them offices. There are some excellent people in Indiana who avoid the civil service reform agitators as jarring upon the evenness of their day and as jostlers of "the past." We ask their attention to the above specimens of dangerous degeneration, and suggest that these good people quicken their activities. Major Porter is said to have a brilliant military record and powerful social and political influence in Washington, where he resides.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE desires to call the attention of the commercial club of this city to a series of articles in the *Civil Service Record* (Boston) on competitive tests applied to the Boston police force. And further, the primary evil in the management of our city affairs is the spoils system. Thousands of dollars are spent every year upon the streets, and yet we have no clean streets. The first reason is that the men who receive the wages are not hired because they are good workmen, but because they have influence with some councilman. The *Indianapolis News* last year stated that Councilman Darnall had thirty men in the city employ. That means that they were employed not for their capacity to do work, but because Mr. Darnall wanted them employed. The commercial club should destroy this system, root and branch, and compel the substitution of the system of the Boston la-

bor service, and this should be thoroughly tried before any additional direct taxation is proposed. Let us get the worth of the money we do spend before we add to the sum. This is one step in a revolution which ought to take place in our city government.

A POLITICAL CENSUS.

Superintendent Porter goes bravely on with the work of allotting the positions connected with the census, as spoils. He has taken to writing to postmasters for information as to the character of persons about to be employed. There has been no better chance lately for one local partisan to give another a lift. It is probably a pleasant fiction of Porter's to seem to inquire into the fitness of his employes. As a matter of fact he describes himself "as waist-deep in congressmen," and these really make the appointments. Each state is divided into districts, with a supervisor at the head of each, and each district has a large number of enumerators. In addition there are other offices, such as gathering the statistics of mortgage indebtedness. In Massachusetts this last position has been allotted to Senators Dawes and Hoar, as their share of census spoil; the balance goes to the other congressmen. The allotment is now well under way, and is of interest. In the Rockford, Illinois, district, two weeks ago, the supervisor had 700 applications for 265 places, and was just sending out in one mail 101 letters in relation to them. In Indiana there are six districts, and the supervisor of the first district is Francis Scholtz, of Evansville, described as "a prominent German republican." In the second district is Ambrose E. Nowlin, "clerk of the Dearborn county republican committee." In the third district the appointee is Sid Conger, for whom Wanamaker recently named a post-office, and of whom it is said "there is no more popular and earnest republican anywhere." In the fourth district is Wilson Soale, described as "one of the most active young republicans in the state." The qualifications of the appointee in the fifth district, Charles Harley, we are unable to state, except that he is a republican. In the sixth district is S. S. Beshore, described "as an active republican." In this connection we get this bit of information from the *Indianapolis Journal*:

Mr. Wilson H. Soale, census supervisor for the Terre Haute district, has referred the appointment of census enumerators to the chairmen of the several county committees of his district, and these in turn are referring them to the chairmen of the different township committees. That seems a queer way of getting official subordinates to perform an important executive work.

There is nothing queer about it except that some one let out the secret. The entire census establishment, including all its positions and the great sum appropriated to it, was as deliberately turned over to be divided among party workers as any pirate ever divided the cargo of a ship among those who had helped to capture it. It is time now for Senator Hoar to

come forward and argue that these are political offices, and that the enumerators in their townships will have to respond to the presidential toasts at feasts. The result of the present process may be that we shall have a political census, in which on all economic questions affecting party doctrine no one will have any confidence. This is the logical end of the practice advocated by Senator Hoar when he says, in the *Boston Journal* of February 25: "I still think, as I have always thought, that the collectors of our principal ports should be men in political harmony with the administration, with whom the President and the secretary of the treasury may, whenever they find it necessary, establish the most confidential relations. I think this is specially true under an administration one of whose chief duties is the framing, reforming, construing, and administering a tariff."

A DOUBLE INSTANCE.

I.

"Only the Interests of the Public Service should Suggest Removals from Office."

Mr. Saltonstall's fellow-citizens desired to give him a dinner as a manifestation of their esteem, and in their letter to him, among other things, they said:

"We have seen that during your tenure of office, the administration of the custom house has been, for the first time in a generation, free from partisan influence; that it has been conducted upon business principles, by business methods, and by men trained in those principles and methods; that it has been just and considerate to importers and entirely faithful to the government."

In the *Civil Service Record* for March is the letter of Mr. Dorman B. Eaton to the *Boston Journal* taking up Senator Hoar's excuse for pressing the removal of Collector Saltonstall on the ground that the collectorship is a "political" office, and Senator Hoar's reply, which contains this astonishing statement in support of his opinion that the collectorship is a political office:

"I have been familiar with the leading friends and promoters of the policy of divorcing the civil service of the country from politics here in Washington since I served with Mr. Jenckes of Rhode Island in 1869, and was intimate with him and his plan. I believe that this has been the opinion of all of them without exception. I never heard, in private speech or public debate, an intimation to the contrary."

Mr. Eaton is well known as an urbane but dangerous adversary. After demolishing Senator Hoar on the above entirely incorrect statement, he proceeds to the assertion that that the collector must be in political harmony with the President, and closes as follows:

The simple answer is that the collector is in no sense a political officer, that he has no right to have any party secrets or party aims regarding the tariff, that he is as much bound as any judge in Massachusetts to administer the tariff laws openly and honestly in the common interests of the people, regardless of party. He is no more a political officer than the superintendent of the public schools, the chief of police or the judges of the supreme court are political officers. It is no part of his duty to speak for the President. He discredits his office in the exact degree that he interferes with party management, or attempts to use his official influence for party pur-

poses. I believe the time is not remote when this view will be as universally accepted in this country as it was before Jackson's time, and now is in Great Britain. When Massachusetts took the lead in the general struggle for independence, all the collectors under George III, if not some of the judges, were political officers. I hope and believe Massachusetts will add to her glories by taking the lead in bringing in the triumph of those principles in public administration which will cause it to be utterly immaterial, in the estimation of her people, what are the party politics of the collector of Boston. Who can fail to see the great gain of making the collectorship of Boston a reward to be won in fair competition by the highest merit in the customs administration, rather than a prize to be contended and bargained for through a long period in the lottery of party by the rival leaders and politicians of the state—a contest in which the issues are as false and needless as they are perplexing and demoralizing. To repeal the four years' term and to take the collectorships, both of customs and internal revenue, tens of thousands of post-offices and many other miscellaneous offices of a purely business nature out of party contests and no longer allow them to be the subject of degrading intrigues, corrupt bargains and alarming bribery, would be an era in our politics which would enable presidents to discharge their proper functions instead of spending months on removals, open the way for the senate to regain its old dignity, and exalt republican government not only in our own eyes, but in the estimation of the whole civilized world.

This whole unfortunate matter is fitly summed up by *Harpers' Weekly*:

The whole country is indebted to Mr. Saltonstall for the demonstration that the collectorship of Boston is not, as Senator Hoar calls it, a political office, and for showing that the principles of the conduct of the public service which the republican platform of 1838 warmly commends with a demand for their general application, are not only practicable, but productive of the best results. The President, also, although consenting to make spoils of the office, in deference to the alleged persistence of Senators Hoar and Dawes, must yet feel grateful to the officer who has illustrated to the satisfaction of all men the wisdom of the President's declaration that "fidelity and efficiency should be the essential test in appointment, and that only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office."

The removal of Mr. Saltonstall by the author of this truthful remark has had the good effect of illustrating conspicuously to the country the truth of another remark by the same author, in which he describes such acts as Mr. Saltonstall's removal as "the frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion." The platform of Mr. McKinley bitterly reproached misguided citizens who thought it possible that a republican President could be capable of such conduct.

II.

"Fitness and Not Party Service should be the Essential and Discriminating Test."

When the President, last August, nominated ex-Gov. Warmouth, the *Indianapolis Journal* said: "The appointment of ex-Governor Warmouth as collector at New Orleans, probably indicates his purpose to engage again in active politics, and that means republican activity in Louisiana." Warmouth has just been confirmed after a determined opposition, in which his whole history was brought out. The *Civil Service Chronicle* gives a few facts. The *New York Tribune* said of him, December 28, 1874, "That his administration as governor was corrupt and bad, is unfortunately true." And again, July 12, 1877, "Most of the Louisiana gang were brought into prominence because they were great rascals." Warmouth

was governor of Louisiana between 1868 and 1872, when he was impeached by the legislature for offering a bribe. He afterwards went from the republican to the democratic party, and, in 1877, back again. In December, 1874, Warmouth and an editor named Byerly had, on Warmouth's challenge, arranged to fight a duel. Before it came off they met on the street, and Byerly struck Warmouth with a cane. Warmouth said, "He struck me three times with the stick, when I clinched with him, in the meantime taking a knife out of my pocket. With my arms around his shoulders, I got my hands together and opened the knife. Just then I felt Byerly falling on me. Soon after we fell a policeman took the knife out of my hands, and some of the crowd pulled Byerly off. I understand Byerly has been cut, and I am accused of doing the cutting." In closing this account the *New York Evening Post* says, "Byerly had been 'cut' in six places in the abdomen, twice before he fell, one wound being six inches deep, and died in a few hours." The *Civil Service Chronicle* says there is a vast difference between Leverett Saltonstall and H. C. Warmouth.

THE RISE OF AN AMERICAN BARON.

The following account of Matthew S. Quay is condensed from the *New York World*, of February 10. He was originally a lawyer in Beaver (Pa.), but appears to have had no practice to speak of, and early turned his attention to all kinds of public offices. The account runs that in 1867, being a member of the state legislature when Simon Cameron and Governor Curtin were candidates for the United States senatorship, Quay was the Curtin candidate for speaker, and it was generally reported that he received \$13,000 for his work for Curtin. In the midst of the contest Quay gave up his speakership candidacy, joined the Cameron forces against Curtin and nominated his own opponent for speaker. The charge was openly made that he received \$20,000 for deserting to Cameron. When Quay entered the legislature he was poor, but soon after he began the erection of a building in Beaver costing \$13,000. This, and other things, attracted attention, and the *Pittsburgh Commercial* commented upon Quay's malfeasance. He sued the *Commercial* before a Pittsburgh alderman as examining magistrate, and the *World* gives an amusing extract from the cross-examination of Quay, where, aided by the magistrate, he avoided answering every question which tended to elicit information as to where he got his money. After a veritable Dogberry session, the *Commercial* was held for the upper court and then Quay dropped the matter. Later a friend of Quay's bought the *Commercial* and it has ever since been an organ in whose sight Quay can do no wrong.

Quay became secretary of the commonwealth, and had now got, in certain fields, the control of the government of Pennsylvania, which, with occasional intervals, he has held ever since. He had the legislature pass a bill establishing the office of recorder for

Philadelphia, and then had himself appointed to the place which paid over \$40,000 a year. He lacked two votes of getting the recordership bill passed, and he secured one by a bribe of \$5,000. In 1878 he removed to Philadelphia and entered upon his office.

Liking Harrisburg better, Quay in 1879 again had himself appointed secretary of the commonwealth. In that year a bill was introduced to indemnify for the damages caused by the Pittsburgh rioters. The grand jury indicted certain persons, among them Emil Petroff and William H. Kemble, for bribery in connection with this bill. Petroff was convicted and Kemble and others plead guilty. They were sentenced to the penitentiary, but somehow were extremely unconcerned. The bill which they had attempted to bribe through was Quay's pet scheme, and the excellent grounds for their unconcern soon became apparent. The board of pardons was made up of state officers, including Quay. He got them together and had them recommend the pardon of Kemble and Petroff, and then had the governor pardon them. Kemble became and is now the president of the People's Bank, Philadelphia, an institution noted as a depository of state funds, which it gets through the friendship of Quay.

Another similar instance is given in the case of A. F. Lynch, charged with forgery. Quay declared that he would secure his release if convicted. Lynch was convicted and sentenced, and then Quay, through the pardoning board, set him at liberty.

Quay had a crony in J. Blake Walters cashier of the state treasury. The account, runs that he and Walters and another state official speculated in stocks in the New York market until they had lost \$260,000 of the state's money, which Walters had taken out of the treasury. There was about to be a change of treasurers, and an accounting must be had. Quay was considering ways of suicide when the matter came to the ears of Don Cameron, who, to save the reputation of the republican party, paid over \$100,000 toward making up the deficit. Quay gave his notes, and one for \$25,000 has not yet been paid. For a time after this transaction Quay kept in the background. Yet the astounding fact appears that in 1885 he had himself nominated for state treasurer, and he was elected. He entered upon the office in May, 1886, and held it until he caused the legislature to elect him a United States senator in 1887, which office he now holds.

The account of the *World* can be supplemented by saying that at the Chicago convention, which resulted in the nomination of General Harrison, Quay's first question to every proposed combination of delegates was, "How is that going to benefit me? I must have control of the federal patronage of Pennsylvania." He was not a part of the combination which finally made the nomination, but he has, nevertheless, gained his object. His control of the federal patronage of Pennsylvania has been absolute. From small beginning as a

ward worker in Beaver, he has gradually enlarged his field, until he has to-day, without exaggeration, absorbed the legislative and executive powers of the state, as much as Julius Cæsar, although apparently only *princeps senatus* absorbed the powers of the Roman government. Quay is to-day only apparently a senator from Pennsylvania, yet he actually possesses an aggregation of federal and state governmental powers wholly at variance with republican government, and dangerous to the country, and the *World* is performing a public service in holding him up where the whole country can see him as he is.

ANNALS OF "PRACTICAL POLITICS."

It will be better to begin this account by describing briefly the chief characters who will figure in it.

Albert Daggett, commonly called "Al," appeared in Brooklyn about 1870. He "went into politics," and in 1875 was elected sheriff of Kings county, after an extraordinary factory to factory and house to house canvass. In 1884 and 1885 he was a member of the state senate. Between times he has been a manager of local campaigns, using money lavishly, with a reputation for using it corruptly. He was what is known as "execution proof." After the late inauguration he secured the government contract for furnishing postal cards. He had probably never seen a card factory, but he made a shift by some process of re-letting, and is now furnishing the country with postal cards under a steady charge of under size and poor quality. Being thus on his feet again, he turned to "politics" with new zest.

Michael J. Dady is also a Brooklyn politician. Of him the New York *Tribune* in 1882 said:

Mr. Dady is a contractor who devotes all his spare time and energy to Brooklyn ward politics. He has been a democrat and a republican by turns, and has always adapted his principles to suit the demands of the occasion. He was at one time superintendent of sewers in Brooklyn, and while holding that office was temporarily embarrassed by having five indictments found against him for felony and conspiracy. He extricated himself, however, by turning state's evidence, securing his own safety by convicting his companions in crime. He has recently returned to the allegiance of Mr. North, from whom he had separated politically while the stalwarts' chances for office were poor, and he has received his reward. He showed his appreciation of the service in which he had been appointed by driving at once to the navy yard, on Tuesday, and giving notice that a clean sweep in favor of the stalwarts was soon to be made."

Franklin Woodruff was chairman of the Kings county republican committee, and in addition held for a brief period the position of "patronage dispenser," having already, in 1889, spent three months in Washington performing the duties of that position without the title; but in a month he was forced out of his office, and when asked if he would take further part in the distribution of patronage, said, "Not much. I have all I want of such dirty business, and more, too. They gave me that office against my desire, and then put me out in a very indecent manner. I'll have no more of it."

Theodore B. Willis is naval officer at New York, having succeeded Col. Burt. He was chairman of the Kings county campaign committee in 1888, and is described as having done "Herculean work for the party." James W. Birkett is a member of the state senate from Brooklyn, and treasurer of the county committee. Greenleaf A. Smith is boss of the sixteenth ward in Brooklyn.

The object in life of these men and their associates is to be able to distribute to themselves and their friends the public offices which fall, or can be made to fall, to inhabitants of Kings county (N. Y.). In order to get and keep this power, they have to fight for places in the party machine. These places are chairmanships of county, ward or other committees, places of bosses of wards, controllers of votes, and so on.

Franklin Woodruff desired a re-election to the chairmanship of the county committee and was opposed by one Baldwin. Daggett "supported" the latter, and, votes being scarce, he cast about to meet the demand. He went to Greenleaf A. Smith, and, by a preponderance of evidence, bought nine votes of the sixteenth ward delegation, for Baldwin, paying Smith therefore \$3,166.66 by giving him Senator Birkett's check on the committee funds for \$416.66, and his own eleven notes, indorsed by Senator Birkett, for \$2,750. The convention was held, Naval-Officer Willis and United States District Attorney Johnson being active spirits, and Woodruff was, with their help, re-elected, Willis casting the first vote for him. Afterwards the opposing factions criminated and recriminated in writing and from these sources the impartial historian may get much light.

Daggett says: "This campaign was inaugurated and carried to a successful termination by Franklin Woodruff, Theodore B. Willis, and Israel F. Fischer. It embraced bribery, forgery, the prostitution of the patronage of the government, lying, trickery, and every wicked device known or practiced by the worst specimen of pot-house politics."

He cites interviews in the public prints where these men claim to have secured places for over a dozen Baldwin delegates who afterwards voted for Woodruff. To this Naval-Officer Willis answers:

"The statement is an unvarnished lie. I never sought to bribe any delegate.

"It is true that at that time I, with Mr. Fischer, at the request of that organization, went to Washington to look after the status of certain recommendations that had been made some time previous by ward organizations; that they believed they had been overlooked in the excitement pertaining to the carrying on of the fall election; and, as a result, these omissions were corrected by the appointments being made. They were in the main minor positions, and at any other time would have attracted little if any attention."

It seems that Naval-Officer Willis, before the convention occurred, heard of the sale of votes by Smith, and with one Gilluly went to Smith's house on Sunday evening and found there Smith and his friend Buchman. Having been assured by Smith that the report was true, the talk, according to Willis, ran as follows:

" 'Well,' I said, 'what are you to receive? Are you

to be given a position?' 'No,' he replied; 'they haven't given me a place, but they have given me what is better to me just now than a place. The fact is, I would rather have the "stuff," meaning cash. This was said in a very emphatic manner, and he continued, 'It will do me more good; I can utilize it if I choose, in business.'

"Silence came over the group upon this cold-blooded statement being made, and for a moment we were at a loss for words or thoughts with which to continue the conversation. While we were thus silenced Mr. Buchanan, to relieve the painfulness of the situation, wheeled around on the piano stool, opened the lid of a music-box on the piano, and started it going. As the melodious strains floated out on the air of the room, Mr. Smith said: 'Why do you want music?' 'Well,' said Buchman, 'it seemed to be getting so gloomy I thought some good music would have a cheering effect.' Then turning to me he said: 'Mr. Willis, do you play the piano?' Whereupon Smith said: 'You had better stop the music and let us talk business.' The music was stopped.

"Mr. Gilluly said: 'Has this thing gone so far that it is iron-clad?'

"Smith replied: 'I don't know as it has, but I suppose the Baldwin people consider the transaction closed. I wish that I had seen your people last night.'

"'When was the business closed?' said I. 'Yesterday,' he replied."

"'Smith, would you not rather have money for the notes than to retain them?'

"'Of course,' he answered, 'I would prefer cash to the notes.'

"Gilluly said: 'Suppose we can have the notes cashed for you; of course you will allow a good discount for so doing?'

"'Oh, yes,' said Smith, 'I will take \$2,500 cash for the notes, their face value being something like \$2,800. I would be willing to throw off \$300 or \$400 for cash.'

"I said: 'I should think \$2,000 would be a very good sum for that amount of notes that might be repudiated, and so be worthless.'

"He said: 'No, \$2,000 would not satisfy me. But I would split the difference and take \$2,250 for the notes and the check.'

"I said: 'We are not in a position to cash notes or check.' Then Mr. Gilluly said: 'Would you object to calling at the sheriff's office to-morrow morning at 9:30?'

"He replied: 'No, I do not object. I and Buchman will come down to the sheriff's office at the time you have named.'

"We bade him good night and departed."

Greenleaf A. Smith describes this meeting as follows:

"The said Willis then opened the conversation by saying to deponent: 'Mr. Smith, I understand you are for Baldwin,' to which deponent replied: 'Yes, that's so.' Then Willis asked deponent if it was true that there were nine votes for Baldwin among deponent's friends, to which deponent said, 'Yes.' Then said Willis asked deponent how much he would take to swing those nine votes of the sixteenth ward delegation for Woodruff, to which deponent replied that he would take \$3,000. Then Willis said that was too high a figure; then deponent said he would take \$2,500, to which said Willis replied: 'Is that the very lowest you will take?' and deponent then asked: 'Well, what are you willing to give?' and said Gilluly then offered deponent \$2,000, which sum deponent refused. That after a little lull in the conversation deponent said he would split the difference and take \$2,250, to which Willis and Gilluly replied that was satisfactory, and told deponent to call at the sheriff's office next morning at 9:30 o'clock and the matter would then be arranged and he would get the money. That the said Willis then said to deponent: That in this transaction or transactions of this kind he generally had nothing to do, but he had other people behind him who would fix it up,"

There was a meeting at the sheriff's office, followed by one at night at Woodruff's house,

where the notes and check were produced and handed to him. Naval-Officer Willis goes on:

"Then Mr. Woodruff said, addressing his remarks to Smith and Buchman: 'Well, gentlemen, do you say these notes and checks which you have given were given you by Mr. Daggett?'

"'Yes, sir,' they replied.

"'And for what purpose? Let us understand this thing clearly,' continued Mr. Woodruff.

"'Well,' said Smith, 'for nine votes of the sixteenth ward delegation for David A. Baldwin, for chairman of the general committee.'

"'Well, now, what is your proposition to me?' said Woodruff.

"'Well, for \$2,250,' replied Smith, 'I will send the notes and check back to Daggett, and I will hold the nine votes for you, and you will find a letter in the envelope which I have prepared to-day, thinking I might have use for it, and in which I explain to Mr. Daggett why I send the check and notes back to him.'

The letter was as follows:

JANUARY 13, 1890.

Albert Daggett, Esq.:

DEAR SIR: After consultation with a number of delegates which I was to deliver, I find it impossible to do so, consequently, as I can not come up to my part of the agreement, it is not just that I should keep you to yours.

Therefore, inclosed you will find the check and notes which are returned.

Respectfully, G. A. SMITH.

Smith's version of the meeting at Woodruff's is as follows:

"Woodruff asked if deponent had been given a place by Daggett. That said Woodruff then asked deponent whether he had any objection to produce the papers he had received from Mr. Daggett and whether he had any objection to showing them to him. That deponent said he had no objection, and produced them; thereupon said Woodruff asked whether deponent would sell said papers or notes, and deponent said he would not sell them under any consideration. That said Woodruff then had said papers in his hands and pretended to examine them, during which time said Willis and Gilluly came into the room, and thereupon said Woodruff and Willis left the room for a minute, and upon their return said Woodruff opened the door and asked deponent and Buchman to step into the back room. Deponent there saw Sheriff Rhinehart, and then, in the presence of said Rhinehart, Willis, Gilluly and Buchman, the said Woodruff said that he would keep those papers, and if either Senator Daggett or Senator Birkett wanted them they would have to come for them. That deponent then and since strenuously demanded the return of said papers from said Woodruff, but said Woodruff has refused to deliver them to deponent. That among said papers so purloined from deponent by said Woodruff was a letter written by deponent addressed to Mr. Albert Daggett, but not yet sent to said Daggett or delivered to him, telling said Daggett that the deponent was unable to deliver the nine votes from the sixteenth ward to Baldwin. This letter deponent intended to send upon the strength of the cash offer made by said Willis and Gilluly for said votes as above stated, as advised by Buchman in the morning."

Having gained possession of the papers Woodruff appears to have sought interviews, as Daggett says:

He sent three messengers after Birkett, and agreed to meet him under a gas lamp on Remsen street. Birkett went there and found "Mike" Dady, who said that Woodruff's friends would not let him come for fear he would be "slugged." Dady told Birkett that the exposure would ruin the latter and drive him out of the senate, but Birkett did not beg for mercy. He did agree to go to Woodruff's house with me, and he went. The interview took place in the presence of Woodruff and Willis, but Major Hobbs and others were in the house.

Nothing came of the interview except threats and counter threats, and the rest of

the time before the convention seems to have been occupied in "mutual checkmating," finally resulting in the defeat of Baldwin.

The business in which Naval-Officer Willis occupies his time can not fail to attract attention, and this will cause it to be re-called that his predecessor, Silas W. Burt, had been in the civil service twenty years, and during all that time had been known as a faithful and skilled officer, devoted to his duties. He had never given the government, or the people, or his friends any cause to feel that he had even the slightest connection with crooked people or crooked transactions, or that he in any manner used his public office or his influence as a public officer for purposes not connected with the transaction of public business, much less to force the election of a chairman of a political committee. It is inconceivable that he should have had to make a public apology like that of Willis, for connection with disgraceful and dishonest transactions. At the end of his years of service he was turned into the street, without notice or thanks, to make room for Willis, who was given the place because he had been chairman of a campaign committee and had done "Herculean work for the party" in the last presidential campaign.

There was recently held in this city a competitive examination for the vacancies in the staff of physicians for the city hospital and city dispensary. It is credited with having been the most rigid medical examination ever held here. There were five sessions extending over a period of three days. Thus the merit system makes its way.

Miss Sweet succeeded to the pension agency at Chicago upon the death of her father, General Sweet. She held the office one term. Then Mrs. Mulligan, the widow of General Mulligan, applied for the position. She had the support, says the *New York Post*, of nearly every influential man in Chicago of both parties and of the republican senators and representatives from Illinois, but Mr. Schurz, then secretary of the interior, insisted that a faithful and efficient officer should be retained, and Miss Sweet was re-appointed. Pension Commissioner Black attempted to remove her, but on account of the uproar she was allowed to finish her term. Then President Cleveland appointed Mrs. Mulligan. She, too, has proved faithful and efficient. A long leap downward has now been taken by President Harrison in the appointment of Col. Ike Clements, described as an active republican worker and stumper for many years in his end of the state, a busy adherent of Senator Cullom and useful to the republican state-house clique.

The house of representatives has passed a bill providing for the appointment of thirty new examiners for the pension office. The bill provides that the appointments shall be made without the intervention of the civil service commission, although the commission stood ready to furnish the men. A more vi-

cious blow could hardly have been dealt the merit system. Mr. Bynum of this district voted for it, as did also a number of congressmen who pose as civil service reformers, and the latter have since been busy making lame excuses. The moving cause in this is the enmity of Commissioner Raum to anything which interferes with distributing places to his favorites as plums. The bill has not yet passed the senate; if it should, after the public disapproval which has been expressed, it will appear like a deliberate beginning to undermine the merit system as now established in the service. If President Harrison should sign such a bill he would become a party to a flagrant breach of faith.

The annual meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association will be held at Fort Wayne in April. The proceedings will consist of an afternoon business meeting open to members of the Association, and an evening meeting open to the public. The evening meeting will be held in the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the address will be by Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, president of the Maryland Association. There will be an introductory address by Mr. Lucius B. Swift, president of the Indiana Association. The Association is much favored in securing Mr. Bonaparte. He is a strikingly brilliant and able speaker. The date will be announced in the newspapers.

The officers of the Association are as follows:

Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis, President.
Charles R. Lane, Richmond, Secretary.
Arthur A. McKain, Indianapolis, Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Hilton U. Brown, Indianapolis.
Noble C. Butler, Indianapolis.
Orrin B. Clark, Bloomington.
William Dudley Foulke, Richmond.
John H. Jacobs, Fort Wayne.
Charles R. Lane, Richmond.
Chester T. Lane, Fort Wayne.
Thomas F. Leech, Judson.
Charles S. Lewis, Indianapolis.
Arthur A. McKain, Indianapolis.
Albert E. Metzger, Indianapolis.
John W. Monerief, Franklin.
Rollo B. Oglesbee, Plymouth.
David A. Owen, Franklin.
Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis.
Henry W. Williams, Fort Wayne.

The Bloomington branch of the Indiana association will hold a public meeting about March 26th, which will be addressed by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt. In both the State University and Franklin College there is a very healthy activity in favor of civil service reform, and Mr. Roosevelt's speech will not tend to diminish this.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone.*

—Col. Edwin A. McAlpin, who was one of the presidential electors in the last campaign, has been appointed by the President postmaster of Sing Sing, New York.

—Harris A. Barrow was, March 12, appointed deputy naval officer, by Naval Officer Willis. Barrow is secretary of the Kings county republican committee. He has always been an applicant for office.

—Collector Erhardt's deputies, John H. Gunning and Dennis Shea are active members of party committees.

—Ed Conway is a deputy in United States Marshal Dunlap's office, and, at the same time, one of the city committeemen of the seventeenth ward.

—The caucus of the republicans of Brattleboro, Vermont, to determine whether Postmaster Childs, the democratic incumbent, should be re-appointed under the management of the republican committee, opened at 3 P. M. The party workers applied the party whip. The voting was not secret, so that every one voting for the retention of the democratic postmaster ran the risk of losing favor with the machine. Colonel Taylor, the special treasury agent, was most active. The only government official in the place who did not take any part in the canvass, but who attended to the duties of the office, was Postmaster Childs.

—So it fell out that at the primary election held at Hildebrandt's hall, in Second avenue, on Tuesday evening, there was a large force of custom-house employes on hand to help Mr. Frank Raymond accomplish his patriotic designs, and not a few of these fit and faithful public servants were chosen as officers and members of the republican district committee, and as delegates to the county committee. Mr. Donald McLean, the general appraiser, was chosen president of the district committee, and Mr. Thomas W. Robertson, the chief clerk in the general appraiser's office, at a salary of \$2,500, was elected secretary. Mr. McLean and Mr. Robertson were also made delegates to the county committee. Among the other delegates chosen were the following: James B. Kilsheimer, law clerk in Mr. McLean's office, salary \$1,900; Peter Stieb, messenger, \$340; John W. Love, opener and packer, \$3.75 per day, and Henry C. Robinson, John Ellard, and Samuel Wallace, inspectors of customs. Kilsheimer and Robertson also appear as inspectors of election.

There were elected as members of the republican district committee, Daniel Leech, confidential clerk in the general appraiser's office, salary \$2,200; Louis Spatz and Mortimer C. Lee, inspectors of customs; John Reilly, opener and packer, \$3 per day, was made sergeant at arms.

The customs inspectors on this list are appointees of the collector and surveyor; the others were appointed by General Appraiser McLean without civil service examination. —*New York Times, January 17.*

—Schmidt and Nowland, custom-house deputies of this city, were delegates to the republican township convention, March 1. The former put the successful candidate in nomination.

The public will never be made to believe that the appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone, uninfluenced by family views; nor can they ever see with approbation offices, the disposal of which they entrust to their presidents for public purposes, divided out as family property.—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

—Robert G. Blaine, brother of Secretary Blaine, who has for some years held the office of curator of the department of agriculture, has been appointed by Secretary Rusk super-

intendent of quarantine stations, under the bureau of animal industry.

—James G. Blaine, Jr., has been appointed clerk of the house committee of foreign affairs, at a salary of \$2,190.

—S. V. Morris has been appointed chief clerk in the paymaster's office at St. Paul. He is a brother-in-law of the President, and at one time could have had a place in the Indianapolis post-office, but it is reported that he felt that "Ben ought to do something better for him."

—Pension Agent Ensley, of this state, has appointed his son, O. P. Ensley, chief clerk in the pension office to succeed Joseph L. Riley. The appointee has been bookkeeper for Eckert & Co., carriage manufacturers at Auburn, for several years.

—Postmaster Van Cott, of New York, has appointed his son cashier of the post-office.

—Congressman Elijah Adams Morse, who points to his middle name as evidence that he is connected with the John Adams family, has got his (Morse's) nephew appointed a page in the house of representatives.

—There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

—C. H. Gere, the editor of the *Journal*, has been appointed postmaster at Lincoln, Neb. It is now interesting to quote the following from the November (1889) issue of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE:

In the division of the patronage last spring the Lincoln post-office fell to Congressman Connell, of Omaha. All the candidates for the place except one have cultivated his acquaintance in the hope of capturing the plum. This one, the Hon. Charles H. Gere, of the *Journal*, made his fight in another quarter, when it became reasonably certain that the Hon. Ed. P. Roggen stood highest in the estimation of the congressmen. Gere laid siege to Senators Manderson and Paddock and asked for a new deal. *It is now currently reported that the senators have agreed to force Gere's appointment, they threatening to prevent the confirmation of any other appointment.*

—Another editor has an office. It is Charles E. Fitch of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, who was appointed by President Harrison this week to the collectorship of the twenty-eighth internal revenue district, with headquarters at Buffalo. The office is the most important and lucrative at the disposal of the administration in western New York, and a pretty fight has been waged to secure the plum.

—The *State Journal*, the official organ of the state and of the republican party of Wisconsin, was sold to Horace A. Taylor, of Hudson, Wis., formerly candidate for governor, then anti railroad champion in the state senate, and now holding a federal office at Washington.

—J. P. Clugage, editor of the *Union*, has been appointed postmaster at Sullivan, this state.

—Collector Beard has made Gen. John L. Swift, of the *Boston Traveller*, his third deputy.

CONGRESSMAN HITT AND "THE LEAN AND HUNGRY REPUBLICAN SHOATS."

[Compiled from the Rockford Register (Ills.), from November, 1889, to March, 1890]

I.

The Rochelle post-office fight is now on. There are some who may be inclined to ask, "Has it ever been off?" So conspicuous and hot and prolonged have been the struggles for the possession of that post-office that many people have gained the impression that the battle rages there perennially.

"There's never been but one post-office fight in this town," a Rochelle man said the other day, "and that's been going on ever since the office was first established down to the present time, without any indication of ever terminating."

The present fight is one of unusual interest, for out of it there is to be, unless all signs fail, a struggle for a position much higher than that of postmaster of Rochelle. Congressman Hitt is in danger of removal from the house of representatives as well as is Postmaster Furlong, the democratic incumbent, from the Rochelle post-office, as a result of the trouble which has arisen. Official patronage has frequently caused political death, and in this instance it has attacked Congressman Hitt. It has called forth the first outspoken opposition to his return to congress.

"I think Mr. Hitt is serving his last term," said an Ogle county republican, recently, to a Register representative. The speaker is one of the best political workers in that county, and is at present holding an official position.

"He has made himself unpopular in some places by not acting promptly enough in regard to post-office changes. I do not mean that he has not sought to have democrats ousted, but that he has apparently been afraid to select a postmaster where there have been more than one. His listlessness in pushing the claims of those seeking appointments has turned many against him."

II.

"The Rochelle post-office fight has led to war being declared on him. As usual, there were half-a-dozen candidates for postmaster. Hartong, the druggist is endorsed by Hitt. Nick Walters is the choice of the workers. The objections to Hartong are that he has resided there but a few years, that it is not known how he voted four years ago, and that he is not the choice of the people there, but seems to have gained Hitt's endorsement through the influence of Senator Farwell and Congressman Hopkins. If there is anything that will stir up Rochelle it is to have outsiders attempt to dictate who shall be postmaster. That has been done before, notably in the case of Gardner and his successor, the present incumbent, and the people there want no more of it. Walters on the other hand was born and raised there, was a soldier, is extremely popular, and has been a hard worker for the party. There has never been any question as to how he voted four years ago. A protest against Hartong's appointment was sent to Hitt. Among others who signed it were Joseph Parker, chairman of the town committee, and G. W. Clark and Colonel May, the two last named having been candidates for the office. They virtually endorsed Walters, thereby carrying out Hitt's suggestion that they get together and decide upon a man."

"Mr. Hitt acknowledged the receipt of the protest, and in a letter to Mr. Parker said he recognized the high standing and character of its twenty signers. They are, in fact, about the most politically influential twenty in Rochelle, and it is almost certain that, under conditions as they exist in that town, they will be easily able to control the next congressional caucus. It is believed yet that Hartong will be appointed, but whether he is or not the feeling is that they have had enough of Hitt. They are indisposed to accept conciliation, and inclined to spurn any advances in that direction from the congressman."

III.

"There is a sort of young men's movement over Ogle county, and the anti-Hitt twenty of Rochelle are in with the controlling ring. This made Deloss Baxter,

Jr., mayor of Rochelle and state's attorney of the county; Frank Bacon mayor of Oregon, and Bishop sheriff of Ogle county. Speaking of Bishop reminds me of his candidacy for the United States marshalship, and the trouble Hitt will have in that connection. Bishop's friends say that they have no confidence in Hitt, and that while pretending to be working for the sheriff he has really done little to aid him. They propose to get back at Hitt for this. But the Bacon and Bishop crowd of Oregon and the anti-Hitt crowd of Rochelle, together with all their influential ramifications, can carry the county against Hitt. The positions that the leaders now hold show their power.

"And the feeling against Hitt is not confined to the Oregon and Rochelle elements, extensive as their influence is, but there is dissatisfaction all over the county. This is noticeable at Polo."

"There are men, and prominent ones, too, in Rochelle who say that they believe that Otis was really promised the post-office in that fight by Hitt, and that the latter broke his promise, as Otis claimed, and these are not men who felt friendly to Otis, either."

IV.

"As I look at it, Hitt is a goner. I am reliably informed that the feeling which exists in Ogle county can be found all over the district. I know that there are towns in Jo Daviess that are dead against him on account of post-office fights. There's Apple River as an example. He certainly hasn't strengthened himself in any post office appointment. Where there was a fight he has held back until both sides have got down on him, and where there was no fight neither the postmaster appointed nor his friends consider that they are indebted to Hitt. Do you suppose that Smith Atkins feels that he owes Hitt anything? Certainly not. Take it up at your city. Is Tom Lawler under any obligations to Hitt? Not much. If anything, Hitt should feel thankful to Lawler that he possessed such strength and had such a grip as to permit Hitt to escape being harrassed by any other candidate and his friends. In such cases as that of Atkins and Lawler the appointees know that they owe nothing to Hitt. They know that he was only too glad to find such smooth sailing. Now, if Hartong should be appointed he would certainly be under obligations to Hitt, as he has backed him against the wishes of the majority of the people of Rochelle."

"Outside of the post office appointments Hitt has done nothing for the seekers of patronage. While other congressmen secured places for scores of workers, Hitt has seemed to think that no one in his district wanted anything. The workers are the people, and they have decided that they want a man in congress who will do something for them. But as I said in the first place, Ogle county is the battle ground. If Hitt has a fight here he is beaten, and you can depend upon it he will have a fight. He can not be renominated."

V.

There were four candidates for the Lanark post-office in Carroll county, viz.: L. G. Burrows, editor of the Lanark Gazette; Joseph Yeager, an old settler, who made a close run for the office once before; Maj. G. A. Root; and Rev. H. D. Dennis, the latter now removed to Rockford as pastor of the Christian church, described in the Freeport Democrat as "an eloquent and polished orator, a gentleman popular with the people, and one who has rendered service to his party by making speeches during many campaigns."

The first three candidates finally combined against Mr. Dennis, and on the recommendation of Mr. Hitt the appointment was given to Maj. Root.

Again our member finds misery in umpiring the distribution of the spoils. When, after a long contest, he finally refused to recommend Mr. E. L. Otis for the Rochelle post-office, the latter charged with emphasis that a straight, unequivocal pledge was violated, and to this day there are numerous persons in Rochelle (who were not partisans of Mr. Otis) who insist that Mr. Hitt broke a plain agreement to give Otis the Rochelle office.

Now we have another like chapter, with Lanark as the scene, and Rev. H. D. Dennis, the new pastor of the Christian church of this city, framing the indictment against Mr. Hitt. The reverend gentleman was interviewed by the Freeport Democrat regarding

the matter and from that paper we clip the following.

"Rev. H. D. Dennis was not in the best of humor when the newspaper man called upon him. In fact he expressed a decided contempt for Congressman Hitt, and the methods he claimed were employed in securing the appointment of Maj. Root. He said:

"All I have to say is that I have been greatly deceived by Mr. Hitt, and I have taken occasion to make him acquainted with that fact. I have no confidence whatever in him," continued the gentleman, "and I will soon give the public a statement of the case. Until I hear from him I do not desire to say much. This I will say: I was led to believe from what he had said to me that I was to receive the appointment."

"Several days ago Mr. Hitt sent me a brief of the recommendation he had sent in for Major Root, and then it was learned that the combine had certainly been made. When my friends learned the state of affairs, seventy letters from patrons of the office, many of them parties who had signed the petitions of Burrows and Yeager, were sent to the department protesting against the appointment of Major Root. But it was rushed through, and the nomination was confirmed, although I had assurance from Senator Cullom that there would be plenty of time left to enter a remonstrance before the confirmation would take place. I believe if a vote was taken I would secure a large majority of the patrons of the office over Root."

"I believe now that Mr. Hitt had all along intended to secure the appointment of Major Root. It is the worst kind of deception."

"Mr. Dennis is a gentleman who can understand the English language, and he certainly had assurance that he would be the next postmaster, or else he would have gone to Rockford long ago, where he has accepted a call to become the pastor of the Christian Church," said a gentleman who is a well-known Carroll county republican.

Among the prominent backers of Mr. Dennis are Representative Bray and ex Representative Emanuel Stover. It is said that at least Mr. Bray will make a determined fight against Hitt, and he will use his influence to secure an anti-Hitt delegation from Carroll county.

It is very evident if something is not done to satisfy Mr. Dennis, that both his voice and his vote will be against Mr. Hitt.

In a letter to one of the other candidates, December 29, Mr. Hitt makes the following statement, which, it will be observed, raises the issue of veracity between him and Mr. Dennis:

"I have never yet in contested cases thought it proper to express even an opinion before the time of action, as it is to be presumed always that the whole case, as then presented, will be considered and passed upon fairly. I think you know me well enough to believe that I will take great pains to do the fairest thing possible in the case, and what I believe will be most satisfactory to the republicans of Lanark."

VI.

Mr. Hitt has been acting as referee in an interesting post-office fight in Apple River, Jo Daviess county. The strife between the two candidates, Messrs. Serviss and Lamont, has raged with such bitterness that the department has decided not to appoint either, and it is said that Mr. Hitt has been directed to present a new name. This will naturally earn for him the enmity of the friends of both, who probably include the total population.

VII.

The Oregon Reporter renews its vows of allegiance to Mr. Hitt, declaring that, although the latter made a blunder in appointing Frank Tice to the Mt. Morris post-office, it will forgive him this time and hope for better things in the future. It insists, however, that Mr. Tice should divert the emoluments of the office to some "young republican worker," to be appointed as deputy. Mr. Tice, as a member of the "old political ring," is not entitled to any share in the spoils at this time, according to the Reporter.

The Oregon Independent takes its contemporary to task, as follows:

"Why should the Reporter censure Hon. R. R. Hitt for appointing Hon. Frank Tice to be postmaster at this place? Has he not appointed his friend Jewett in Oregon? Is not Mr. Jewett the choice of the 'boss delegate,' the 'boss of boss' of the immortal sixteen who resurrected Mr. Hitt to the position he now holds? Then, if consistent, why does the Reporter kick, unless to be inconsistent?"

VIII.

An Ogle county politician, who seems to have been sent to Washington to ascertain the cause of the delay in the expected firing of the democratic incumbent from the Rochelle post-office, has made his report in the form of a letter, which appears in the last issue of the Rochelle *Herald*. He states that on his arrival in Washington he called on Mr. Hitt, and considerations which call for a change in the Rochelle office were presented. Thereupon Hitt called upon Clarkson and received the assurance that he was ready and anxious to dispose of the Rochelle appointment at once. Mr. Wanamaker was then seen, and gave assurance that his views were in accord with those of Clarkson. The story of Hitt's further efforts and encounter with a rank snub from the President is told in the *Herald* letter, from which we quote:

"Elated by such frank confessions, Mr. Hitt then called upon the President and presented the case. He called Mr. Harrison's attention to the majorities from the northern districts that saved the state of Illinois from democratic rulers. He called his attention to the indifference expressed by leading republican papers of the district, and to the opinions of the republican war horses who openly acknowledged danger, to which Mr. Harrison made this reply: '*All this does not affect me one particle.*' You can imagine the feelings of Mr. Hitt at the outcome of this interview. The interests of the republicans of Rochelle does not affect Mr. Harrison 'one particle.' The interests of the party in this district are of no concern to him. The election of democrats is nothing to him. And this is the man we worked to elect President. I ask the voters of Rochelle, why then blame Mr. Hitt? He has taken this particular case of Rochelle to the highest official, and has been promptly sat down upon. No explanation even is offered why the affairs of Northern Illinois are no of interest to the President. At the particular interview above referred to Mr. Hitt did not champion the cause of any particular candidate; he urged the appointment of a republican postmaster—a choice from the list of applicants. 'No, sir,' was the reply, 'your interests do not affect me one particle.'"

The editor of the *Herald* becomes philosophic under the visitations of disappointment and despair. When he advocated the election of General Harrison he supposed that the old Jacksonian doctrine that the spoils belong to the victors would govern the administration, in spite of the pledges of platform and candidates against partisan changes or removals not dictated by the interests of the public service. He finds now that he was the victim of a huge confidence scheme. The mingling of sorrow, disappointment and resignation is seen in the following editorial expression clipped from the *Herald*:

"It seems that the republicans fished out a mug-wump when they selected Benjamin Harrison for president. Cleveland gave us a good democratic postmaster, and we have made up our mind that we can stand him because we have got to during Harrison's administration, as his term does not expire until 1892."

IX.

[Extract from a letter to the Rochelle *Herald*.]

OREGON, ILL., March 3, 1890.—Now friend Morris, I know, and you know, there is a deep feeling of hostility to the actions of our congressman regarding the way he has acted towards your people regarding your post-office matter. Not alone at your place but at many other points throughout the district; and not post-offices alone, but I speak of them as that being your official trouble. I am credibly informed, and know there is no mistake about it, Mr. Hitt told some of your candidates he would require no petitions, that petitions were of little value, that anybody would sign a petition, etc.; saying to them, I will call on your people, take the case up, and decide on the party for the office. They all tell me he called, but whenever post office was mentioned he was "off," and his only reply was, Mr. So So has the best petition. *The old party workers, those to whom in a great measure he owed his promotion, scarcely received a passing notice; and when their names were suggested*

by their friends, the reply was, "Can't recommend, too many down on them; can't do it, Mr. ———." Now I would simply ask, where can you find an active political worker anywhere who has not political enemies? A man without enemies generally amounts to but little.

I am informed Mr. Hitt told the people of Rochelle they must decide upon one man, or a change could not be made. *I understand all the old workers in the party got together and recommended a party,* nearly all the aspirants signed the recommend. He also said to the people of Rochelle months ago, "Agree on a man and he will be appointed in ten days."

Now, Morris, from all I can learn in Ogle, Jo Daviess, Carroll and Stephenson counties, there is something rotten in Denmark. If our congressman has no higher regard for the interests of his district than laboring to repair fences at the expense of his friends, those who have labored for years, is it not time to call a halt? As for Benjamin, he is a played-out nag already. In 1892 he will be consigned to a political grave from which there will be no resurrection.

What's the matter with Charley Works? He's all right. REPUBLICAN.

X.

The Rochelle *Herald* has come to the unwilling conclusion that there is a determined opposition to Mr. Hitt in Ogle county, and it undertakes to find its origin, and traces it to dissatisfaction with his course regarding "spoils" distribution. It says he has discharged his duties in congress with fidelity to the district and to the republican party. The *Herald* thus continues:

"If this question was put to those now in opposition to name their grievance we believe there could not a single person be found but that would say he discharged every duty. Office is the one great stumbling block which he has now to overcome, and that is making rapid strides to defeat him. Were we convinced that he is disregarding the wishes of his constituents then we should be ready to oppose his re-nomination as are the ones who are now out on the war path. *We believe that he is trying to suit all aspirants for office in this district,* but when we take into consideration the numerous candidates out for certain offices in the district, and many for the same office in every village, we discover how difficult is the attempt to please all. If he has promised any man that he would stand by him until he secured or lost the position, he does wrong in deserting him. Among the many conversations we have had with him we have never discovered him acknowledging any promises further than we would see that they had a fair show at Washington. If we did not admire his faithful care of the republican party of this district in congress, then we might be found among the kickers."

XI.

The Chicago *News* correspondent discusses the appointment affairs of this section as follows:

"Both the senators and nearly all the representatives from northern Illinois have recommended James I. Neff of Freeport for assistant treasurer, but he is not indorsed by Representative Hitt, in whose district he lives. The latter made a vigorous effort to secure the appointment of Mr. Avery, of Galena, as United States marshal, and is committed to him for any office that he can secure. While Mr. Avery is not an active candidate for the sub-treasurership, still he would accept the appointment, and as long as he stands in that position, with Mr. Hitt pledged to support him, the latter can not say anything in favor of Neff. The case is thus complicated, and there is no telling what the President will do."

XII.

There bids fair to be a bitter factional fight in the sixth district when the republicans are called upon to nominate some one to succeed Robert R. Hitt as their representative in congress. Mr. Hitt will have to answer to the charge of being an unsuccessful, untrustworthy distributor of political spoils. Unfulfillment of promises and bad faith in general are charged against him. The appointment of James G. Blaine, Jr., to the position of secretary of the foreign affairs committee, which was made by Mr. Hitt, was particularly unpopular in the district. Mr. Hitt's

constituents argue that he should have given the plum to some capable young man of his own district.—*Galena Dispatch to Chicago News*.

XIII.

There has always been a latent hostility to Mr. Hitt down there and his course as an almoner of official spoils has not mollified the old opposition. He has in fact been peculiarly unfortunate in his relations with office-seekers. The necessity of disappointing some aspirant has not been the sum of his troubles. The issue of veracity regarding promises arose, and the tenacity with which unfavorable opinions regarding his course in such matters are held was illustrated a few days ago, when, in conversation with a county official, he asserted to the writer his emphatic belief that "Hitt did give Otis a fair and square promise of the Rochelle postoffice." Mr. Hitt positively denies that he made such promise to Mr. Otis, but, unfortunately for him, he has not been able to extinguish the belief that he did, and many Rochelle residents, not particularly friendly to Otis, take the latter's side in the veracity issue against Mr. Hitt.

There are noticeable elements of opposition to that gentleman in nearly every county of the district. The *Galena Gazette*, edited by J. B. Brown (Gen. Grant's old friend) is decidedly hostile. There have been unfavorable comments, by the editors of such republican papers as the *Oregon Reporter*, *Polo Press*, *Rochelle Herald*, and *Rochelle Register*, all published in Ogle county.—*Rockford Register*.

THE VERDICT.

From Moorfield Storey, Boston, Mass.:

"Its collections of telling facts and quotations are so arranged as to make them unanswerable arguments. I know no equally valuable collection of materials for argument, and I wish to thank you for my share of the benefit."

From Hon. Dorman B. Eaton:

"The CHRONICLE is an admirable and useful paper."

From Gen. W. A. Aikin, Norwich, Conn.:

"Your review of the first year of the administration is very fair and good. The only thing to do is to 'keep peggin' away.' It's coming very slow, but dead sure."

"With congratulations for your first year's work, I am, Yours truly,

"WM. E. CUSHING, Cleveland, O."

"You have fulfilled your promise.

"J. E. FOLLETT, Milwaukee, Wis."

"I wish to congratulate you on the gallant and effective fight you are making for civil service reform.

"ZEPH BROWN, Providence, R. I."

From Professor H. S. White, Cornell University:

"Your racy paper is too good reading to miss."

"It is with eminent satisfaction that a New Englander greets the appearance in a different section of the country of still another paper devoted exclusively to the advancement of the reform.

"ALBERT MATTHEWS, Boston, Mass."

From John H. Magee, Scottsburg, N. Y.:

"I can not sufficiently express the great admiration I feel for the single-handed fight you are making for the good in your state, and can only bid you God-speed.

"Unselfish labor finds little recompense outwardly, but then does it not bring a sweet content to the soul?"

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 14.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

The Civil Service Chronicle desires facts regarding the so called "resignations" of fourth-class postmasters; who has requested these resignations, by what agencies have these been effected, and in what instances have resignations been practically forced to prevent loss on the post-office furniture by disposing of it to the would-be successor in office.

The Civil Service Chronicle desires information of all cases where the man at the top of the eligible lists for positions in the railway mail service has not been chosen.

The Civil Service Chronicle will be glad to receive information upon the following points:

The name of any newspaper editor or owner who has or may receive a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all members of political committees or delegates given a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all federal office-holders who are members of any political committee or who act as delegates, naming the committee or the convention.

Statements regarding any political activity in primaries, conventions or political work done for any nominees by federal office-holders.

OWING to pressing professional engagements of Mr. Bonaparte it is still impossible to fix the exact date of the annual meeting of the State Civil Service Reform Association, to be held in Fort Wayne.

THE letter of Mr. Henry C. Lea to the President is but the outward expression of a widespread indignation which among a large class has been smouldering and gathering force. The matter is not, as the Indianapolis Journal seems to think, an attempt to hold the President for the election of Quay to the senate or for his getting the Pennsylvania republican machine under his absolute control. The point is that the President is giving the distribution of the federal offices of that state into the hands of a man who stands silent when charged by a financially responsible newspaper with being a briber, a political corruptionist of the worst kind, and a colossal thief. The President is thus enabling Quay to distribute among his friends some millions a year and thus perpetuate his own power.

AND when Quay says that the President can not avoid complying with his wishes, and when the President says, as he does according to the Philadelphia Inquirer, that on account of his obligations to Quay he can not decline any request the latter may make, both of them put into words the President's humiliating position.

THERE is a striking analogy between this case and President Cleveland's subjection to Gorman. The latter was also the ruling spirit of his national party committee which managed the successful campaign. President Cleveland was also warned against Gorman by democrats whose word was not to be disputed. Yet to the end of that presidential term Gorman, by having control of the federal offices, practically deprived Maryland of free government. This was one of the potent influences which led to the defeat of Mr. Cleveland. Quay's nearly absolute influence is shown by the fact that only two Philadelphia daily papers, the Times and the Telegraph, dare publish Mr. Lea's letter. If continued in control of the offices, his hand will for some time be higher than ever. Gorman's was to the very end, and even during the elections after Mr. Cleveland's renomination. Deprived of his patronage after he has nearly made Maryland a republican state, Gorman can now probably be driven out of public life, and the people of Pennsylvania will sooner or later bring down Quay. The President by continuing him in control of the patronage may delay the day and they may both fall together.

THE records of the charity organization society of this city cover about 8,000 cases of individuals who have applied to the township embracing Indianapolis for relief. Most of these still apply from time to time. This great number have been traced back by the society from three to five generations, and with exceptions have been found to come from four hundred and thirty-seven original families. They monopolize the crime and the pauperism of this city, and their wits are devoted to getting supplies from the township. The necessity at once becomes apparent of having the township trustee's office equipped with clerks who know these people personally, and the office now has one such man in Mr. Frank Wright. He has for years visited them, talked with them, made up records of them and traced their lineage and migrations until he has obtained a mass of information that is priceless to the people of this city. Such a man is indispensable; his information can not be transmitted to another, nor could another acquire it in years, and without heavy cost to the people. This is a matter far above a party, and notwithstanding that there are a hundred applicants for the place, to remove Mr. Wright would not only do him an injustice but would inflict upon the interests of the city a severe injury. All but a few politicians will commend the new trustee, Mr. Gold, in refusing to take such a step.

WE reprint, from the Atlantic Monthly, part of Mr. Morton's article, "Some Popular Objections to Civil Service Reform." This is, without exception, the ablest article upon the merit system which has lately appeared; and this is true both in style and matter. In Indiana, especially, it will be given added attention, and have added weight from the fact that it comes from a son of the late Governor Morton. To destroy, in this country, the idea and practice of using its hundreds of thousands of offices for private or party benefit is a work for which no man is too strong. It is peculiarly fitting that as the father stepped into the breach in Indiana in the greatest crisis of his day, the son should now attack the present greatest evil of American civil government.

MR. DORMAN B. EATON should reprint in pamphlet form his recent valuable letters in answer to Senator Hoar's assertion that collectorships are political offices; the letter to Senator Allison showing the insidious attack upon the merit system by the vote to exclude certain pension examiners from the test of competition; and the letter showing the effect of civil service reform in Australia. They are just what is needed for distribution, and they should be put into those sections where little reform literature has been distributed. It is a great mistake to relax the efforts to arouse an aggressive feeling for civil service reform in the states where there has been no organization. Why do not civil service reformers seize upon Iowa as the tariff reformers have done?

As an illustration of how widely distributed is the wish to see the spoils system ended, we are permitted to quote from a recent letter of Rev. W. H. Kaufman, of Heber, Utah, to the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE: "I am constantly surprised at the enthusiasm of the people for this reform and that they are so responsive to appeals for independence of partisanship in the civil service appointments." And this paper has twenty-one subscribers in Utah.

THE TOWNSHIP ELECTIONS.

THE recent township elections seem to have been a surprise to the republicans, especially in Indiana. If ordinary prudence guided an administration the total defeat which followed the open and unstinted use of the federal patronage to secure the election of Mahone in Virginia, would have taught its lesson. The administration, however, kept steadily on in the impossible endeavor to strengthen its party by distributing spoil. In Indiana it could not possibly have made the distribution any

faster, and before the election the clean sweep was practically complete, only scattering places being left. This distribution also has been preeminently in the hands of the men who ought to know where to place the offices to do the party the most good. The President has used his extensive personal knowledge of the workers. The three republican congressmen have devoted themselves to the task. Finally the chairman of the republican state committee, who of all men ought to know how to strengthen his party with patronage, has, in the distribution of the bulk of the minor offices, been practically dictator. Chairman Huston attended to this until he was succeeded by Chairman Michener, and the absolute power of the latter can not be better illustrated than by the following correspondence:

COLUMBUS, IND., April 1, 1889.

First Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.:

SIR—I hope you will not overlook what I wrote you concerning the postmaster at Freedom, Owen county, Indiana. He is a one-legged soldier who has done his duty in the office, and I hope you will not remove him. Respectfully yours,

GEO. W. COOPER, M. C.,
Fifth Indiana District.

COLUMBUS, IND., May 16, 1889.

Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR—I wrote you some time ago asking that the present incumbent of the post-office at Freedom, Ind., be not removed, giving as a reason that he was a crippled soldier, and that he was doing good service to the public. While the heads of our boys have been rolling off all around, I believe he still holds his place, and this encourages me to present one more case equally as meritorious. Mr. L. H. Gamble, at Brooklyn, Ind., is a soldier. He served honorably through the war. Two of his brothers gave up their lives in the service—one at Brownsville, Tex., and the other at New Orleans, La. Mr. G.'s case is a hard one. He came out of the service without a scratch, but had the misfortune to lose his arm by an accident since, but he draws no pension.

Will you not please make an exception in this case? I am sure that while it may be a disappointment to the applicant for the place, the patrons of the office, without regard to politics, will fully sustain you.

Please do not forget or overlook what I wrote you regarding Mr. W. J. Suffall at Freedom.

Respectfully, GEORGE W. COOPER, M. C.

COLUMBUS, IND., May 16, 1889.

Hon. H. C. Duncan, Bloomington, Ind.:

DEAR CLAY—There are two postmasters in this district who ought not to be removed, viz.: W. J. Suffall at Freedom, Owen county, and L. H. Gamble at Brooklyn, Morgan county. They are both crippled soldiers. Mr. Suffall lost a leg, Mr. Gamble an arm. Mr. Gamble's case is particularly hard. He served through the war. Two of his brothers lost their lives—one at New Orleans, La., the other at Brownsville, Tex.; but Mr. Gamble lost his arm by an accident since he came out of the service, and so gets no pension. Now, Clay, I understand the applicants for both these places were never in the army. I have written the postmaster-general asking that these gentlemen be allowed to retain their places. Will you not aid me? I am informed that a word from you will settle the matter. I hope you will allow these poor fellows to hold their places. No complaint is made of their services. Please write the department and let me know what you have done.

Fraternally yours, GEORGE W. COOPER.

Hon. John Wanamaker:

SIR—Mr. Cooper is the present representative in congress from this district, and my opponent. I would take it a favor that this matter be carefully examined before removals are made at the places named. I know nothing personally of the men, and know that Mr. Cooper would not misrepresent matters. We made a strong fight in Indiana on the sol-

dier question, and we can not afford to wage war against the sons of the democratic household of faith.

Yours, etc.,

H. C. DUNCAN.

Bloomington, Ind., May 27, '89.

OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL, }
INDIANAPOLIS, IND. }

W. W. Hart, Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR HART—We have decided that Frank Watts should be appointed postmaster at Freedom, Owen county.

Please have it attended to at once. You may put this on file as a recommendation.

Yours truly,

L. T. MICHENER.

The change was made at Michener's direction. The new offices created for the census were filled as far as possible and always by republican wheel-horses. Numerous office-holders, including Treasurer Huston and Third Auditor Hart, came from Washington to give the party the added strength of officialism. The usual influence of the Indiana republican club of office-holders at Washington was at work. The Farwell club had run its anti-civil service reform career. Congressman Cheadle had introduced a bill to repeal the civil service law, and when unanimous consent was asked to amend a bill so as to have the medical examiners therein provided for appointed under the civil service law, as such examiners now are, Cheadle promptly objected. Congressman Browne had declared himself opposed to the civil service law. In short, not only the theory but the practice of the spoils system had with the republican party full swing, except in the classified service, which in Indiana embraces comparatively few places. And yet the republicans have suffered a decisive defeat. Never in Indiana has that party been in a more complete state of collapse.

It is indeed fortunate that such unbridled profession and practice of the spoils system can be followed by such party weakness. That it powerfully contributed to this weakness there is no question. The soldiers were in a state of open exasperation because more was not given to them. All the workers except those who got places struck for the non-payment of wages. Thousands of citizens looked at the appointments of the Ransdells, the McFarlanes and the Bagbys and observed the administration under the control of Quayism and Plattism, and did not vote or voted with the democrats. Happily for such strikers and for such lethargy there is no remedy; it is impossible for a president to divide the federal offices as spoil and produce any other result.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARRISON.

To the President:

SIR—No graver scandal has darkened our political history than the charges brought against Senator Quay by the *New York World* in its issues of February 10th and March 3d. It would be useless here to recapitulate them further than to say that, with full details of names, and places, and dates, the *World* asserts him to be a man whose political career has been a succession of flagrantly dishonest acts, including the temporary abstraction from the

state treasury of \$260,000 in one instance, and of \$400,000 in another.

No such accusations, involving iniquity so varied and so continuous, and supported by such an array of minute detail, have ever before, I believe, been brought against a politician so conspicuous. If they are true, Senator Quay ought to be in the penitentiary. If they are false, he is a cruelly libelled man; his accuser is a journal of the highest financial standing, and no jury of his countrymen would refuse him exemplary damages that would put him beyond all future reach of want. Vindication and profit both await him as an incentive to prove his innocence, but, although two months have elapsed since the gravest of the charges were made public, neither solicitude for his character nor desire of gain has prompted him to break silence. It is his own fault if the public should regard him as acquiescing in the truth of the charges.

It is true that the crimes alleged against Senator Quay are connected only with his career as a Pennsylvania boss, but your close connection with him has rendered the scandal national. You were duly warned in advance from a friendly source of the dangers of such an alliance, yet by accepting his man, Mr. Wanamaker, as a member of your cabinet, you assumed responsibility for both of them. In pursuance of this alliance, you have enlarged Mr. Quay's importance by virtually giving him control of the federal patronage in Pennsylvania, thus rendering him the dictator of the republican party in the state. He boasted of your subserviency to him when, in explaining his triumph over Representative Dalzell in the struggle for the Pittsburgh post-office, he publicly said that "the President, though very anxious to gratify Mr. Dalzell, for whom he had a high esteem, could not, under all the circumstances, well avoid complying with my wishes." Even Mr. Quay's remarkable silence under the accusations of the *World*, does not seem to have lessened his influence over you. He signalized his return from Florida a week or two since by capturing the Pittsburgh surveyorship of customs against candidates urged respectively by Secretary Blaine and Representative Dalzell. Indeed, his power would seem to be as great in Washington as in this state, for the party organs now tell us that he has been endeavoring to buy off a superfluous candidate for the governorship with an assistant secretaryship of war. In thus entering into a political partnership with Mr. Quay, you must share the losses as well as the gains of the venture. It is not Pennsylvania alone, nor even the republican party only, that has a right to protest; every citizen of the land must feel humiliation at the smirch thus inflicted on the chief magistracy of the nation.

As a republican by conviction, ardently desiring the success of the party so long as it deserves success, let me request you, Mr. President, to take a calm survey of the situation and render to yourself an account of your stewardship. Thirteen months ago you entered upon the duties of the highest office which the

world has to bestow; your party was supreme in the control of both houses of congress and of the executive; everything promised a prosperous and useful administration, in which you, by simply adhering to the pledges under which you were elected, might earn another term from the confidence and gratitude of the people. The only cloud upon the political horizon was your acceptance of a postmaster-general at Mr. Quay's dictation, ostensibly as a reward for certain services performed during the canvass. That cloud, then no larger than a man's hand, has spread till it covers the firmament. Look back now and reflect upon your work. You have sedulously devoted yourself to the distribution of "patronage;" you have turned out nearly forty thousand Democratic office-holders, and in this ignoble business you have filled vacancies thus made by giving "recognition" to the worst elements in the party. You have thus degraded it to the lowest level, till it no longer deserves or enjoys the public confidence, and its interest, as well as that of the nation, demands its purification by defeat. You have earned for it the denunciation of the Hebrew prophet:

"The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come among us. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps."

But it needs no prophet to foretell the result. The elections of last November were a warning that the people would not tolerate your methods. You have refused to heed the lesson, and the elections of next November will emphasize it. The narrow republican majority in the lower house will be swept away, and your path for the latter half of your administration will be a path of thorns. You have rewarded the magnificent majority of 80,000 given to you by Pennsylvania by riveting upon her the chains of Quayism; you need not wonder that disaffection is spreading rapidly throughout her borders in a manner that may render even her allegiance doubtful. The outlook for 1892 is even darker. Were the presidential election to take place tomorrow, there could scarce be doubt of democratic success. Let me counsel you, Mr. President, as a friend, to reflect that this has been your work in one short year of misused power.

If this retrospection should bring with it repentance and amendment, you still have before you three years which may be fruitful for good. Bear in mind that "faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." Discard the advisers who are luring you to your downfall. Recognize that the truest political expediency lies in the application of conscience to public affairs, and that you can serve your party best by stimulating the nobler aspirations of the nation rather than by pandering to the baser appetites of spoilsmen. Cease to expect to gather figs of thistles, or to touch pitch without defilement. Apply to your public duties the high standard of morality to which you ad-

here in your private life. Remember that evil can give birth only to evil, and that you, as chief magistrate of sixty-five millions of free-men, have on your soul a charge for which you must reckon to posterity and to God.

I am, Mr. President, your obedient servant,

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

Philadelphia, April 8, 1890.

CONGRESS AND PATRONAGE.

To the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:

GENTLEMEN—Your special committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the federal civil service and the operation of the reform law would respectfully report—

That on the 15th of February, 1890, your committee had its first meeting, in Philadelphia, and outlined its general plan of work.

Among other things it was determined to make inquiries, at as early a period as possible, in regard to the system of congressional patronage, and ascertain to what extent appointments to office were still controlled by members of congress, and to what degree this patronage interfered with their proper legislative duties. In regard to this branch of their investigation your committee is now prepared to make its report.

The chairman of your committee, on its behalf, addressed to each of the republican members of the house of representatives the following questions:

How many offices are there in your district or elsewhere where the appointments depend upon you?

How many applications for office have you received during the past year?

What is the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on your part?

What amount of time, either your own or of your secretary or clerk, is required, as nearly as you can judge, for conducting this correspondence and for attending to appointments?

Have any elections been held in your district to determine who the appointees should be; and if so, in how many instances, where, and for what positions?

To these questions a number of responses were returned with the statement that the writers had not the data at hand to answer these inquiries, but some twenty-four answers were received, giving more or less completely the information asked for. A summary of these answers is as follows: To the question "How many offices are there in your district or elsewhere where the appointments depend upon you?" the following answers have been received:

1. About one hundred and twenty post-offices in the district I represent.

2. One hundred and seventy-nine post-offices and about thirty other places; also one hundred and eight census enumerators, with an endless number of applicants.

3. About one hundred and forty.

4. About two hundred.

5. A hundred and twenty.

6. A hundred and forty-six post-offices in the district, and under the rule I am expected to recommend a postmaster for each.

7. The federal offices are deemed of so much importance that the senator and all the party representatives from the state insist upon making recommendations for appointments, and no appointment, therefore, depends upon me alone.

8. Two hundred post-offices and probably three or four others.

9. No answer.

10. There are two hundred and fifty offices in my district where the appointments depend upon myself.

11. Nearly fifty.

12. About one hundred and twenty.

13. Probably three hundred or three hundred and fifty.

14. About six hundred and fifty, in which the two senators often unite.

15. No answer.

16. About eight hundred.

17. Six hundred.

18. None but the post offices; but a very general impression prevails that I can control others, which calls for many letters of reply.

19. About two hundred and fifty.

20. Can not say.

21. Not given.

22. Perhaps one hundred and twenty-five.

23. Ten or fifteen fourth-class postmasters.

24. Perhaps two hundred.

An average of the above (omitting numbers 7, 9, 15, 18, 20 and 21, in which numerical estimates are not

given) would give about two hundred and fifty appointments depending upon each of these congressmen.

To the question "How many applications for office have you received during the past year?" the following answers were received:

1. I can not give you the exact number, but I am quite sure the number of written applications must be at least eight or nine thousand, to say nothing of the verbal requests.

2. About three hundred, in addition to home post-offices; five thousand applications for them.

3. About five hundred.

4. About one thousand.

5. Sixty.

6. There are one hundred and forty-six post-offices in my district, and under the rule I am expected to recommend a postmaster for each. I think there has been, so far at least, on an average, five applicants for each vacancy. During the first year of the present administration I was called on to recommend for office to the appointing power two hundred and forty-six applicants, exclusive of applicants for the position of postmaster. (This would make nine hundred and seventy-six in all.)

7. About two thousand.

8. Not far from one thousand.

9. Can not tell; hundreds, if not thousands.

10. There have been about fifteen hundred applications for office received by me during the past year. In addition to the applications of those who want office for themselves, numerous letters and petitions are received, in nearly every case urging claims of those who are applicants.

11. About four hundred.

12. Impossible to tell; hundreds, perhaps one thousand.

13. I think I can modestly say two thousand. Where there are ten candidates for the office, each man thinks he is the one most entitled to it; and it is generally quite easy to disappoint nine of them.

14. Approximately, about five hundred.

15. The number of applications for office during the past year is something over eight hundred, as appears on my docket, yet there are only eleven fourth-class post-offices in the district and ten presidential offices. The applications for these have been practically nothing. The great mass of applications are for positions in the unclassified service in the custom house, and every branch of the government service, and in the navy yard.

16. About two thousand; not less.

17. About two thousand.

18. About two hundred.

19. Could not guess; hundreds.

20. Something less than a million.

21. It is impossible for me to say how many applications for office I have received during the past twelve months, but they have been almost innumerable, and it has been impossible for me to favor a tenth of those who desire positions, and the most of the applicants I know to be worthy and deserving men, whom I would be glad to aid if it were possible for me to do so.

Taking an average of the above (omitting numbers 9, 19, 20 and 21), the number of applications made was something over 1700 to each member.

To the interrogatories "What is the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on your part, and what amount of time, either of your own or of your secretary or clerk, is required, as nearly as you can judge, for conducting this correspondence and for attending to appointments?" your committee have received the following answers:

1. During the past year more than three-quarters of my time in the day was given to attending to appointments, and late every evening (except Sunday) was given to my correspondence, with the valuable assistance of a stenographer, and even then I found it impossible to answer more than half or two-thirds of my correspondence.

2. The amount of time is about one full day in each week.

3. About half the time of one man.

4. The probable average amount of correspondence is about five letters for each application, requiring about one-fourth, possibly one-third, of my entire time.

5. The average amount of correspondence is about six letters each; about two hours' time.

6. I think that attention to the demands of those applications consumes one-fourth of my working time.

7. About half my time. Perhaps two letters each.

8. Could give no light upon it; but quite a burdensome correspondence.

9. One-third of time of self and clerk. Several letters each; some of them fifty or a hundred.

10. These applications will require, on an average, two letters each. I should think that at least two hours a day have been required for conducting this correspondence and attending to appointments.

11. Nearly two hours daily during last summer; not so much now, and I can not easily give an estimate.

12. The average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires is rarely less than two or three, sometimes ten. I have had cases of

twenty. The amount of time required is more than any branch of my public duties since November, 1888.

13. Probably five letters each, all around. All the time I could get.

14. About four letters to each applicant. About one-tenth of my time.

15. A low estimate of the average amount of correspondence which each of these applications requires on my part would be five in each case, or between four and five thousand letters in all. If it were not for the distribution of these offices, it would be easy for me to conduct my official correspondence personally, but, as it is, a secretary is required, and the burden of the office greatly increased.

16. Eight to fifteen letters each; eight to ten hours per day.

17. An average of three letters each; one-half of my time.

18. About two letters each; about one hour each day.

19. About a dozen letters, on the average, to each; half of my time.

20. One prolonged and continuous correspondence; the constant and entire time of both myself and secretary would not suffice.

21. I think that during the last twelve months the lives of most of the republican members of congress have been made miserable by the post-office controversies in their congressional districts.

22. Each place filled on my recommendation has required probably twelve letters written.

23. Do not know what amount of time, but a good part of it.

It is not an extravagant estimate from the above answers to say that more than one-third of the entire time of these congressmen (time which should properly be devoted to their legislative duties) is consumed in the distribution of offices.

The condition of affairs in this respect does not seem to have changed very greatly from the time when General Garfield, in his speech at Williams College, said: "One-third of the working hours of senators and representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments for office." The number of places withdrawn from congressional patronage by the civil service law has been about 29,000, but this has been counterbalanced by the growth of the service.

Your committee then proceeded to inquire more particularly into the extent to which this patronage interfered with the proper performance of the legislative duties which the constitution imposes upon members of congress. Your committee examined the records of congress, for the purpose of determining the relative number of measures which remain unconsidered at the end of each session from lack of time to give them proper consideration. Taking the last congress as an illustration, your committee found that the number of bills and joint resolutions introduced was 17,078, to wit: House bills, 12,664; resolutions, 269; senate bills, 4,000; resolutions, 145. Out of this total number of 17,078, your committee ascertained that the bills and resolutions passed were only 1,824, or a little more than ten per cent., leaving a balance of 15,254 measures introduced but not adopted. This, however, does not furnish a just criterion of the measures which congress was unable to consider, since some of these measures were passed upon adversely. Your committee, therefore, examined the indexes of the last congressional record of both sessions, and found that, out of the 17,078 measures introduced, more than 11,000 were referred to committees and never reported by the committees to which they were referred; that about 1,400 were introduced and reported by these committees, but never reached final consideration in the respective houses in which they were originally introduced; that something more than 1,000 passed the house in which they were introduced, but never reached final consideration in the other branch of congress, while less than 3,500 were finally acted upon. Your committee included in the measures finally disposed of all bills and resolutions approved by the President; all which became laws without his approval; all which passed both houses and were examined and approved, even though they finally failed to become laws through lack of proper submission to the executive; all measures which were vetoed by the President, whether afterwards considered by congress or not; and all measures which were withdrawn, laid on the table, or indefinitely postponed in either house. It is evident, however, that many of these measures, including bills which were laid on the table (from

which they might be taken at any time), were not intended to be definitely rejected.

Why is it that the committees to which this proposed legislation is referred have no time to sort out the good from the bad; no time to consider more than a small fraction of the measures submitted to them? Why is it that so many bills reported fail to receive consideration in the respective houses of congress? Why is it that so many measures which finally pass are ill-digested and carelessly drawn and require expensive litigation to construe their meaning? It is not hard to find an answer when it is known that more than one third of the working hours of the members belonging to the party which is responsible for the legislation of the country is devoted to business entirely foreign to that legislation.

The system itself is inherently vicious. The union in a single person or body of men of different functions of government, which are distinct in their nature, is evidence of a low form of political organism. In a large community with complicated interests it is only where these functions are definitely distributed that we can expect to see them properly performed. It is just as inconsistent with good government for the legislators to appoint the officers who are to administer the laws as it would be for a judge to undertake personally the execution of the process which he issues, or as it would be for these lawmakers themselves to act as judges in administering and applying their own laws. It is only where the legislative, executive and judicial departments are kept distinct that we can expect efficient work from any of them. An encroachment by any of these departments upon the duties of the other is a manifest usurpation. The federal constitution has carefully distributed to each its own powers and duties. The duty of congress is to make the laws. The senate, as the adviser of the president, has a qualified right to pass upon his nominations for certain offices; but to the house of representatives no such right is given in any form, and yet we find members of both houses, in violation of the purposes of the constitution, controlling appointments in every branch of the public service, and demanding that their constituents and political friends shall receive situations, often as a reward for personal and political favors, and not on account of any qualifications for public office. So it has been common to find these appointees active in conventions, caucuses and primaries, working for the interests of the particular congressman to whom they owe their appointments, and often without regard for the public welfare; and it is for this work, or with the hope of securing it in the future, that the appointment is often given as the reward or the incentive.

It is sometimes urged against civil service reform that the head of each department and bureau ought to have the selection of his own subordinates; but under the patronage system he has no such selection at all. The men selected are chosen, not on account of the knowledge of their fitness possessed by the appointing officer, but because they are recommended by a certain representative or senator. The head of the department or bureau feels little responsibility for their acts. It often happens that he is not at liberty to discharge an inefficient man, lest he may offend the congressman whose influence secured the appointment of that man. The congressman, on the other hand, does not feel the responsibility for these appointments, for he is not nominally nor legally the appointing officer. In many cases it is not known on whose recommendation the appointment is made. This system "invades the independence of the executive and makes him less responsible for the character of his appointments. It impairs the efficiency of the legislator by diverting him from his proper sphere of duties and involving him in the intrigues of the aspirants for office." (Jas. A. Garfield, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1877.)

But not only does the patronage system impair the efficiency of the service, it actually weakens the party in power. As was said in one of the answers to the above questions, "where ten men apply for an office, it is easy to disappoint nine of them." The experience of the last administration, as well as of the present one up to this time, clearly shows that this irregular and unconstitutional mode of distributing public offices serves only to cripple the

members who make the appointments and the political party under which it is done. Members of congress realize this embarrassment when they order an election or caucus among the voters of their own party in the respective neighborhoods where post-offices are to be filled. The effort in such cases is undoubtedly to cast from themselves the responsibility of making a choice, which is quite sure to engender dissension.

Such an expedient is not only unjust in itself, but it rarely affords the relief sought. It is manifestly unfair to make an appointment for postmaster in a certain town depend upon the votes of one political party only. These may be an actual minority among the patrons of that office. The service to be performed is public service, paid for without reference to the political affiliations of the patrons, and if the choice is to be made by the suffrages of those who are interested, it is not just that any should be disfranchised. The result of these elections often adds to the confusion and embarrassment which patronage entails, as your committee has learned in the course of its inquiries.

To our question, "Have any elections been held in your district to determine who the appointee should be; and if so, in how many instances, where, and for what positions?" the following answers have been received from congressmen in whose districts such elections have been held:

4. In two instances, for postmasters, resulting in both cases in difficulty and dissatisfaction.

6. Elections have been held in eight places in my congressional district for the selection of postmasters. No elections have been had for the purpose of designating any other appointment.

8. One election, to determine who should be the post-office appointee; we let all parties vote and confined it to one town; would not hold another election for that purpose under any consideration.

9. One election was held, so far, for postmaster, which was unsatisfactory on account of small attendance. There will be another on March 27th for postmaster.

11. In a few instances elections by petitions for the position of postmaster.

12. One last year for postmaster. The result increased strife.

13. None. At the solicitation of candidates and others I called three post-office elections, and I got into hot water. The very persons who had asked for elections protested most loudly against them, and I then appointed the postmasters, or recommended them myself.

15. In case of every presidential post-office in the district where there has been a vacancy since the 4th of March, 1879, a caucus of republican voters has been held to recommend the candidate for the office. These caucuses have been largely attended, and the result in every instance has been perfectly satisfactory, both in the character of the candidates elected, who have been, without exception, excellent men, and entirely removing the disputes and factious quarrels which arise from such appointments.

16. Two for postmasters.

17. Two for post-offices.

18. None. One was held without my knowledge, in which voters were excluded who had a right to be heard, and I paid no attention to the election.

21. I had a few post office elections in my congressional district, but, as there is no law regulating such elections, they have resulted in bitterness and strife, and did more to engender animosities and ill-will between the patrons of the office than any other method I could have adopted for settling post-office contentions, hence I have not favored them, and henceforth shall discourage them where I can.

22. Yes; I settled perhaps twenty post-office contests by a caucus of republican electors. It worked fairly well.

24. In one instance elected a postmaster.

The other answers state that no elections were held.

An amusing account of an election held in his district was given in an interview with one of the representatives. He said: "I have held one election only under this administration, and that had a most disastrous result. It resulted in several men losing their characters, one or two were turned out of church, and all was turmoil and confusion. Carriages were hired to bring voters fourteen miles distant, and citizens of another state voted. The doors of the polling places were broken in. Democrats were allowed to vote. There were no safeguards about the polls. No oaths were required, and there was no respect for the election. The judges certified the election of one man, but sent a statement with the certification that the election was carried by fraud, the same name appearing upon both papers. The consequence was, I went outside for the post

master, and chose a man who had not voted and took no part in the fight. He moved into town and took the office (worth not more than \$150 per year); but they would have torn the election nominee to pieces if I had recommended him. I look upon the elections as a party disaster."

Other members, as well as some of the above, have expressed their opinion of the patronage system in no favorable terms. One says: "This patronage business is a great nuisance." Another: "I gave two hours a day to candidates for office all last summer, throwing open a room to them six days out of the week. Of course it was an imposition, but I do not want to be put in the attitude of complaining of my constituents so long as the system exists." Another says that he regards appointments by congressmen as injurious to the best performance of their legitimate duties; but while the system exists, it is not possible for members of congress to avoid the responsibility, and their duty is to make the best possible use of the patronage which custom imposes upon them.

Another objection to the patronage system is the secrecy by which it is surrounded. Recommendations and petitions, which are signed upon solicitation and which mean nothing; charges and counter-charges preferred in the dark; political influence, which is often really exerted in favor of one man while it appears to be exerted in favor of another; intrigues and defamation of character—all these things are only incidents to a system which produces and nourishes them.

Another consequence of this system of congressional patronage has been the distribution of offices in many congressional districts by the defeated candidates for congress belonging to the party in power. This irresponsible and illegal apportionment of patronage has led to many scandals. In Missouri there are a number of instances in which these distributors of patronage have collected considerable sums of money from the men seeking their recommendations. These "donations or free gifts" (as they have been called by the recipients of them) are ostensibly made to cover "the expense attached to the proceedings" of recommending them, but it is evident that transactions of this character are essentially corrupt.

The object of your committee in laying these facts before the public is rather to expose the infirmities of the patronage system than to criticize the action of individual congressmen or of the party in power. These evils have existed under both political parties, and so long as the present system exists, it is difficult for any individual congressman to refuse to exercise that patronage which universal custom has thrust upon him, often without his consent or desire. The remedy lies in the adoption of general laws which shall remove these offices from congressional interference. In this connection we desire to call to the attention of the league the provisions of a bill recently introduced into the house of representatives by the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, in respect to fourth-class postmasterships, offices which at present constitute the bulk of those subject to congressional patronage. This bill provides that the United States shall be divided by the postmaster general into postal districts, and that he shall designate for each district a post office inspector to act as examiner. (As these inspectors are now appointed in pursuance of the civil service law, there is reason to believe that they will not be greatly subject to political influence.) The bill provides that whenever a fourth-class postmaster is to be appointed the inspector for the district shall post notices in conspicuous places in the vicinity, stating the place where the post office is situated, the compensation, the amount of bond, the place where application papers may be obtained, and to which they must be returned, and any other proper information. At least fourteen days' time is to be given for returning the application papers. The inspector must furnish all applicants with blank forms of certificates, in which the applicant, in his own handwriting, shall state upon oath, his name, residence, post-office address, citizenship, time and place of birth, education, health and physical capacity for service, previous employment in the military or naval service, business and residence for the previous five years, whether convicted or un-

der indictment for any crime, and if so, what, and the particular building where the applicant proposes to establish the post-office, and whether in connection with any other business. The candidate shall furnish a sworn certificate, signed by three reputable citizens, declaring their belief that he is a suitable person. No other recommendation shall be offered. No certificate shall be signed by any person holding office in the federal or state government. No application shall call for or furnish any information concerning the politics of the applicant. At the expiration of the time for receiving application papers the inspector shall post a list of the applications in the vicinity, and visit the place and make such inquiries as shall enable him to form an intelligent judgment on the qualification of the respective applicants. He shall then send to the postmaster-general all the application papers, together with the report, in which he shall grade the applicants in the order of their relative fitness, according to his inquiries, and giving the reasons. These papers are to be preserved for five years, and upon them the postmaster-general shall appoint one of the candidates whose names are reported and designated as fit to be appointed; but if he shall select any other than the one graded highest, he shall place his reasons upon record, and these shall be open to public inspection. No appointment shall be absolute until the appointee has served one year on probation. The postmaster-general shall not appoint upon political grounds, nor the inspector recommend any candidate upon such grounds.

This bill is an entirely new measure and is largely tentative in its character, but it is progressive, it affords to the administration a means of appointing fourth-class postmasters without the necessity of consulting members of congress, and it will help to remove this great mass of small offices from political control and restore to members of congress the dignity which ought to belong to the law makers of the country. It will help to abolish a system of patronage which leads to endless contentions and bickerings in almost every community in the United States, which paralyzes the legislative power of congress, and which holds these small prizes up as a reward for the lowest forms of political activity.

We would respectfully urge the league to take every measure possible to promote the favorable consideration and adoption of this or some other measure which seeks to substitute general rules for the individual discretion and self-interest of members of congress and their political supporters. If the fourth-class post-offices can be removed from the field of political strife, the reform of the federal civil service will be more than half accomplished.

(Mr. MacVeagh, being absent on account of illness, is unable to sign this report before its presentation to the executive committee.)

WM. D. FOULKE, *Chairman.*

CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.

RICHARD H. DANA.

SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

Washington, D. C., April 8, 1890.

SOME POPULAR OBJECTIONS TO CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

I.

"You gentlemen never weary of telling us that we are fallen on degenerate days; that during the first forty years of our government, before we lapsed from our sinless state, officials were removed only for cause, and incumbents held on good behavior; in other words, that civil service reform prevailed in all its purity. Now, it is philosophical generalization, founded on broad experience, that revolutions do not go backwards. Heed it, gentlemen, heed it! The revolution of 1820-29 is an accomplished fact. It is here to stay, for then did the people come into their own. The present status has endured for half a century; civil service reform is ancient history. You are chasing moonbeams."

*Such of these objections as are taken from the records of congress are indicated by marginal references and are quoted literally. The others—which reflect current lay discussion of the newspaper and the street—are repeated substantially, but not formally.

The fatalist entrenches himself in platitude, and warns reason beyond speaking distance. With him, what is must forever be; what has been and is not will never be. And thus is the controversy closed.

He forgets that much that is done remains to be undone; that political progress is mostly negative, consisting mainly in the repeal of bad laws or in the abolition of evil customs. In this sense history is reversed every day, and the process will continue so long as legislation is experimental and legislators are supine. It is true that some things in political history may be regarded as settled. But this can be predicted only of those changes which are based upon the immutable principles of right. The introduction of the spoils system into the administrative branch of the American government is not of these. That system is at war with equality, freedom, justice, and a wise economy, and is already a doomed thing fighting extinction. Its establishment was in no sense a popular revolution, but was the work of a self-willed man of stubborn and tyrannical nature, who had enemies to punish and debts to pay. He overrode a vehement opposition, disregarding the protest and sage prediction of the great statesmen of his time. He wielded a power that was arbitrary; his caprice was law, his rule was reign. If he wished to do a thing, it was enough that it seemed good to him to do it. His idea of government was a personal one solely. Every public official was a private servitor, who must take the oath of allegiance and do homage to his chief. In his view, no man could honestly disagree with him. He was always right; his opponents were hopelessly and criminally wrong. Here was a fit man to establish the spoils system, to explore the constitution for latent executive powers, to attach to the person of the president the high prerogatives of a monarch. That the king is the fountain of honor, office, and privilege is the theory of the English state; that the civil service of the United States is a perquisite of the presidency was the theory of General Jackson.

It is needless to say that the American commonwealth was not founded upon any such doctrine. Jackson's interpretation of the constitution was a gross perversion of the intent and meaning of that instrument. This was to be a government of laws, not of men; and so far as the presence of its framers availed it was made so. The liberties of the people were not to be left to individual scruple, but were secured by specific inhibitions upon the governmental agencies. Three departments were organized severally to make, execute, and interpret the laws, and each was to act as a check upon the other. With the adoption of the first ten amendments to the constitution, it was thought that every avenue of attack upon popular rights had been closed. But the power of construction is greater than that of legislation. The intention of the lawgiver is determined, not by himself, but by some other who construes the law; and with that other interpretation is purely a subjective matter. Madison held that "the wanton removal of meritorious officers" was an impeachable offense. But Jackson swore to defend and protect the constitution as he understood it, and not as Madison, one of its framers, conceived it. Regarding the right of removal the instrument itself is wholly silent, except as it provides impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors. When, therefore, Jackson organized the civil service into a gigantic political machine, proscribing office-holders because of his personal enmity to them or because of their political affiliations, it can not be said that he violated any specific provision of the constitution. That such action was an usurpation of authority and a wanton betrayal of trust needs no verbal emphasis. With equal propriety and moral justification, he might have used those other co-ordinate branches of the executive department, the army and navy, to perpetuate himself and his party in power. This he did not attempt to do. Perhaps he did not need their aid. At any rate, after securing his own re-election, and after naming his successor, his ambition rested—fortunately for the country. But what he did, he did thoroughly. The system of political brigandage inaugurated by him has subsisted even unto this day. But it is now upon the verge of dissolution. Its end is written and sealed. This last is the work of those

who are grown weary of the spoliation of office—of those who are jealous of the encroachments of the executive, and who would tie the hands of that functionary for all time to come. With them it is not a question whether a clerk holds his office for four years or for fifteen years. They are determined that the great army of the civil service shall not be used by any man or by any set of men for purposes of personal or partisan aggrandizement; that the freedom of elections shall not be assailed by an intriguing, corrupt, and organized force; that presidential contests shall not be tumults threatening anarchy. Hereafter there will be no "prizes of victory," no carnival of spoil. Place-holders will attend to the business for which they are paid to attend; fitness will be the essential of appointment, not the accident and the incident. This is the popular revolution that is moving forward irresistibly, that is coming to stay. Already has a law been enacted which, though partial in its effects, is capable of large extension by the president alone, without further action on the part of congress. This measure leaves the power of removal for all except partisan reasons untouched. By regulating the method of appointment, it takes away the temptation to the abuse of that discretion. It is not a revival of a faded statute, nor has it its counterpart in early legislation. It is a new ordering of things; practically a reversal of procedure. Although, during the first forty years of the republic, there was no statutory restriction upon the manner of appointment and removal, nevertheless the power of removal was controlled by an unwritten law which depended for its enforcement upon mental sanctions. But this was a frail dyke with which to withstand the pressure of a hungry and inflowing sea, and it was only a question of time until it should be swept away. That congress did not strengthen it by positive legislation is to be deplored. But the omission is explicable. At the time of the formation of our government no law was deemed necessary. The civil service numbered but a thousand persons; to-day it numbers two hundred thousand, and not many decades hence it will increase to a half million. Again, congress had absolute faith in the executive. All presidents would be Washingtons, patient and moderate, patriotic rather than partisan. So highly was the first president esteemed that that body waived its consent to the removal of those officers whose appointment required their approval. Of course they did not contemplate the capricious exercise of this power; the causeless removal of an official being to them an unthinkable proposition. But events outran prevision, and in the course of years not only did a Jackson appear, but congress itself ceased to desire to protect the service. Such legislative changes as were made subverted a private and not a public interest. The immense patronage which was controlled by the chief executive, either directly by commission, or indirectly through the heads of departments, came to be administered for the benefit, not of himself alone, but of the representative politicians as well. This step was gained partly through a recognition by the president of the eminent utility of sub-allotment for personal purposes, and partly, in the failure of that persuasion, through the exercise of such coercive power as could be wielded by the senate in confirmation, and by both houses in the passage of acts regulating the term and tenure of office. Gradually, out of the chaotic scramble for spoil, there was evolved a system of distribution which was founded upon hoary precedent, and which, in nice precision and in perfect order of detail, lacked nothing of a scientific character. The whole country was staked out into districts, as many in number as there were congressmen. After a conquest, the enemy were driven from their holdings, and the victors took possession of the glebe. But the estates thus granted were made conditional upon the performing of certain services or upon the rendering of certain tribute. Each tenant held of some feudal superior, and all held, mediately or immediately, of the lord paramount, the president. The governmental offices scattered everywhere were so many baronial strongholds, and were filled with retainers who were chosen for their fighting qualities. The chief duty of these men was to check uprisings and to keep

the people in subjection. Their places depended upon the faithful discharge of it. In other words, the civil service was a graded vassalage of a militant character. All offices were the private property of the head of the state, and were dispensed by royal favor. What is this but feudalism in new clothes, or, rather, the garbed skeleton thereof? By some fantastic jugglery, this mocking semblance of a dead and buried past has become a stalking figure in a new and progressive civilization. Verily has a revolution gone backwards, if it be not promptly relegated to the glass case of antiquities, there to remain as a curiosity for posterity to stare at.

The spoils system should have perished a quarter of a century ago, in the cataclysm which destroyed that other relic of feudalism, slavery. For they were twin evils, and were ever unfailing allies; and when the time shall come to write the history of public opinion in America during the nineteenth century, they will be classed together. John Morley suggestively says of the "peculiar institution," "Nobody has yet traced out the full effect upon the national character of the Americans of all those years of conscious complicity in slavery, after the immorality and iniquity of slavery had become clear to the inner conscience of the very men who ignobly sanctioned the mobbing of the abolitionists."^{*}

Adherence to the letter of a contract which was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" was due partly to an unfaltering instinct of union. But many were influenced by motives less worthy. Before the war the fidelity of most northern politicians to the south was a degrading sycophancy. Eager and grateful for the crumbs which fell from the southern table, and despairing of obtaining those crumbs elsewhere, they suffered themselves to become the supple tools of the slave power. These "Swiss guards of slavery fighting for pay" were a race of place-hunters, with whom office was the end, not the means, and whose statesmanship, like that of the Augustan senate, consisted in justifying personal flattery by speculative principles of servitude. They steadily prostituted principle to preferment, and came near involving this country in irretrievable ruin.

But the age of compromise—the era of "bigotry with a doubt" and of "persecution without a creed"—was succeeded by the age of blood and iron. The war was an ethical education; like a great storm, it purified the air. After it was over the people began to see more clearly and more truly; they learned to view things "in the visual angle of the absolute principle."

Before this keener vision the spoils system, a long-established practice claiming charter by prescription, has been called upon to justify itself. Until recently, the people of this country supposed that traffic in place, the unceasing clamor for office, the sack and pillage of the government by the dominant party, were a necessary part of democratic institutions. Many politicians, with selfish purposes to subserve, were interested in enforcing this view. To the principle that the majority must rule they added the corollary that all the offices are essential to that rule. They further inculcated the idea that every national election is a battle of enemies, instead of an amicable contest of friends, whose interests are the same, and "who disagree not except in opinion."

It must be confessed that during the rebellion, when the north was divided between the war party and the peace party, there was some foundation for this doctrine. He who was not with you was against you. But the intense partisanship engendered by that strife is relaxing into an amiable toleration. Happily, party fealty is not always to be a test of patriotism. The government is not the property of faction, and the minority have rights which must be respected. "Vae victis" is no longer the slogan of the fight. If civil service reform has not made that progress which idealists expect,—conquering all on the instant,—let it be remembered that the growth of moral movements is necessarily slow, especially in a democracy, where, it is scarcely hyperbole to say, the last man must be convinced. It is none the less sure, however: for "one man in the right becomes a ma-

jority," and the American people mean to do right when they know where the right lies.

II.

"I believe this commission to be undemocratic. I believe it favors certain voters in this country at the expense of other voters, and I know that if the rulings of the civil service commission were applied to the members of this house not seven eighths of the members would ever reach the floor again. [Laughter.] Now, sir, believing this to be undemocratic, and believing that it is in violation of the fundamental principles of the government, I move to strike out the whole section, and hope that it will be agreed to." †

To apply the rules of the merit system to the members of congress would be a cruelty indeed, and is altogether a harrowing suggestion. But it is beside the point. If civil service reform be undemocratic, and if it violate the fundamental principles of our government, the motion made in the house of representatives to strike out the appropriation to the commission should have prevailed. As a matter of fact, it was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of twenty-five to one hundred and thirty-eight. This would appear to be decisive. It is evident, however, from the discussion that preceded the calling of the yeas and nays, that the scope and object of civil service reform are still profoundly misunderstood by some congressmen, and inferentially by their constituents. A restatement may therefore serve a useful purpose:

The doctrine of civil service reform as applied to the subordinate, clerical, or purely ministerial offices of the government is based upon the following self-evident propositions: that offices are created to fulfill certain necessary functions involved in the routine of government, and not to give some men a place; that offices are supported by non-partisan taxation; that taxation is an evil, and therefore it is essential that the public service shall be as efficient and economical as possible; that offices are public and not private property, and administration is a trust, not an ownership; that in a republic something less arbitrary than favoritism shall govern appointment and removal; that men shall be appointed solely on the ground of merit; and not in payment of personal debt; that an examination is the fairest means of ascertaining the qualifications of an appointee, because it insures that a clerk shall know how to write, a book-keeper how to keep books, and a gauger how to gauge; that such examination shall be competitive and open to all, not being confined to the members of any one political party; that a class system is opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and therefore offices should not be invested property of ward-workers and political henchmen, to the total and absolute exclusion of the great body of the common people; that an office-holder is a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights and privileges attaching to such citizenship: that neither the president nor any other executive officer has the right to proscribe such office-holder, remove him from place, or threaten his subsistence on account of his politics; that such a brutal procedure is un-American; that tenure of office should not be dependent upon the degradation of manhood and the prostitution of political opinion; that the practice of the president and his cabinet in changing two hundred thousand office-holders at will, for causes unconnected with good administration, is dangerous and despotic, and should be restrained; that under the present system these office-holders constitute a great standing army of paid servitors, ever ready to do the bidding of their patrons, to the perversion of the public will, and are a menace to good government; that political assessments, if paid unwillingly, are an extortion and a direct theft from the office-holder, and, if paid willingly, are generally a brokerage commission for appointment, or a bribe to the appointing power for continuance in place; that if salaries are so large that assessments can be endured without inconvenience, such salaries should be cut down to a saving of the people's money; that promises of appointment

*Critical Miscellanies, Harriet Martineau, page 268.

† Mr. Cummings, Proceedings of the House of Representatives, December 19, 1888.

to office made, whether definitely or indefinitely, work a corruption of public opinion; that the enormous bribe of two hundred thousand offices, offered as a reward for party work, tends to obscure the real issues of politics, encourages the sacrifice of principle to selfish personal gain, and induces a laxity of political morals; that a "clean sweep" of the offices demoralizes the public service, and is the direct and indirect source of great financial loss; that skill in the manipulation of a caucus and in the packing of a primary is not presumptive evidence of capacity for the performance of official duties; that the constitution of the United States contemplates the election of a congressman as a legislator, and not as a patronage-monger; that such patronage is a burden to every honest, conscientious and able congressman, compels the neglect of his proper duties, creates petty factional disputes and wrangles among his constituents, and often defeats the re-election of a trustworthy servant of honorable record; that the statesman is thus rapidly becoming an extinct species, being succeeded by the politician, and the consequent loss inflicted on the people through crude and unwise legislation is incalculable; that the fear of losing the spoils of office is paralyzing the legislative branch of the government, makes cowards of political parties, and is the enemy of progress; that the retention of the vast patronage of two hundred thousand offices is becoming of more concern than the triumph of principle; that the mania for place-hunting is increasing; that the clamor of spoilsmen compels the creation of sinecures, thereby increasing the taxes; and finally that all the evils here before enumerated are growing with the multiplication of offices, and will ultimately, unless checked by a comprehensive and decisive enactment, undermine and overthrow the institutions of our country.

Such is an imperfect outline of the doctrine of civil service reform and of the abuses it is designed to remedy. By this showing, is it not the spoils system which is "undemocratic," and which "favors certain voters of this country at the expense of other voters"? What, to repeat, can be less democratic, less American, than persecution for opinions's sake? Yet this is the very essence of the spoils system, its guiding spirit and its crowning infamy. If this assertion need further explication, it may be found in a recital of what takes place in this country when one party succeeds another in the control of the government. The newly elected president goes (by deputy) through all the departments, and may be supposed to interview each clerk in a conversation of which the following is typical:

President. Whom did you vote for at the last election?

Clerk. That does not concern you. I am an American citizen, and have the right to vote for whomsoever I please, without being subjected afterwards to a governmental inquisition by you or any other man.

President. I asked the question in conformity with a time-honored practice, and shall insist upon an answer.

Clerk. Very well; I will answer the question, not because of your menaces, but because I do not hold my political opinions covertly. I voted for your opponent.

President. Then you must vacate this office.

Clerk. If you can show that I have not performed my duties properly, or that I have neglected them for politics or any other reasons, I am willing to go.

President. I have not looked into that; it is immaterial, any way. I want your place for some one else.

Clerk. For one of your partisan "workers," perhaps, whose qualifications you have also not looked into?

President. Possibly.

Clerk. By what right do you proscribe me, then? You are merely a trustee; these offices do not belong to you.

President. You are the victim of an illusion. These offices do belong to me. They are my personal patronage and plunder, to do with whatsoever I will. If you refuse to resign, I will remove you.

Clerk. Very well; I will yield the place as I would

my purse to a highwayman who puts a pistol to my head. Nevertheless, I denounce your action as an outrage upon my rights as an American citizen.

If this conversation does not often take place actually as reported, its substance is at least tacitly understood. Generally the clerk stifles his protest and resigns, quietly submitting to a system that is an heritage of barbarism. Proscription of minor office-holders on account of political opinion is as completely indefensible as proscription on account of religious belief. It has no proper place in the United States. It is an anachronism, and belongs to the age of the crusades against the Catholics and the Jews.

III.

"Civil service reform is an English importation, upon which, unfortunately, there is no tariff. We broke with England and with her monarchical institutions a century ago, and set up a government of our own—a democratic government. It supplies our needs, and stands as an example to mankind. Servile imitation of foreign politics is unworthy of our pride of race or nation."

Anglophobia is in the American blood. A common law, language, literature, and religion do not of necessity constitute the ties of sentiment. Although the American people are the heirs of all the ages, they do not like to be reminded of their obligations, nor to acknowledge an ancestry. They will not claim kinship even with Shakespeare. To them their history knows no perspective; in the discovery of a new and virgin world was the beginning of things. England is the traditional enemy, and all the pretty speeches made over London dinner-tables do not alter this fact in the least. This prejudice seems to be enduring, and any appeal made to it by politicians is generally successful.

Happily in the present case, the retort is complete. The spoils system, with the stamp of feudalism upon it, was imported into this country from England, where it had obtained in the modern form for one hundred and forty years. It pervaded all departments of the English state, the army, the navy, and the church, as well as the civil service, attaining a growth which it has never known here. Offices were openly bought and sold, the purchaser acquiring a proprietary interest therein. There, as here, patronage was the active coefficient of corrupt elections. Rotten boroughs were exposed for sale in the market, and members of parliament were bribed to the support of the crown by sinecures, pensions, and money. At the time our government was founded, the spoils system was flourishing luxuriantly in England, and George III found it a most serviceable instrument in enforcing his policy of persecution against the thirteen colonies. It is a pity that those gentlemen who claim the spoils system as peculiarly "American" should have forgotten this. It embarrasses their argument. *Per contra*, the merit system is a democratic institution, and its practical application to our civil service was coeval with the beginning of our government. That England should have been before us in embodying it in the form of law proves nothing more than the immense progress which has been made in that country towards popular institutions.

IV.

"The executive power of Great Britain is hereditary, and changes only at the death of the monarch. The administration, however, changes at will, and may change every week. Therefore, the idea of life tenure for executive officers is consistent with an executive for life. Therefore, an official class of lifelong tenure is consistent with monarchical and aristocratic government, which is peculiarly a government of classes. But it is not consistent with a democratic government and a short-lived executive where no class is recognized by law and all men are equal." *

It happens, unfortunately for the consistency of this argument, that in England, under the modern system of parliamentary government, the administration is the executive. The executive powers of the crown are obsolete, having passed to the prime

* Senator Vance, Cong. Rec., vol. xxii. Part III., p. 2949.

minister and his cabinet. But these officials "change at will;" they "may change every week." Consequently, tenure on good behavior—mis-called life tenure—is consistent with democratic government and a short-lived executive. If civil service reform is not adapted to the United States, where the president holds for four years, *a fortiori*, it is not adapted to England, where the tenure of the premier—the real executive—is the shortest and most precarious imaginable. Indeed, what we call civil service reform is the very life of parliamentary government. If, with every change of the ministry, a "clean sweep" of the officers should be made, the English civil service would soon be in a state of anarchy. Under such a system, rapid alternation in party control would totally disorganize the administrative machinery of the government, and would be a perpetual threat against the existence of the empire itself—a thing of course not to be tolerated. The situation in England was logically reducible to this: Either the spoils system must be abolished, or some one party must be continued in power indefinitely which would mean the destruction of popular government. There could be no hesitation in choosing. The new democracy achieved a victory over feudalistic privilege that was complete and final.

Even apart from any political principle, the reform has vindicated itself. When the administrative departments ceased to be asylums for decayed gentry, and were thrown open to public competition, there was an improvement in the morale and efficiency of the service. Reorganization upon the basis of the merit system was extended even to India, where the duties of officials are of a most delicate and complicated character, involving, as they do tactful relations with and control over two hundred millions of aliens.

But it has come to pass that civil service reform, which was denounced in England as "democratic," is opposed in the United States as representing exactly the opposite tendencies. "Aristocracy," "bureaucracy," and "insolence of office" are expressions as familiar as they are misleading. They deserve a brief consideration.

Aristocracy means the permanent exaltation of a few individual names. It implies great social dignity and distinction, and generally is based upon an hereditary succession of title and land. An aristocracy of department clerks and mail-carriers is an absurdity. However worthy such persons may be, they will have no more social distinction than clerks in business houses, whose tenure is the same as theirs. They possess neither title nor wealth, and are condemned to a routine of labor. The effect of service in a great government machine is to sink individuality, not to exalt it. The tens of thousands of school-teachers who are in the pay of every state do not constitute an aristocracy. In fact, they are rarely in the public view, and this for the reason that they are not "in politics." Fortunately, the spoils system has not been applied to our public schools. If, however, it were the practice to dismiss all the republican school-teachers whenever a democratic governor was elected, and *vice versa*, we should, without doubt, be feelingly assured that any other tenure would seriously imperil our institutions.

Bureaucracy is another chimera. It can not exist where the heads of administration are constantly changing, where admission to the civil service is open to all, and where the removal of the unfit servant is expeditious and easy.

Insolence of office is an *a priori* argument. It has been pertinently said, in answer to it, that, at the time tenure on good behavior was superseded by Crawford's four-year law and by Jackson's regime, it was never urged by the innovators as a reason for the change that the manners of office holders were contemptuous and overbearing. The objection is an after-thought. Of the insolence of bureaucracy and of the arrogance of aristocracy the American people have had no experience under any official tenure, and are not likely to have.

A civil service becomes formidable to the liberties of a people only when it seeks to perpetuate itself by interfering with elections. Inasmuch as this purpose (to override the public will and to create a bureau

cracy) is the very vice of the American spoils system, speculation as to what may be, under civil service reform, can be profitably postponed to an observation of what is.

The countless minor offices of the United States are filled by a distinct class known as "professional politicians." These men live by politics, receiving place as reward for political work. Their control of public office is monopolistic. Mr. Bryce estimates their number at two hundred thousand, but this is probably an underestimate. They constitute a guild, although they are not organized under formal articles of association. With them office-getting (or keeping in office) is an industry, and the fees and emoluments are accepted as payment for partisan services rather than for the exercise of official functions. The influence which the office-holders wield is altogether out of proportion to their numbers or to their intellectual attainments. But they possess this advantage over all other classes—they are unified and organized. They make the management of primaries and conventions the serious business of their lives, and acquire a skill and experience in "wire-pulling" which ordinary citizens can not hope to cope with. The politics of the country is in the hands of these men. The people elect, but can not nominate, being reduced to a choice of candidates selected by the politicians of opposing parties. These politicians dictate nominations, high and low, and afterwards foreclose a lien upon public place which they claim to have earned. All others, those who can not show a certificate of this character, are excluded. The spoils system has been compared with a fairly conducted lottery, in which every one has an equal chance. But the analogy is loose. In all lotteries the prizes are limited to ticket-holders, and in the American political lottery the ticket-holders are few. The farmer, the shopkeeper, and the laborer generally have not the remotest chance of preferment, unless they can produce evidence of partisan work more or less technical or questionable. Of course the number who can offer such credentials is comparatively small. To begin with, all the members of the defeated political party (who, under our electoral system, constitute, as often as not, more than one half of the people) are rigidly debarred. Secondly, only that small contingent of the dominant party who have been of practical use to the candidates in convention and elsewhere, and who possesses the advantage of a personal acquaintance with one or more of them, receive any consideration whatever. The idea, therefore, that the offices are in the hands of the people is the shallowest of delusions. They are sold to the few for a price which the many are unwilling and are unable to pay. It is needless to say that, in this barter and sale of public place, the proper transaction of government business is lost sight of. Competency does not appoint an applicant, and can not save an incumbent. Other motives of a mercenary or selfish character control in both cases. Office brokerage is a shameless and conspicuous fact, as the newspapers and the congressional debates daily attest. It is the great object of civil service reform to restore these offices to the people, and to overthrow the bastard aristocracy who have despoiled them. Those good citizens who are apprehensive of government by "official caste" need not strain their eyes to the future. They should look about them.

V.

"The political disqualification of office-holders is an invasion of their rights as American citizens."

Civil service reform, as embodied in the Pendleton Act of 1883, does not deny to an office-holder any rights which properly belong to him as a citizen of the United States; on the contrary, it restores to him those rights of which he has been deprived. It protects him against partisan discrimination by the appointing power; it protects his salary from assessment by his official superiors; it protects him against removal for refusing to render any political service. It restores to him the right to think for himself, and to register his opinion at the ballot-box, free from the espionage of the informer. In this wise the law protects him. But civil service

reform, in its gross and scope, within the statute and without, looks to the protection of the people also. There are certain things which a citizen as a place-holder may not do. He may not use his official influence to coerce the political actions of his neighbor, to wit: he may not neglect the duties of his office to do a henchman's work; he may not pack primaries, manipulate conventions, collect and disburse election funds, corrupt the ballot box, or tamper with the returns. Some of these things are forbidden by the federal and state criminal law; others not. But whether or not, any and all of them are grave breaches of his duty, both as a citizen and as an office-holder. Yet these are the things which, in varying kind and degree, many officials notoriously are doing. Is it necessary to characterize such partisan activity as a monstrous evil in a country where the triumph of right is a question of majority, or to justify the executive orders which have been issued to suppress it?

In England, more than a century ago, the interference of office-holders in elections assumed such proportions that the whole body of subordinates in the executive department were forbidden by law to vote for members of parliament. In 1868, after the introduction of the merit system, this law was repealed, as being an unnecessary restriction. If a man procures an appointment on his deserts, and not through political influences, the obligations of appointee to patron do not exist, and the temptation to indulge in corrupt election practices disappears. The American doctrine of the relation of the office-holder to the body politic was set forth (albeit little to the immediate purpose) by President Cleveland in an executive order issued July 14, 1886. In it he said:

"Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges, but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity, by office holding. A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easy, in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place, and the consideration of the necessity, under our form of government, of political action free from official coercion."

VI.

"Is a competitive examination the best or any test for official competency or efficiency? May not a man be eminently competent for official preferment, and not at all competent for a competitive examination?"

The system of competitive examination may not be perfectly adapted to ascertaining the comparative fitness of candidates for place; but it is the best that has been suggested, and it is infinitely better than a system in which fitness is not considered at all.

It accomplishes, within the sphere to which it has been limited, the chief object of civil service reform, namely, the removal of the ministerial offices from the domain of partisan politics. It tends also to increase the efficiency and to decrease the cost of the civil service—an important though secondary consideration. There are some kinds of officers who can not well be chosen by competition: the fourth-class postmasters, for instance, who live in sparsely settled districts, and who may be appointed by one of several feasible plans that have been suggested, and the higher grade of officers, such as chiefs of bureaus, whose competency would be better assured if they obtained their positions by promotion, based upon worth, fidelity, and long experience. As to the intermediate offices, the system of competitive examination works satisfactorily. The official duties are clearly defined, and it is an easy matter to test the qualifications of applicants. If it be urged that business men do not select their employees by this method, it may be replied that they always make searching verbal inquiries into the capacity of applicants, and that, in some instances, where large numbers of men are employed, written questions are submitted.

*Senator Call, Cong. Rec., vol. xiv. Part I. p. 498.

In fact, competition, in some form, is the unwritten law of the commercial world, it being a needful guarantee of the best service.

It is, of course, possible that a man may be "eminently competent for official preferment, and not at all competent for a competitive examination;" but the chances are greatly against it, if the examination be "practical," as the law says it shall be. The civil service commission have performed their duty in this matter judiciously. That part of the examination which is intended to test the general fitness of applicants will not greatly tax the mental resources of any one possessing a common school education, unless expert services are required. The standard set is low rather than high. Sir G. O. Trevelyan says that the opening of the English civil and military services to competition, in its influence upon national education, was equivalent to a hundred thousand scholarships and exhibitions of the most valuable kind. Whatever may be the influence of the system of federal examinations upon the education of the American people, there can not be two opinions as to the effect of that system upon the national character. It is needless to point out that a public contest of merit, into which any one may enter without fear or solicitation, induces high endeavor, and conserves manhood. On the other hand, it is equally patent that where offices go by favor thrift follows fawning. Women seeking an honest career are reduced to importuning, mayhap subjected to insult; young men are transformed into mendicants and sycophants; and the position of all applicants does not differ materially from that of the Elizabethan courtier, whose ignominy Spenser, in travail of spirit, has described so vividly:

"Full little knowest thou, that hast not tride,
What hell it is in suing long to bide:
To loose good days, that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to day, to be put back to morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortless dispaire;
To fawne, to crouche, to wait, to ride, to roue,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."
—*Oliver T. Morton, in the Atlantic Monthly, April, 1890.*

Congressman Ray contributes the following interview to the *Washington Penny Press*: "Senator Quay gets everything he goes after. He is very willing to sign the applications of office-seekers, but he has a special method of indicating the man whom he wants appointed. He will sign the papers of a dozen men who want the same place, but he will make a personal visit to a department for the man of his choice. Some time ago I went to the agricultural department to get a friend a place, and urged upon Secretary Rusk the fact that my man was warmly indorsed by Senator Quay. But the secretary told me, 'Bless your soul, I've already appointed a man for that place, and he was especially endorsed personally by the senator.' So you see Senator Quay has several degrees of indorsement, and the departments understand how to regard his name on a document."

John A. Sample, the present democratic postmaster of this city, has sent his resignation to the President. A number of worthy republican citizens are applicants for the office, and as a compromise, Congressman Browne has consented to allow the citizens to hold an election, by which means to choose from among the applicants the one to be appointed. The election will be held in the near future. Postmaster Sample's term did not expire until December next.—*Knightstown Special to Indianapolis Journal, March 5.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

"What is needed is a Christian conscience vital and real enough to damn iniquity even when it would be more convenient to have it taken up into glory. So that if you are a democrat and hear a democrat lie, you will be prepared to brand it as a lie then and there. If you are a republican and know a man is a bribe giver, you will be prepared to brand him as a bribe giver, even though he be a republican and worth a good deal to his party."—Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst.

"The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicures."—Senator Ingalls.

VOL. I, No. 15.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana, where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana

The Civil Service Chronicle desires facts regarding the so-called "resignations" of fourth class postmasters; who has requested these resignations, by what agencies have these been effected, and in what instances have resignations been practically forced so prevent loss on the post-office furniture by disposing of it to the would-be successor in office.

The Civil Service Chronicle desires information of all cases where the man at the top of the eligible lists for positions in the railway mail service has not been chosen.

The Civil Service Chronicle will be glad to receive information upon the following points:

The name of any newspaper editor or owner who has or may receive a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all members of political committees or delegates given a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all federal office-holders who are members of any political committee or who act as delegates, naming the committee or the convention.

Statements regarding any political activity in primaries, conventions or political work done for any nominees by federal office-holders.

THE civil service commissioners have summed up their case before the congressional investigating committee. We have not received Mr. Thompson's argument, but it is spoken of as a remarkably eloquent defense of the merit system. Mr. Roosevelt answered the accusers point by point and conclusively. Whatever the report of the committee may be, it is a fact that the attack upon the commission was made and carried on because the commission enforced the law.

THE conclusion of Mr. Oliver T. Morton's article in the *Atlantic* upon "Some Popular Objections to Civil Service Reform," appeared in the May number and fully sustained the character of the first part. The Indiana civil service reform association should divide this article into tracts and send them broadcast over the state. What friend of the association will furnish the means?

THE annual meeting of the Indiana civil service reform association was held at Fort Wayne, May 16. The business meeting in the afternoon adopted the resolutions published elsewhere. In the evening the address of Mr. Bonaparte, which the CHRONICLE also publishes, was delivered to a large and closely interested audience. Both meetings were, in size and interest, the most successful ever held. Fort Wayne is perhaps the best instance of the notable progress made during the last year.

The individuals in favor of civil service reform became united in the association, and having taken upon themselves the arrangements for the annual meeting, they were strong enough to make it, as we have said, the best ever held. The same organization has been accomplished in other parts of Indiana, and it may be put down as a sure sign of the growth of the reform sentiment.

THE most important struggle yet had in regard to the merit system since the passage of the Pendleton act, and which has been going on in the house the entire session, reached its climax in the debate over the appropriation for the commission. The spoilsmen put forth their full strength, and were completely routed by a vote of 120 to 61. It is doubtful if they can again muster so many votes. The debate indicated the growing feeling among party managers that the merit system will have to be shouldered and advocated as a party measure. It was well known that Mr. Lodge would give it his best efforts, but when Mr. McKinley, the republican leader of the house, stood up and claimed the civil service law as a republican measure, and declared that it was good and wholesome for the whole country, and that no party will have the courage to repeal it, he gave proof that republican party management, whether from virtue or necessity, is actually taking its stand upon the principles of the merit system instead of confining itself largely to platform expressions. It will be remembered that when, some four years ago, Senator Harrison was criticising President Cleveland's shortcomings with the civil service, he expressly reserved his own opinion of the system. It is fair to state the claim that many leading democrats were anxious to speak in favor of the merit system, but could not obtain recognition. This may indicate the beginning of a race by both parties to get, in fact as well as in words, upon civil service reform ground. Our Indiana congressmen allowed Cheadle to make a sorry appearance for himself and the state.

THE Norfolk republican club, of Boston, has "banquetted" Clarkson. It was stated that this proceeding was intended to give an "impetus" to the campaign in that state. The scattered fragments of the tin-horn Farwell club might try the cohesive properties of a meal to Clarkson. If this worked well they might change their name to the tin-horn Clarkson club, and buy some more furniture and rent another room. Clarkson could give this club enough impetus to keep the constable off from their effects for at least three months.

Now is the time for civil service reformers in Ohio to bestir themselves. They are there in plenty. It only needs a little patience and enthusiasm to find one another out and to effect an organization. Ohio politics have been graded quite as low as the Indiana article, and it has been the fashion to say neither state wanted anything different. The fact is that the bulk of the people of both states have but little sympathy with spoils politics, but the intense partisanship common to both has been a hindrance to any reform that might require a reproof to the party in power. It is true that we have outstripped our neighbor, but surely now, after the stand taken by Congressmen Butterworth and McKinley, those who realize the dangers of the spoils system should for a time forsake ease and fight actively for a good principle. It ought to be matter for encouragement not to have a spokesman like our Cheadle.

WHEN the *Civil Service Record*, the first paper printed entirely for the dissemination of facts regarding the civil service and the reform of that service, was started in 1880 it was a paper of four pages. A look at its early issues shows how thoroughly its editors had searched for current news and how meagre the field was. The daily papers did not think it worth while to chronicle the quarrels and contests and happenings going on among the spoilsmen big and little. What is the place to-day of all facts relating to the civil service? There is no other topic the year through that occupies an equal space in the public prints. It was not that the facts did not exist, but it had not been discovered that under the surface of the ordinary political currents which ran in the shape of high sounding doctrines and platforms was a seething mass of corruption, engendered solely by the anxiety to get office and draw pay from the public treasury; and that this corruption had spread until, in the shape of political assessments, vote buying, perjury, mercilessness, and degradation of political character, it had gone far to kill out patriotism and stifle patriotic efforts, and had led the people in many localities to submit themselves, almost without protest, to the rule of Quays and Gormans—a rule which has no other foundation and no other development than the feudalism of the Middle Ages. Now all is changed; the cover has been torn away and all the reform papers in the country can not find space for the facts which prove the ruin to which the spoils system, unless broken up, will lead us; and this publication of the facts is remorselessly grinding that system to pieces.

MR. ROOSEVELT, upon his return to Washington from his western trip, made a favorable report regarding the enforcement of the law in this post-office. The following, from the report, is of interest:

The civil service board at Indianapolis has evidently been doing its duty well; and a special meed of praise belongs to Messrs. Fishback and Butler, who are outside of the post-office department, and who nevertheless have done valuable service as members of the board with no other motive than a disinterested desire to perform a public duty. We were able to appoint Messrs. Butler and Fishback because they were in the service of the government, though really outsiders as regards the special work to be performed. The faithfulness with which they have done their duty and the good effect it has had upon the outside public to know that two gentlemen of their character and standing were officiating as examiners, emphasizes the recommendation that we have made in our annual report to the effect that our local boards should contain members not in the government service at all who could not possibly be coerced by any official in the performance of their public duty. This would tend greatly to increase the public confidence in the fairness of the examinations. They are as a rule perfectly fair now; and the chief thing to do is to get the public to believe that this is the case. I am confident, however, that this belief is growing day by day.

THE people of this city now have an opportunity to note the warped views which prevail as to what constitutes a good fireman. There are twelve vacancies in the fire department, and the chief, Mr. Dougherty, thinks that seven democrats and five republicans are necessary. Now comes Councilman Hicklin and says that the people want a non-partisan fire department, and he therefore proposes that eighteen democrats shall be appointed, although this would make it necessary to dispense with some experienced firemen, while but three of the eighteen proposed have had any experience. Hicklin proposes to continue turning out experienced men and appointing democrats until the parties are balanced, and then he says we shall have a non-partisan fire department. The people will sometime put an end to this trifling with their vital interests. The law puts the nomination of men to fill vacancies upon Mr. Dougherty. If he wants to do his duty to the people of this city, let him call upon Messrs. Butler and Fishback of the federal examining board, and we venture to say that they will make up for him a series of tests for candidates for the position of fireman based upon the tests long in use in New York, Brooklyn and Boston. We venture also to say that those gentlemen, with the necessary teachers of gymnastics, and physicians, will, without charge, act as an examining board for him. These preliminaries settled, let Mr. Dougherty advertise that he has twelve vacancies to be competed for, and that the competition is open to all comers. When the board has held its examination and made out its graded list, let Mr. Dougherty nominate the highest twelve and let us see if the council will refuse to confirm them because their party or factional stripe does not happen to suit. The citizens who own the prop-

erty in this city care nothing about the political beliefs of the firemen, but they do want firemen of the best physical and other attainments that can be obtained for that business; and in the effort to get such men they may well pray to be delivered from the Hicklins of all parties. There is one way to get them, and that is by competition open to all before an impartial board.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the Annual Meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, May 16.

The Indiana civil service reform association believes that the purpose of public office of what ever kind is of such a nature as to absolutely exclude the use of such office in any manner as personal or party spoil; and any such use may justly be considered as a violation of the trust undertaken by the acceptance of the office.

2. We desire to express our full appreciation of the present civil service commission whose fearless and efficient performance of its duties has secured the enforcement of the civil service law and has gained many victories for the merit system.

3. A great improvement, however, in one department makes it not the less our duty to point out great evils in the rest of the civil service, comprising more than 100,000 places; nor is it any excuse to say that the present is following in the steps of preceeding administrations.

4. In general this vast number of public offices with annual emoluments of many millions are being parcelled out by the President to congressmen who in turn divide them among their most active personal followers. This is feudalism, and being such it is undemocratic and un-American and is in direct contradiction of the letter and the spirit of the constitution. It is a direct violation of the promises of the platform upon which the administration was elected. As one of the many scandalous and humiliating results of this system we note the boasted displacement of more than 30,000 postmasters in a single year, and the proposed displacement of 10,000 more.

5. We thank our western congressmen, McKinley and Butterworth, and those who joined with them, for their able and successful assistance in beating back the recent attack upon the civil service law. This, and other attacks upon the merit system, we regret to say, were fostered and encouraged by the distribution of offices by the Administration until the appetite for spoils, always insatiable, became too sharp to be controlled.

6. We respectfully request the President to bring all cities having free delivery, within the operation of the civil service law at an early day. And we earnestly insist that the present practice with the unclassified service cannot continue. The offices cannot remain in part spoil and in part competitive.

Believing that the merit system must overcome its opponent, we ask the President and congress to take such measures as will soon

bring the operations of the government to an exclusively business basis. Toward this end we ask a careful consideration of the bill introduced by Mr. Lodge to regulate the appointment of fourth-class postmasters.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

[Address before the New York Association, May 8.]

It is very droll that a practice which was gaily satirized in Steele's *Tattler* nearly two centuries ago as an absurdity in the local life of London should be gravely defended as a proper and characteristic policy for the greatest and most intelligent of republics. A friend of the *Tattler's* describes certain solicitations for employment. "Mr. John Taplish, having served all offices and being reduced, desires your vote for singing clerk of the parish." Another "has had ten children, all whom his wife has suckled herself, therefore humbly desires to be a schoolmaster." In this country if Mr. John Taplish, who is reduced in circumstances, or the worthy father of ten children, will both add to those qualifications for public employment a willingness to get up at any hour of the night and ride thirty miles upon the private business of a senator of the United States, we have the senator's own authority for saying that he should consider it a service which ought to be paid for out of the public treasury.

The humor of this proposition, which would certainly have seemed to Dick Steele to require another bottle for its adequate celebration, is greatly heightened by its grave advocacy as a peculiarly American proceeding. But as the distinction of America is self-reliance and fair play, it might be supposed that a system which makes public agents of private servants, which fills the public employment by personal servility and not by proved merit, which practically excludes nine-tenths of the people from all opportunity of such employment and effects a general corruption of politics by patronage, would be considered especially un-American.

DEMOCRATIC STRAWS.

HARRISON is the last president who will ever use the deputy president and patronage boss system to distribute the offices as prizes to the scalawags who do the "dirty work" of the campaign. Members of congress will be compelled to resign as deputy presidents. They can not be congressmen and patronage bosses both. Some of them will be convinced of that before the year is out, but in the mean time they may accept or reject as they please the assurance that the decent people of the country are heartily sick of patronage brokers and patronage bossism.—*St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1890.

"I feel the deepest interest in the movement which looks to the success of civil service reform, and would make any reasonable sacrifice to promote its progress. The unfair assaults which have been made upon it will prove abortive if its friends will persevere in their advocacy and good work. It may be my duty to have something to say in the senate, if the enemies of the reform should endeavor to cripple the work."—*Senator Butler, of South Carolina*.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being unigrt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sate before him, and there professing that he did becomes his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord."

—An intensely bitter fight has been raging for some time among the republicans at Stanberry, Mo., over the postmastership of that place, in view of the fact that the term of the democratic incumbent expires on the 29th of this month. A few days since the name of Vinson T. Williams, the editor of the Stanberry *Herald*, was sent to the senate as the successor of Postmaster Dunn. The confirmation followed swiftly, being made on Friday last, but on Monday Al Tomblin, of Stanberry, and one of the leading republicans of the city, appeared here to contest the selection of Williams, and at his request the confirmation of Williams was reconsidered so as to give him an opportunity to present the case to the President. To-day the President issued an order recalling Williams's name, which makes the case interesting, as many republicans of that vicinity have wired the President in Williams's behalf, among them C. O. Patton, a Harrison elector for the third congressional district, and A. R. Stockton, the chairman of the republican county central committee.—*Washington Dispatch to St. Louis Republic*, March 14.

—He [the President] found, for instance, that the national committee, hoping to win the election without Indiana, was disposed to insist that Indiana should pay its own way and secure the electoral vote of the state for its not very favorite son. Platt, Quay, Clarkson, and Dudley were believed to be willing that Harrison should be beaten in his own state if they could elect him in other states and so put him in the White House with a black eye. Then it was that a conference of the Indiana leaders was called at the Denison House in Indianapolis to hear the candidate's appeal for help. The leaders were implored to raise money. The chairmen of county committees were at the conference addressed by Harrison. After the candidate, with tears in his eyes, had personally told the workers about the refusal of the national committee to furnish any funds, Huston, New, Michener, and other members of the state committee saw them privately. The chairmen were assured that if they would raise the needed money, and get out the vote of their counties so as to carry the state, they should control the patronage of their counties when the President had been safely landed.

In Daviess county a half dozen formed a pool, raised \$100 apiece, and bid off the post-office at Washington to M. L. D. Sefrits, proprietor of the *Washington Gazette*, the arrangement being that the pool men were to be recompensed out of the proceeds of the office after it had been given to the winner.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Nov. 19.

—The ring's candidate for postmaster had not been a soldier, and up came the Grand Army Post with one W. P. Ellis, an old soldier, as an applicant, and the war began. The Grand Army veterans made it very hot for the administration. They demanded the fulfillment of the promises made during the campaign to the soldiers, and threatened vengeance in that locality if one of their number was turned down for a civilian. The contest raged for a considerable time and finally Ellis won, and

now the members of the ring who put up the funds have nothing to show for it, and a feeling as though they possessed the proper anatomy if some person with a No. 10 brogan would volunteer to do the kicking.

Mr. Sefrit's organ, the *Washington Gazette*, recently raised the howl. It said:

Before the Chicago convention the party organizers were all right. They were begged to interest the people in the candidate that the state managers had decided upon. They were implored to manufacture a sentiment which would send the Indiana delegates to Chicago, practically a unit for General Harrison. How well this was accomplished we all know. After the Indiana man had been chosen by the great convention, further responsibilities of the gravest character fell upon the "workers." They cheerfully and unhesitatingly accepted the burden and unstintingly devoted their time, influence and money to the interests of the party's nominee.

Daviess county republicans have been miserably treated, and there is no county in the state that showed better work for the national ticket last year. Yet the organization here was unable to secure the appointment of a postmaster at a village in the north part of the county for a man that the whole neighborhood wanted in the office, and who was a soldier, a reputable gentleman and a good-working republican. Some hidden influence defeated the wish of the whole community, and the persons interested were not even given the satisfaction of knowing how it was done.—*Washington Dispatch to St. Louis Republic*, Nov. 18.

—PLATT has arranged for taking the census of his state. Superintendent Porter had recommended a man named Doremus, whose services in the taking of the last census fitted him for the position of general superintendent of the 1,000 men necessary for the work in New York City. Platt, however, caused his henchman to be named by the President. The *New York Times*, March 31, gives the following description:

An illustration of how this little scheme of Platt's works was furnished in the twenty-third assembly district Friday evening. Frank Raymond is the republican boss there. In response to instructions from Mr. Murray (or Platt) he had the stuffy little republican headquarters at 2250 Third avenue packed with such of his henchmen as desired to be appointed to do this census work. The crowd was not a pretty one. It smoked, was profane, and shed tobacco juice profusely.

These patriots were in exact proportion to the number of census enumerators to be appointed. All had filled out applications in advance. Raymond was there, and, taking the applications, he seated himself at a table on a platform where his portly form could be admired by his assembled satellites. Raymond had beside him a couple of workers who examined the republican enlistment roll of the district and checked off the names as the appointments were made.

The process was very simple. Raymond would call off a name. The man who was its proud possessor would go to the platform. Then Boss Raymond would say:

"Are you on the roll?"

The question was purely a perfunctory one, for Raymond well knew that every name he called was on the roll. Then he would ask:

"What district would you like?"

The applicant would choose a district, which, if it had not already been selected, would be assigned to him. Some of the names were not responded to in person, but by men who were supposed to hold some sort of proxies. These men would inform Raymond that the absentees could not possibly attend, but "it was all right."

Thus one hundred or more men were appointed, and the meeting was adjourned to neighboring beer dispensaries. Many of the appointees were respectable-looking, but the majority were henchmen of the

most approved type. If the one thousand men to be appointed in this city are to be of the same general variety, the citizens of New York will do well to caution their wives and daughters not to get frightened if, on answering the door during the time that the census is being taken, they encounter rough-looking men.

The capability for the work that these appointees possess, at least in the majority of cases, is very much in doubt. The spirit with which they will enter into it was shown in at least one instance last evening. A person known as "Joe" approached another whom he addressed as "Pete," and said:

"Hello, Pete! Youse don't want this job, do ye?"

"Well, yer can bet I wants the coin in it," was the reply.

"But have yez got the time to do it?"

"Well, I don't waste no time on it, see? If I can't do it nights I don't do it at all, but it's a cinch, a perfect snap."

Both Pete and Joe were appointed to districts.

—The adherents of the Woodruff-Willis [naval officer] faction in the Kings county republican general committee undertook last night to begin the fight for control of the third congressional district. They succeeded in drawing out an adverse vote of nearly two to one. The test came up soon after the general committee met in the Athenæum on Atlantic avenue, when Secretary Barrow read a petition from about two hundred residents of the twenty-third ward, asking for a re-enrollment.

This ward is now controlled by Ernst Nathan, and he thought the fight of last night so important that he attended in person, and from a seat in the gallery directed his subordinates. He recognized that a re-enrollment might mean the loss of his control in the ward, which in turn would signify the defeat of Congressman Wallace's demand for a renomination and the selection of Robert D. Benedict.

The petition called out a number of speeches and propositions, which finally dwindled down to a motion that the whole matter be referred to the delegates of the ward affected. This meant a decided triumph for Nathan, and through him for Wallace. It was adopted by a vote of 114 to 58. It is safe to say that Wallace will get the full vote of the twenty-third ward.—*New York Times*, May 14.

—The two republican factions held six conventions in this city to-night. It was the culmination of the contest which began on Monday.

The "ins," led by Postmaster W. W. Johnson, and other recent appointees, and the "outs," by William Henderson and other leaders who did not get offices, held separate primaries on Monday, each claiming to be the lawful organization. There were earriagcs for voters, and workers were out in full force. In some wards each faction returned a vote several times larger than the combined vote of both, and each claimed that its delegates were elected. Last night the city convention was opened by Postmaster Johnson. The Henderson faction was not given representation, and it went off and held a convention of its own. To-night each faction held a separate convention in the three legislative districts and adopted resolutions against the other.—*New York Times*, May 7, *Baltimore Dispatch*.

—A red-hot post-office fight is on at Clear Lake. To adjust matters Congressman Sweeney has consented to an election, and is to appoint the one receiving the greatest number of votes.—*Dispatch from Mason City, Iowa*, March 11.

—I am wholly unacquainted with the duties of the office, and do not know when I shall take hold. It is not a civil-service office, and will probably be more or less under the control of politics.—Interview with Collector Mamer in *Chicago Times*.

ANTI-FEUDALISM.

Mr. Lodge [Mass. Rep].—Now, Mr. Chairman, what is really un-American and un-republican are the favoritism and the nepotism of the patronage system, which must be destroyed by some such means as this law if by no other way. I think it is un-American to see the representatives of the American people hunting up and down the corridors of the department to obtain an office for some friend. * * * It is this which is not American, nor anything else that is respectable or decent or manly, this practice which compels the great officers of the government to give hours and days when a new administration comes in to personal appeals and political appeals and everything of that sort, and which makes senators and representatives wait hour after hour in the hope of picking up a clerkship or messengership for somebody.

Mr. Chairman, the patronage and spoils system is an un-American system. It is a system that was practiced by Sir Robert Walpole one hundred and fifty years ago, and carried by him to the highest point of perfection. It was the system by which the French monarchy sucked the life blood of the people of France. There is nothing American about it. There is nothing American or republican in anything which is all favoritism and personal influence. What is American is fair play and an open field. I do not mean to say that the system that we have substituted is perfect. I have no doubt it has many imperfections—most things have. But it is infinitely better, in my opinion, than the system which it has replaced. We hear in private on every side complaints from gentlemen who belong to the party in power of the way in which their time is taken up, and of the quarrels with which their districts are filled on account of the distribution of offices. Patronage never benefited any man or any party.

As I said in the last congress, your side of the house had the patronage in the last election and there is no evidence that it helped you very much. We had it in the election before. There is no evidence that it helped us then. We have had it since the last election. How much has it helped us since that time? [Laughter.] We have been distributing the patronage of office with a free hand. How much good has it done? Talk about humbug and fraud! I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, where the humbug and fraud come in. They come in in the party conventions which meet and resolve one thing, meaning another. Gentlemen go there and never lift their voices against those fair-seeming resolutions; they do not strike them down in the party conventions or protest against them then and there like honest men. They take them to the people of the United States to build upon and to ask votes upon, because they know that down at the bottom the masses of the people, without going into any great detail as to how it is done, approve civil-service reform and dislike to have these revolutions in office. They know that the people dislike to have the offices made the spoil of party victory.

The people are not greedy for changes in office, and the clamor in your ears is that of a few and not of the many. * * I accepted my party platform in good faith. I accepted that pledge about the civil-service law, as I did others. I do not think it is a sham or a fraud for a party to undertake to uphold that which it has solemnly pledged itself to uphold. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the President of the United States, in his message, asked increased appropriations for the purpose of carrying out the civil-service law. *The gentleman who has stood twice at the head of the democratic ticket as their candidate for the presidency said in a speech in Boston not three months ago that in his judgement the civil-service law was all that stood between the civil-service of the government and political degradation.* Those are the opinions of the the two leaders of the two great parties. The platforms of those parties are before you. The fair and honest thing to do is not to stand here and bicker as to who

has lived nearest to the law, but to try and make that law better if possible, to try and put these offices on some better footing, upon something more American than a system of back-stairs influence and political intrigue.

One other point. The argument is made over and over again with reference to what is done with the offices which are not under the law but which are filled by patronage, as if that had anything to do with civil service reform. It has nothing in the world to do with it. As to the offices that are filled by political patronage, whether their occupants are turned out and men of a different political faith take their places in one year or in three years makes no difference. It is going to be done on a change of parties. We all know it is going to be done. You did it. We have done it. You can not help it nor can we, for we are bound hand and foot by a vicious system. The only way is to take offices and by law put them out of the reach of patronage. *When you talk about the people who are excluded from office by the civil service law, I answer that one in three of the list of eligibles reaches appointment. Now compare that with the old method.*

Before the railway mail service went under the civil service law I had sixty applicants from my district for clerkships. Neither I nor any other congressman could have gotten over five of those places. That is one in twelve. The number of people who get office does not depend on the method by which they are selected. It depends on the proportion between the number of places and the number of applicants. With the law you reduce somewhat the number of applicants. With patronage you multiply them. Under the law you cause less of the waiting that maketh the heart sick. You are fairer at least to the people who come here seeking offices, and you have a system which, whatever may be its defects, is, in my judgment, more manly, more honest, more respectable, and more American than hanging about and begging for offices as a personal favor from those who for the moment are supposed to hold them in their gift. [Applause.]

* * *

Mr. Henderson [Iowa, Rep.].—Mr. Chairman, civil service has come to this government to stay [applause], and the political party that deserts it will not stay, and ought not to. [Applause.] * * * I say to my associates on this side of the house, that I helped to make the platform in 1888. I believed in it then. I believe in it now, and I am here to act upon my convictions. Upon that platform we carried the country in 1888.

We carried the best thought and sentiment of the country, and I say to my associates, do not now in this indirect way desert that great standard of principles and turn your backs upon the people of this country who put you into power and responsibility in the weighty issues of that great campaign. *I do not want to go back to the old spoils system. I want to get further away from it. I want the lawmaker to be able to make laws and to equip himself for doing so, and not to become a mere lackey for the spoils system.* In the name of progress, now that we have advanced the standard, let us keep hold of it, stand under it, fight for it, and perfect a law which was born of much thought, of much conflict, and which, whatever any political party may desire, the people of this country will never desert. [Applause.] * * *

PRO

Mr. Perkins [Kansas, Rep.].—*I believe that the administration in power ought to stand by the men who have conferred honors on it and made it possible for it to administer the affairs of this great nation. I would not have it reward those who are unworthy or who have been guilty of unlawful or corrupt practices; but I know there are men who have been active day after day in working in the interests of their party, who are just as honest, just as faithful, just as efficient and capable to perform the duties that might be assigned to them in the service of the government as the men who pass civil-service examinations, and who are without political convictions.*

* * *

Mr. Cheadle [Indiana, Rep.].—Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of striking out this section because I am opposed to the whole theory of the civil service reform law. It is un-American in all its provisions. Its purpose is to build up a class of office-holders for life who will be exempt from all the burdens and obligations of citizenship. * *

Mr. Tracey. Did you not promise to sustain the civil service law?

Mr. Cheadle. *I may have made a quasi promise, but I did not consider it an essential factor of my political faith. I want to tell my friend from New York [Mr. Tracey] that I believe this is a government of the people, and I am opposed to class legislation, and because this civil service law is class legislation I am opposed to it, and the people that I have the honor to represent here are just as much opposed to it as I am.*

[The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.—Republican Platform, 1884.]

[The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finances, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. *We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs or because their candidate has broken his.* We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of civil service, auspiciously begun under the republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. *The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.*"—Republican Platform, 1887.]

* * *

Mr. Spinola [New York, Tam. Dem.].—This scheme has proved to be infamous. That is what I mean to say, and the longer it continues the more obnoxious does it become to the people. As I told you before, the reasons are that it is absolutely un-American, and it is absolutely in conflict with the principles upon which our government is founded. It creates a class in this country, and will ultimately lead to a burden upon our posterity by the creation of a civil-service pension-list. You can not avoid it. They will tell you that whenever a man has served the government his whole life he ought to be put upon the pension-roll to be taken care of in his old age.

FEUDALISM.

Representatives, April 23, 25 and 26, 1890.

FEUDALISM.

Mr. Grosvenor [Ohio, Rep.].—The republican platform adopted at Chicago in 1888 did not approve and indorse the present civil-service law and this faulty system of administration, nor did it promise to stand by the present civil service commission. It is the general principle of civil service and the purification of the civil service that that platform speaks about. * * *

Mr. Clements.—I only want to ask the gentleman from Ohio what civil-service system it is that the party at Chicago was in favor of?

Mr. Grosvenor.—*To turn the democratic party out of power and put the republican party in.* [Great applause.]

I do not believe that under the system of government under which we live there ought to be a power subordinate, or collateral, perhaps, is a better word, to the responsible administration of the government, that shall be permitted to have anything to do with the control of appointments, or the establishment of a system of civil service in the country, or the promotion of a class of individuals to be favored by a permanent occupancy of the places under the government. [Renewed applause.] That is my view of this whole business; and Mr. Chairman, I have no time to elaborate upon the principle underlying my views. I believe that the present organization of the civil service commission is faulty, feeble in administration, unworthy of the high place that it occupies in this government, and I couple together the effect of its administration and the administration itself * * *.

[Under the constitution the president and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office.—Republican platform, 1876.]

[The republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes.—Republican platform, 1880.]

* * * I am told that there are to-day on the eligible list persons who have had an examination before this commission in various portions of this country, young men and young women who are certified to be eligible to office, sufficient to fill the places for twenty-five years to come under the reasonable expectations of accidents and casualties of death and resignation; and yet hundreds of men and women in my congressional district and all over the country are being inveigled and cajoled or urged to go to Columbus, to Parkersburgh, Cincinnati, or elsewhere and spend their money and time to be examined before this commission when there is not one chance in a thousand that one of them will get a position, and all of which is known to the commission when it sends out its invitations. * * *

Take my district. It is a district with plenty of schools and colleges. My constituents, as a rule, are educated people; people of refinement and character. A large number—I do not know how many—have applied, been examined, and passed successfully for high positions under this system, and yet outside of two or three who have found their way into the postal service under the restrictions and limitations as to geographic location, which aided them, I have not been informed of one who has found a place in the classified service from my congressional district. I know that my district far excels in education the districts which have produced at least two of the civil service commission. I know that ten thousand of my people are better educated than the people of their districts are in like numbers, and yet after having been marked up to the highest grades they have been allowed to go on until they have lapsed, and so far as I know not one clerical position has been assigned to my congressional district.

ANTI-FEUDALISM.

Mr. Moore [Rep., N. H.].—I believe thoroughly, in the first place, that every element of patronage, no matter how high or how low, should be eliminated from connection with the American house of representatives. I believe, secondly, that the constitution does not warrant, that it never did warrant, and that it never was contemplated that representatives in congress should have any connection whatever with the patronage of the government. I challenge any man on this floor to point out to me one single word uttered in any of the conventions that discussed the original constitution, whether it be the convention that sat in Philadelphia or whether it be the conventions that sat in the several states, where any speaker ever suggested, directly or remotely, that the American house of representatives should have any connection with patronage. * *

There has grown up in this country a perversion of the constitution by which a connection has been established between the law-makers and appointments. This is wholly outside of and in direct violation of the plain letter, spirit, and genius of the constitution itself. * *

The assaults made on the civil service law, and especially on the civil service commission, are without parallel in our history. The law has been derided and held up to public contempt, by politicians and journalists, in and out of season, and the commission has been pursued, maligned, and persecuted in the very capital of the nation, in a manner and to an extent that have been a scandal and a disgrace to journalism and justice.

The civil service law has now been upon the statute books for nearly seven years. Its work can be measured and weighed, and the friends of the law only ask that it shall thus be treated. The following statement shows the work achieved by the law and its execution for the six years ending June 30, 1889:

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Statistics of examinations, failures and appointments.
Number examined in six years.....53,301
Number failed.....22,603
Per cent. of failure.....35.1
Passed.....40,626
Appointed.....15,017
Per cent. appointed to those that passed.....37.

The past year.

Number examined.....19,132
Number failed.....7,082
Number passed.....11,978
Number appointed.....3,781
Per cent. appointed to those that passed.....31.6

SPECIALISTS EXAMINED AND APPOINTED THE PAST YEAR.

14 patent examiners.....All appointed.
10 pension examiners.....All appointed.
11 stenographers and type-writers.....All appointed.
6 stenographers.....5 appointed.
26 type-writers.....17 appointed.
91 special pension examiners.....43 appointed.

The average of all appointments is as 2 to 5 of examinations.

Of those who pass the probationary term, 98 per cent. are retained in the service.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS FOR THREE YEARS.

Public schools.....18,476
Colleges.....3,029
Business colleges.....1,164

It was stated by the distinguished representative of the fifteenth Ohio district. General Grosvenor, in his remarks on Wednesday, that he knew of no person who had secured an appointment in the classified service from his district. The misleading and astonishing character of this statement must go with the fact that the commission have made eight such appointments, aside from four appointments in the railway mail service. As there are twenty-one congressional districts in Ohio the absolute fact is that the fifteenth Ohio district has had more than its proportion of the 113 to which the state is entitled.

So as to Minnesota. The distinguished gentleman from that state, Mr. Dunnell, said he knew of but one appointment to the classified service from his state. The absolute fact is that under the operation of the law the enterprising youth of Minnesota have secured twenty-six appointments in the classified service, only two less than her quota. * * *

Mr. Greenhalge [Mass., Rep.].—I stand here as a civil service reformer, if I am only one of a dozen in this house. I did not expect to be called upon to defend this principle, in which I believe there is life and energy and immortality. I did not expect to be called upon by my republican associates on this floor to defend what I supposed had been written into the political law of the republican party. I did not expect to hear these attacks from the other side when I remembered that the same political principle had been written into their platform.

Why, Mr. Chairman, are we to stand here as mere hypocrites and humbugs? Are we to listen quietly to these statements that when we write a declaration into a party platform we do not mean it, but that we consider it is put in for "buncombe"? * * I certainly do not believe it of the republican party; I have faith that every word about civil service reform was honest and true, yet we have gentlemen sitting here who say these declarations were meant simply for "buncombe," for sound, for show. Now, Mr. Chairman, let me tell you why that declaration was put there in both platforms. They put it there because the politicians who attended these conventions heard the voice of the American people demanding that it should be put there! These sagacious gentlemen, these practical politicians, never put anything in those platforms unless it means business; unless it is going to count; unless it is the sentiment which will do the most good with the voting population of the country. I say, Mr. Chairman, it is encouraging to hear on this floor; not direct and manly attacks upon this principle—it is encouraging to hear only attacks upon the manner in which the principle has been carried out and applied. I like to hear the charges and the countercharges hurled from side to side—criminations as to the manner in which the principle was violated under the last administration.

I like to hear the charges of violations of this principle under the present administration. It means the health, the welfare, and the salvation of the law. All we have to do with the matter to-day, Mr. Chairman, is to say this: "The principle of civil service reform has been written into the political law of both parties; it has been written upon the statute books of the United States."

* * *

Mr. Hill [Illinois, Rep.].—No one who has seen, even from a distance, even with this civil service law on the statute book, the tremendous pressure for office upon this and the preceding administration, can for a moment doubt that some method of relieving each incoming administration from that pressure should be provided.

This is not the occasion, nor have I now the time, to point out the evils of such a system, but, Mr. Chairman, I hope to see the time when great political parties will be organized and run, and when political campaigns will be fought and won, on great principles, questions of policy affecting the well-being of people at home and abroad, and not for the purpose of dividing the spoils of office.

Mr. Chairman, political patronage is an element of weakness, and not of strength, to a party. All experience shows this. Every member on this floor knows that as a fact. The history of this as well as the preceding administration demonstrates its truth. Look at it, sir. Reflect for a moment upon the reverses which overtook the Cleveland administration four years ago, and which have now overtaken this administration at the polls.

What does it mean? Simply this. That five out of every six, yes, nine out of ten, candidates for office are disappointed and show their resentment by staying away from the polls.

The republican party is now experiencing the ruinous effects of that appetite for office. It is, as I said, an element of weakness and not of strength, and will ruin any party that tolerates or encourages the system. * * *

ANTI-FEDERALISM.

Mr. Cutcherson [Mich., Rep.] The question before us is, shall we abolish the civil service commission and return to the old system of appointments through the influence of members of congress, or shall we continue in its present or some modified form the civil service commission?

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this motion. I am opposed to it at the present time, and in its present form; and I am opposed to the abolition of the civil service commission at any time or in any form. **Mr. Chairman**, I do not mean to be understood by that to say the present system is not to be criticised or that it can not be improved; but I do mean to be understood that the appointments to office should be continued in the executive departments of this government, and ought not now or ever to be again remitted to the control of senators and members of congress, who are the legislative department. There is an ancient instrument, not yet forgotten or entirely obsolete, called the constitution of the United States. * * *

In brief, the constitution of the United States provides that appointment to office is an executive function; that it is not a legislative function; that it belongs to the president and to the heads of departments; and that it does not belong to senators and members of congress. I am opposed to this indirect nullification of this provision of the constitution of the United States; I am opposed to this proposition to give to senators and members of congress the powers that belong solely and legitimately to the president of the United States and the heads of the departments. I am opposed to it, first, because it is unconstitutional; because it is an attempted nullification of that ancient instrument. I am opposed to it, in the second place, because it interferes with the proper and orderly discharge of the duties of members of congress. We are a legislative body, and we have no business with the appointments. We have no cause to meddle in this matter of filling the subordinate places in the government.

Our business is here, to make laws; and it is the function of the president and heads of the departments to fill the offices in the executive departments and to execute the law. I am thankful to be able to say that since I have been a member of congress, now nearly eight years, I have never yet secured the appointment of a clerk in any department of this government. It does not belong to me and I do not covet it. Neither do I believe in the benefit of having the appointment of fourth-class postmasters. It has always injured the member who does it. Almost invariably there are from two to half a dozen candidates. But one of them can have the place, and the others are dissatisfied. I would gladly see the law so modified that it would extend to the appointment of all executive offices, so that representatives should not be called upon to recommend or advise appointments. Now, because these men and women are appointed to office by the advice or influence of members of congress they cease to look to the faithful and proper performance of their duties that the law imposes upon them, but look to their "congressional influence" for retaining their places. How often have we heard that expression in Washington? "Congressional influence!" I have heard it here over and over again until I am nauseated with the word.

Congressional influence! What ought congressional influence have to do with keeping a man or a woman in some clerkship in one of these departments? Nothing! The tenure of office ought to depend upon the faithful discharge of the duties which the law imposes upon the incumbent, and not upon congressional or other official influence. [Applause.]

* * *

Mr. Butterworth [Ohio, rep.].—**Mr. Chairman**, I want to endorse every word that my honored colleague [Mr. McKinley] has said in this behalf. The civil service system which is assailed is not of recent origin. It is the result of a healthy evolution. It has come to stay and grow.

Sir, the campaign of 1882 was won by the democracy because we were charged, and it was believed, that we were filling the offices, not with free and intelligent men, but with mere political retainers. "Monarchical!" There is nothing that smacks of "monarchical" forms so much as the "spoils" system, under which a man stands here, not the representative of the people, but the special representative of retainers who go at his beck and nod—political "bummers" who become stronger than the free intelligent citizens who stand by his side. In other words, we expect to return to our places, not upheld by the virtue and intelligence of the constituents we represent, but by gathering together retainers and packing the conventions with all that that implies.

We can, as my colleague here suggests, trust the republican boys and girls of this country to win their way by merit. If not, our government is a failure altogether.

One gentleman says that we knew nothing of corruption under the old system. Why, he has forgotten the history of his own country. Has he read the Covode investigation, under the administration of James Buchanan, showing that there was hardly a congressional district, there was not a navy-yard, in fact there was not a place in the country where there was not a host of mere political retainers, not employed to discharge any duty in which the people were interested, but appointed simply for political service? And at that time the land was filled with men who served no other mission upon earth than to be the mere political pimps of men who were a political power in the nation.

Sir, we went out of power on that issue. We are in power to-day because we promptly passed this civil-service law. My colleague has well said that that law is here to stay, and stay it will.

* * *

Mr. McKinley [Ohio, Rep.].—**Mr. Chairman**, if the republican party of this country is pledged to any one thing more than another it is to the maintenance of the civil service law and its efficient execution—not only that, but to its enlargement and its further application to the public service.

The law that stands upon our statute books to day was put there by republican votes. It was a republican measure. Every national platform of the republican party since its enactment has declared not only in favor of its continuance in full vigor, but in favor of its enlargement so as to apply more generally to the public service. And this, **Mr. Chairman**, is not alone the declaration and purpose of the republican party, but it is in accordance with its highest and best sentiment—ay, more, it is sustained by the best sentiment of the whole country, republican and democratic alike. And there is not a man on this floor who does not know that no party in this country, democratic or republican, will have the courage to wipe it from the statute book or amend it save in the direction of its improvement.

Look at our situation to-day. When this party of ours has control of all the branches of the government it is proposed to annul this law by withholding appropriations for its execution, when for four years under a democratic administration nobody on this side of the house had the temerity to rise in his place and make a motion similar to the one now pending for the nullification of this law. We thought it was good then, good enough for a democratic administration; and I say to my republican associates, it is enough for a republican administration; it is good and wholesome for the whole country. If the law is not administered in letter and spirit impartially, the President can and will supply the remedy. **Mr. Chairman**, the republican party must take no backward step. The merit system is here, and it is here to stay, and we may just as well understand and accept it now, and give our attention to correcting the abuses, if any exist, and improving the law wherever it can be done to the advantage of the public service.

PRO

Mr. Houk [Tenn., Rep.].—I do not believe in this "fifth wheel to the wagon;" but this commission is inconsistent with the teachings of American institutions, unrepresentative of anybody except the gentlemen who presume they are sanctified politically and have a right to pass on the rights of everybody else. * *

Mr. McMillin. Did you vote for the civil service bill heretofore?

Mr. Houk. I think possibly I did. [Laughter.]

Mr. McMillin. I merely wanted to refresh my friend's memory in that connection, for I think he did vote for it. [Laughter.]

Mr. Houk. If he had taken the trouble to look at what I previously said at that time, the gentleman would have found that I did not want to allow anybody to be any bigger hypocrite than I was, for I considered there was much hypocrisy on the part of the professional civil service reformers. [Laughter.]

* * * They ought to see that the boys who carry the torches, who hand out the tickets, who go out into the highways and hedges and compel the voters to come in, should have the places and have the courage to say so. The people of this country will never sanction a policy that authorizes a public man to say, "I am elected to congress," "I am in the White House," or "I am in the cabinet; I have got a good position, but you boys who rallied round the polls and sent me and others into these high places, you may stand back; there is nothing for you unless the civil service commission prescribes it for you." [Laughter.]

[Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing.—Republican Platform, 1872.]

* * *

Mr. Coleman [La., Rep.].—**Mr. Chairman**, I am in favor of the motion to strike out. I am opposed to "civil service reform," and feeling that way I feel justified in striking at it whenever I can and wherever I can, for the purpose of helping to kill it if I can.

* * *

Mr. Dannel [Minn., Rep.].—It can not be said for the republican party that it has in all respects observed the spirit of the civil service law.

We are treating fourth-class postmasters very much as Cleveland treated them. I am aware that these offices are not within the civil service law. * * *

We have been having examinations for places in the various departments now going on for a number of years past. Young men and women in Minnesota have gone to St. Paul, to Des Moines, and to Chicago to be examined for these places, but from all of these examinations but one young man has been appointed from my congressional district under the civil service system.

These young people have spent hundreds of dollars to little avail, for hardly a man has been appointed. It has been to them a delusion and a snare.

Mr. Chairman, let me ask you whether the postal service is any better to-day than it was six years ago. No man can say that it is. It is no better than it was two years ago. [Applause on the democratic side.] It will be no better two years hence than it is now. The young men who now get in are not better than the young men the members of congress took from the farms and the workshops, intelligent young men, and brought into the mail service in the years gone by. There is a man in one of the departments here to-day that I put there nineteen years ago, who stands exceedingly high in that department. I took him from the farm; he was an upright, earnest young man. He could not have passed, perhaps, the civil service examination; he could not tell you when the next eclipse of the sun would occur. [Laughter.]

FEUDALISM.

Representatives, April 23, 25 and 26, 1890.

FEUDALISM.

Mr. Biggs [Cal., Dem.]—Sir, Thomas Jefferson was the author of the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils. [Cries of "Jackson!" "Jackson!"]

Mr. Biggs. No, sir; Jefferson was the author of the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils. If any one denies it I will send my authority to the clerk's desk and have it read. Thomas Jefferson was the author of that doctrine, but General Jackson and Governor Marcy gave it a more defined and wider application. That is what the historian says, and I challenge any man, republican or democrat, to deny it. [Laughter.] I am that kind of a civil service reformer. [Laughter.] I will tell you what is the fact: I never visited that civil service reform office but what I felt as if there was something in the atmosphere that inspired a desire in me to steal something. [Laughter.]

Those are the facts. I tell you this civil service was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. [Renewed laughter.] Who was the father of it? George Pendleton was the father, George Curtis was the granny, Dorman Eaton was the nurse and elout, washer of this infamous bill. [Laughter.] Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon! If there ever was a corrupt measure, a measure that is demoralizing, and that has received the condemnation of the American people, it is this iniquitous, accursed, civil service reform law. [Great laughter.] Sir, I have had one hundred to two hundred men in my employ, and I insist that I was a more competent judge of their qualifications than any civil service reform commission ever could be. [Laughter.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. Biggs. I ask for about two minutes more.

The Chairman. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California, that he be allowed to proceed?

There was no objection.

Mr. Biggs. Mr. Chairman, I am going to support this bill, but I ask this house, republicans and democrats, to come to the front and wipe out the appropriation made necessary by this odious, iniquitous law. *The idea of having three men sit up there at the city hall and pass upon the qualifications of people seeking office! What do they do? I will tell you. I sent a lady friend of mine there, a native daughter of the golden west. I sent her there and they promised to give her a position. She stood 87 high on the roll in her examination. They kept her here eleven months and twenty days and gave her no position at all.* [Great laughter.]

I will tell you a little incident that occurred between Mr. Cleveland and myself. I have got time have I not? [Laughter.] [Cries of "Yes." "yes!" "Go on!"] I was here in Washington before I was a member of congress, and as I had been a presidential elector, Mr. Cleveland sent me a note requesting me to call and see him. I went and called on him. He met me very cordially. There were some one hundred or two hundred gentlemen there waiting, and I said, "I will not trespass on your time, Mr. President." "Oh," said he, "you have come as far as any other gentleman, and you have a right to be heard."

Mr. Spinola. And that was about all he did for you? [Laughter.]

Mr. Biggs. I will tell you about that. Says I, "Mr. President, I want no office."

Mr. Henderson, of Iowa. That was a great relief.

Mr. Biggs. Says I, "Mr. President, I want no office, nobody turned out or put in, but," said I, "I differ with you, Mr. President, upon the civil service reform question. I admit that it is the law; it was in the platform on which you were elected, and in your letter of acceptance also; but you have a right to construe it in your own way." "Major Biggs," the President replied, "what would you do if you were in my place?" "Well," said I, "Mr. President, it is infinitely better to obey a bad law than to violate it; but if I were in your place I would put a very liberal construction on that law." [Great laughter.] I went a little further than that, and I said to him: "If I were in a water melon patch I would get all the best melons I could." [Laughter.]

ANTI-FEDUALISM.

Mr. McComas [Md. Rep.]—The republican party has never been able to break its pledges without paying the penalty. This is a cowardly attempt to nullify the existing law. Why do I say it is cowardly? The republican party are not ordinarily nullifiers. If we face something as a party, we march forward, take our ground and stand upon it. But this back-door way of attacking the civil service commission now established by law by attempting to starve it out is dishonorable and unworthy of a great party that won a glorious victory on a dozen pledges, in the front of which it puts its solemnly repeated pledge that it would stand by this reform when the democratic party failed to stand by its pledge for civil service reform.

What is the result of this proposition? For seven years under the existing law and by its invitation you have sent a hundred thousand men and women and young girls from the farms and villages up to the cities of the country where you have held your examinations; and they have been placed on the eligible list—one hundred thousand of them last year—many of them poor. They are hoping that you meant what you said when they went to be examined. *They found that 22 per cent. of those examined had been placed on the rolls of government employment last year, and they thought that they had one chance out of four this year of appointment if you should keep your pledge.* They are relying on your honor, your party's honor, to give them the opportunity which was promised them under the law. * * *

I now say, Mr. Chairman, that we as the republican party, on that distinct and unequivocal pledge, the most distinct and explicit that ever was made by any party, would stultify our party and humiliate ourselves if we dared to attempt in any such manner to sneakily try to evade the responsibility of the law. [Applause.] We dare not. This system has come to stay, and ours it is to faithfully administer it.

Over and above the clamor here, over and above the desire for office that many men have, over and above the natural desire I have in common with other men in behalf of the aspirations of men who are good and true, I say when it comes to forfeiting my honor and that of my party I would rather leave public life and be a decent private citizen than to surrender that over and despoil my party and its pledges made twice in the terms I read. I had rather go home and preserve my self respect than to undertake to repudiate those pledges by accepting the proposition made here and vote out of this bill an appropriation which we are in honor bound to sustain. [Applause.] * * *

Mr. Tracey [New York, Dem.]—Mr. Chairman, I wish to allude to the President of the United States only in respectful terms, and I am well aware that human endurance is sorely tried by constant appeals for places which can only be supplied by removals, and I make some excuse for the executive not having lived up to his professions; but his failure to do so has been a great mistake, and that he has failed is most distinctly shown in the numerous cases where he has removed worthy officials before the expiration of their terms, such instances of removal being by his direct personal act. In my own district two presidential postmasters were removed in this manner, entirely without cause, so far as I am informed.

The president should be credited with having made two admirable appointments to the commission. Messrs. Roosevelt and Thompson are gentlemen of the highest character, who, with their colleague, will, I am sure, carry out the requirements of the law without fear or favor; but, Mr. Chairman, what will it avail to have made these men commissioners if the postmaster-general, his first assistant, and the superintendent of the railway mail service are to be allowed to conspire to violate both the spirit and the letter of the law? It has been done in the

district which I have the honor to represent, where excellent railway mail clerks have been removed and men illegally appointed in their places.

Mr. Chairman, the President, in looking back upon the first year of his administration must realize that members of his cabinet and subordinate officers have either forced or induced him to act contrary to the line of duty his promises as a candidate called for; and he may well question whether these persons have been unselfish friends. His predecessor, and opponent, to my mind, had earnestly endeavored, under much more trying circumstances, to elevate the civil service, and as a consequence had alienated a portion of his party, while at the same time losing the support of many former friends, who were attracted by the unexpected proffer made by the present executive to take even a more advanced stand for civil service reform than was demanded by the most enthusiastic advocates of its cause.

Indeed, many hold to the opinion that in the states of New York and Indiana this course attracted a sufficient number of voters to the republican ticket to account for its success in both those states.

The cause of good government is dear to us all, and laws which have been enacted to benefit the people should not be obstructed by a refusal on our part to give the necessary amounts for enforcing them, nor by short-sighted political tricksters trying to evade their requirements.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, if any change be made in this appropriation for the civil service it should be an increase, and that congress should encourage and direct the commissioners to carry out the law and assist them in efforts to secure punishment for all who violate it, even if heads of departments or cabinet officers are made to suffer. Let those officials, whether in this city or in any part of the country, who sneer at the law, not forget that severe penalties, including fine and imprisonment, may be inflicted upon those who transgress, and that the president of the United States, after all, may not have the desire, if he has the power, to shield them from the consequences of wrong-doing.

The friends of reform owe a great debt of gratitude to its enemies in congress for recently establishing this fact still more plainly. If any man doubted the hold of reform upon public opinion the doubt was removed by the late debate in the house of representatives upon the appropriation for the civil service commission. The pricking of the bubble of reform, the overthrow of lunar politics and sentimental quackery were duly announced as about to occur. The field was chosen, the charge was sounded, but more ludicrous skirmishing was never seen. "I have led my ragamuffins where they were peppered," ruefully exclaimed the perspiring Falstaff, and surely never were recruits more sorely peppered than the spoilsmen in the house. They were first overwhelmed by the weight of ability and political standing, then crushed by the vote of two to one. The good cause was maintained, not doubtfully and with hesitation, not apologetically and reluctantly, but aggressively and without reservation. The argument was placed where it belongs, upon the public and party advantage of reform. Its advocates gladly professed their faith in it as truly American and reasonable. They spoke as patriots and honest men, conscious of a host of patriotic and honest men behind them.—George William Curtis.

—There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism.—PRESIDENT WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

—Col. J. A. Watrous, proprietor and editor of the *Milwaukee Sunday Telegraph*, was made collector of customs at Milwaukee.

—Gen. Michael Kerwin, editor and proprietor of the *Tablet*, was made collector of internal revenue for the second district of New York.

—David F. Ritchie, editor of the republican paper at Saratoga Springs, New York, was appointed postmaster. [It is stated that the Vice-President requested the appointment of a friend, but qualified his request that anybody would do but Editor Ritchie. Editor Ritchie has fought Congressman Sanford's battles and over Lord Sanford met and unhorsed his adversary, though a vice-president.]

—John A. Place, editor of the *Oswego [N. Y.] Times*, has been appointed postmaster at that town. [A correspondent writes explanatory of the appointment: "A peculiarly obnoxious case has just occurred in Oswego, N. Y. On expiration of term of P. M. Barry, it being known that both Alonzo H. Failing and John A. Place, both of this city, were being urged for the position, letters were sent by all the clergymen of Oswego and many of the most prominent citizens, representing the pre-eminent fitness of Mr. Failing. On the other hand, strong protests were sent in against the unfitness, on moral grounds, of Mr. Place. No candid person in Oswego will deny that the respectable people of Oswego entertained the strongest preference for Mr. Failing. Nevertheless Place has received the office, with no other qualification than that of being editor of the "*Times*," thick and thin republican organ. As a thorough-going spoilsman, he announces a "clean sweep," which is begun by the appointment of his own daughter to the position of assistant postmaster.]

—Alonzo A. Smith, editor of the *Ogdensburg [N. Y.] Republican and Journal*, and chairman of the republican county committee, has been made postmaster of the town. Mr. Baird was removed to make the place.

—F. L. Dodge, editor and proprietor of the *Hanford [Cal.] Sentinel*, has been made postmaster of Hanford. The place was made by the removal of the incumbent.

—F. L. Mencham, of the *Plainview [Minn.] News*, has been made postmaster of the town.

—Alvah Eastman, of the *Anoka [Minn.] Herald*, has been appointed special agent of the internal revenue department, at eight dollars per day and traveling expenses.

—J. H. Hudder, *Aurora [Ill.] Beacon*, has been made postmaster.

—Smith D. Adkins, *Freeport [Ill.] Journal*, has been made postmaster.

—E. S. Fletcher, *Morris [Ill.] Herald*, has been made postmaster.

—H. J. Dunlop, *Champaign [Ill.] Gazette*, has been made consul to Breslau.

—M. M. Lewis, *Lena [Ill.] Star*, has been made postmaster.

—John F. Dewey, *Aurora [Ill.] News*, has been made marine deputy, Chicago custom house.

—E. N. Stevens, local editor of the *Paxton [Ill.] Record*, has been made postmaster.

—E. A. Nattinger, of the *Ottawa [Ill.] Times*, has been made postmaster.

—Capt. Frank Mahin, editor of the *Clinton [Iowa] Herald*, has just been appointed postmaster.

—S. A. Marine, editor of the *Vinton [Iowa] Observer*, has been appointed pension agent for Iowa and Nebraska.

—Editor Baldwin, of the *Ellis [Kan.] Headlight*, has secured a position in the government printing office at Washington.

—H. A. Perkins, of the *Olathe [Kan.] Mirror*, has been appointed postmaster.

—O. H. Bronson, of the *North Star*, at New Richland, Kan., has been appointed postmaster.

—D. W. Irwin, of the *Akron [Col.] Pioneer-Press*, has been appointed postmaster.

—Ed Charles, editor of the *Carthage [Ind.] Record* has been made postmaster.

—Isaac Jeukinson, editor of the *Richmond [Ind.] Palladium*, has been appointed postmaster.

—Thad Butler, editor of the *Huntington Herald*, was appointed postmaster in November last. [Mr. Butler has just resigned from his federal position on the ground that he can not with satisfaction to himself hold the two positions at the same time.]

—W. F. Vogt, publisher of *Spence's People's Paper*, has just been appointed postmaster at Covington, Ind.

—L. M. Noyer, editor and publisher of the *Echo*, has been made postmaster at Akron, Ind.

—J. P. Pickett, editor and publisher of the *New Era*, has been made postmaster at Albion, Ind.

—L. H. Beyerle, editor of the *Goshen Times*, has been made postmaster at Goshen, Ind.

—W. E. Knight, editor of the *Monitor*, has been made postmaster at Grand View.

—C. E. Newton, editor of the *Herald*, has been made postmaster at Kawanna, Ind.

—John H. Rerick, editor of the *La Grange [Ind.] Standard*, has been made postmaster of that town.

—M. L. Enyart, editor of the *Monitor*, has been made postmaster at Macy, Ind.

—G. W. Fountain, editor of the *Gazette*, has been made postmaster at New Carlisle.

—J. P. Carr, editor of the *Tribune*, has been made postmaster at Oxford, Ind.

—C. B. Caddy, editor of the *Republican*, has been made postmaster at Pendleton, Ind.

—J. W. Siders, editor of the *Republican*, has been made postmaster at Plymouth, Ind.

—E. J. Marsh, editor of the *Commercial*, has been made postmaster at Portland, Ind.

—J. H. Cluggage, editor of the *Union*, has been made postmaster at Sullivan, Ind.

—A. L. Lawshe, editor of the *Journal*, has been made postmaster at Xenia, Ind.

—Col. G. G. Benedict, editor of the *Burlington [Vermont] Free Press* has been appointed collector of that district.

—F. C. Smith, editor of the *St. Albans [Vermont] Sentry*, has been appointed deputy collector at St. Albans.

—A. H. Butterfield, editor of the *North Troy [Vermont] Palladium*, has been given a federal job.

—F. N. Whitney, editor of the *Burlington [Vermont] Clipper* has been made deputy internal revenue collector.

—Col. C. S. Forbes, Vermont correspondent of the *Boston Journal*, has been made deputy internal revenue collector.

—Joseph A. Ernst, editor of the *St. Genevieve [Mo.] Herald*, was made postmaster of that town.

—Louis Kimmell, of Lafayette, was to-day appointed deputy United States marshal, under Marshal Ransdell, for the District of Columbia. Mr. Kimmell is a representative German, was editor of a German newspaper at Lafayette, and for three terms was mayor of Lafayette. The position pays \$2,000 a year.—*Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, March 13.*

THE SCOPE AND DIFFICULTIES OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

[An address by Charles J. Bonaparte, delivered at the annual meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association at Fort Wayne, May 16.]

In any enterprise it is a condition of success to know what we want; mistakes, disappointments and discouragement are inevitable if the results really sought are imperfectly understood. I believe that many, perhaps most, civil service reformers err in that they underestimate the magnitude of their undertaking; they recognize this to be the destruction of the "spoils" system of politics, but they fail to appreciate how this system has become interwoven with almost every phase of our national life. Some of them said, probably a majority thought, when their agitation first took definite shape through the formation of local associations and of the national league that when a statute such as they wished had been enacted by congress, their work would be virtually done; the law thus obtained would work automatically and its benefits be so obvious that similar legislation by states and municipalities would follow as a matter of course. I need not pause to point out their error; seven years of experience have done this so clearly that no one, however predisposed to optimism, certainly no one living either in Indiana or Maryland, can now believe that this law has power (any more than any law which the wit of man ever devised) to work "automatically," or that our politicians admire and would extend the effects of its practical working. But that such should have been, as it unquestionably was, the expectation of many earnest reformers proves them to have very inadequately appreciated how complete a revolution their success would work, not merely in the dispatch of our public business, but in the entire machinery of our politics, proved indeed that they failed to realize what are the political institutions under which we live.

This failure is neither so surprising nor so blameworthy as it might seem at first sight; even intelligent and well informed Americans have some excuse for not knowing who are

THEIR TRUE RULERS.

No doubt it is a trite saying that the English constitution was not made but grew. We all know that agencies and customs, unmentioned in the written law, gradually became their instruments of government and invariable rules for public men, so that, by a striking anomaly, the mutual relations of the law-making bodies are determined by a mere tacit understanding and general acquiescence, and the constitution of the country, which has been here solemnly declared "the supreme law of the land," does not there rise to the dignity of a law at all. But it is not so easy to realize that we also entrust the substance of political power to extra-legal forces, and only its form to those recognized in the statute-book; that here not less than in our mother country, and notwithstanding our numerous and frequently varied written constitutions, political institutions of over-mastering weight and importance have grown up amongst us, of which no trace can be found in these and which, as in England, have reduced the nominal sovereign to a dignified nonentity.

A ready illustration of this is at hand. It can hardly be doubted that the president of the United States for the term succeeding the present will be nominated at either the next republican or the next democratic national convention. Their organization and proceedings, the characters, sentiments, aims, desires, prejudices of the delegates chosen to form them, will be facts of the greatest weight in determining who shall next occupy the White House. Yet a foreigner, knowing us only through a study of our constitution, would not suspect this; he would find nothing in our laws suggesting the power or even the existence of either of these bodies, or the importance to the country of their selection and conduct. On the contrary, he would attach consequence to the composition of a totally different body, one so shadowy in its powers, so mechanical in its duties, that most of us forget its very being. Of the millions of voters who cast their ballots in November, 1892, I

doubt if one in a hundred will even read the names of the figure-heads printed on them as electors, much less reflect that the men so named, if elected, have the right conferred, and even the duty imposed, upon them by the constitution of each one exercising his personal, unbiased judgment in recording his vote for president. Yet this independent judgment in the electoral college was certainly contemplated by the framers of our constitution and was exercised, to a greater or less extent, in the earlier elections held under it: since its adoption nominating conventions have developed as new organs in our body politic, and there has been what naturalists call a "correlated atrophy" of the organ whose functions they have usurped.

To answer the question: By what institutions are we now practically governed? we must first understand its meaning. When we say that Russia or Turkey is "governed" by the czar or the sultan, we do not mean that his will directly controls or his wishes immediately affect every act of the public administration: the most despotic monarch must act through agents, and the test of his dominion is not the extent to which he retains or delegates his powers, but whether he remains the sole source of official life. The man or organization that creates and destroys the depositaries of power is the true sovereign, however indirectly he or it may govern, and to know who are our present rulers, we must discover by whom are presidents, and governors, and mayors, and congressmen, and assemblymen and aldermen, made and unmade.

The question thus stated, the answer is easy. The United States are now governed

BY TWO IMMENSE CORPORATIONS,

calling themselves respectively the republican and the democratic parties, having each a general organization for national, and divisions and sub-divisions for state and municipal purposes, and whose activity extends to the remotest portions of our territory and to the humblest manifestations of our public life. Although they assume the name of "parties" the term misleads; for they differ essentially from political parties in all other enlightened countries, and from those known here before the present generation. Here formerly and elsewhere now, parties were and are organizations of men entertaining similar views on questions of public policy, and combining to obtain practical acceptance for their views. Of course, legislative and some executive offices were always and are everywhere the immediate prizes of political contests, for through their possession only can practical effect be given to the principles of the victorious party. Moreover, in all times and in all countries unprincipled men will be found who mask the schemes of self-interest under an affectation of patriotism; and those placed in positions of public trust will sometimes abuse their patronage for partisan or personal advantage. But everywhere else, and, until these days, here, offices have been, avowedly, at least, a means only; the end of a party, the reason of its life, has been to promote or defeat some measure more or less definite, of legislation or administration, and the use of ministerial offices to reward partisan services, has been, for all statesmen but those of our day and country, a form of bribery practiced, no doubt, but never defended and but little, if at all, less odious than the simple purchase of votes or influence for money.

But for our parties to obtain the principal executive offices, and through them those in their gift, is the whole end and reason of existence; far from wishing the offices to carry out a policy, they fear above all things to advocate an intelligible policy, lest it may cost them the offices.

The question vastly exceeding any other in importance to our national parties, indeed the only question which truly interests them at all, is whether after the 4th of March, 1893, a democratic president shall distribute many thousands of federal offices to democrats, or a republican president shall reserve them for republicans. As a national organization the one party has no other aim than to seek these offices, the other, no purpose but to keep them; for analogous reasons do they exist and contend in every state and division of a state throughout the Union.

An American political party is kept up for purposes as strictly interested as a railroad or life insurance company; the sentiments of its platform mean no more than the devotion to the public to be found in a prospectus of the former, or the longing to care for the widow and orphan professed in the circulars of the latter; they are advertisements and nothing more. The very men who prepare them look with undisguised contempt upon any one who takes them more seriously: a politician of to-day can hardly conceive of a party with other ends than to secure support at public expense for as many as possible of its members; that citizens should combine for any other purpose seems to him absurd and visionary.

The whole purpose of our parties, being

TO OBTAIN AND DISTRIBUTE OFFICES,

they are correspondingly organized. Their leaders are prominent office-holders or those who will become such if the party succeed; their active members are the incumbents of petty offices, or such as hope to dispossess them; their revenues are derived from assessments on official salaries supplemented by the investments of capitalists having contracts to obtain or taxes to evade. Every public office, however responsible, or however humble, that of chief justice of the supreme court or that of a village lamp-lighter, is for our politicians simply current coin to excite and reward partisan activity. An association of this character possesses a permanence and cohesion which no ordinary party could acquire; such a party dissolves when the end for which it was formed has been attained or become clearly unattainable; and one result or the other will ordinarily be reached before many years. But as the object of these associations is one never to be irrevocably effected, there is no reason why they should not endure for all time. So long as the only distinction between republicans and democrats is that the former hold some offices which the latter covet, and the latter hold some which the former covet, the present parties may last as long as we allow offices to be bestowed for party reasons. There will never come a time, while both human nature and our institutions remain the same, when those who wish for places need finally despair of ousting those who have them.

Moreover, although no ruling power can wholly escape the influence of public opinion, our political corporations are singularly free from it. However unpopular outside of, or even within, the party organization, may be the candidate finally chosen, he can count upon the regular party workers. Politicians support him, not from respect or affection, but from self-interest; he may not be the man they would like to see in the place to which he aspires, but, if he is the regular nominee, no one else can do the work they must have done; only he will be bound to put or keep them in office, and keep or put their opponents out. Formerly a commonplace but effective check was imposed on parties by the necessity of appealing to the public for their campaign funds; the popularity of their nominee was fairly measured by the readiness and liberality with which his wealthier supporters subscribed, and a candidate thoroughly distasteful to the more intelligent classes of the community must have been rich enough to dispense with pecuniary assistance. But political managers have no longer this fear before their eyes; office-holders and office-seekers subscribe with what would be amazing liberality, considering their means, were the sums given really gifts; they are, however, simply investments. The givers know that if their party goes or stays out, they all certainly go or stay out of public employment with it; if it stays, or comes in, each of them has the chance, at least, to stay or come in also. The worst man of their party may give or leave them the means of earning their living; the best man of the other is sure to do neither.

These two powerful corporations have reduced the legal sovereign of the country, that is to say, the people of the United States, to a condition of

MAJESTIC IMPOTENCE,

closely resembling that of the titular ruler of Great Britain. Queen Victoria has nominally all and more than the powers of Queen Elizabeth; but she can ex-

ercise these powers only through her ministers, and these are chosen virtually, though indirectly, by the house of commons. She is treated with such outward deference as to conceal the contrast between her legal and her practical authority, and she is not quite a nullity in the government; she would be held justified in refusing a minister on reasonable grounds offensive to her. But the ruler of England is the leader of the commons; sustained by them, he owes the crown a little formality of manner and a little hypocrisy of language. So the American people has never in form abdicated its sovereignty, but its nominal servants are the creatures of one or other political party. It may be sated with fulsome adulation, but it retains only the shadow of power. The mass of our citizens come to the polls, not to choose their rulers, but at most, to record a preference between nominees of two usurping monopolies, selected by each to do its own work, and with scarcely a thought of their fitness for the work of the people. Only in those extreme cases, when the glaring, monstrous impropriety of candidacies makes them insults to the dignity of the nation, will the latter sometimes really exercise its right of choice. As a rule every successful candidate is conscious that he owes his position, not to the confidence of his fellow-citizens, but the favor of an office-seeking organization, that to it he must above all give satisfaction as a place-jobber, and may then safely devote to his legitimate duties the leavings of his time and the dregs of his energy.

What I have said may be met by the objection, that the two great national parties taken together embrace, for practical purposes, the entire electorate; therefore the one successful at the polls is shown to include a majority of the voters, and their elaborate organization amounts, after all, only to a mechanism whereby this majority first ascertains its own will, then imposes it upon the people. This view is plausible and is adopted, more or less consciously, by most of those who think, write or speak concerning our institutions; but reflection will show it to be radically erroneous; for, although every man who votes the republican or the democratic ticket may be called *pro hac vice* a member of the republican or democratic party, he is not such in a sense which ensures that the party's candidate has received his actual or constructive assent. The established practice of both parties is to choose their candidates, directly or indirectly, through what are called "primaries," in other words, elections at which the right of suffrage is confined to those more or less expressly pledged to support the nominee of the party. The governing bodies of either party are chosen in the same manner; and regarding our parties as corporations, even their nominal membership must be confined to those attending the primaries, by no means all, or even a majority of those who usually vote their respective tickets.

But this is not all: our great industrial corporations are virtually governed by a very small fraction of their nominal membership. As an illustration, the Pennsylvania railroad company is technically composed of every owner of its stock; but when we hear that it promotes this scheme or discourages that, does any suppose that all, or a majority, or even a considerable number of its stockholders have ever been consulted about the matter? For purposes of action and influence the Pennsylvania railroad means certain well-known gentlemen whose names can be told on the fingers of one hand. In like manner our vast political corporations are ruled each by a small inner circle of men whose stake in its operations is sufficient to have them make its control the business of their lives. When the ordinary voter enters the primary, he finds invariably his choice narrowed to two or three candidates. How these have come to be all that have the slightest chance of election, he does not know; the result has been brought about by influences in which he has had no part, and whose nature he generally very imperfectly understands; but he knows, or will soon learn by experience, that unless his vote is cast for some one of these two or three, it will have no more bearing on the nomination than if he had staid at home. The nominee of a primary in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred owes his success to a previ-

ous nomination by some man or clique of men who make politics a trade: he is the creature of a "boss" or a "ring." There is nothing really mysterious in this; some one must make it his business to control any association, or to direct any corporate work; and the more unwieldy the assemblage the more imperative is the need of expert guidance. Professional politicians are indispensable in any popular government; we are peculiar only in having a hundred-fold more of them, and those of a vastly lower type than other nations. We have in our midst several hundred thousand persons who obtain their livelihood by influencing the nomination of party candidates; we may not admire their aims or their methods, but no one can deny or need wonder that they succeed.

OUR LAWS ARE MADE AND ENFORCED

by men who owe their official life to our professional politicians; these constitute, for practical purposes, the two great corporations we call parties, and if the source of power is the true sovereign, the American people has virtually abdicated in favor of this particular class of its citizens. As formerly in Venice, an oligarchy has grown up insensibly among us, and its rule is such as should be expected from the characteristics of the ruling class.

A glance at these will repay our attention. The typical American politician earns his living by holding a public office (usually of subordinate importance and purely ministerial functions) in return for past or expected party work. He is liable at any moment to be thrown out of employment for no other fault than being less useful to his party, or faction, or special patron than some one else who wants his place, and his chance of promotion depends on his ability to supplant in like manner somebody else; in no legitimate way can he ensure himself and his family a continued subsistence, much less make a provision for the future: that he should be usually dishonest is a logical sequence of his conditions of life. He passes his time in an atmosphere of intrigue and dissimulation, concealing or exaggerating his sentiments, amplifying his importance, striving to arouse hopes and fears he knows to be groundless, and to gain a confidence he will be strongly tempted to abuse: it is therefore a law of his being to deceive in words and actions. He is regarded by the community, and especially by the classes who usually fix its standards of thought and conduct, much as usurers were in the Middle Ages, feared and occasionally courted for their power, but hated and despised. Although fortunes are no doubt made in it, politics, regarded as a way to make money, is a poor trade: the proportion of really prosperous politicians is very small compared with the vast number for whom a needy and anxious life ends in a dishonored and miserable old age. It has consequently few attractions for men of character and ability, and such men, with rare exceptions, shun it: it is recruited from the failures and outcasts of all honorable professions, those too dull, indolent or vicious to hold their own in any field of worthy competition. Its lowest stratum is made up, in no small measure, of habitual criminals: we may truly say that our Botany Bay is the political arena; we reform, or further debauch, our convicts by making them our rulers.

Among so many thousands a certain number of men of ability will, of course, be found, but I believe the impression that politicians are generally acute and ingenious, though untrustworthy, is wholly groundless; the vast majority of them are men of the most moderate natural abilities, and the most limited acquirements. Your President has on several occasions pointed out very clearly that the relations between the prominent and ordinary members of the calling resemble those between the robber barons and their men at arms: the "bosses" are noted for skill in obtaining plunder, and liberality in its distribution among their followers; while the latter believe in their patron's star, that is to say, feel confidence in his continued ability to find them places, they adhere to him with unscrupulous fidelity, but he will be deserted in an instant if another proves, or is thought, better able to reward effective service at the people's cost.

With little exaggeration it may be said that WE HAVE MADE OUR RULERS

that class of the community which is universally and unhesitatingly pronounced the most unworthy of confidence in any of the relations of private life: it is difficult to find a term to correctly represent this unique type of government: I have suggested for it "kakistocracy" at the risk of a charge of pendency. That the public business is carried on at all tolerably under it, and that the country's prosperity is unchecked, forcibly illustrates the immense advantages of our national position: to some extent, however, it is due to certain characteristics of our politicians, which in some measure neutralize their more baneful qualities. They are greedy and shameless, but seldom bold, and cowardice with the bulk of them is some substitute for conscience. I have alluded to the comparatively small influence considering the perfect freedom of speech and great intellectual activity of our people, exerted by the sentiment of the educated and reflecting classes on the administration, but, devoid as these classes are of direct political power, it argues great timidity in our politicians that public opinion has any weight with them whatever: that they are ever bullied or scolded into temporarily decent behavior. Moreover, a thoroughly corrupt and self-seeking class is by nature conservative. The American politician has in his mind no dangerously vague visions of general improvement for mankind; he has the perfectly definite and common-place intention to advance his own interest, and no mirage of the imagination lures him into perilous paths in this pursuit. He is not naturally a demagogue; when he attempts the role, he is clumsy and unsuccessful, because transparently insincere. To inflame and play on passions and prejudices of class or race or creed is, in truth, greater work than he is fit for; the practice of vulgar frauds and petty intrigues does not train men to be real popular leaders in mischief. The reflection that our tyrants are too contemptible to oppress us, may not tend to our self complacency, but the fact does much to make their yoke endurable.

Through the reform we advocate and not otherwise that yoke will be thrown off; thus and thus only will the country be freed from the domination of its most degraded and dangerous class and be made worthy of its greatness and its past. The remedy is right before us. No one can fail to find who troubles himself to seek it, or hesitate to apply it if he recognize the gravity of the evil. The nation has made its civil service a breeding place for innumerable petty parasites, and these poison its political life with their noisome presence; restore the service to its proper functions and they will die out like the antediluvian animals for want of an environment in which they can live. But precisely because the effects of the reform will be so far reaching and so beneficent it encounters the implacable hostility of all professional politicians. The thorough going practical application of its principles to the conduct of public business would make them starve or change their calling, and neither prospect is pleasant.

"No thief ere felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law."

And our "statesmen" are no exception to this general rule of their kind. Nor must we disguise from ourselves that professional politicians are not its only enemies. In his speech at Pittsburgh, Mr. Clarkson recently predicted that if the claim of the mugwump that the people favored civil service reform could be "submitted to the people themselves" it "would be rejected by ten millions of votes."

MR. CLARKSON DISPLAYS

at least one mark of a prophet, the last election in Iowa shows that he has little honor in his own country, nevertheless I consider him very ill qualified to predict what would or would not happen in the contingency suggested; but I have no doubt that a good many votes would be cast against "the claim of the mugwump," or, in other words, against honesty and morality in public life, by people who would be secretly ashamed of themselves for doing so. It is not that they are misled by the arguments or

wretched apologies for arguments that have been used against civil service reform; had any man, sincerely desiring the country's good, been led by these to doubt its wisdom, the practical working of the Pendleton bill must have dispelled his misgivings. Under it the public service has not been filled up with book-worms or valetudinarians, nor have letter carriers and custom-house inspectors become brutal in their manners or lordly in their bearing towards the ordinary citizen. College graduates have not monopolized the petty offices, nor have we seen a peerage of departmental clerks created, or our liberties otherwise endangered by the introduction of competitive examinations. What some politicians called the "English pension system," possibly because it had nothing in the world to do with England, and nothing in the world to do with pensions, has been established without creating a bureaucracy or undermining the constitution; in brief, all the silly pretexts and affected fears invented as excuses for resisting the reform have been proven groundless and absurd. But, as a matter of fact, the demonstration was needless; no one to whom any one would think for a moment of listening on such a topic really believed them; they were repeated, it is true, by some who ought to have known and did know better, but such men used them only to blind their fellow citizens, perhaps to blind their own consciences, to the real motives of their hostility to reform. When it was practically, although only partially, applied, civil service reform produced none of the evils they pretended to expect from it, but as no one had expected these evils in fact, this proved only their own insincerity which needed no proof. Nor has the demonstration in anywise disarmed the hostility of its enemies: on the contrary, it is because they understand it better than many persons like civil service reform less. They have learned from personal experience that it may be a serious hindrance to obtaining public employment for themselves or billeting relatives or friends or dependants upon the government, and some who once saw its theoretical merits no longer think it "practical" or "suited to our institutions."

THE REAL STUMBLING BLOCK TO REFORM

is not ignorance, but the torpor of the national conscience. We do not feel our ignominy. The average American is so accustomed to having politicians reduce him to a choice between two almost equally distasteful candidates: to voting for one to show his disgust with the other, or staying at home and grumbling to show his disgust with both, that he looks on this impudent usurpation as a part of the order of nature: let him feel that his submission to it is unworthy of himself, and a source of loss and peril to the commonwealth, and its overthrow is at hand. Let us then abjure the cowardly optimism which ignores evils it is too lazy to correct; the ostrich wisdom which hides from itself the enemy with which it fears to strive. No good or worthy thing was ever done through self-deception: to redeem our manhood, we must recognize our degradation. "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." We should expect and court the enmity of those who live by the abuses which for three generations have now grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength: what bad men cordially detest must contain in it some element of active good. It is well for civil service reform to be hated by Tammany Hall as it was well for England to be hated by Barere. We would spare Americans from being ashamed of their government, would rescue the noblest work of our polity from its basest hands; would extirpate national vices which make us a political Sodom among Christian peoples: with such a goal before us we can well fight on with a calm confidence that any apostasy, any temporary reverse, any seeming injustice of public opinion are but inevitable incidents of so momentous a struggle, but fitting preludes to so glorious a victory.

The State Civil Service Reform Association has a limited number of copies of Mr. Bonaparte's address for distribution.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Washington, in 1789.

"As the Constitutional Convention was about to organize when success seemed hopeless and despair suggested fatal compromise Washington said: 'If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair—the event is in the hands of God.' There spoke the good genius of America. If any words were to be inscribed upon this arch, these words of Washington would be apples of gold in pictures of silver. What he said to the convention he says to us. It is the voice of the heroic spirit which in council and in the field has made and alone will preserve our America. It is the voice that will speak from this memorial arch to all coming generations of Americans. Whatever may betide, whatever war, foreign or domestic, may threaten, whatever specious sophistry may assail the political conscience of the country or bribery of place or money corrupt its political action, above the roar of the mob and the insidious clamor of the demagogue, the voice of Washington will still be the voice of American patriotism and of manly honor—'Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair—the event is in the hands of God!'"—George William Curtis, at the Laying of the Corner-stone of the Washington Arch, May, 1890.

Ingalls, in 1890.

"The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. This modern rant about the corruption of politics is fighting in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicures."—Senator Ingalls.

VOL. I, No. 16.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana, where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The Civil Service Chronicle desires facts regarding the so-called "resignations" of fourth-class postmasters; who has requested these resignations, by what agencies have these been effected, and in what instances have resignations been practically forced to prevent loss on the post-office furniture by disposing of it to the would-be successor in office.

The Civil Service Chronicle desires information of all cases where the man at the top of the eligible lists for positions in the railway mail service has not been chosen.

The Civil Service Chronicle will be glad to receive information upon the following points:

The name of any newspaper editor or owner who has or may receive a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all members of political committees or delegates given a federal appointment, and the name of the office.

The names of all federal office-holders who are members of any political committee or who act as delegates, naming the committee or the convention.

Statements regarding any political activity in primaries, conventions or political work done for any nominees by federal office-holders.

ONE of the reasons given by Senator Hoar why Collector Saltonstall should be immediately succeeded by Beard was that the collector had to represent the Administration at dinners. Collector Beard made his maiden appearance in this capacity at the Clarkson dinner. His enthusiasm for Clarkson and for Clarkson's ideas was almost hilarious, and its only check seemed to be that the collector's conscience was once or twice pricked by the recollection that his office is within the civil service law.

SINCE the writing in another column, further facts about the census in this city have come to light. As is well known the appointments were made upon Pension Commissioner Raum's principle, which is, "When I appoint a man I want to look him in the face and form my own judgment of him." In this manner "Sid" Conger, a defeated republican candidate, was appointed. He had a friend here in Mr. Merrill Moores, who is not in any manner connected with the government service nor with the census, but who is a member of the republican county committee and a very active republican politician. Conger seems to have left it to him to do the looking in the face. This was the true Clarkson idea; no examination by theorists like Mr. Fishback and Mr. Butler of the federal local board, but the unbiased judgment of a party committeeman. The result, however, was the choice of a sorry crowd of republican workers, whose work has exasperated the people of the city as much as if Falstaff had come with his recruits to take the census. In the *Sentinel* of June 19, Mr. Moores says "some of those I recommended have turned out most miserable failures. When Mr. Conger was first appointed supervisor, a great many people knowing him and me to be intimate friends besieged me for recommendations as enumerators. After they had received their appointments, they bothered me for instructions, and now since they are at work and have found out they won't get their money before the middle of July at the earliest, they have importuned me to loan them money." We wish Mr. Moores well out of the hands of his apparently impecunious crowd. A spice is added to the situation by Conger's suggestion that the Commercial Club hire a horse and buggy to act as a courier between omitted inhabitants and Moores's henchmen.

CONGRESSMAN CHÉADLE was defeated for renomination. Indiana and the country can well spare him from the list of congressmen. In the recent debate in the

house, referring to the party promises to sustain the civil service law, he said: "I may have made a *quasi* promise, but I did not consider it an essential factor of my political faith." The departure of such a man from the public eye can not be regretted. He is not known to the people of Indiana except as a demander of patronage; at the end of his congressional career this is the only work that sticks to him and marks him. He must now feel the exceeding shortness of his reward. He did not get the patronage he demanded, and probably this accounts for his defeat. La Follette was the Administration candidate, and by a happy coincidence they were killed off together. It is whispered that the Lord Paramount resented the imperious style of the Under Lord and withheld favors from him accordingly.

THE President was present at the dedication of the monument to Garfield, the most conspicuous victim of the spoils system. The feuds of two great patronage bosses broke out afresh over Garfield's allotment of their spoil, and a poor crazed creature, because his portion was not forthcoming, assassinated the man who seemed responsible. What an opportunity for the occupant of the most commanding position in the United States. An appeal from him to his fellow-citizens against the mob now about him, howling and wrangling for spoil, would have been responded to with an overwhelming patriotism. The *St. Louis Republic* well said:

Standing under the figure of the murdered President and reiterating his own pledge to make fitness the essential and discriminating test, Mr. Harrison might have thrilled the whole country with his denunciation of the corrupt system which assassinated an American President.

But President Harrison had only this lesson to point out as he stood at the tomb of Garfield:

The cruel circumstances attending his death had but one amelioration—that space of life was given him to teach from his dying bed a great lesson of patience and forbearance. His mortal part will find honorable rest here, but the lessons of his life and death will continue to be instructive and inspiring incidents in American history.

MR. L. M. BLACKFORD, at the head of the Episcopal high school of Virginia, has in the *Virginia Seminary Magazine* for June, an excellent article upon "The Morals of Civil Service Reform," from which an extract is given elsewhere. He calls attention to the first systematic effort to enlist the moral and religious sense of the country in behalf of civil service reform by Mr. Welsh. That was a year ago, and it serves as a standard of measurement for the great stride made in a short time. That marked the beginning of a careful examination of the spoils system as a moral question by people in general. It convinced great numbers of the clergy that, disagreeable as was the duty, they could not longer be silent under the steady lowering of the standard of conduct in political matters. The consequence has been a distinct and unmistakable revival of the popular conscience, a disgust, with the coarse immorality of the sentiments of Senator Ingalls, the multiplication all over the country of sermons dealing boldly and eloquently with various moral aspects of present phases of politics, and the firm avowal of many clergymen that they have rights and duties as to the management of the country they live in, not to be evaded because of their sacred calling.

When Bishop Potter, Rev. Heber Newton and Rev. Father Ducey join in a call for a citizens' movement for the purification of municipal politics by non-partisan nominations in New York City, civil service reformers do not feel "fretful," as Mr. Clarkson, who must have been momentarily startled by his own shadow, said in Boston. They will give careful attention to him, and when he says "that everything that we have that is noble in our government and sweet and splendid in our social life is largely the result of partisanship," they will hasten to furnish as facts for illustration biographies of the Tammany toughs now ruling New York, details of the way a boss like Quay subjugates a state, how a senator like Pettigrew can arrogantly flaunt his right to use the Indian service of his own domain as he pleases, and by cumulative facts the country over show the significance of a fettered press and illustrate how an office holding class rules primaries and conventions.

PENSION-COMMISSIONER RAUM.

The character of Pension-Commissioner Raum as a public officer is at last rounded to completion, and may be reviewed from all quarters. He had left office when the merit system was little more than talk, and it is doubtful if he had then ever given it a serious thought. He came back into office after the system had in a few places become thoroughly rooted and had been vindicated by trial.

In some degree it was applied to the pension office. Mr. Raum had evidently learned nothing in his vacation years, and evidently regarded the civil service law as troublesome but not seriously so. Wanting thirty medical examiners, he got Congressman Banks to introduce a resolution authorizing their appointment as spoil. It passed the house without difficulty, and for a time seemed a most dangerous attack. All of the other medical examiners were appointed after competition and these thirty could have been furnished by the civil service commission immediately. If these places, however, should be deliberately classed by congress as spoils, the same influences might remove other places by wholesale from the operation of the civil service law. A word from President Harrison to Raum would have secured the withdrawal of the resolution, which was in direct violation of republican promises, but it was not spoken. It is sufficient to say of this resolution that it is now pending in the senate, which body it will never pass.

When the resolution was introduced in February, Raum was interviewed by the *New York Evening Post* to the following effect:

"Where is the trouble with that plan? As it is now we get our medical examiners through the civil service commission, but the commission have no facilities for conducting such technical examinations. We have to send them a detail of our surgeons to do that work. Now, what is the difference, in practical effect, whether we conduct the examinations under our own departmental jurisdiction or take those men whom the commission examines through the agency of our departmental examiners?"

"It prevents a dangerous personal discrimination, does it not?"

"It prevents me from knowing what kind of men I am going to get." The commissioner spoke with more than his usual warmth. "When I appoint a man, I want to look him in the face and form my own judgment of him. When I buy a horse, I look at its teeth and its tail, and feel its coat; it doesn't satisfy me to take somebody else's statement that the animal is brown, or gray, or black, and stands so many hands high. It is the same way with the men who are to serve under me. I don't care to choose a man from the bare statement that he has made an average of 76, or 83, or 91 per cent."

Commissioner Raum looked his own son, Green B. Raum, Jr., in the face and formed a judgment of him. He did not require him to make an average of 76, or 83 or 91 per cent., but he lumped him off and decided that a suitable place must be made for this son, and so he created a new division known as the appointment division, and put Green B. Raum, Jr., at the head of it with the title assistant chief clerk. This done, Commissioner Raum again looked his son in the face and formed a second judgment of him without requiring any per cent. As the result of this, he removed a woman clerk out of the chief clerk's room, where she had been making some fifteen dollars a month in notary fees, and put this son in the way of turning an honest penny with his notary's seal. The *Journal* correspondent, under date of June 11, says: "When visitors to the office have inquired for a notary they have usually been sent to him, and he is doing a considerable

portion of the business that the woman did formerly."

There is another son, John Raum, who has begun the pension claim business since his father became commissioner. In the pension office there are a thousand chances for sly favoritism, and we make bold to say that no man with a fine sense of honor would ever hold the office of commissioner and allow his son to prosecute claims for pensions before him. The mere relationship as a "draw" to business would put money into the Raum pocket.

Of the same improper nature is the fact that George E. Lemon, a claim agent, who prosecutes claims for pensions in immense numbers before Raum, should indorse the latter's note for \$25,000. Lemon employs hundreds of clerks, and stimulates business by publishing a paper in Washington, which appears under the guise of the soldiers' welfare. Its one cry is more pensions, and few agencies have done more to destroy patriotism. That Commissioner Raum should have any connection whatever with such a man, and of all things should be under obligations to him, and still further, an obligation of such magnitude, is without excuse; it is the embodiment of the spoils idea, and it is such a demonstration of Raum's unfitness for his position that the President ought not to overlook it.

— — —

In other words, I believe that the United States government is a political, and not a business, organization. The interest of the average man in politics must be kept alive to make a republic succeed.— Clarkson, in Boston.

The degradation of spoils politics has a fresh illustration in the case of Charles E. McChesney, the Indian agent at Cheyenne River Agency (S. D.). If the word of such men as Bishop Hare, Herbert Welsh, and the army officers who have the best means of knowing is to be taken, McChesney is an upright man, and a competent and honest agent. On account of impending land questions at this agency, he can be ill-spared. However, his place was "wanted," and charges were made against him of drunkenness and improper conduct with women. Of these charges he was promptly and overwhelmingly cleared. The following letter is indicative of the spirit of the clearing:

To the Right Reverend W. H. Hare, D. D., Bishop of South Dakota:

SIR: The information that you gave me last night that Dr. Chas. E. McChesney, the Indian agent at Cheyenne Indian Agency, S. D., was accused at Washington, D. C., with drunkenness, and had been seen drunk at the village of Pierre, also that he was an immoral man with the squaws at the agency, has filled me with amusement and indignation. I can not understand how any one could be so vile and unprincipled as to make so unjust charges against a man that I have known for about three years, and have always found him to be a temperate and good man, a faithful and honest Indian agent.

Some unprincipled politician, who either wants the place for himself or one of his friends, must have hatched up the complaint out of whole cloth, thinking it would never come to the ears of the doctor or his friends. If they want his place why not sail un-

der true colors, and say the doctor is a democrat, for that is all that can possibly be said against him. I am, and always have been a "black republican," but do not believe that a good and faithful public servant should be put out of office simply because he differs with me in politics.

You can use this letter in any way that you think will stamp the charges of drunkenness and immorality as an infamous lie.

Very truly, your friend,

A. B. MACGOWAN,

{ U. S. INDIAN SERVICE, Capt. 12th U. S. Inf'y.
{ ROSEBERG AGENCY, S. D., May 3, 1890.

Baffled in their efforts, the hidden gang, to whom libel and slander are apparently ready and natural weapons, announced through Senator Pettigrew that Dr. McChesney will hold until the end of his term, August 2. McChesney is reported to have thwarted Senator Pettigrew's brother in the latter's effort to get hold of some Indian lands. It will be interesting to see whether this agent is removed at the end of his term, and if so, it will be pertinent to inquire why; and further, if so, it will be interesting to observe whether Pettigrew names the new man.

A CONTRAST.

President Cleveland appointed Mr. Hendrix in the place of the worthy but notoriously incapable republican incumbent of the Brooklyn post-office. Mr. Hendrix, upon the high authority of ex-Postmaster-General James and Postmaster General Wanamaker, has made this office of very great efficiency. He would have liked to keep his place, and would have continued to devise improvements. But for months past the President has been giving time and reflection to the problem of putting in a republican politician. It is a pity for the future students of American institutions that this paper has not space to quote the daily dispatches describing the struggles of the several Brooklyn factions, all equally vulgar and selfish, to whom the President of the United States has bent a respectful ear. The outcome was the appointment of Col. Baird, a prominent business man and politician. He knew nothing of running a post-office, and it was not his intention to give the office his personal attention. When he failed to secure a private secretary to whom he could delegate the business functions [he presumably giving personal attention to the political functions], he declined the appointment. Meanwhile the President will resume the hunt for some one to take the place of the present admirable postmaster. There is the faint hope that the limit of his endurance may have been reached and that he may appoint the very capable republican assistant postmaster, who co-operated with Postmaster Hendrix to make the office of such notable excellence. This would be a pacific and statesmanlike end of a fight now threatening extensive ruptures in several directions.

In St. Louis the President ended a disgraceful struggle by promoting Major Harlow, who had by many years of efficiency and faithfulness worked his way up in the public service. His long experience at once was felt in vari-

ous improvements, as indicated in the following report of a subordinate:

When you assumed the duties of postmaster there were 79 red boxes collected from in the evening. Under your directions the number has been increased to 331, making an increase of 252 boxes embraced in the following territory. * * *

In addition to the improvement in the collection fully as much has been accomplished in the delivery service. When you assumed control of the St. Louis post-office there was only one delivery west of Kings highway and Manchester road to Delmar avenue; east on Delmar avenue to Walton avenue; north on Walton avenue to Easton avenue; west on Easton avenue to Kings highway; north on Kings highway to Natural Bridge road; south on line of city limits to Pernod road; northeast on Pernod road to old Manchester road. Two deliveries are now made in the territory above described. * * *

This increase in deliveries and collections has been done without the addition of a single man or cent to the government. In this work you have been ably assisted by Mr. John Grogan, superintendent city delivery; James Deveraux, assistant superintendent; Mr. E. P. Fox, superintendent Station C; R. M. Johnson, superintendent Station D; Peter Gundlach, superintendent Station A. Also by the willingness and pride both carriers and collectors display in trying to build up the service.

Major Harlow, intent upon his duty of making the St. Louis post-office the best he can make it, finds no difficulty in securing the faithful assistance of the many democratic employes under him. Yet Clarkson goes down to Boston to complain that men such as these, who give all their time and energies to making a better post-office, and cut off all service to the Quays, Tom Flatts, Claytons and Filleys, are so wanting in patriotism as to be a menace to the country.

CLARKSON IN BOSTON.

Assistant Postmaster General Clarkson has been in Boston making a speech largely upon civil service reform to the Norfolk Club, a republican organization. Clarkson has done the Administration more harm than almost all the partisan office-holders under it. Public criticism has evidently made him understand this, and he is sore in consequence. His appearance before the Norfolk Club is much like that of a prize fighter advocating the merits of prize fighting to a collection of theological students. Some of his arguments have a familiar sound. For instance:

When the government called on these men to save its life, it did not ask them how far the weather was below zero and the space between the stars [laughter and applause], nor require them to calculate the width and slant of the shadow of a tree at four o'clock in the afternoon. [Laughter.]

He appears to have hoodwinked the people of Boston. Out West he is known as a tricky politician, who goes by the name of "Rhet. Clarkson." No one would think of taking him seriously when posing as a disinterested discussor of a public question. He touched very lightly his own exploits. Indeed, he sang much smaller than when, some months ago, he had the impudence to boastfully publish in his paper in Iowa, the list of the multitude of changes of office-holders he had at that date brought about. Perhaps the defeat of his party, which followed soon after in that State,

for the first time since the republican party was organized, had toned him down. He smarts under the strictures of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, and claims that his work among the fourth-class postmasters, which has justly earned for him the title of Headsman Clarkson, more than half of it consisted in filling vacancies caused by "resignations." We beg leave to inform Mr. Clarkson that the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association knows that old trick. The cross-roads postmaster has a case of pigeon holes and a lot of traps connected with the office. The new man is settled upon by the congressman. Then a quiet intimation is conveyed to the incumbent that if he will resign without a fuss, he will get so much in cash for his pigeon-holes and his traps; but, if he waits to be removed, he will find no purchaser. He is wise in his day, and prefers cash to seeing dead stock of this kind stored under his shed. Having, with a steady countenance, disposed of a large block of his cases by classing them as "resignations," Clarkson would now, doubtless, like us to believe that all his removals were for cause.

A POLITICAL MACHINE AS A CENSUS-TAKER.

As the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has often repeated, President Harrison was urged to have the appointment of the employes of the census bureau made under the competitive system, but with deliberation he turned over the places to his party as spoil. The country was full of young men thoroughly competent, who would have taken a pride in doing this work well, and who would have gladly competed, but it was deemed better to let the party bosses use the places for their behoof. As a natural result of this decision, Superintendent Porter described himself as "waist deep in congressmen." The manner of appointment may be further illustrated by the case of Wilson H. Soale, supervisor of the Terre Haute district, who referred the appointment of enumerators to the chairmen of the county committees of his district, and these in turn referred them to the chairmen of the township committees. The supervisor of the fourth district of North Carolina, before getting his appointment, made the following pledge:

This is to certify that if I am appointed supervisor of the eleventh census for the fourth district of North Carolina, that the republicans of each county in my district shall have the patronage, and that I will lend my influence to that party. This Dec. 10, 1889.

W. E. WEBB.

Witness: W. H. PULLEY.

L. W. McKinney writes to the St. Louis *Republic*, under date of June 7, saying that the postmaster at Moberly, Missouri, was having the enumerators poll their districts in addition to taking the census, instructing them to do the work "on the quiet;" this postmaster took a natural view of the duties of appointees under such a system. The fitting results seem to be coming on. On such high authority as the Indianapolis *Journal* of June 15, the facts seem to be that well over the country "the work has been unreasonably delayed by the inefficiency of the enumerators, and many per-

sons are known to have been missed * * *. The trouble grows out of the inexperience of enumerators and slipshod, unfaithful performance of duty on their part." In Indianapolis, the whole community, headed by the Commercial Club, is at this writing about to turn out *en masse* to get itself enumerated by these party pensioners upon the public treasury. How it works to use these offices first to pay party workers, and second to take the census, is best shown by quoting again from the *Journal*, which, speaking of carelessness and, we add, utter incapacity and unfitness, says:

A case of this kind was reported by a citizen on East Walnut street. The enumerator called at his house yesterday morning, and was met by the Walnut-street resident's wife, who informed him she was ready to answer any questions the law required. The enumerator, seating himself on the step of the front porch, took out his portfolio and, placing his ink-bottle on the floor beside him, began. At the head of the list he wrote the family name and after it the words, "St. Clair street." Upon being told that he had made a mistake in the name of the street he replaced the sheet in his portfolio and, taking out a second, made a fresh start. This time he succeeded in getting the name of the street correct, and proceeded with his questioning. The name of the lady's husband was given, and his occupation, when the enumerator inquired, "How many children have you?"

"Two," was the reply.

"Oh, well, then," he said, "I'll come back again and complete the list."

With this remark he prepared to leave. Seizing his book and paper in one hand, he grasped the open ink-bottle in the other, and, without replacing the stopper, put the bottle into his coat pocket. As he walked down to the gate he left a trail of ink that furnished the lady of the house two hours' good work in removing.

This, it seems from the complaints that are coming in, is only one case out of many. In a home on North New Jersey street the enumerator asked no questions concerning diseases that might be prevalent in the family and escaped all notice of a mute daughter, whose age and nativity he only asked for. M. H. Spades reports that the Windsor block, on Illinois street, which contains at least two hundred rooms, has not yet been visited.

Failure of the enumerators to properly observe their instructions, as well as the repeated urging of Supervisor Conger to have them do what they were told to do to the letter, is further shown by inquiries that were made in this office. Out of forty composers who were at the cases last night twenty had been missed. One of them also said that he knew of four families on his block who had been overlooked.

FACTS TO ILLUMINE CLARKSON'S BOSTON SPEECH.

A confession, they say, is good for the soul and I will tell of one committed unanimously by the commission about six months ago, for which I was perhaps chiefly to blame. You know we are frequently told that this or that office has special needs. The head of the office speaks of the latitude allowed his predecessor. He claims that he requires men with a peculiar fitness not possessed by men upon the eligible list, and must have such men for the good of the office. A new incumbent of a particular New York office asked that two of the places under him—he only had six—be taken from the classified list. He must have men of fitness, and if he had to take "boys fresh from school," a phrase often heard, they would not fill the bill. It was a fact which we knew that the best possible men could not be filled from the list, and we granted the request. Two officers of a republican association of a New York assembly

district got the places, and ten days afterward, at a primary election in the district, that association was victorious. We could have given two men eminently better fitted than those chosen. I doubt if we can undo this mistake, but I guarantee the four other officers will be kept under classification with an iron hand.—*From the Address of Theodore Roosevelt before the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, Feb. 21, 1890.*

Having succeeded to the right, title and interest in the post-office at New Castle, Dr. W. F. Shelley hopes the old patrons will continue their favors as to his predecessor, and that many new ones may be added. *The business is new to him and his assistants, and all go home very tired at night, but shortly he hopes to have the run of the establishment well in hand, and be able to give his old customers in the dental line such attention as they may require.*—*New Castle Courier.*

The nomination of David Lake to be United State marshal is looked upon as a plan by which Congressman Wallace hopes to be re-nominated next fall.

For years "Dan" Lake has been one of the most active democratic political ward workers in Brooklyn. He was "boss" of the Eighth ward, and was in the good graces of the ring. Several times he was elected supervisor, and for two terms he sat in the county auditor's office. It was while he was there that all the fraudulent bills for county work, for passing which the supervisors have recently been indicted, were audited, and it was on the strength of Lake's guarantee that they were paid.

When John Y. McKane was expelled from the democratic party for treachery he ordered Lake to follow him out, and, although the latter then held the office of auditor, to which democratic votes had elected him, he obeyed the order. When the next election came around he saw he would be out of a job, so he made a deal by which the republicans nominated him for supervisor at large. The result showed that he was about the weakest man on the ticket.

John Y. McKane, report says, has been boasting that he demanded and obtained Lake's nomination in return for his services in casting the vote of Gravesend for Harrison. He thinks he and Lake, if they can get a little patronage to dispense, can entice about 3,000 democrats from the support of the local machine and so convert Brooklyn into a debatable city.—*New York Times, March 17.*

In Lake's own ward, the Eighth, this feeling is most intense, for that ward had a candidate for the office in the person of Robert W. Fielding, a life-long republican, who had been formally indorsed by the entire party organization.

Chairman Woodruff and all his followers had gone to the capital in person and urged Fielding's appointment. That he was basely betrayed Mr. Fielding boldly asserts, and he says he proposes to see if half a dozen men like Woodruff and Naval Officer Willis can sell out a man who had been backed up by the entire Kings County Republican General Committee. "They added insult to injury," said Fielding yesterday, "by shelving me and taking in my place a democrat from my own ward, a man whom I have had to fight politically for over a dozen years. Here I have been struggling to hold our party vote in this democratic district for a decade, and have had to buck against the great power of this fellow, Lake, backed by 'Boss' McLaughlin, and yet when a chance of reward comes I am told to step aside so that the man who beat us on so many occasions may be put forward. It was a shameful political swindle."—*New York Times, March 19.*

The appointment to-day of John F. Scanlan to be special treasury agent at Chicago was due rather to J. N. Huston and other Indiana politicians than to Illinois influences. He was indorsed by Senator Farwell before the appointment of the collector of customs and by prominent party men in Chicago, but steady pressure for Mr. Scanlan came from the Indiana men who were grateful to him for services in two presidential campaigns. Mr. Scanlan begins as one of the three assistants of J. J. Crowley, chief of the Chicago division of special agents and a hold-over democrat. As soon as he shall have gained experience in the difficult duties of a treasury agent, he will probably be appointed chief of the division. His salary is \$3,000 a year.—*Washington Dispatch, March 12.*

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism.—PRESIDENT WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

—The announcement this afternoon that President Harrison had named Alexander Von Landberg, editor of the *Union*, the German republican organ, for internal revenue collector for the twenty first district, was followed by the firing of cannon by enthusiastic Germans who believe that it was Representative Belden's influence and sanction that decided the appointment.

The naming of Mr. Von Landberg will, in a measure, heal the breach between the Hiscock and Belden factions. It is a victory for Mr. Belden in every sense of the word. It has been evident since Mr. Belden's appointment to the chairmanship of the congressional committee that to insure success in the collectorship matter Mr. Hiscock must select one of several candidates whom Mr. Belden would agree to accept. It having been made public, last night, that the representative had committed himself to Mr. Von Landberg, Hiscock fell back upon the German editor as his third candidate. James M. Gilbert was the first Charles E. Ide the second, and finally Mr. Von Landberg. Senator Hiscock gets no credit among the German republican element for the naming of their countryman for the lucrative place.

A great deal of patronage follows the appointment which will be under Mr. Belden's control, and it amounts to a great deal in this district. There is now no doubt but what Mr. Belden will have the naming of the candidates on the republican side for the assembly this fall.—*Syracuse Dispatch to the New York Times, June 6.*

—Although Channcey I. Filley could not pull himself through in his contest for the post-mastership at St. Louis, he manages to stock the fourth-class offices throughout the state with his friends. He recently succeeded in having L. M. Spirely, editor of the *Kingston Times*, made postmaster at Kingston, Caldwell county. John A. Cannon was recommended for this office by all the republican officials of Caldwell county, and by a majority of the republicans of the town. Cannon was originally appointed, but Filley succeeded in getting Clarkson to "hold him up," and finally induced Clarkson to appoint Spirely. It is understood that the Kingston republicans are indignant, but Filley has his man in office. As long as the "old man" can stock the fourth-class offices there is no doubt of his ability to maintain his grip on the machine.—*Washington Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, Jan. 17.*

MATTHEW S. QUAY,

United States Senator and Chairman of the National Republican Committee, Silent Under the Charge of Embezzlement by Reputable Newspapers.

The Ways and Means of the Subjugation of a State by a Modern Office Baron.

The *Chronicle-Telegraph* (republican) publishes a long dispatch from Indiana, Penn., which throws some light upon the methods being pursued by Senator Quay's friends to secure the delegation from that county for State Senator Delamater for governor. The dispatch says:

"The republicans of Indiana have discovered that Chairman Andrews of the state committee, acting for Delamater, has captured temporarily the Indiana republican county committee, and is trying to seize the Indiana delegation to the state convention, as he did that of Cambria. In December last Chairman Andrews saw County Chairman Langham. Mr. Langham was ordered to immediately create a Delamater boom in Indiana through the county committee members. Gossips say that he was amply provided with funds to pay the expenses of this campaign. Delamater 'hustlers' were set to work in every township. Not only was this accomplished with as much haste as possible, but the county press was also secured. Within a short time after Chairman Langham's visit to Pittsburgh several county papers published editorials lauding Mr. Delamater. The *Indiana Messenger* was offered the same thing and refused to print it, although the editor was informed by one of the Delamater managers that the other papers had 'made a good thing out of it.'—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, Feb. 26.

* * *

No man ever entered upon the canvass for a nomination with more of the party machinery in harmony with his aspirations. Mr. Delamater has all the power and influence of the chairman of the national republican committee, Colonel Quay, and of the chairman of the republican state committee, the Hon. William H. Andrews, who expects to succeed Mr. Delamater, in the state senate. Both the United States senators from Pennsylvania are with him, as is Postmaster-General Wanamaker and all, save five, of the republican congressmen from this state. Add to these the thousands of postmasters in Pennsylvania, and the other thousands of census enumerators, and it will not be difficult to understand where Mr. Delamater gets his strength which he admittedly shows in every republican county convention that is held.

It is no secret that city and cross-roads postmasters and the great army of census takers in this state are being appointed, first, with a view to their political usefulness to Mr. Quay and his supporters, and after that with regard to their fitness. This is true of all save Allegheny county, where congressman John Dalzell of the Twenty-second District made such a determined fight that Superintendent Porter created a special census district, and the nomination of George T. Oliver to be supervisor was pushed through the senate in spite of the the written protests of

Senators Cameron and Quay and Congressmen Bayne and Ray.

Along with the power of the party machinery and party spoils, thus so graciously placed at the disposal of candidate Delamater, goes the control of nine out of every ten of the republican newspapers in the state, from the dignified *Philadelphia Press* and *Inquirer* and the *Pittsburgh Commercial-Gazette* down to the most obscure little journal in the backwoods towns of the Pennsylvania lumber regions. From editor Charles Emory Smith, who is given the Russian mission at \$12,500 a year, on through the list in every one of the sixty-seven counties of the commonwealth the newspaper people are kept singing the Delamater song through promises and places political.—*Meadville Dispatch to New York Times*, March 16.

* * *

The *Chronicle-Telegraph* (rep.) to-day makes more charges of corrupt practices against W. H. Andrews, chairman of the republican state committee, and George W. Delamater, Quay's candidate for governor. It says:

"In addition to the purchase of Cambria and other counties, it is now stated on good authority that the most open, shame-faced bribery was resorted to in Jefferson, and Chairman Andrews, it is asserted, rode over that county, accompanied by the county chairman, and put out the cash freely among the purchasable element."—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, April 8.

* * *

Ten letter-carriers in the Pittsburgh post-office, which comes within the civil service law, have received this notice, dated April 12:

"You are hereby notified that your services will no longer be required as a carrier at the Pittsburgh post-office after April 15. Respectfully,

JAMES S. MCKEAN,

Postmaster."

Mr. McKean is the new republican poster and friend of Senator Quay. The dismissed carriers are all democrats and have been in the service for some time. As the dismissals were apparently without cause, and clearly in violation of the civil service law, John Cavanaugh, one of the discharged carriers, appeared before the postmaster and demanded to know the why and wherefore.

"I know nothing about it," replied Mr. McKean. "The orders came from Washington and I am only carrying them out, as I am in duty bound to do."

He did not say whether Mr. Quay or Mr. Wanamaker had sent the order. Mr. Cavanaugh insisted upon having something in explanation, and asked if charges had been made against him for any cause, but the postmaster declared that he knew nothing whatever as to the reasons for the discharges. There are some who suspect that the post-office influ-

ence is to be used in securing delegates from Pittsburgh favorable to the candidacy of Quay's friend Delamater for governor.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, April 14.

* * *

The *Republican*, the most widely circulated paper in Schuylkill county, to-day prints the following savage attack upon Senator Quay's candidate for governor:

"George W. Delamater has been a selfish traitor to his party, and he has given proof of his fealty to the Standard Oil Company. The story of his course on the anti-discrimination bill of 1887 is almost as bad as that of his conduct on the Billingsley bill. The republican state convention of 1886 pledged the party to the passage of an anti-discrimination bill. Subsequently, on first and second readings, this bill was supported by Delamater. On the night of March 16, 1887, Senators Delamater, Watres and McFarland were noticed in close consultation with Senators Wolverton, Ross, Hemminger and other democratic leaders. Later in the night Delamater was accused of contemplating treachery to his party, and he confessed it. He said that eight republican senators, under the lead of himself and Watres, had agreed to vote with the democrats and defeat the anti-discrimination bill.

"When asked the reason he replied that he had been ignored by Senators Reyburn, George Handy Smith, Penrose, Rulan, Cooper, Mewmyer, Scott, Alexander, and other republican leaders. He declared that he intended to make himself a leader even if he had to break up the party in the senate on an important state measure. A member familiar with Delamater's connections suggested that perhaps there was some way to reach him through the Standard Oil Company. The lobby representative of the Standard said that Delamater was acting foolishly, and that he would fix the thing up. He did so.

"A caucus of republican senators was in session when it was announced that Delamater was outside and wanted to see the leaders. These gentlemen were told by Delamater that he would vote for the anti-discrimination bill, provided they would promise that henceforth he should be regarded as one of the republican leaders and be consulted on all measures and questions of policy, and that the men to whom he talked should agree to oppose the Billingsley bill and help him defeat it. This was agreed to. Mr. Delmater voted for the anti-discrimination bill on the same day, deserting Waters and the men to whom he had pledged himself the night before. The Standard had influence enough to bring Delamater to terms when all other efforts failed.—*Pottsville Dispatch to New York Times*, April 22.

* * *

DETROIT, Mich., May 7.—The following letter, addressed to a leading republican of De-

troit, was received yesterday and explains itself. Inclosed were a number of handsome certificates, suggestive of the most artistic bank paper, decorated with a neat ten-dollar mark and having a coupon attached. The use to which they are to be applied appears in the "confidential" communication. The letter is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR: The republican national committee has established permanent headquarters in this city, in order that the party's interests throughout the nation may not be lost sight of between presidential elections. We have found many opportunities since the close of the campaign of 1888 to aid in strengthening the party organization in various sections of the country. * * *

I send you herewith a number of certificates which illustrate this plan. I trust you may be able at an early day to place them with some of the zealous republicans of your neighborhood. Please fill up the coupons with full name and address, cut them off, and return them to us with the \$10 for each. All checks, money orders, etc., should be made payable to F. W. Leach, assistant secretary, who has charge of this branch of the work. A record will be kept of all the subscribers, who will be known as registered contributors to the republican national committee. [It is stated that government employes are receiving intimations to buy a coupon.]

Believing you to be deeply interested in republican success and influential in the councils of the party, I very earnestly ask you to assist us. If we can not invoke the aid and co-operation of republicans of your standing and activity, upon whom can we depend? If you conclude that you can not help us, kindly return the certificates, in order that we may place them elsewhere. In such events, please name some one who, in your opinion, will be likely to aid us in the manner indicated. With the hope that your convenience may permit you to accord us an early response, I am, very truly, yours, M. S. QUAY.

* * *

On the 4th of April, ex-State Senator Lewis Emery, in a speech in the opera house in Bradford, charged Senator Delamater (Quay's candidate for governor) with perjury in taking the oath of office and stating that he had not used corrupt means to gain his election; with accepting a bribe to the amount of \$65,000 to defeat the Billingsly bill, and with forging the names of a conference committee of the legislature, which had never been appointed, to a report in the interest of the Standard Oil Company. Senator Emery made the charges specifically, and challenged prosecution or arrest. Senator Delamater said, in response to the challenge, "I will carry Emery's own county for governor. That is my answer."—*New York Times*, May 10.

* * *

The managing editor of the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph* (rep.) to day telegraphs his paper as follows, from Meadville, Pa.: "State Chairman W. H. Andrews, is trying to get into the state senate, and his canvass is being con-

ducted in his usual style, through political boodlers. Andrews has said he is willing to spend \$20,000 to get the state senatorship, and he is in a fair way to do it now.

"In this highly laudable missionary work the republican state chairman is ably assisted by his two brothers, who live on the crumbs that fall when the state chairman makes a grab. There is one big wave of disgust sweeping over the county at the methods of these three men. Charles Andrews does the township distribution of cash prize and W. R. Andrews helps distribute part of the time and also runs a funny little 'patent-outside' daily paper in Meadville. This paper has so little weight that the state chairman does not depend upon it. Last week he bought a semi-weekly, edited by a man named Reisinger, and filled it full of puffis for himself and denunciations of everybody else. *Reisinger for months has abused Andrews in a most rigorous manner, but in consideration of a promise of the Meadville post-office and a couple of hundred dollars he sold out his entire stock of vituperation and hattery.*

"Chairman Andrews is running a boodle campaign on the platform, 'If you don't elect me, W. L. Scott will be sent to the United States senate.' Some people say that there is more danger from Scott with Andrews in the senate than out of it.

"Candidate Andrews three weeks ago sent for Messrs. Brown and Potter, candidates for the legislative nomination. The senatorial candidate produced a written agreement for the legislative candidates to sign. It was set forth in this that Andrews and his brother would agree to stop fighting Brown and Potter and support them if they would agree to vote for any candidate for United States senator whom W. H. Andrews would name. Brown and Potter indignantly refused to enter into any agreement, and the chairman threatened all sorts of things. Does this mean that Andrews intends to get members of the next legislature in shape so as to sell them to Scott or some other boodler? It certainly looks like it."—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, June 2.

* * *

The *Chronicle-Telegraph* (republican and anti Delamater) on Wednesday printed a three-column dispatch from Bradford tending to show that the Standard Oil Company and the democracy have joined forces to secure a Delamater delegation from McKean county to the republican state convention. The dispatch is signed by Parker L. Walter, the managing editor of the *Chronicle-Telegraph*, who boldly charges that "open bribery and wholesale corruption" are being resorted to by the friends of Senator Delamater, both to secure a delegation favorable to him and to crush the ambitious spirit of ex-State Senator Lewis Emery, Jr., who has attacked Mr. Delamater and now seeks congressional honors.

The writer says that immediately after Emery's now famous speech, "Chairman Andrews decided to carry the delegates of McKean county for Delamater at any cost." To this

end "he devoted himself to forming the federal office-holders into battallions, at the same time openly and flagrantly purchasing the influence of men here and there who up to this time were outspoken in the cause of Secretary of the Commonwealth Stone. The main body of the army was composed of employes of the United Pipe lines and workmen in every branch of the oil business who could be influenced by the Standard and democratic politicians."

The dispatch continues: "In all his enviously indecent political career chairman Andrews has never been more shameless in open bribery than in this contest in McKean. Money has been scattered into every nook in the county, and where money would not do federal offices, promises of patronage or threats have been used by Anthony Bannon, the Delamater-Andrews representative in McKean." The writer says Bannon gave Benjamin Thornton and P. H. Friel money to use in Delamater's interest, and acting for Bannon, Russell McAllister gave money to a colored man named Rutherford and to B. D. Pait. The dispatch says: "A man named Bickford was disabled while working for the United Pipe lines. He is a Delamater-Watson delegate, and says that if elected he has the promise of general superintendent Daniel O'Day that he will have back pay for the time he has been unable to work, and will in future draw a pension from the Standard. O. M. Coe, of Tarport, was a warm Stone and Emery man. He was made census enumerator, and is now working for Delamater, and Watson Davis, postmaster of Kane, is working as a Delamater delegate, as is the editor of the *Eldred Eagle*, who is a candidate for census enumerator. Koontz, postmaster at Lafayette Corners; Beaumont, postmaster at Alton, and Kerns, postmaster at Smethport, are for Delamater. Promises of work for drillers and other oil men are offered in the name of the Standard in return for Delamater-Watson support."—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, May 6.

* * *

All the recent contests for the election of delegates have been unfavorable to Mr. Delamater, his defeat in Chester county at the primaries on Saturday last, by the Hastings forces, being particularly disastrous. But it is announced that Mr. Quay—who will go into the state convention as a substitute delegate—intends to secure Mr. Delamater's nomination, and we have no doubt this statement will prove true, unless between this and the 25th Mr. Quay should have still more evidence of the certainty of a "Folger disaster" to follow such a course, and so be driven to a safer policy.

The Washington correspondents all assure us that the convention will be easily in Mr. Quay's control. The correspondent of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, quoting "a republican who is prominent in the councils of the party in Pennsylvania," and who believes General Hastings will get the nomination, states that this prominent republican said: "Of one thing you may be certain, and that is, the convention will be controlled by Mr. Quay." And the correspondent of the *Press*, saying that there is a variety of opinion as to what will be done, declares that "all agree, however, that the convention will be beyond all dispute in the hands of Quay's friends, and that the power as well as the responsibility of making the ticket will be his."

Among the number of respectable citizens who have signed the letter to Mr. Delamater there must be many, we have no doubt, who are ignorant of the relation which he holds to Mr. Quay's political operations, and of the contract with that individual on which his candidacy rests. They must be unaware, also, we should presume, of the charges which have been brought against this aspirant for the governorship, in connection with his election to the state senate in 1886. Mr. Lewis Emery, Jr., recently state senator from McKean county, in a public speech at Bradford over two months ago, exhibited documents which he said were proof that Mr. Delamater had secured his election by means of bribery, and then had bribed persons to silence who were about to disclose the facts. It followed, of course, that in taking the oath of office, on assuming a seat in the senate he had sworn falsely that he had not used any corrupt means to secure election. *These charges Mr. Emery declared he was ready to sustain in court if Mr. Delamater would bring suit against him for slander, and up to the present time the latter gentleman has not either brought such a suit, or even made a distinct denial of the impeachment.* The Philadelphia Press, several weeks ago, called on him to make a denial, and assured him that his failure to do so would be a serious injury to his standing, but Mr. Delamater has nevertheless maintained silence.

The efforts of Mr. Quay to help the candidacy of Mr. Wallace, and so diminish the risk of running Mr. Delamater, have become very generally perceptible now, even to the ordinary observer, and the daily journals have contained many interesting details pointing out the why and wherefore of the case. *Apparently, the democratic masses have perceived the interest which the republican boss has in giving them a candidate, and the result of several recent county contests has been in the direction of another than Mr. Wallace.* Blair county, in which a snap judgment had been taken, and the choice of the voters reversed (after the fashion of Mr. Delamater's work in Cambria), has been corrected by a county convention, in which the Wallace men found themselves an insignificant faction, and in Cambria, which they had counted on with the greatest confidence, they were also in a minority. Both these counties elected delegates for Mr. Pattison. In Chester county the feeling for Mr. Pattison was so strong as to be practically unanimous.

The delegates chosen to the convention are not, like those who met at Harrisburg last year, simply a party of Mr. Quay's political followers, told off for this business. On the contrary a majority of them have been elected upon an understanding more or less positive that they would oppose the nomination—of Mr. Delamater—which it was well known Mr. Quay desired to have made. * * *

It follows, therefore, that if Mr. Quay is to have the complete control which is ascribed to him; if he is to have power to nominate

Mr. Delamater or to defeat him, it must be because he will be able to use in his own interests delegates who have been chosen for a different purpose. It must be that he can employ some persuasive to induce them to desert the candidates for whom they have been chosen, and to support a candidate whom they were particularly expected to oppose. * * *

What is the power that Mr. Quay is thought to have? Why should a majority of the republican convention of Pennsylvania, assembling under circumstances which especially call for personal independence and political courage, be regarded as certain to scrupulously follow whatever orders Mr. Quay may issue? Obviously enough, this influence comes from the supposed gift to him of the federal patronage of Pennsylvania. * * * Is it, then, Mr. Harrison's purpose to further this business? Does he mean still to back Mr. Quay in Pennsylvania? Will he assure Mr. Quay that whatever promises he may make of federal appointments will be faithfully carried out at Washington?

We desire to say to the President that every further step he takes in company with Mr. Quay and his following will be another step on the road to political disaster.—*The American, June 14.*

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., July 14, 1886.—To the Heads of Departments in the Service of the General Government: I deem this a proper time to especially warn all subordinates in the several departments and all office-holders under the general government against the use of their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities.

Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

They should also constantly remember that their party friends from whom they have received preferment have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right, as office-holders, to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which prevent every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

The influence of the federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair, and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns.

Individual interests and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges, nor is their duty to the party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding. A just discrimination in this regard between the things a citizen may properly do and the purpose for which a public officer should not be used is easy in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those intrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity under our form of government of political action free from political coercion.

You are requested to communicate the substance of these views to those for whose guidance they are intended.—Grover Cleveland.

Approved by Postmaster General Wanamaker, April 25, 1890.

—The republican state convention met in Augusta (Me.) June 12. The chairman was the postmaster of Augusta. A dispatch to the New York Times states that nearly all the federal office-holders of the state were present as delegates.

—Formal complaint has been made to Postmaster-General Wanamaker that the post-offices in the twenty-third congressional district are being used to further the nomination of Col. Thomas M. Bayne for an eighth term in congress. Col. Bayne's competitor is George Shiras, a young lawyer, who is pushing the veteran pretty hard. The letter of complaint says:

The postmaster of Allegheny, the assistant postmaster, the subordinates already appointed, and those assured of position are standing as primary delegates for the present congressional incumbent. In every borough and township the postmasters are either delegates or have expressly stated that they are responsible for the election of delegates favorable to the renomination of the incumbent. So bitter has the feeling become that the party is in serious danger of disruption, simply and solely by reason of federal dictation. Personal friends of Mr. Shiras, as they daily witness the aggressive and offensive activity of Postmaster Gilliland, of Allegheny, and his subordinates are overcome with distrust in regard to the safety and wisdom of using the post office for even the most ordinary purposes. With the incumbent using the post office as his private headquarters the mistrust of this so called public institution is not exactly without reason.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times, May 25.*

—Naval Officer Willis professed great surprise at the mention of Collins' name. "I left Washington last night," he said, "and I had talked a great deal about this subject, but there was no Collins in it."—*Brooklyn post office fight, May 16.*

—Secretary Tracy favors Wm. G. Taylor because his selection would help Robert D. Benedict in his desire to become Congressman Wallace's successor. All the news that comes from Washington is favorable to Mr. Taylor, but his closest friends do not care to state positively that he will be selected. Naval Officer Willis, who has been working hard for Mr. Taylor, thinks that the selection will be made within a few days, but he declined yesterday to say whether Taylor would get the prize or not.—*New York Times, May 26.*

—Mr. Hitt's postmaster here, Geo. F. Bucher, has been about the county, and he says the county delegation will be instructed for Hitt. The towns of Wysox, York, Rock Creek, Shannon, Savanna, Washington, Woodland and Freedom will send Hitt delegates to the county convention, and this, he insists, will insure the county for Hitt. What Mr. Bucher considers a test of the Hitt sentiment was made in Lanark this spring. Levi T. Bray, member of the last state assembly, ran for supervisor of Lanark and was badly beaten. Bray was the principal backer of H. D. Dennis, applicant for the post-office at Lanark. The post-office was given to Maj. Geo. A. Root, in consequence of which Bray is against Hitt. Postmaster Bucher says it was Hitt's friends who snowed Bray under for supervisor.—*Letter to Chicago Herald from Carroll on Congressman Hitt's renomination, May 23.*

—The postmaster, A. W. Hartong, has started out to see what he can do for his boss through the county. The soreheads here say they will see to it that an anti-Hitt delegation goes from their town to the county convention. They may and they may not be able to do this.—*Letter to Chicago Herald from Rochelle on Congressman's Hitt's renomination, May 26.*

At the annual meeting of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, held May 27, among others, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the disposal of federal patronage through congressmen and senators is a grave abuse, subversive of the constitutional distinction between the executive and legislative departments of the government; and we especially protest against and deplore the course of President Harrison in submitting his appointments in Pennsylvania to the dictation of a man who makes no defense when charged by responsible citizens and newspapers with participation in the criminal misappropriation of public money.

Resolved, That the use of public office for the purpose of paying partisan and personal political debts is immoral, and it is to be classed with the misuse and misappropriation of all other public property.

The Civil Service Reform Association, of Missouri, held its ninth annual meeting June 7. From the excellent report of Mr. Charles Claflin Allen, of the executive committee, we quote:

The administration of the classified service under the management of the present civil service commission has been admirable. The commission itself, led by Mr. Roosevelt, has shown an energy and activity in the performance of the duties, hitherto unequalled. Its supervision of the service, its quickness to investigate all reported abuses and to correct them when proved, and its improvement in the practical character of examinations, have placed the reform system upon a firmer footing than it has ever held.

In the non-classified service all is chaos. Wholesale removals and appointments constitute a conglomerate mass, in which it is impossible to discriminate between the deserved and the undeserved.

The civil service reform association of Newton, Mass., whose president is Rev. Henry Lambert, is an object lesson to various other sections of the country. It has a membership of several hundred, and it is thoroughly alive to its duty. Mr. Clarkson's recent crafty protestation of the patriotism and Americanism inherent in spoilsmen was an irritant that provoked an effective demolition at the hands of Charles Theodore Russell, Jr., the late democratic candidate for governor.

RECENT EXAMPLES OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

Gen. James M. Warner, postmaster at Albany, New York, has been enforcing the civil service law. He found among the clerks and carriers twelve men who had remained through the administration of Dr. O'Leary from the previous republican administration. At the end of the first two years of Dr. O'Leary's term there were twenty-nine republicans. Gen. Warner has now in the force under him not to exceed thirty democrats. This made the spoilsmen beside themselves and the republican general committee of Albany county passed resolutions asking for his removal. When they found the postmaster calmly going about his business in the teeth of their resolutions, they got panic-stricken and failed to forward them.

The appointment of Mr. Ryan as superintendent of the New England division of the railway mail service was in accordance with Mr. Bigelow's dying wish that his capable assistant should be his successor. Spencer W. Shepardson, chief clerk of the various lines in the first division, has been appointed to the position made vacant by the promotion of Mr. Ryan. The latter has been in the railway mail service about twenty-one years, during twelve years of which he has been chief clerk of the first division. Mr. Shepardson has been in the service over seventeen years.

W. H. Lamb has been appointed superintendent of mails at St. Louis. Mr. Lamb is at present engaged in the office of the division superintendent of the railway mail service at this place, and is among the oldest employees of the postal department now stationed in St. Louis. He entered the service in the far western country seventeen years ago as a route agent, and was regularly promoted to second clerk, and then clerk in charge of a car, which position he held until 1882, when he resigned to accept his present situation in the local superintendent's office. The place to which Mr. Lamb has just been appointed is the one so long filled by Maj. J. B. Harlow, prior to his selection as postmaster last January.

William P. Campbell, of Illinois, has been appointed assistant general superintendent of the railway mail service, under the law recently passed creating that office, and Mr. Alexander Grant, of Michigan, has been appointed chief clerk to the general superintendent of the railway mail service. Both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Grant have for many years occupied prominent positions in this service, and are regarded as men of exceptional ability and fitness for the positions to which they have been appointed. Mr. Campbell has been longest in the service, and was directly in the line of promotion for the position to which he has been appointed.

THE MORALS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The first objection to the spoils system is that under it the offices are little better than a vast aggregation of bribes for party workers, and that they thus constitute a huge corruption fund, the dispensing of which belongs to the party for the time being in the ascendant. "The promise of an office, whether express or implied, as an inducement to a man to vote or work in an election, is as real a bribe as so many dollars in hand paid; with this distinction, however, that it is a much worse form of bribery. It is so for two reasons: it is a promise to pay what does not belong to him who promises, and its effect, when fulfilled, is, or

may be, to put a corrupt man into the service of his country." The federal civil service costs the country in salaries altogether \$60,000,000. Of this compensation the recipients of about one-half come now happily under the reform law, but \$30,000,000 remain attached to offices not so protected. Who can estimate the evil to the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker thus rendered possible? And, further: when it became recognized that a congressman might pay those who worked for his election by places under government, and there were not enough such places to go around (as there never are), the next step was to make places, *i. e.*, put upon the pay-rolls of a bureau or department more names and employ more persons than were necessary to do the work in order to satisfy increased demands. At one period since the war there were more than 1,500 such in the treasury department alone. Two-thirds of those employed in the bureau of printing and engraving at this time were found by a congressional committee of investigation to be superfluous, and the annual appropriation was, in consequence, reduced without interfering with its efficiency, from eight to two hundred thousand dollars. This bureau has now long been under civil service rules, and is one of the purest and best ordered in Washington.

Another objection to the patronage system is its grievous *injustice*. It is an inheritance from the days of feudalism, and an abuse which they set about reforming in the mother country about the time it was first rooting itself here. When the great reform laws, beginning in 1832, gradually admitted the mass of the English people to suffrage, they quickly began to show their appreciation of exclusive privilege and to reorganize their civil service, though radical change dates only from 1853. Now the son of the peer and the son of the peasant, irrespective of politics, has an equal chance to gain admission to the service of his country. * * How different, except in the classified service, is the case with us! We delude ourselves with the idea that here all men are free and equal, and that we have eliminated old abuses, whereas we tolerate some of the gravest that ever existed. One of these is the practical exclusion, sometimes for a long term of years, from a chance to earn a living in public employment of one-half our population; that is, all, however worthy, who do not happen to belong to the same party as the President; and, indeed, all of that party who can not command influence with the appointing power. * *

The last evil of the spoils system which we have room to particularize is its *heartlessness*. Men who would shrink from taking the bread out of the mouth of the widow and orphan, or of depriving a man with dependent family of his only means of support, in any other way, will do their utmost on a change of administration to get, and will even make merry over getting a postmastership the loss of which amounts to this, and that, too, when the office is really not needed. "One of the winning party is bound to have it," it is said, "why should not I be the man?" Such is the brutalizing tendency of the system, and it is the system far more than the individual in such a case that is to be blamed. Justice, decency and humanity alike are set at naught by the inexorable spirit of spoils-mongering. A poor widow in California last year out of the salary of a fourth-class post-office supported herself, two children, and an aged father and mother. She gave entire satisfaction to the people, and was assured before his election of the favor of the congressmen. When elected, however, the place was necessary to assist in paying his political debts, and she was, with scant ceremony, dismissed.—*L. M. Blackford, in the Virginia Seminary Magazine for June.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 17.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

AUGUST 1, the Battle Ground Camp Meeting Association, at Battle Ground, will be addressed in the forenoon by the various political candidates of that section, and in the afternoon by the Rev. A. C. Van Anda, of Indianapolis, on "Purity of the Ballot," and by Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis, on civil service reform.

At the recent republican convention of this county the chairman, Mr. C. W. Fairbanks, said:

The republican party of Marion county rarely has had a better opportunity to render signal service to itself and to the people. There is a demand that the vast affairs of this county shall be managed on a strictly business basis and that they shall not be prostituted to promoting the interests of any political party. They shall be conducted according to the most conservative and economical methods to the end that the best service shall be rendered at the least cost.

This sounds exceedingly well, but it is still a question how far these ideas would prevail in case of republican success. The republicans, through a republican superintendent, now control the fire department of the city, and the chief has the nomination of men for appointment. There are twelve vacancies, and he can not agree with the council as to what men shall have them. Some time ago this paper suggested a plan by which he could throw open these vacancies to competition, but up comes the *Indianapolis Journal*, which has for years been, on paper, a supporter of the merit system, and says that the proposal is not feasible in practice. It is entirely feasible in practice and practice has so proved it. The *Journal* knows this well enough, but there are twelve places in the fire department which hungry workers want.

BOTH parties have this year an opportunity to prove the sincerity of their professions, many times expressed, of opposition to the spoils system. Our state civil service, by reason of the increase in the number of state institutions, has become large. It is with rare exceptions used as party spoil. We have four large institutions for the insane, two prisons, a home for feeble-minded children, a soldiers' orphan home, an institute for the deaf and dumb, a school for the blind, and so on. It is a disgrace that party politics should control the administration of these institutions. The taxes do not furnish money sufficient to

keep the state government going. Before increasing the levy would it not be well to try the transaction of the state business upon a business basis? Here is a great work for either party to undertake. Before a voter votes for a candidate for the general assembly, he should find out how the candidate stands on this matter.

THE readers of the CHRONICLE will be interested to learn that Congressman Hitt's postmasters pulled him through, and that Charlie Works so feelingly alluded to in the various letters and reported interviews with the workers printed in the CHRONICLE some months since, was the man to nominate him. Congressman Hitt is far above the average congressman. His instincts are toward a state of affairs where a man will not be debauched himself, nor debauch his constituents by elections secured by spoil.

SENATOR JOHN S. WIRT, a democrat of Maryland, spoke recently to the Alumni of St. John's College upon "The Relation of the Alumni of St. John's as Men of Liberal Education to the Civil Service Reform Movement." The address is an admirable one and is printed in the *Civil Service Reformer* for July. A single extract will show that there was no vagueness nor uncertainty in what he said, nor any belittling of the evil:

"I know of no single cause in our history which has contributed more to dwarf the mental and moral stature of our public men, and more encouraged venality and servility in those engaged in the public service, while it has lowered the whole moral tone of the nation. To make the skillful and corrupt manipulation of patronage almost the sole qualification for political station must, with occasional exceptions, produce a class of public men who are neither disposed nor able to deal with public questions with a view to the permanent interests of the country.

THE Buffalo civil service reform association held its annual meeting June 25, and received ninety-nine new members. This association is remarkable in two respects. It has the public hearty sympathy and co-operation of the labor associations of the city, and of several of the most prominent of the Catholic clergymen. Father Cronin's speech is reported to have been particularly brilliant, and it was repeatedly applauded enthusiastically.

POSTMASTER JOHNSON, of Baltimore, has made numerous removals of clerks and carriers, and charges have been filed with the civil service commission. Mr. John C. Rose was appointed supervisor of the census for Baltimore. This enabled the civil service commission to put him on the local examining board. There is now the opportunity to look into Postmaster Johnson's methods. The system of having a local board made up of a postmaster's employes, but who are supposed to act in entire independence of him, is an anomaly and vicious in its effects. In view of Postmaster Johnson's apparent attempt to construct a political and personal machine it is well that Mr. Roosevelt has again stepped in to foil the attempt by a notice in the *Baltimore Sun*, inviting democrats to compete and assuring all of fair treatment. While Mr. Rose is a member of the local board the operations of the law will be conducted with absolute fairness. He is an experienced and skillful hand at battling Baltimore law breakers.

DR. JENCKES AND THE MUGWUMP.

Rev. Joseph S. Jenckes, of St. Paul's Episcopal church of this city, recently closed a criticism of Bishop Potter with the remark that he (Potter) was a mugwump, and that he (Jenckes) respected republicans and democrats, but that politically he could have no respect for a mugwump. A mugwump is a man who believes he can get certain principles worked into laws, or certain laws, already enacted, enforced, or better administration by public officers by voting direct for the men who are for the time being most likely to accomplish one or all of these objects rather than by wearing the collar of a party machine, which is in these times kept together, not by principles but by nothing but the spoil of office, and which intends, except under great pressure, to put forward to be voted for no man who can, if elected, interfere with its daily loot. His freedom permits him often to render the public a valuable service by voting against a tainted candidate.

Even his range of choice is often too narrow for the making up of a respectable ticket.

The coming election in Pennsylvania affords a great field of operations for voters of this class. The present dictator of that state is Senator Quay. The result of republican success would be to extend his power. He has

been charged by respectable people of great financial responsibility with having taken some hundreds of thousands of dollars from the treasury of the state and used it in private speculation. He does not deny the charge, and those who make it say that they are ready to prove it. His candidate for governor, Delamater, is also charged with the crime of bribery, which his accuser offers to prove in court. Other charges of a grave nature are made against both of these men. Both are silent. We should like to ask Dr. Jenckes what he would advise a citizen of Pennsylvania to do under the circumstances? Ought he to read the charges, and if so, ought he to give them any weight? If he became convinced they were true, ought he to vote to sustain Quay, and if not, ought he to vote to defeat the Quay regime, even though by so doing he should be classed as a mugwump? Will Dr. Jenckes say that a man may put his conscience into the keeping of another and that since President Harrison and Mr. Wanamaker do not denounce Quay and Delamater, he may therefore excuse himself from investigation?

If we have misunderstood his meaning, what does Dr. Jenckes mean by saying that politically he has no respect for a mugwump?

THE AMERICAN OFFICIAL CLASS.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY.

Eugene Sauley, of this city, is an interesting example of the present spoils system which seeks to perpetuate itself by crying out that any other system would give rise to an office-holding class. He first appears in the city directory in 1873 as a laborer. In 1874 he was not enrolled, but in 1875 he was put down as barkeeper for C. McGroarty. In 1876 and 1877 he does not appear. In 1878 he appears as bartender for Harry McFarland, the present notorious employe of the printing office at Washington. In 1879 Sauley appears as bartender. In 1880 he was turnkey at the central police station. In 1881 he held the same place. In 1882 he was clerk to the chief of police. In 1883 he held the same place. In 1884, 1885 and 1886 he was city assessor. In 1887 he is called a clerk, and was in fact in the assessor's office. In 1888 he was clerk in the assessor's office. In 1889 he had no occupation. He was then waiting for a federal position. This did not come, and he again took a place as clerk in the assessor's office at, we understand, two dollars a day. Later he became a deputy in the office of the collector of internal revenue, in which office he still holds a place with emoluments amounting to about \$1,200 a year.

The question was put to an ex chairman of the republican county committee, why Sauley always had a "place," and the answer came instantly, "Because he is the best organizer in Marion county." In this answer is the explanation of the use to which a vast number of state and federal officers are put. Sauley has been all these years literally a party-worker. At the primaries, as a delegate to

conventions, as committee man, as secretary of the county committee, and in other similar capacities, he has plied his trade. The places he has held were his pay. His pay has not always been prompt. For instance, the place he now holds was only vacated and turned over to him after an earnest and almost threatening demand by a large crowd of those who had a high esteem for Sauley's abilities as a party-worker, and on this ground the place was demanded and given. He is a perfect specimen of our large American official class who owe and acknowledge no allegiance except to the party machine.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The coming election in Pennsylvania is a matter of grave concern. It is Mahone and Virginia over again, but on a larger scale and of greater importance. It is not necessary to repeat that Quay now holds the government of Pennsylvania, both state and national, firmly by the throat; he keeps his hold by means already fully set out in these columns. He does not, and can not, deny that he stole large amounts of money from the treasury of his state, and he is in the ordinary acceptance of the term, a thief. The fact that he has since been chosen to high offices does not in the least take away the stain of his crime, nor the disgrace of the respectable people of his state who now support him. If he succeeds in the coming election the stain will remain and the disgrace will be doubled. The corruption which the spoils system has worked among the people of Pennsylvania, is powerfully illustrated by the fact that a great body of honest people who believe in sending thieves to prison, propose to smother their honest principles and do what they can to help Quay through, notwithstanding his crime. President Harrison is in the attitude of working side by side with Quay, and with them Postmaster-General Wanamaker. They have turned the federal service in Pennsylvania over to Quay. As with Mahone in Virginia, every good citizen ought to hope that they will here also meet with a stinging, overwhelming and disgraceful defeat. It is not sure that they will; but it is sure they can not afford to win. For to do so, would be the triumph of the wicked. Henry C. Lea thus warns his party:

Fellow republicans, a vindication truly is needed at the coming election, but it is not the vindication of tainted politicians who dare not vindicate themselves. You are called upon to vindicate your own manhood, to vindicate the honesty of your own party, to vindicate the honor of your own state. You are called upon show that you do not wear the collar of Mr. Quay; that your votes are not to be bought and sold by the manipulation of patronage, and that you are not to be driven to the polls like cattle to make good the bargains of your bosses. You are called upon to teach a lesson to your self constituted masters, and to show the country at large that the grand old party may still be trusted to manage the affairs of the nation. If Pennsylvania, the stronghold of republicanism, the typical republican state, tamely acquiesces in the debauched domination of Quayism and proclaims that Messrs. Quay and Delamater are its trusted and

honored leaders, what chance, think you, will the republican party have when it asks the support of the sober second thought of the country in 1892? Rebellion against usurped domination of such leaders is the truest fidelity to party and the highest duty of patriotism.

VIEWS OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

The position and great influence of the *St. Louis Republic* makes its utterances on any subject important. It reads clearly the signs of the times, and in what it says of civil service reform we give it credit, not only for clear sight, but for an earnest desire to see a great benefit conferred upon the country. It said, June 24, 1890:

The Pendleton law was a first step—a short one. Its enforcement is but the beginning, not the end to be reached by the reform of the civil service. The reform itself must be pushed until no party can reward its scavenger workers with office and salary at the expense of the people. The system under which the President acts as the head of a District of Columbia bureau of bossism and patronage brokerage, with an agent in every congressional district and sub-agents in every county, all operating together for the control of state politics, must be abolished, and the federal civil service restored and restricted to its proper function of serving as an agency for transacting the common business of the people of the several states.

There is no obscurity about this from any standpoint possible for the democratic party. It is clear. There is a great work to be done, and the democratic party must do it. It is impossible that the present system should continue. Under it the federal offices are farmed out to senators, to members of congress, to defeated candidates, to state and county committeemen, to anyone who can make any sort of show of title to be a patronage boss. The President trades in the federal offices to secure power over congress. The senators and congressmen of the party in power trade in them to control politics in their states and districts. The committeemen and minor bosses trade in them for every conceivable purpose of corruption, from controlling a primary to outright sale for cash—as *The Republic* has repeatedly demonstrated in the last two years. This will go on until the system which makes such corruption inevitable is radically changed for the better.

No democrat can refuse to co operate in the movement to bring that about. No democrat can believe that it is well for his party, his state, or his country, that an administration ring in the District of Columbia should thus be allowed to draw on the federal treasury for the purpose of controlling state politics and dictating to the states what attitude they shall assume in national affairs.

On the same date Judge Niblack, now and always a democrat, addressed the Hendricks Club, of this city, on the same subject. Judge Niblack has recently concluded a period of twelve years on the supreme bench of this state. Before that he was, several terms, a member of congress, where he voted against the Pendleton act, because he thought the country not ready for it. He now says that civil service reform is engrossing the attention of the country and must be settled one way or another; that when an office-seeker can not obtain his ends he generally abuses the civil service law, and therein receives plenty of aid and comfort from his congressman; that the time has come when there should be a system of equality in the distribution of the offices; it is not right that they should be given out as the perquisites of congressmen. In times past, no matter how competent the clerk, he

was discharged just as soon as the term of his "influence" expired, to make way for the protege of his congressman's successor—a gross injustice. The clerks absolutely transact the business of the various departments, and the country hardly realizes the importance of having these competent men. Judge Niblack also says that the people have no conception of the numerical strength of the place-hunters who are wholly unqualified for the places they want. We quote from the Sentinel report:

"A stock man," said he, "once came to me and asked for my signature to a petition for his appointment as an Indian agent. I asked him what qualification he had for the position, and he replied: 'Well, I have been so used to dealing in cattle that I can look at a cow and tell you just what she is thinking about; so, I guess, I can handle Indians.'" "Well," said the judge, with a laugh, "I signed his petition, but he didn't get the place."

We conclude that Judge Niblack would not now sign such a petition, and we may add that he has also said that, in the matter of the merit system, it is useless for his party to kick against the pricks. We hope he will use his undoubted influence to bring his party to stop the use of the public institutions of this state as party spoil, and that he will labor with his fellow democratic leaders to boldly make the merit system a tenet of that party.

SECOND REPORT

Of the Special Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League.

PATENT OFFICE.

The patent office is a bureau quite unique in its character. Having to deal with the claims of inventors, it reaches nearly every manufacturing interest in the country; and there is a great body of mechanics and skilled artisans who are concerned in its proper administration and keenly watchful of its proceedings. The possession of a patent is often the only hope which a mechanic can cling to for a permanent betterment in his condition. The duties of most of the higher officials in the patent office are largely judicial in character. Though appeals are allowed from their decisions, yet a large number are not appealed from, and are therefore final; and for the performance of these judicial duties there is need of freedom from partisan politics and a reasonable degree of security of tenure during honesty and efficiency, and a hope of promotion for special ability. There is even less reason why these offices should be "political" than that the United States district or circuit judges should be "political," though in such positions as those of the patent office changes should be allowed where it is clear the efficiency of the office is to be thereby increased; and, on the other hand, no political influence should shelter incompetent or dishonest men from removal.

The head of the office is a commissioner, having associated with him an assistant commissioner; a law clerk, who aids in the judicial labors; a chief clerk, who is the principal administrative officer of the bureau; a finance

clerk, in whose charge are the revenues of the office; a librarian; an examining corps, consisting of about one hundred and eighty persons, who investigate the claims of applicants, to determine what is new and patentable in their inventions; and about three hundred and sixty other employes, clerks, copyists, draughtsmen, laborers and messengers, distributed chiefly among four principal divisions. The first of these divisions, which is under the supervision of the chief clerk, receives, registers and distributes all applications for patents, and has charge of interference and appeal records and the general correspondence of the office, as well as of the models and scientific library, and attends to the financial duties of the office; the second, or "issue and gazette division," prepares patents for delivery, and issues the *Official Gazette* and other official publications; the third, or "draughtsman's division," has charge of the drawings, printed patents, photo-lithographic copies, and rejected and abandoned applications; and the fourth, or "assignment division," registers the transfers of patents, attends to the making of manuscript copies, preserves files of caveats, etc. Each of the last three divisions is under the control of a chief of division. The revenues of the patent office average about \$4,000 to the working day, and represent fees paid for patents, for the registry of assignments, the purchase of patent publications and copies of specifications of American and foreign patents, and of American applications for patents, and of manuscript decisions of the judicial officers of the patent office. Between the commissioner of patents and the examining corps there exists an intermediate tribunal, known as the board of examiners in chief, composed of three members appointed by the President, which entertains appeals from the adverse decisions made by the principal examiners; and from the adverse decisions of this board an appeal lies to the commissioner in person. Aside from these proceedings a vast number of interlocutory appeals arise, which concern the methods of practice under the rules; and these are taken from the principal examiners directly to the commissioner in person. It will be perceived that the office of commissioner unites duties which are administrative and judicial, and demands, not merely a good lawyer, familiar with science and mechanics and with the application of legal principles, but at the same time a man of unusual executive capacity.

The beginning of the present administration found this whole bureau in the control of spoilsmen, as far as the civil service law would allow it to be. They were in possession, both above and below the classified list, of nearly all the offices on which they could lay their hands. It would be no injustice to Mr. Montgomery, the first commissioner appointed by President Cleveland, to say that he entered the office without any experience in matters of patent law, and knew next to nothing of the practice and needs of the office. He appointed his brother as his confidential clerk, to dis-

tribute the offices of the bureau among some of the more influential congressmen. President Cleveland appointed as assistant commissioner, presumably upon political influence, the brother of a democratic senator, who had served in Congress and had been chairman of the committee on patents. He was not a lawyer, and was without experience in the duties of such an office.

The appointment of the law clerk by the commissioner was also purely a matter of patronage. This was a position for which, during many years previous, the appointment had been made from members of the examining corps, detailed by personal selection of the commissioner. The duties of law clerk are not defined by law. He is an assistant to the commissioner; and, although he can not render decisions finally, he acts as a sort of referee, who advises the commissioner on matters of fact and questions of practice which the latter officer can not find time to examine in detail. It often happens that an efficient law clerk will prepare decisions which are afterwards signed by the commissioner upon inspection and approval. When cases go to the courts on appeal, the law clerk is the representative of the patent office. The variety and character of the work and the dignity of the place aroused the ambition of all those members of the lower examining corps who had some legal training, and made them eager to fit themselves in law and perform their duties well, in the hope that they might sometime be selected for this position. This incentive had developed a splendid *esprit de corps* among these men, who were thus encouraged to engage in the study of patent law.

This position of law clerk had been held successively by men who have attained prominence at the patent bar. Only one exception had been made to the rule of appointing to this office by promotion from the lower positions in the examining corps. On that occasion the law clerk was chosen from outside the office; and it was the cause of much discouragement among the examiners, who thus saw their own hopes of promotion taken away. This was the only exception until the administration of Commissioner Montgomery, who appointed the law clerk from outside and upon political grounds. This new law clerk was entirely inexperienced in the duties of the place, and could make no pretensions to being well qualified to perform them. This was a disastrous blow to the ambition of the examiners, who sought this promotion as a reward for the faithful performance of their duty. Another place which had been held up as the prize of efficiency under former commissioners was that of examiner of interferences, a sort of court of first instance where trials are had by conflicting claimants upon proofs regularly introduced. This was also filled from the corps of examiners before Mr. Montgomery became commissioner. Under him, however, the new examiner was appointed from outside the office. Up to the time of his appointment he knew little about the

working of the patent office, and was not greatly experienced in patent law; but he has doubtless acquired considerable experience during his service. He remains in office.

Commissioner Montgomery also reduced two out of the three chiefs of divisions to \$1,800 clerkships, and filled the places of these chiefs by men from the outside, politicians of influence, but without experience, the men reduced doing the bulk of the work. One of the new appointees brought considerable scandal upon the office. He also still holds his position.

Another remarkable practice was begun under Commissioner Montgomery. The offices of fourth assistant examiners (whose duties properly related exclusively to the examination of patents) were in many instances filled by clerks who were still retained at their clerical work, and did no duty at all as assistant examiners, although they were classified as such. At one time there were no fewer than twenty of these clerks who had thus been transferred to fourth assistant examinerships, the duties of which position they did not perform. This weakened perceptibly the examining corps and impaired the efficiency of the office. Your committee was for sometime at a loss to understand any motive for this transfer, as both these clerkships and examinerships were embraced in the classified service, and so could not be filled with political favorites; but your committee afterwards learned that the clerkships vacated by this transfer were filled by promotion from a lower grade, that the ranks from which these places were recruited were in their turn filled by a special examination for examiner's clerks, and that a number of persons appointed without competitive examination as "skilled laborers" had been detailed for duty as examiners' clerks, and had thus acquired a knowledge of the duties of that office, which gave them peculiar advantages for passing the special examination for it. Thus, by making a political favorite first a "skilled laborer" and then giving him a "special" examination, he could obtain a clerkship from which political favorites were usually barred by open competitive examinations. These irregularities and perversions of the law could not but be followed by disastrous results.

The work of the patent office under these conditions steadily declined in efficiency. The examining corps had been under the control of the competitive system for a number of years, and it was mostly beyond the reach of political influence. The principal examiners, of whom there were twenty-eight, were officials whose salaries ranged above that fixed by the classified service; but the commissioner doubtless recognized that to remove these men of long training to make place for politicians would cause inextricable confusion, and that without them the bureau would be helpless and unable to perform its functions. Hence they were retained.

President Cleveland saw his way clear to transfer Commissioner Montgomery into a

different field; and he appointed as his successor Benton J. Hall, of Iowa, who had also served in congress and was a lawyer known to be of some ability and character in his own state, but not specially acquainted with patent law or the needs of the patent office. He devoted his energies mainly to preserving the remnants of good service against further inundations, and he gained the respect of all who knew him in the office. He was surrounded, however, by many incompetents, who had been inducted into office during the administration of his predecessor, and whom he did not discharge. He found it necessary to resort frequently to the practice of letting out a considerable portion of the judicial functions of the office to commissions specially created from time to time from among the older and more experienced men of the examining corps. These men, whose official duties required all their time, were obliged to take up details which ought to have been within the easy reach of the assistant commissioner and law clerk; but, while these latter were retained, there seemed to be no other way of doing the public business than that of calling in these examining officers to perform the duties of their superiors. A change for the worse was made during the administration of Commissioner Hall, when, in July, 1887, Schuyler W. Duryce was displaced from the office of chief clerk, and a successor was appointed for political reasons who was without experience, and therefore largely dependent upon his subordinates.

The appointment of the present commissioner by President Harrison was made in pursuance of sound business principles. There were several candidates for appointment, some of them retired congressmen, and many of them with strong political backing; but the President resisted this influence, and declared that, if the patent bar would unite in a recommendation, he would appoint the man they recommended. The present commissioner, Mr. Charles H. Mitchell, was suggested. He was a patent lawyer of extensive experience and recognized standing, with a large income from his profession; and his acceptance of the office involved considerable pecuniary sacrifice. As soon as it was ascertained that he would accept, the leading patent lawyers of the country endeavored to secure his appointment. He had their almost unanimous support as thoroughly well qualified for the position. This commissioner seems to be independent of political influences, and has inaugurated valuable reforms. The President appointed to the office of assistant commissioner, in place of Mr. Vance, Robert J. Fisher, who had been a member of the board of examiners in chief, and who had been a competing applicant for the commissionership. This appointment was strictly in the line of civil service reform principles. The office was next in grade above that which he had filled; and he was well qualified for it, had been in the service about twelve years, and had gone through the vari-

ous grades from lowest assistant examiner up to the place he then occupied, and he had filled every grade worthily and satisfactorily. He was familiar with the business of the office and the *personnel* of the corps. The President, on the advice of the commissioner, next promoted, to the vacancy made by the promotion of Mr. Fisher, Mr. Solon W. Stocking, who had also begun at the lowest grades and had been in the office about seventeen years, a tried examiner of proved ability, upon whom the democratic commissioners during their terms had greatly relied. Mr. Stocking had entered the examining corps by competitive examination, which had been applied to the examining corps for many years continuously previous to the passage of the Pendleton bill, and had risen through each grade in the same way, and is himself a typical fruit of the competitive system. Although an ardent republican, he had given to the democratic head of the office his best service. He had come in under civil service rules, and considered public duty as paramount to mere party claims. The commissioner also reappointed as his chief clerk Mr. Schuyler W. Duryce, who came in from the treasury department in 1883—had been chief clerk during the administration of President Arthur (but had been displaced during the administration of Commissioner Hall), and was a man of excellent executive capacity. The commissioner also changed the law clerk, superseding him by Mr. Frothingham, a change for the better; although, as Mr. Frothingham was appointed to the place from the outside, this change has not restored to the corps of examiners the incentive to faithful and efficient work which had formerly been inspired by the hope of promotion to this office from their own ranks. It is true that the office of law clerk is somewhat confidential in its nature and the occupant should be in touch with the bar and outside world, and it may happen that the right sort of person may not always be found within the ranks of the examining corps. In such a case, it might be proper to make an exception from the salutary method of promotion; but it must also be remembered that special training and a knowledge of the office are required, and these can rarely be found outside of the office itself,—that promotion to the office of law clerk is the only promotion besides that to the office of examiner of interferences to which the examining corps can look,—that the good an established system of promotion does to the whole force is greater in its total result than the individual gain likely to be had by making an exception to the rule, and that one exception is likely to be followed by discouragement and uncertainty. Adding to this the fact that long experience in the department has shown admirable law clerks can be found among the examining corps, which at present is certainly not below the average, your committee think it was a mistake not to revive the advantages gained by the former system of promotion within the office.

Your committee are glad to report from information in their possession, derived, as they believe, from trustworthy and non-political sources, that there has been a decided improvement in the efficiency of the office since the appointment of the present commissioner.

The system of competitive examinations, as applied to the Patent Office, had been begun under the civil service commission and rules, established by General Grant in 1871-72; and, though these rules were in operation for a short time only, "the system of competitive examinations, once established," to quote from a letter written us by a former commissioner of patents, and representing the opinions of several of the leading commissioners from 1872 to 1885, "so approved itself that succeeding commissioners clung to it." "Experience had shown that the office obtained better 'raw material' under open competition, and that promotion in grade for approved fitness in like competition relieved the commissioner from a tremendous amount of importunate buttonholing, and was accepted by the corps as a fair and square test;" that the members of the corps "were thus secure in zealous efforts to study and work for their own advance;" and "the efficiency and *esprit de corps* of the appointees were thus constantly improving. These examinations, as continued by the commissioner of patents, applied only to the various grades of the examining corps; while, under the Pendleton law (1884), the examinations have been extended to the positions of clerks, draughtsmen, skilled laborers, and others.

The following tables show the positions in the unclassified and classified service of the patent office, with the salaries:

POSITIONS IN THE PATENT OFFICE NOT WITHIN THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES.

Commissioner.....	\$5,000
Assistant commissioner.....	3,000
Chief clerk.....	2,250
Law clerk.....	2,000
3 Examiners in chief.....	\$3,000 each. 9,000
Examiner of interferences.....	2,500
Financial clerk.....	2,000
3 Chiefs of divisions.....	2,000 " 6,000
Messenger and property clerk.....	1,000
15 Laborers.....	600 " 27,000
40 Laborers.....	450 " 19,200
15 Messenger boys.....	360 " 5,400
113 Total.....	\$81,350

POSITIONS WITHIN THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES.

30 Principal examiners.....	N.C.* \$2,400 each. \$72,000
32 First assistant exam.....	C.L. 1,800 " 57,600
36 Second assistant exam.....	C.L. 1,600 " 57,600
41 Third assistant exam.....	C.L. 1,400 " 57,400
50 Fourth assistant exam.....	C.L. 1,200 " 60,000
1 Librarian.....	N.C. 2,000 " 2,000
3 Ass't chiefs of divisions.....	C.L. 1,800 " 5,400
3 Clerks of class four.....	C.L. 1,800 " 5,400
1 Machinist.....	C.L. 1,600 " 1,600
5 Clerks of class three.....	C.L. 1,600 " 8,000
12 Clerks of class two.....	C.L. 1,400 " 16,800
50 Clerks of class one.....	C.L. 1,200 " 60,000
1 Skilled laborer.....	C.L. 1,200 " 1,200
3 Skilled draughtsmen.....	C.L. 1,200 " 3,600

* C. indicates the positions are gained only by open competition. N.C. indicates the positions are gained by appointment, subject to a non-competitive examination. C.L. indicates the positions are gained by a competitive examination, limited to the grade below.

1 Draughtsmen.....	C.L. 1,000 each 1,000
25 Permanent clerks.....	C.L. 1,000 " 25,000
5 Model attendants.....	N.C. 1,000 " 5,000
10 Model attendants.....	N.C. 800 " 8,000
60 Copyists.....	C.L. 900 " 54,000
4 Copyists.....	C.L. 720 " 2,880
92 Skilled laborers.....	N.C. 720 " 66,240
468 Total.....	\$573,720

In the history of this office, we see not only how beneficial the civil service system has been in giving increased efficiency in this important office, to the great advantage of the general public, but also how it is possible, notwithstanding the civil service law, for a head of a bureau who is not in sympathy with the purposes of that law to go very far toward demoralizing the bureau. This was done by filling the places above and below those covered by the law with political favorites, and by making exceptions to the rules and "back-door entrances" to the classified service; and, lastly, we see how it was mainly the good effects of the civil service rules acting upon those places to which it applied that saved the demoralization from being complete.

The contrast between the two systems, as affecting the efficiency of an office, is striking. The spoils system means giving the offices for partisan purposes to those who feel it a favor to receive the appointments. The reform system seeks to establish permanent administrative methods for guarding business principles in office, against political interference. These methods consist of open competitive tests made to suit the special duties to be performed, practical trial in office during a probationary period before final appointment, filling the higher grades by promotion, and at the heads of the bureaus to put such persons as confer a favor upon the public by accepting the position rather than such as consider the office as a favor to themselves in return for political influence or work.

(Mr. MacVeagh, on account of illness, is unable to examine this report before its publication.)

WM. D. FOULKE, Chairman.
CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.
RICHARD H. DANA.
SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

JUNE 30, 1890.

A MANACLED PRESS.

Daniel Webster in 1832.

And is a press that is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can the people look for truths to partial sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim

the approach of national evils, nor seem to decry them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press.

—Ezra M. Wilson, editor of the *Argus*, has been made postmaster at Adin, Cal.

—Samuel F. Smith, editor of the *Coast Vidette*, has been made postmaster at Encinitas, Cal.

—S. A. Drummond, of the *Antelope Valley Times*, has been made postmaster at Lancaster, Cal.

—C. Frost Liggett, of the *Chief*, has been made postmaster at Chivington, Col.

—George E. Miles, editor of the *Citrus County Star*, has been made postmaster at Mannfield, Fla.

—Harvey J. Cooper, editor of the *Journal*, has been made postmaster at Tampa, Fla.

—Walter Colyer, editor of the *Journal*, has been made postmaster at Albion, Ill.

—Daneis E. Donley, of the *Budget*, has been made postmaster at Baylis, Ill.

—R. M. Pritchett, editor of the *Herald*, has been made postmaster at Dana, Ill.

—Wm. R. Jewell, editor of the *News*, has been made postmaster at Danville, Ill.

—Johnson Potter, editor of the *Scout*, has been made postmaster at Davis, Ill.

—John M. Breen, editor of the *Home Times*, has been made postmaster at Flanagan, Ill.

—A. H. Reed, editor of the *Southern Illinois Journal*, has been made postmaster at Flora, Ill.

—D. W. Hartman, editor of the *Issue*, has been made postmaster at Genoa, Ill.

—Charles W. Warner, editor of the *Chronicle*, has been made postmaster at Hopeston, Ill.

—R. F. Lawson, editor of the *Express*, has been made postmaster at Kimmunity, Ill.

—Volney Weaver, editor of the *Times*, has been made postmaster at Loda, Ill.

—J. Van Slyke, editor of the *Plain Dealer*, has been made postmaster at Melleny, Ill.

—B. C. Lansdon, editor of the *News*, has been made postmaster at Nebo, Ill.

—Thomas R. Hancock, editor of the *News*, has been made postmaster at Neoga, Ill.

—W. R. Parks, editor of the *Observer*, has been made postmaster at Petersburg, Ill.

—J. S. Barmm, editor of the *Telephone*, has been made postmaster at Princeville, Ill. [He also issues for Alta, Dunlap and Monica, Ill.]

—C. A. Wilcox, of the *Whig*, has been made postmaster at Quincy, Ill.

—George W. Harper, editor of the *Argus*, has been made postmaster at Robinson, Ill.

—C. A. Hebbard, editor of the *Times*, has been made postmaster at Roseville, Ill.

—C. S. Brydia, editor of the *Gazette*, has been made postmaster at Sannemin, Ill.

—J. A. Mace, editor of the *Independent Gazette*, has been made postmaster at Saybrook, Ill.

—J. Mastin, editor of the *Express*, has been made postmaster at Shannon, Ill.

—S. Lovejoy Taylor, editor of the *Plain Dealer*, has been made postmaster at Sparta, Ill.

—John T. Conner, editor of the *Express*, has been made postmaster at Toledo, Ill.

—E. B. Chapin, editor of the *Herald*, has been made postmaster at Tolono, Ill.

—A. C. Hotchkiss, of the *Dallas Co. News*, has been made postmaster at Adel, Iowa.

—J. B. Hungerford, of the *Herald*, has been made postmaster at Carroll, Iowa.

—J. C. Harwood, editor of the *Wright county Monitor*, has been made postmaster at Clarion, Iowa.

W. B. Webster, editor of the *Republican*, has been made postmaster at Cresco, Iowa.

Fred W. Brown, editor of the *Recorder*, has been made postmaster at Dysart, Iowa.

Almond W. Utter, of the *Palo Alto Reporter*, has been made postmaster at Emmetsburg, Iowa.

J. T. Notson, of the *Itemizer*, has been made postmaster at Farragut, Iowa.

F. M. Smock, of the *Alta*, has been made postmaster at Keota, Iowa.

A. F. Schreckengast, of the *Eagle*, was appointed census enumerator for the town of Keota.

Howarth, of the *Richland (Iowa) Clarion*, was appointed census enumerator.

[This correspondent says: "I think there is scarcely a newspaper man, I mean republican, who has not been rewarded in some way."]

George Van Houten, editor of the *Time Table* has been made postmaster at Lenox, Iowa.

Charles H. Austin, editor of the *Tribune*, has been made postmaster at Lineville, Iowa.

George I. Long, of the *Journal*, has been made postmaster at Manson, Iowa.

C. D. Lyon, editor of the *Motor*, has been made postmaster at Milo, Iowa.

John Vandermost, editor of the *Mirror*, has been made postmaster at Monroe, Iowa.

David Vail, editor of the *Star*, has been made postmaster at New Sharon, Iowa.

George E. Moore, editor of the *Advertiser*, has been made postmaster at Nora Springs, Iowa.

C. J. Burke, editor of the *Recorder*, has been made postmaster at Olin, Iowa.

Willis C. Hills, of the *Exponent*, has been made postmaster at Smithland, Iowa.

A. L. Wood, editor of the *Telegram*, has been made postmaster at St. Charles, Iowa.

Frank T. Piper, editor of the *Mail*, has been made postmaster at Sheldon, Iowa.

O. B. Peterson, editor of the *News*, has been made postmaster at Story City, Iowa.

C. J. Wanser, editor of the *Herald*, has been made postmaster at Tama, Iowa.

W. A. Tyrrell, editor of the *Republican*, has been made postmaster at Waverly, Iowa.

Martha J. Cowman, wife of W. P. Cowman, editor of the *Indicator*, has been made postmaster at Casey, Iowa.

C. B. Hunt, editor of the *Transcript*, has been made postmaster at Greenfield, Iowa.

M. A. Runy, editor of the *Observer*, has been made postmaster at Fontanelle, Iowa.

W. P. Monilton, editor of the *Locomotive*, has been made postmaster at Stuart, Iowa.

"THE SOLE DISCRIMINATING TEST."

There is a good deal of complaint among the officers at the navy yard at the slow work being done on the Pensacola's bottom. That vessel went into dry dock a month ago and repairs were at once begun, but at this time she is far from completed, and will probably be in dock for some time to come. It was said yesterday by the men supposed to be at work on her that they were delayed because of a lack of nails. The real truth about the matter, however, is that the work on the Pensacola and in other parts of the navy yard is controlled by "bosses" appointed by Brooklyn politicians. These men draw their pay by the day and work just about as they please.

The officers of the yard are practically powerless in whatever supervisory capacity they may be placed. Frequently they have remonstrated with the "bosses" of the gangs at work, but always in vain. Several times they have threatened to have the indolent men discharged, and in one or two instances their threats have been carried out, but with

very few exceptions the discharged men have restored themselves to their old positions through political influence of a kind that is outrageously exercised in Brooklyn under this administration. It can hardly be expected that beneficiaries of such a system of political patronage will prove to be workmen of the class required to superintend the complicated and oftentimes difficult work incident to an active navy yard.

Not long ago a number of republican laborers in Brooklyn, who aspire to the easy-going perennial jobs of their more fortunate brethren, appeared at the navy yard with applications indorsed by Senator Birkett. They were armed with other and equally formidable recommendations, and the way seemed clear to an immediate occupancy of all the vacancies in the yard. They were met, however, by the foreman, who, according to their report, is an insurmountable obstacle in the way of partisan patronage. He told the hopeful applicants that enough republicans in their wards had been given positions, and that as far as navy yard berths were concerned, those wards were irrevocably boycotted.

This resulted in a mass meeting of the disgruntled, which found vent in a formal protest that was sent to Washington. After complaining of the unjust discrimination exercised by the foreman, the protest stated many of the men who had been given jobs were those who had formally lived in remote portions of the city, but who had moved into the wards contiguous to the navy yard in order to insure the recognition that had been heretofore denied them.

This remonstrance appears to have found a listener, for it received immediate response in the shape of a letter from the Hon. Benjamin F. Tracy, secretary of the navy. This letter was received at the navy yard Tuesday. It contained a large number of blank forms, which are to be distributed among the employes in every department of the navy yard, calling for each man's name, age, street number, ward, rating, pay, date of appointment, by whom appointed, and by whom recommended. The blanks also require the residence of the workman previous to the date of his appointment.

All of these papers, when filled out, will be examined and checked off by the officers of the several departments and then forwarded to Washington for such use as this administration, in playing the game of politics, may see fit to make of them.—*New York Times*, July 11.

Naval officers in port declare that the alleged workmen now employed are the most incompetent and worthless that could be selected, that work is delayed and shirked, and that the condition of affairs is deplorable in the extreme. The basis for this demoralization lies in the fact that the lieutenants of Thomas C. Platt, the boss of the republican party, and of Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy have had a falling out, and that in the scuffle for superiority the public welfare suffers.

The facts, so far as learned, indicate that Secretary Tracy has drawn the line at last, and insisted that hereafter every person who applies for a job shall place the name of his backer in his recommendation. The seventeenth ward seems to be the object of universal envy. There reside both William C. Wallace and Mr. Robert D. Benedict. The latter was defrauded out of the congressional nomination two years ago, and he is determined to obtain it this fall. Both of these gentlemen are powers in their district. Congressman Wallace is supported by Thomas C. Platt, John A. Nicholls, Senator Birkett, who boasts of having obtained more places for his henchmen than any other man, Ernst Nathan, and the rest of the gang that in the past have made Brooklyn politics notorious and infamous. Mr. Benedict is backed by the respectable element of his party. His friends have not fared so well, so far as patronage is concerned, as their opponents. An officer on duty in the yard said:

"This factional fight between these Brooklyn politicians is proving disastrous to our work here and to our men. If a gang of men are at work aboard ship the officers have no control whatever over them, but on the contrary are regaled by conversations

which are carried on between them for hours at a time, to the utter disregard and neglect of the work in hand. Of course we are not supposed to know who is responsible for this state of affairs. That is not our business. All that concerns us is to have the work performed in as short a time as is consistent with thoroughness. You can't find that here. The workmen do as they please. And work that ought to be performed in an hour or two is usually stretched out to two or three days."

Brooklyn politicians predict that this breach at the navy yard is only a prelude to a more serious breach between Secretary Tracy and Platt. Recently the secretary heard that the twenty-third ward, which is bossed by Platt's faithful henchman, Ernst Nathan, had been favored in the matter of appointments to the detriment of the thirteenth, whose leader is William H. Leayercraft, who is committed to the fortunes of Mr. Benedict. The secretary wrote an autograph letter to the officer who has had charge of the disbursing of some of the federal patronage and wanted to know how it was that one ward had been more generously rewarded than the other. This was followed by a second letter requesting that all applicants shall have the names of their backers indorsed on the back of their recommendations.

"Work in the navy yard nowadays is a farce," said a Brooklyn contractor yesterday. "If you raked the yard fore and aft you would be rewarded by finding men unfit and incompetent, lazy and worthless. The Harrison administration is responsible for much that is censurable, but this business at the yard is simply outrageous. Why an investigation is not ordered or reform instituted is inexplicable. Of course, none of the naval officers stationed there can speak for publication, out of a mistaken sense of etiquette and loyalty to their chief, the secretary, but there is not an officer stationed in the yard, from the commandant to the junior, who is not aware of the demoralization that exists and the absolute disregard of responsibility that prevails. They laugh over it among themselves, but no one will speak for publication for obvious reasons. It is the system that is wrong. It is wrong for any boss such as Platt or for any of his heelers to imagine that the navy yard patronage is their personal property, to be awarded to their shouters who are unable from their incompetence and laziness to obtain work anywhere else. It has been a common remark up to within a fortnight that Mr. Platt's heelers had the bulk of the patronage, but since then it is understood that Secretary Tracy had stepped in and the Platt men have not carried their heads quite so high."—*New York Times*, July 12.

Orders that arrived at the navy yard on Wednesday removing Foreman Arthur Boyle from his position in charge of the construction of the new cruiser, No. 7, and appointing John O'Rourke, an experienced shipbuilder, formerly in the employ of John Ronch, to the position were made public yesterday. The news was a tremendous surprise to the republicans of the twentieth ward, Brooklyn, for Boyle is the republican lieutenant there of Mr. Wm. H. Beard and *United States District Attorney Jesse Johnson*. So great a rumpus did the removal cause that Mr. Johnson left for Washington yesterday to see if the matter could not be arranged.

This, however, is not at all probable, as Foreman Boyle was removed for neglect of duty. He was in the habit of going to the yard wearing a silk hat, his best clothes, and patent-leather shoes, and rarely remained on duty more than three or four hours a day. This kind of "sojering" did not at all suit such an old sea dog as Admiral Braine, and after a few kindly warnings he let the axe fall.

As foreman, Mr. Boyle had the authority to hire his own men, and the faithful of the twentieth ward were well provided for with places. He is now reduced to the position of a quartermaster under Foreman O'Rourke, but he declines to accept the situation, and has told Mr. Johnson that if the latter wants the support of the republicans of the twentieth ward, he must straighten the matter out right away.—*New York Times*, July 20.

Office-Holders Defending their Possessions.

Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his fief or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster. . . . *Blackstone.*

Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. Not only is their time and labor due to the government, but they should scrupulously avoid in their political action, as well as in the discharge of their official duty, offending by a display of obtrusive partisanship their neighbors who have relations with them as public officials.

They should also constantly remember that their party friends from whom they have received preferment have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs. They have no right, as office-holders, to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which prevent every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization.

The influence of the federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions. The use by these officials of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions is indecent and unfair, and proper regard for the proprieties and requirements of official place will also prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns.—President Cleveland, July 14, 1886.

Approved by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, April 25, 1890.

—Gen. Atkins, postmaster at Freeport, went to Springfield as a delegate to the republican state convention.—*Rockford [Ill.] Register*, July 4.

—Dan. Hogan, made collector of internal revenue at Chicago because he was a powerful ward boss, was at the republican state convention at Springfield, June 23.

—The Hon. J. B. Smith, of Hillsborough, had a long conference yesterday with Senator Chandler, *Naval Officer Currier*, and other party managers, and it is practically settled that Mr. Tuttle has withdrawn and that Mr. Smith shall receive the republican gubernatorial nomination.—*Special to Boston Advertiser*, from Concord, N. H., July 16.

—The meeting of the republican state committee to-night seemed more like a meeting of office-holders than anything else. There were present Gov. Goodell and members of his council, President of the Senate Taggart, Speaker Upton, United States Senator Chandler, *Pension Agent Cheney*, *Treasury Agent Aaron Young*, *Naval Officer Currier*, *Internal Revenue Collector French*, Secretary of State Thompson, Book Commissioner Lyford, Rail-

road Commissioner Putney, Mayor Humphrey, and *Postmaster Robinson* of this city, ex-Governor Cheney, *Postmaster Piper*, Senator Means, Judge of Police Court Hunt, of Manchester, and some others.—*Dispatch from Concord, N. H.*, July 1.

—United States Attorneys Reynolds and Neal, of the eastern and western districts, and United States Marshals Tracy and Buchanan, and Appraiser Metcalfe, of the port of St. Louis, met with the Missouri state republican committee, July 8.

—United States District Attorney Walter Lyon, who was permanent chairman of the republican state convention, said to a reporter to day:

"I never was pledged to Montooth, and it was well known that I was a Delamater man. I came out as a delegate for him, and had I so desired could have been instructed by the convention which sent me for Delamater. Had there been the least chance for Montooth's nomination I would have stuck to him. I knew there was no chance from the start, and I didn't propose to have the Allegheny county delegation sit in the convention with their thumbs in their mouths and take no part in the nomination for governor. Some of the Allegheny county delegation desired to have the delegation remain solid for Montooth, so that when it came home it could be said that Quay was not able to influence a man in the delegation. It was intended to hurt Quay by this means, and when the delegation came home it expected to have a good laugh over Quay's failure to influence the Allegheny county delegation. I didn't propose to be a party to any such scheme. If I had been asked by any one to stick to Montooth, in view of the fact that I knew it was hopeless, I should have declared that Montooth was never in the light, although some of his people actually persuaded him he was.

"Those who understood the situation knew better. What little fight there seemed to be was between Delamater and Hastings, but it hardly deserved the name of fight. Delamater could have been nominated on the first ballot had it been deemed advisable. A regard for Mayor Fitler, of Philadelphia, was the only thing that prevented this. All the delegates needed to nominate Delamater could have been obtained from the Philadelphia delegation. In order to prevent him from kicking it was deemed best to let the Philadelphia delegation go to Hastings on the first ballot; that is, as many as desired, and to nominate Delamater on the second. We wanted to let Fitler down as easy as possible, and so only took just enough to nominate Delamater from Philadelphia."—*New York Times*, June 28.

—Complaint has been made here to the President and the secretary of the treasury, sustained by ample proof, that ex-Gov. Warmouth, the collector of the port of New Orleans, is using all the power of his great office in favor of the rechartering of the Louisiana lottery company. A few days ago Warmouth sent an employe of his office to East Louisiana,

where there is an election contest, the lottery question being the issue. Warmouth's custom house employe was named George S. Swayzee, and his business was to distribute lottery circulars.—*Washington Dispatch to St. Louis Republic*, June 18.

—T. G. Lawler, Congressman Hitt's postmaster at Rockford, was a delegate present at the convention that nominated Congressman Hitt.

—"The republican state convention met here to-day," says a dispatch from Montgomery last evening. "There were only thirty white men in the convention, most of whom are federal office-holders in Alabama."—*New York Evening Post*, June 5.

—The *Auburn Advertiser* (rep.) the organ of John K. Knapp, chairman of the republican state committee and postmaster at Auburn, announces that Platt's candidacy for the United States senate "may now be considered public, avowed and active. He will go back, if he can, to the seat from which the appointment of Senator Robertson hurried him in 1881."

—The interest in the third congressional battle is centred just now, and will be for some time, in the twenty-third ward, where Internal Revenue Collector Nathan has a growing opposition to light.

The cause of the dissatisfaction is the high-handed way in which Nathan runs the ward. He could not affect more absolute ownership if it were an old family pocket borough, and the thousands of new residents who are making the twenty-third one of the biggest wards in town object to wearing Nathan's collar. They lay claim to a sufficient number of adherents to beat Nathan, but complain that by all sorts of *hocus pocus* he prevents them from getting the names of their friends on the roll book of the association. Nathan's object, of course, is to keep these people out until after he elects his delegates to the approaching conventions in the third congressional and the ninth and eleventh assembly districts, all three of which he has practically owned for the last four years.

The strong attempt now being made by Robert D. Benedict, backed by Secretary Tracy, to dislodge Nathan, backed by Thos. C. Platt, from at least one of these republican strongholds, the third congressional, is what makes this fight in the twenty-third ward interesting to the general public.

Nathan is claiming to have won a significant victory for Congressman Wallace in the appointment of Michael Malone as master plumber on the new federal building. Malone is ex-Judge Rooney's man and a big figure in the Home and Country Protective Brotherhood of Workingmen. Nathan is trying to get the backing of the brotherhood in the Wallace-Benedict fight.—*New York Times*, July 13.

The Harrison administration received a set-back here to day, for, at a meeting of the republican state central committee in this city, the control of the party machinery passed into the hands of the anti-administration men.

After the election of last fall the republican party in this city, which has always been noted for its factional fights, split into two factions, and the feeling between them has been very bitter. So intense was this feeling that last May, when the city had to elect members to the state central committee, two sets of primaries were held, and May 6 two republican conventions were held in each legislative district in the city, and two sets of men were chosen members from Baltimore of the state central committee, the first meeting of which was held to day.

One of these factions is called the Johnson faction, is headed by Postmaster William W. Johnson, and includes nearly all the office holders in the city. Many federal officials, though caring nothing for the postmaster, supported him to day because they wanted all the administration men together, and they wanted to show the President that the Maryland republicans were all for him. Congressman Sidney E. Mudd, to whom they gave a seat, ousting Barnes Compton, championed Johnson's cause to-day in the committee as a proxy from Charles county.

The Henderson faction, or the antis, is headed by William T. Henderson, a local boss, who wanted the place that W. W. Johnson now holds—the postmastership. His cause to-day was championed by Thomas H. Hodson of Somerset county, who wanted the district attorneyship and did not get it.—*Dispatch from Baltimore to N. Y. Times, July 17.*

—A well informed correspondent writes to the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE:

"That the spirit of the civil service law is being violated in Indiana is perfectly well known to any one who pays the slightest attention to the working of the republican machine. Michener, attorney general and candidate for the United States senate, has the control of the federal patronage in Indiana. He is chairman of the state central committee. A state central committee was elected last January. At the various district conventions the federal office-holders, particularly the postmasters, were very prominent. In one district, the third, in which the administration, through Michener, was very anxious to win, Postmaster Ridland, of Scottsburg, a recent appointee, was compelled to change the vote of his county from the man of his choice to Michener's candidate. Postmaster Godfrey, of New Albany, was a delegate to that convention and worked actively for Carter, the Michener candidate, for committeeman. But for the official pressure brought to bear in that convention Carter would not have received one-third the vote. In the ninth congressional district contest for the nomination Mr. La Follette, superintendent of public instruction, was backed by Chairman Michener and all the patronage. B. Wilson Smith, postmaster at La Fayette, was particularly active in Mr. La Follette's behalf. Postal clerk Hack helped out, but in spite of all, La Follette was beaten. Several post-office inspectors were, it is said, traveling over the ninth district for La Follette. Right here in Indianapolis the federal officers are an active part of the machine. Postmaster Wallace, United States Marshal Dunlap and Collector

Hildebrand take no open part in the manipulation, but they have good trusty subordinates who do. Deputy Postmaster Wallace is a delegate to all conventions. Deputy United States Marshal Conway is a delegate to all conventions, and is a member of the county central committee. Fred Schmidt, in the office of Collector Hildebrand, is the same. The same officer has as his deputy Eugene Saulcy, a hustler from away back, who is a member of the county committee."

CLARKSON vs. DANA.

"SUBSIDIZED" EDITORS.

A neat and epigrammatic little story, in which Assistant Postmaster General Clarkson figures as the hero, and Editor R. H. Dana of Boston as the victim, was recently going the rounds of the New York press. It runs as follows:—

There is a periodical published in Boston and devoted to civil service reform, whose editor is Richard Henry Dana. When J. S. Clarkson was in Boston a week ago, he was introduced to Mr. Dana. Indeed, the Boston mugwumps paid quite as much court to the first assistant postmaster-general as if he was not the axe-wielder for the decapitation of 50,000 official heads. At the head of his editorial page, Mr. Dana prints in each number of his journal a list of editors appointed by President Harrison to office, under the heading of "Subsidized Editors." Mr. Clarkson has seen this list, and in course of conversation he asked Mr. Dana this quiet and somewhat leading question:—

"Would you accept a federal position, Mr. Dana, provided it should be offered you by the President, and should be a high and responsible one,—say, civil service commissioner?"

With the idea that Mr. Clarkson might be putting out a feeler for the administration, Mr. Dana responded emphatically,

"Yes, I think I would."

"In that event," continued Mr. Clarkson, with satire in his tone, "would you continue to print in your paper a list of subsidized editors, with your own name in the list?"

Mr. Dana's reply has not yet reached the first assistant postmaster-general.

The only defect noticeable in the narrative is the defect often found in good stories; namely, the defect that it has been ingeniously invented, but does not happen to be true. Mr. Dana never met Mr. Clarkson in Boston. The Boston editor did not respond emphatically, "Yes, I think I would," nor did the first assistant postmaster-general continue the conversation with a satirical rejoinder. All that happened in this connection was simply this,—that Mr. Clarkson wrote to Mr. Dana, and that Mr. Dana sent a reply which has reached the first assistant postmaster-general. The correspondence is as follows:—

OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 25, 1890.

My Dear Sir, . . . Since you were here, I have seen a copy of your paper. I have read it with interest. I was particularly interested in the last leaf of it, where you print a list of "Subsidized Editors." I see I am in the list. I did not know before that I was subsidized. I would like to know what good cause is served by keeping a list like this before the public. I presume, if the President would

tender you a position on the civil service commission, you would accept it. If you should, I would like to know if you would print your own name in this list of subsidized editors; and, if not, why not?

Very truly yours,
(Signed) J. S. CLARKSON.

BOSTON, April 29, 1890.

My Dear Sir,—I have your letter of April 25, with the enclosure of an official statement regarding changes among postmasters. . . . As to "Subsidized Editors," you may remember that in 1888 Mr. George William Curtis, in his summary of Cleveland's administration, accused Mr. Cleveland of having subsidized the press with the federal patronage; and this paper made the same accusation, and President Harrison appears to have been doing the same thing to about the same extent. We shall probably have a more complete list formed, covering both Cleveland and Harrison's administration, by next autumn. The facts on which the people found their opinion of governments are almost wholly got through the press. We all admit the suppression of facts by government control, such as we see in Europe to-day, is subversive of the rights of the people. Here and there an editor may be found fair-minded enough to give the facts, both favorable and unfavorable, to an administration under which he holds office; but his position as a government subordinate would then be an awkward one. We have again and again seen the effect of patronage on the ordinary editor. It closes his mouth, his ears, and his eyes to any criticisms of his administration or fair treatment of his opponents. The public are the losers in such cases, just as much as if the government controlled or subsidized the press. I could not edit this paper independently and fearlessly and yet hold my position, provided I got one, under the government, without acting in a way that would be unbecoming a subordinate. An editor like yourself, of a strictly party paper, may be able to perform both duties at once, but few succeed in this.

Very truly yours, R. H. DANA.
To HON. J. S. CLARKSON,
First Assistant Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

For the cause of reform it makes very little difference whether Mr. Clarkson, as he tells the story, or Mr. Dana, as the correspondence shows, had the last word. It is of the greatest importance, however, that the public should be aroused to the evil of this phase of the spoils system.

In the days of ancient Greece, the orators did the work now done by the press; and Philip of Macedon, in order to bring the free Greek states under his sway, subsidized all the orators with money or office, excepting Demosthenes. Even the warnings of Demosthenes were not enough to save his country, which, though able to withstand the Macedonian phalanx, yielded to the persuasions of the subsidized orators.

Since publishing our last list of "subsidized editors," we have had some forty-six new cases brought to our attention, and, besides these, the special committee of the national league has a long list of editors appointed by Presidents Harrison and Cleveland as presidential postmasters. It is bad enough to use the offices to control the caucuses and conventions in favor of this or that man or clique, but to use the offices for the purpose of paying editors to keep the facts hidden from the people and to write up rose-colored accounts of the doings of an administration seems worse.—*Civil Service Record, July, 1890.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 18.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

THE CONSPICUOUS DANGER.

For one, I believe in that conscience and that vision [of the great body of the people] to-day as profoundly as I believe in the better instincts of humanity everywhere. That they may be temporarily blinded and confused, we have perhaps as painful evidence of late as any which the history of the republic has given us. But that they have not lost their power, there are abundant and cheering signs. What now, I ask you, in such an emergency, is your duty and mine? The republic at this moment is confronted by three conspicuous dangers. * * * A policy of favoritism which makes partisan service the substantial basis for political preferment, and a fine disdain for the element of personal fitness, whatever the place or task, which exacts only so much competency as can rescue the place holder from absolute disgrace; this has come to be the war cry which treats every office of trust as so much spoil, and every political contest as simply a scramble for personal emolument. That such a view of the service of the government should be held by some Tuscan bandit escaped out of his trans-Alpine

fastnesses to prey upon our unsuspecting institutions, would not be occasion for surprise. But that it has come to be the deliberate conviction of men in high place among us, and that this new gospel of unscrupulous self-seeking is openly proclaimed as the only spell powerful enough to maintain a healthy and active interest in our political institutions—that, in other words, there is no instinct of patriotism strong enough to constrain a man to active participation in the political life of the nation unless there dangles before him, all the while, the possible prize which he may snatch out of the sordid and shameless strife—this certainly is a teaching which may well make all honest people flush with keen and indignant shame! For, in close touch with it, there stands plainly enough the inevitable corollary that no man who serves the state only from such motives will scruple to sacrifice public interests to private ends, whenever he can safely do so. Once grant that civic place is a private *placer*, out of which you and I must first snatch that which shall compensate ourselves for the discomfort and degradation

involved in scrambling for it, and it is difficult to see how the sequence, which puts self or one's party first and one's country last, does not hold all the way through. And, indeed, that no higher sense of civic obligation than this is widely prevalent is indicated by the painful fact (to which one finds it difficult to allude with becoming delicacy and reserve) that great parties and great personages are able in this matter to affirm, on platforms and in official pronouncements, and with such unctuous solemnity, a virtue which, in practice, they find it no less easy with open and brazen impunity to doubt and disregard. Such a situation, gentlemen, disguise or dispute it as men may, never can be belittled or ignored as a mere partisan issue. It is an issue of morals, it is a question of common honesty, for men in civic power are simply the servants of the state, and the public service is a public trust, abuse or perversion or malfeasance in which is not a less, but a greater, crime than unfaithfulness to a private trust.—From Bishop Potter's *Phi Beta Oration*, at Harvard, June 26, 1890.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is now well into its second year. As has been before stated no one but the printer is paid anything for services. In the light of a multitude of assurances it is believed that the paper is liked and has its field. We are anxious to extend its circulation, and in view of the large amount of work given freely to each issue, it is not too much to ask the friends of civil service reform to do their share by getting new subscribers. Subscribers must also bear in mind that it is not well to spend money in a system of collecting subscriptions, and that if each one will send his own he will thereby further co-operate.

THE paper on civil service reform, announced last month, was read at the Battle Ground camp meeting, August 1, the subject being "The Gift of Offices." Noteworthy matters are the interest with which general audiences listen to this class of discussions and the lack of specific information which prevails among the clergymen. The latter is undoubtedly due to their very general determination to avoid politics, and it is harmful to them and to the country. When Senator Ingalls says that the ten commandments can not be applied to a political campaign, it is time for clergymen not only to know of his statement, but to declare against it.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held

October 1 and 2, in Boston. This is a league of the civil service reform associations of the country. Any member of any association is entitled to take part and vote in its general deliberations. The location of the meeting, and the number of eminent men in Massachusetts who are members of local associations, will make the occasion one of great interest and enjoyment. There is no pleasanter season of the year for travel, and it is to be hoped that Indiana members who have never attended will find it in their way to be in Boston at that time. The headquarters will be at the Parker House.

WHEN a party platform is the work of the little inside ring of party workers the omission of an important question like the reform of the civil service is not significant, but the omission of all reference to this in the platform of the state convention of democrats of Delaware, held August 12, seems studied, and can not be passed by, in that Mr. Bayard, a member of Mr. Cleveland's cabinet, and one supposed to be antagonistic to the spoils system, drafted the platform in great detail and read it, and later made an earnest speech in its favor.

ELSEWHERE in this number will be found a long and interesting history of the use of the navy yards as spoil and of the laws relating to such use, founded in part on the recent speech of Congressman Cummings.

The law is explicit that no man shall be discharged from the navy yards for political opinion, and that the hiring of employes shall be based upon capacity alone. Since 1876 the law has required a certificate of necessity from the secretary of the navy if men are to be hired in a navy yard sixty days preceding a presidential or congressional election. It is safe to say that since the law was passed there has been no real necessity for such a certificate. The certificates which have been made were for the purpose of filling the yards with men just preceding elections, so that their wages might act as a bribe for their votes. It is a humiliating and disgraceful spectacle to see presidents and secretaries lending themselves to this business. The undoubted facts as to Secretary Whitney's acts are given. Secretary Tracy is now engaged in the same business. There is nothing about repairing old wooden vessels up at the Kittery yard which can not wait until after the election. It is an attempt to put voters under government pay and thus bribe them to vote for the reelection of Congressman Reed, whose last majority was 1,616, regardless of the talk of the republican platform about "the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage."

SINCE March, 1889, republican congressmen of the Cheadle-Grosvenor-Houk type have met with many grievous defeats, but no other has so many elements of satis-

faction as the last encounter before the congressional investigating committee. Mr. Roosevelt had challenged Grosvenor and Houk to meet him before the committee and make good their charges against the merit system, but they discreetly remained away. Last Friday, at the close of the investigation, Mr. Roosevelt told the committee that he should leave the next day for his Dakota ranch, and he bought his ticket for the trip. Promptly Saturday morning came Houk and Grosvenor and asked to be heard. The Washington dispatch of the *New York Times*, August 24, best describes their humiliating overthrow:

Just as they were about to begin, Roosevelt came in. He had given up his ticket as soon as he had heard that Grosvenor had asked to be heard by the committee, and there he was to talk. And he had a great time of it.

Grosvenor whined most pitifully. When he had said that the platform of the republican party in the last campaign was "Turn the democrats out and put republicans in," he was only joking. He believed in the merit system. Gradually he withdrew all the damaging things that he had said, and when Mr. Roosevelt pushed him too closely about the assertions he had made on the floor of the house, he fell back on his constitutional privilege, declined to be questioned for what he had said on the floor, and left the committee room.

Houk, who had been rather more careless than Grosvenor in making his charges, ran away while Grosvenor was undergoing his "skinning" at the hands of Roosevelt, and he has not intimated any desire to be heard at any other time. So ridiculous did the business appear to the members of the committee of both parties that they laughed at the expense of the men who had made the assertions that had been the basis of the investigation, and it seemed probable that the inquiry would only result in strengthening the reform that it was intended to injure.

At the recent examination held in this city for clerks and carriers in the post-office, a negro stood at the head of the eligible list with a standing of 96 per cent. That his own manliness has increased many per cent. by winning a place through merit, no one will deny. But the effect upon him is little beside the object lesson to all others of his race here. It quickens the tendency to go to school; it increases self-respect and ambition, and these feelings take possession of many impressionable and easy-going people, and are often the basis of a change of character. But while this winning of spurs by merit is being enacted here, in St. Louis a mass meeting of negro politicians and spoilsmen is being held to denounce Internal Revenue Collector Wenneker to Secretary Windom, because spoil for the colored men has not been forthcoming in sufficient quantities. A committee of three waited upon the unhappy Wenneker, and their report is printed in the *St. Louis Republic*, of August 12, from which the following is an extract:

ST. LOUIS, MO., August 11, 1890.

To the colored citizens of St. Louis, Mo., in mass meeting, greeting:

GENTLEMEN—We, your committee, having been appointed last Wednesday evening, August 6, by you to represent your interests and wait upon Mr.

Charles F. Wenneker, collector of internal revenue, and ascertain his position and intentions as a republican official towards the negro population of the city, beg leave to submit the following report:

First.—Mr. Wenneker says he is very friendly disposed toward our people and has always been, and that he has always intended to make a representative appointment from among the negroes in his office.

Second.—Mr. Wenneker says he does not wish it to be understood that, while he intends and will make an appointment of a representative negro to the \$1,200 clerical position which Prof. Murray refused to accept, he has been forced to make it, or that we negroes compelled him to make the same.

Third.—He will make said appointment about September 1.

Fourth.—That there are several other minor positions outside of the city paying from \$2 to \$3 per day, such as store-keepers, for which he would gladly and willingly consider applications of any negro in the city who feels like applying for the same, and who would like to brave such inconveniences.

Fifth.—Mr. Wenneker asks the colored citizens to be patient and quiet with him and he will prove to them that he is their friend, and that he will give them an equal show with a white man, as he fully knows that there are quite a large number of negroes in the city capable of filling any position equal to any white man.

Sixth.—He says he waited quite a while all day Saturday for the committee, and was sorry that illness prevented his meeting the committee on Friday, and that he had been waiting all the (this day) morning to receive the committee and set himself right with the people. The committee had made a favorable impression upon him and had taken a great burden of anxiety and weight from his shoulders.

CENTER TOWNSHIP TRUSTEE'S OFFICE.

Township Trustee Gold, whose township embraces the city of Indianapolis, has removed all of the employes of the office except one, a woman, and has put in Frederick Vogt, a molder, Charles McCreery, an advertising agent, Thomas L. Duffy, a laborer, and Joseph Keisburg, whose name we can not find in the directory. Considering the importance of the work which the law permits the township trustee to do, Mr. Gold ought to have had excellent reasons for taking this step, especially when the township by it loses the services of such skilled and faithful men as Smith King and Frank Wright. Mr. King had had long experience with the office, and had built up a reputation for an independent and honest performance of his duties. We are informed that Mr. Gold had promised before election to retain Mr. Wright, and if so he ought to have some trouble with his conscience. At any rate, Wright's removal is entirely indefensible. He had been in the office about four years, and acted in the capacity of visitor, or investigator of claims for relief. Having been formerly a newspaper reporter, he was well trained for the work and acquired a reputation far beyond any one else. It must be remembered that within a few years ten thousand different persons have applied for relief at this office, a very large class of whom have a skill in deception that has become a fine art. Mr. Wright had come to know personally the great bulk of these cases. He could intuitively detect a fraud. He had a map on which was drawn the genealogical

lines of generations of paupers. If an applicant for relief fitted into that map, a flood of light was thrown upon the best method of treatment. He worked for the paltry sum of fifteen dollars a week. He is said, upon good authority, to have saved the city ten thousand dollars a year. He simply can not be replaced, whatever excuses Mr. Gold may make for not keeping him. Joseph Keisburg has been put at his work. We do Mr. Gold no injustice in saying that the sole reason for making these changes was to pay somebody out of the public treasury for having done party work and probably personal work for Mr. Gold. His election was urged on the ground that he was a high minded and honorable business man. We ask him to consider the morality of his acts.

To fully understand the importance of this matter it should be known that the county commissioners have general charge of the poor of the county, while the township trustee is the overseer of the poor in his township. We have a system of relief by sending paupers to the county poor-house. We have also another system called out-door relief whereby the township trustee is given absolute discretion as to supporting people in their homes. A better plan for breeding paupers, robbing the people and corrupting politics could not be devised. It is a well recognized fact that Indiana township trustees' offices are pauper breeding institutions. If the trustee happens to be running for a nomination, he distributes relief to help him in that. Local leaders of his party have crowds who are fed at public expense. The people are helpless so long as the law remains on the statute books, except as men like Smith King and Frank Wright apply the principles of common honesty to this work. It is impossible for the people to follow the work of a township trustee. Practically it is secret and without any system of checks and balances. This makes it doubly exasperating when a new trustee steps into his office and turns out of it the only men who can possibly be of any service to the people. Mr. Gold may or may not intend to run his office as a part of his party machine in the coming election. Every citizen ought to be on the watch for this, and if this office is so run it ought to cost Mr. Gold's party dear.

THE NAVY YARDS AND SPOILS.

Congressman Amos J. Cummings has rendered the country an important service by a speech delivered in the house, August 6, upon the present increase of employes at the Kittery (Portsmouth) navy yard. Section 1546 of the revised statutes, passed March 2, 1867, says:

No officer or employe of the government shall require or request any working man in any navy yard to contribute or pay any money for political purposes, nor shall any working man be removed or discharged for political opinion.

Section 1544 of the revised statutes, passed July 23, 1872, says:

Laborers shall be employed in the several navy

yards by the proper officers in charge with reference to skill and efficiency, and without regard to other considerations.

The Kittery yard lies opposite Portsmouth, N. H., and is in the first congressional district of Maine. In 1872 Maine held her state election in September, and the presidential election followed in November. In September there were 1,318 employes in the Kittery yard; in October there were 1,424 employes; in December, less than a month after the election, there were 619 employes. In the following year, says Mr. Cummings, 1873, an important state election was held in Maine. New Hampshire also had an election pending and she was not forgotten, as the following telegram referring to the Kittery yard shows:

TELEGRAM.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1873.

Commodore J. C. Howell, Commandant Navy Yard:

As the Monongahela is wanted, you may employ forty men on her in addition to the present force. Give N. H. a large share.

I. HANSCOM,

Chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair.

[A true copy.]

H. A. MITCHELL,

First Clerk to Commandant.

In consequence, this yard had in September 1,213 employes, but in November after the election there were only 914. In the December following there were only 260.

In 1874 elections for congressmen were pending in two Massachusetts districts, and the following telegrams relating to the Charlestown navy yard were sent:

(PRIVATE.) BOSTON, MASS., Oct. 23, 1874.

My Dear Commodore—I wish you would approve requisitions for men to be employed as they may be made until the first of November. Some fifty additional men have been allowed from the Chelsea district, and I suppose some more will be required from Gooch's district. The administration desire the success of Gooch and Frost.

Yours respectfully, I. HANSCOM.

COMMODORE E. T. NICHOLS, U. S. N. Commandant.

In 1875 the Whitthorne congressional committee overhauled the navy-yard management, and Mr. Cummings gives some very pointed extracts from the testimony taken. We make quotations relating to the Kittery yard, beginning with the examination of Constructor Webb:

Q. Do you know of a meeting in the office of the commandant of the Kittery yard in which politicians of New Hampshire and Maine were present?

A. I was so informed by Commodore Pennock.

Q. Did you see a list that was furnished at that meeting?

A. I was furnished with a list by the commodore, which was addressed to him by the committee.

Q. That was a list of men to be taken on for work?

A. A list of men to be employed.

Q. Did it come to you in the first instance?

A. It did.

Q. What did you do?

A. I sent it back with word that it must be addressed to the commanding officer of the yard.

Q. Did it subsequently come to you through the commandant?

A. It did.

Q. Did you exercise any discretion at all, or just take the men on in obedience to the order?

A. I considered that I was not allowed any discretion in the matter, but simply took the men and operated them to the best advantage.

Q. While you were at Kittery, did you note the fact that while elections were pending in Maine laborers and mechanics were employed from that state in excess of those from New Hampshire, and

when an election in New Hampshire was pending you took on men from that state in excess of those from Maine?

A. Such was the case.

A man named Weeks had been discharged for stealing, but Comptroller Broadhead requested that he be re-employed, which was done on the following order from George M. Robeson, secretary of the navy:

Commodore Pennock will employ this man at request of comptroller. G. M. R.

The following is from Commodore Howell's testimony:

Q. Does an election tend to diminish or to increase the number of laborers in the yard?

A. In my experience I have found it rather to increase them.

Q. Is that a fact at the Portsmouth navy yard?

A. It was, upon occasion.

Q. What occasion was that?

A. Upon my word, I don't know. It was some election there in 1873 and '74, probably. I recollect that a number of men were taken on just before the election; I have forgotten exactly how many. I also recollect that forty of them voted the democratic ticket the next day. There was a mistake apparently.

Q. Do you remember in what proportion they were taken on at that time?

A. I think one hundred men were taken on.

Q. How long before the election?

A. Three or four days.

Q. Under what kind of order were they taken on; the recommendation of any committee or any outside parties; and if so, whose?

A. I forget. There was an order of some sort, of course, or they would not have been taken on; whether it came from the chief of the bureau of construction or not, I do not know. Those orders generally did come from him.

Q. Was it to take on a specific number of men?

A. I think the order was worded somewhat in this way: "One hundred men will be required to work on" some ship or other, "and you are authorized to take them on." The men were taken on, and, as I said, forty of them voted the other way. They worked honestly and faithfully while they were there.

Q. How many days were they kept in the yard?

A. I should say about ten or twelve or fourteen days.

Commander Fairfax, of the Kittery yard, testified:

Q. What are those abuses?

A. The unnecessary number of men employed prior to elections.

Q. Is that a matter within your own personal observation?

A. Yes, sir; at the Kittery navy yard. I was there two years, and have witnessed the constant interference on the part of Mr. Hanscom in discharging and employing men. He often took on worthless men instead of good men.

Commodore Bryson, of the Kittery yard, was examined, thus:

Q. Have you any written communications from the secretary of the navy or chief of the bureau on the subject of the employment of hands, or any orders to employ certain men?

A. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. I suppose such orders are liable to come along at any time?

A. At any time.

Q. Certain men are named?

A. Certain men are named, and we take them on. As military men we obey without question.

Q. These men are laboring men in the yard—blacksmiths, shipwrights and all that sort of thing?

A. Yes, sir; in the various departments.

Q. That is, men are taken on without any requisition from your departments here, under peremptory orders from Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do those orders comprehend more than one name, or frequently a number of names?

A. Frequently a number of names.

Captain Young, of the Kittery yard, was another witness:

Q. Has it been customary for the department, for political reasons, to remove skillful mechanics and others, and put in unskillful ones, that they may serve political ends by it?

A. That has been done, but I can not say that it is purely for political ends?

Q. Have you had skillful laborers removed and unskillful ones put in their places?

A. O, yes, sir.

Q. And you have to submit to it?

A. Yes, sir; we have to submit.

Q. You do not feel that you could safely say to the department at Washington: "This is detrimental to the public service?"

A. An officer would incur the risk of getting into bad odor if he did, and might be detached from the yard.

Q. I say you do not feel safe in doing it?

A. No, sir; we do not feel safe.

To cure one evil shown by this investigation, the following law was made June 30, 1876:

And no increase of the force at any navy yard shall be made at any time within sixty days next before any election to take place for president of the United States or members of congress, except when the secretary of the navy shall certify that the needs of the public service make such increase necessary at that time, which certificate shall be immediately published when made.

Mr. Cummings is mistaken in saying that there was no complaint under President Cleveland. In 1885 Secretary Whitney interfered, as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 2, 1885.

SIR: You will please discharge Nelson Proctor, foreman laborer, and C. P. Reuttler, rodman in the department of yards and docks, and J. H. Downing and Samuel Wigg, writers in the commandant's office, at the yard under your command.

This discharge is made necessary by reason of the limited amount of money remaining of the appropriation from which they are paid.

Very respectfully,

W. C. WHITNEY,

Secretary of the Navy.

Commodore W. K. Mayo, U. S. N.,

Commandant Navy Yard, Norfolk, Va.

COMMANDANTS OFFICE UNITED STATES NAVY YARD, Norfolk, Va., April 13, 1885.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt to-day of the department's letter of the 11th instant, asking whether there are any persons in any of the departments of this yard whose services can be dispensed with, etc. Also letter of the same date inclosing for my consideration certain applications for appointment and employment at this yard.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. T. TRUXTUN,

Commodore, Commandant.

HON. W. C. WHITNEY,

Secretary of the Navy, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

In 1886, the following certificate was published in the *Times* of Portsmouth:

[Certificate.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 15, 1886.

In pursuance of the act of June 30, 1876, I hereby certify that the needs of the public service make it necessary to increase the force in the navy yard at Portsmouth, N. H., as follows: One hundred and twenty-six men in the department of the construction and repair and twenty men in the department of steam engineering.

D. B. HARMONY,

Acting Secretary of the Navy.

We have not the number of the employes of

this yard in the months succeeding this certificate, but in its number for March, 1889, the *Civil Service Record* of Boston, after a careful investigation, gave a statement of what it had found of the management of the Brooklyn navy yard by Secretary Whitney. Knowing the carefulness of the *Record*, we feel warranted in saying that its report is true. Further, these same facts, in substance, were laid before President Cleveland, under date of July 20, 1888, but received no notice except a prompt reference to Secretary Whitney, who thus tried himself. We quote from the *Record*:

Never within recent years have the civil employes of the navy yard, the clerks, mechanics, and laborers, been of so poor a quality, and never has so little work been performed for the enormous amount of money paid them. Although, when Mr. Whitney took office four years ago, the force in the navy yard, clerks, laborers, and mechanics, was on the whole excellent.

On October 19, 1885, Mr. Whitney issued a general order addressed to the foremen in the respective navy yards, stating that the appointment of workmen and laborers would thereafter be entrusted to them, that no political consideration should govern their selection, and that the duty of the appointing power would be to disregard every consideration except the efficiency of the men as workmen. Brave words, indeed! but, unfortunately, this manifesto was soon followed by a visit from a confidential messenger of Mr. Whitney's, who confided to the different heads of departments the secretary's message to the effect that this general order did not really mean anything, but that, when workmen were required, application should be made to one of three persons, representing respectively Tammany Hall, the County Democracy, and the Brooklyn Democracy. As rapidly as possible the former workmen were discharged, and their places filled by these democratic procurers with nominees of the ward politicians, among whom the rum-selling element was prominent and influential. The consequence was that rum-drinkers who could be relied upon to spend a large portion of the money, received from the government, in the rum shops soon filled the yard. Shipwrights, joiners, blacksmiths, and machinists, the best of their kind, who had been employed in the yard for years, were summarily turned off for no fault, and their places were filled with a lazy, inefficient, and drunken set of heelers for the various democratic bosses, the foremen themselves were terrorized, knowing that they held their places at the pleasure, not of the officers of the yard, but of the gang of ward politicians, who ruled them with a rod of iron, and whose humble servants they were, with but one or two exceptions.

For two or three weeks before the recent presidential election, the yard was thronged with men employed to do nothing but vote the democratic ticket. Bribery was shamelessly resorted to, by giving men who did not work and never intended to work from five to twenty days' pay. Men's wages were charged to ships which they never saw, the result being that the money appropriated for the repair and outfit of ships was used to carry the election instead of being legitimately expended in a proper manner.

The clerical appointments in the yard fared no better. An inquiry into the competency, industry, sobriety, and trustworthiness of the clerks in the various departments would bring to light some remarkable and disgraceful facts. The patronage of filling these places was apparently exacted of Mr. Whitney by the democratic magnates of New York and Brooklyn, and was held like any other piece of personal property by coroners, sheriffs, fire commissioners, and police justices. Representations to the navy department by the officers of the yard of the utter unfitness of these appointees, of their absence without leave, of their habitual drunkenness, met with no attention whatever. Honest and capable men, who had proved themselves trustworthy, were summarily dismissed by orders signed by the secre-

tary of the navy, and their places filled by ignorant, drunken loafers. It is not too much to say that not one-third of the present clerical force of the navy yard would hold their places were the most elementary examination as to fitness ordered.

Bad as this state of affairs is, there is another most serious aspect of it to those who have at heart the honor and uprightness of the American naval officer. Such conditions are, of course, known and acquiesced in by the officers who superintend these worthless employes. They, however, are painfully aware that it only requires the order of the secretary, if they remonstrate, to turn them out of their rent-free houses, and by placing them on "waiting orders" to reduce their income by a sum of from \$700 to \$1,000. It is much to be feared that in many cases officers have been obliged to signify their willingness to please the secretary in all such appointments before they could succeed in being ordered to congenial duty there as well as elsewhere.

Coming down to the present, Secretary Tracy recently published the following certificate in the *Portsmouth Daily Chronicle*:

CERTIFICATE.

JULY 23, 1890.

In compliance with the act of congress approved June 30, 1876, I hereby certify that the needs of the public service make it necessary to increase at this time the force employed at the navy yard, Portsmouth, N. H., for the purpose of reconstructing buildings numbered 45 and 46, destroyed by fire in January last; of completing the gunnery ship Lancaster; of making necessary repairs and alterations of the training ship Monongahela; increasing the water supply; completing the hydrant system, and constructing a ferry-boat, the appropriation for which objects becomes available at the beginning of the current month.

B. F. TRACY,
Secretary of the Navy.

A state and congressional election occurs in Maine next month, and a congressional election is pending in New Hampshire. The senate naval committee this year recommended against an appropriation to reconstruct the burned buildings. The Lancaster is a wooden sailing ship, built in 1858, of which the secretary of the navy in 1875 reported: "Rotten at Portsmouth. Probable cost of repairs, \$750,000. Not worth it." Of the Monongahela, also a wooden sailing ship, built in 1862, he also said fifteen years ago: "In service. Tolerable condition. Speed, 10½ knots."

Since the above was in type some additional facts have appeared about the Kittery yard. It seems that the \$50,000 were finally allowed for the rebuilding of the burned buildings. This appropriation became available July 1, and Secretary Tracy's public certificate reached the yard July 24. Since that date fifty-six men have been taken on. Congressman Reed's political boss at Kittery is one Dr. Wentworth, and he regards this addition of fifty-six men as mere mockery, when a congressional election, September 8, has to be prepared for. Nothing short of hundreds will do. But Commodore Skerritt, the commandant, stands in the way. There are no materials to work with, and Skerritt says he will not have men standing idle about the yard, and there is a deadlock. This is all the harder to bear for Reed's henchmen, because after September 8, by baronial rules, the yard goes to New Hampshire to be filled under the direction of Bill Chandler.

A MANACLED PRESS.

Daniel Webster in 1832.

And is a press that is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can the people look for truths to partial sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim the approach of national evils, nor seem to decry them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the palladium of liberty into an engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy, and patronage of government all to bear, with united force, on the means of general intelligence, and on the adoption or rejection of political opinions.

President William Henry Harrison in 1841.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press.

—F. E. Learned, son of the editor of the *Argus*, is postmaster at Benson, Ill. The editor is deputy postmaster.

—Chester A. Wilcox, of the *Whig*, is postmaster at Quincy, Ill.

[This correspondent writes that "The republicans have made a clean sweep in the federal offices here. The postmaster removed two Union veterans; both very capable men; and the collector of internal revenue removed Edward Cleveland, a one-legged veteran, because of his democracy, from his position as stamp clerk."]

—Dallam, of the *Bulletin*, Warsaw, Ill., is deputy United States revenue collector.

—Sarah P. Lacey, wife of A. H. Lacey, editor of the *Wet Mountain Tribune*, is postmaster at Westcliffe, Col.

—Myron A. Rhea, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Altoona, Kan.

—A. K. Stouffer, of the *News*, is postmaster at Arkalon, Kan.

—J. D. Greason, of the *Republican Citizen*, is postmaster at Atwood, Kan.

—U. Fenstemaker, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Augustine, Kan.

—C. A. McMullin, of the *Echo*, is postmaster at Benedict, Kan.

—W. R. Davis, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Canton, Kan.

—R. S. Playford, of the *Carbondalian*, is postmaster at Carbondale, Kan.

—Geo. W. Loman, of the *Record*, is postmaster at Chase, Kan.

—J. G. Smith, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Cunningham, Kan.

—W. H. Melrose, of the *Star*, is postmaster at Eskridge, Kan.

—A. M. English, of the *News*, is postmaster at Fontana, Kan.

—L. C. Headley, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Gaylord, Kan.

—John H. Tait, of the *Sherman County Dark Horse*, is postmaster at Goodland, Kan.

—J. W. Bliss, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Greenleaf, Kan.

—A. Tansel, of the *Clipper*, is postmaster at Hadam, Kan.

—E. H. Rathbone, of the *Courant*, is postmaster at Herndon, Kan.

—M. G. Woodmansee, of the *Enterprise*, is postmaster at Holyrood, Kan.

—Geo. Burroughs, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Hope, Kan.

—F. Gray, of the *Times*, is postmaster at Ivanhoe, Kan.

—James Burton, of the *Kansan*, is postmaster at Jamestown, Kan.

—J. A. Webster, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Johnson, Kan.

—E. C. Lane, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at La Cyge, Kan.

—R. H. Cadwallader, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Louisburg, Kan.

—R. H. Chase, of the *Gazette*, is postmaster at Ludell, Kan.

—J. R. Sedgwick, of the *Times*, is postmaster at McDonald, Kan.

—G. C. Armstrong, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Moline, Kan.

—C. Borin, of the *Eye*, is postmaster at Oberlin, Kan.

—F. H. Roberts, of the *Independent*, is postmaster at Oskaloosa, Kan.

—John B. Kessler, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Ottawa, Kan.

—M. L. Hart, of the *Chieftain*, is postmaster at Ravenna, Kan.

—N. D. Adams, of the *Scott county News*, is postmaster at Scott, Kan.

—Dwight Beach, of the *News*, is postmaster at Valley Center.

—H. C. Robinson, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Washington, Kan.

—G. G. Grimes, of the *Times*, is postmaster at Bairdstown, O.

—W. C. Scott, of the *Gazette*, is postmaster at Dalton, O.

—F. S. Pursell, of the *Republican Gazette*, is postmaster at Logan, O.

—C. B. Murdock, of the *Messenger*, is postmaster at Middlefield, O.

—F. M. Carl, of the *Independent*, is postmaster at Narvarre, O.

—E. B. Lewis, of the *Plain Talk*, is postmaster at New Holland, O.

—C. W. Horn, of the *Dealer*, is postmaster at Plain City, O.

—J. C. Harrison, father of Herbert Harrison, of the *Times*, is postmaster at Smithfield, O.

—Annie B. Hale, wife of James R. Hale, of the *Blade*, is postmaster at Spring Valley, O. The editor is assistant postmaster.

—H. E. Harris, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Utica, O.

—H. R. Snyder, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Waverly, O.

—John Spidle, of the *Review*, is postmaster at Wilmot, O.

—Jno. Maywood, of the *Huron Tribune*, is postmaster at Bad Axe, Mich.

—Eugene Foster, of the *Gladwin county Record*, is postmaster at Gladwin, Mich.

—B. J. Lowrey, of the *Record*, is postmaster at Howard City, Mich.

—E. O. Shaw, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Newaygo, Mich.

—F. D. Larke, of the *Advance*, is postmaster at Rogers City, Mich.

—Fred. Wade, of the *Commercial*, is postmaster at Sangatus, Mich.

—E. W. Wheeler, of the *Pioneer*, is postmaster at Sherman, Mich.

—D. J. Easton, of the *Register*, is postmaster at Union City, Mich.

—C. A. Baldwin, of the *Commercial*, is postmaster at Vicksburg, Mich.

—A. C. Lawrence, of the *Sentinel*, is postmaster at Evansville, Minn.

—Jacob Brynildsen, of the *Transcript-Democrat*, is postmaster at Graceville, Minn.

—John A. Henry, of the *Argus*, is postmaster at Jonesville, Minn.

—Selah S. King, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Jasper, Minn.

—Geo. B. Mair, of the *Courier*, is postmaster at Calhoun, Neb.

—E. W. Buser, of the *News Boy*, is postmaster at Dawson, Neb.

—A. W. Mayfield, of the *Echo*, is postmaster at Elmwood, Neb.

—James P. Gandy, of the *Pioneer-Republican*, is postmaster at Gandy, Neb.

—S. R. Rhodes, of the *Review*, is postmaster at Gresham, Neb.

—D. P. Davis, father of W. H. Davis, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Harrison, Neb.

—J. F. Paradis, of the *Guide*, is postmaster at Hemingford, Neb.

—M. A. Hammell, of the *Enquirer*, is postmaster at Mullen, Neb.

—E. T. Best, of the *Leader*, is postmaster at Niligh, Neb.

—Aug. E. Hassler, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Pawnee City, Neb.

—H. G. Cross, of the *Press*, is postmaster at Petersburg, Neb.

—J. B. Sharob, of the *Call*, is postmaster at Pierce, Neb.

—J. L. Stevens, of the *Gazette*, is postmaster at Plainview, Neb.

—B. F. Thomas, of the *Union*, is postmaster at Wyomere, Neb.

—W. E. Robison, of the *Telegram*, is postmaster at Beallsville, Pa.

—John B. Patrick, of the *Republican Gazette*, is postmaster at Clarion, Pa.

—Emma D. Wiley, wife of R. T. Wiley, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Elizabeth, Pa.

—C. B. Gould, of the *Press*, is postmaster at Emporium, Pa.

—H. B. Moyer, of the *Courier*, is postmaster at Freeburgh, Pa.

—N. M. Cheney, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at LaPorte, Pa.

—Jesse M. Vail, of the *Advertiser*, is postmaster at New Milford, Pa.

—George W. Littlejohn, of the *Independent*, is postmaster at Grayson, Ky.

—Hopley, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Bucyrus, Ohio.

[For more than a score of years it has happened that once in six years Ohio has elected a democratic legislature. By a singular coincidence this has always occurred when a United States senator was to be elected to succeed Senator Sherman's colleague. Of late years there has been a growing belief that this was because Senator Sherman so willed it, and that he purposely caused the republicans to lose the

legislature in order that he should have a democratic colleague and thus have undivided control of the federal patronage of the state. With this rumor has grown a strong anti-Sherman feeling in many parts of the state, and it looks now as if "Uncle John" would have to do some shrewd fence fixing if he wishes to succeed himself in 1893.

As an indication of the bitterness that is felt against him in many quarters, the resolutions recently adopted by the republican county convention of Crawford county, at Bucyrus, are an amusing illustration. The feeling of indignation was wrought up to the required pitch by the fight over the Bucyrus post-office, in which Senator Sherman disregarded the wishes of most of the working republicans of the county, who had indorsed M. K. Fulton, and secured the appointment of Editor Hopley of the Bucyrus Journal. Whereupon the republicans in their county convention adopted with a thunder of yeas the following caustic resolutions:

WHEREAS, The Right Hon. John Sherman, our beloved senator, has assumed the prerogative of deciding upon the appointment of local government officials against the expressed will of the republicans who do the work and pay the expenses of each campaign without reward; and, * * *

Second—That our beloved and courteous senator be directed, if he sees fit to do so, to cast the entire vote of Crawford county or the state as a unit, which will be the first unit ballot ever secured in his native state by the distinguished statesman.

Fifth—That we favor and indorse a Federal Civil Service Reform bill that will give at all times but one republican senator from Ohio, and bequeath to said senator sole autocratic powers and the exclusive farming out of the local offices of the state to maintain sole senatorial autonomy.

Finally—That we tender our apologies to Senator Sherman for attempting to interfere or exercise influence in the selection of local officers.—*Cleveland Dispatch to New York Times*, July 21.]

["I find in looking over the list of appointments in Indiana that sixteen democratic newspaper proprietors and editors have been appointed to office. * * * If I could believe that in appointing these men Mr. Cleveland meant that they should pursue a perfectly inoffensive course politically, that these newspapers should not irritate the feelings of republicans, should not publish charges against republican candidates for office, should say nothing offensive to the republicans—if I believed he meant by these appointments sincerely to put these sixteen democratic newspapers under those bonds, I should have brighter hopes than I have now of carrying Indiana next time. But it will not be so. Here are these sixteen editors, two of the three collectors of internal revenue in Indiana, and the others holding influential post-offices; and Mr. Cleveland knows, and every honest democratic knows, that those sixteen newspapers will be fulminating with all the force and vigor and power and partisanship they can against the republican party."—*Senator Benjamin Harrison in 1876*.]

CLARKSON'S "RESIGNATIONS."

J. Mustard was to-day appointed fourth-class postmaster at Glen Hall, Tippecanoe county, vice J. M. Stepp, resigned.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Aug. 14.

John Stepp, groceryman and postmaster at Glenn Hall, sold out to Mr. Snyder, conditioned that Mrs. Snyder was appointed postmistress, but Congressman Cheadle recommended James Mustard. The majority of the community favor Mrs. Snyder, and there is war.—*Indianapolis News*, Aug. 13.

Office-Holders Defending their Possessions.

Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster. . . —Blackstone.

—The St. Louis *Republic* of August 16 gives by wards the men who make up the Filley machine and who now control the republican party in that city. There is no more useful work a paper can do, because it drives home by the graphic method to every citizen the unpleasant consciousness that he is, as a rule, the agent to execute the orders of a small and despotic oligarchy, the chief of whom are an office-holding class, federal, state, county and city. The following is an illustrative list taken from the *Republic*:

First ward——. Second ward——. Third ward, George Weber, employed by Collector Ziegenhein. Fourth ward, Philip Sauf, father of the deputy sheriff. Fifth ward, Charles Proll, of Collector Ziegenhein's office. Sixth ward, Peter Gundloch, postmaster at Station A. Seventh ward, John Herrold, storekeeper in Collector Wenneker's office, and Theodore Horman, marriage license clerk. Eighth ward——. Ninth ward, Henry Becker, deputy in Ziegenhein's office, Collector Ziegenhein, Wm. L. Price, deputy city marshal, Gustave Wurzbarger, saloon license clerk, Leo Hartmann, storekeeper for Collector Wenneker. Tenth ward——. Eleventh ward, Coroner's Clerk Paschall, Deputy City Marshal Theo. Gast, Deputy Coroner John Weis, Fred. Gerber, chief clerk of tax department in collector's office. Twelfth ward, T. W. H. Wicschan, clerk in Collector Wenneker's office. Thirteenth ward——. Fourteenth ward, Joseph Brown, clerk in Hobbs's office. Fifteenth ward, Deputy Sheriff Frank Meis. Sixteenth ward, Collector Wenneker, August Gundlach and George Kreehman, each of whom has a high-salaried position under Wenneker, and Deputy City Collector Henry C. Meyer. Seventeenth ward, E. D. Chamberlain, of the collector's office, Deputy Sheriff H. J. Heitsmeyer, C. T. Ridgway, janitor in city hall. Eighteenth ward——. Nineteenth ward, Deputy Sheriff J. J. Kirby, V. J. Matthews, deputy city collector, W. H. Stevens, clerk in the custom house, and Charles Hotchkiss, clerk in Surveyor Metcalf's office. Twentieth ward——. Twenty-first ward, Herman Lineburger, deputy in Collector Zeigenhein's office. Twenty-second ward, Archie Carr, special agent of the Interior Department, Chas. Arnold, deputy city collector, Tom Vermillion, clerk in Hobbs's office. Twenty-third ward, Richard Schmeister, employed in post-office, and Deputy Sheriff Dick Wallincott. Twenty-fourth ward, Deputy Sheriff Billy Pohlman and Commodore Smith, of Hobbs's office. Twenty-fifth ward, John F. Doerbaum from the post office, Twenty-sixth ward, George Schubert, clerk in the collector's office, Deputy Sheriff Bill Jackson. Twenty-seventh ward, Deputy Collector Christ Gueuther. Twenty-eighth ward, Gus Vogel, a federal officeholder.

Filley gets these men places where they are supported at public expense, and he fights with all his might when the place of the least important even is threatened. In return, they work for Filley. His power and his willingness to give favors are dwelt on, his instructions as to what primaries and caucuses are expected to develop are carried out, and so long as Filley can control patronage, they neither acknowledge allegiance, nor feel obligation to any other.

—The *Picayune* (democratic) has the following dispatch from Dallas, Tex.: It is learned from good authority that when the State

republican convention assembles at San Antonio, on September 3, the white republicans will be headed by men of southern birth and will make a fight to dethrone Wright Cuney, collector of customs at the port of Galveston, and build up a white republican party in Texas. —*New Orleans Dispatch*, August 16.

—The democratic committee of the eighth congressional district had a lively time at their meeting at the Hendricks Association rooms last night. Politicians claim that the meeting resulted in a clean defeat for John J. O'Neill, but the ex-congressman will admit nothing of the sort.

Mr. O'Neill, when asked after the meeting what he thought of the \$3,000 assessment, could scarcely voice his indignation, "It is simply an outrage," he declared, "to make an assessment of that kind before the primaries have been held, and to insist upon a candidate putting up the money before being allowed to go before the people. It is simply a scheme to freeze me out by placing the assessment at a figure they think I can not pay. Their plea is, that they want the money to affect a precinct organization. I believe in precinct organization, but not until after the primaries have been held." —*St. Louis Republic*, July 31.

—Editor and Internal Revenue Collector Alexander Von Landberg to-day removed a large number of deputies in the office and filled their places with the friends of Senator Hiscock. Among the deputies removed was Wm. E. Hoyt of Fayetteville, brother-in-law of Ex-President Cleveland. Mr. Hoyt has been a most competent and faithful official.

Collector Von Landberg has also determined to appoint Charles Hiscock, brother of the senator, a deputy in place of L. D. Mowry. Hiscock's appointment is to date from Sept. 1. There is great indignation among working republicans at Hiscock's appointment and Collector Von Landberg applied to some influential republicans to help him out of the scrape by urging Senator Hiscock not to insist upon his brother's appointment. This they refused to do, and the senator was obdurate. —*New York Times*.

—A full meeting of the republican state committee was held last evening. Chairman, Postmaster Manley presided. Chairman Manley said that it was the unanimous vote of the committee that the campaign be very short, and that the public speaking would be confined to the last two weeks of the campaign. —*Press Dispatch*, August 13.

—Internal Revenue Collector Ernst Nathan has several men at work getting up a Brooklyn citizens' movement, the object of which is to renominate Congressman William C. Wallace. —*New York Times*, July 11.

—Collector Erhardt has appointed Wm. G. Deane head of the customs cab service at a salary of \$1,500 a year. He succeeds W. A. Ducey, who was appointed by Mr. Magone. Mr. Deane is the son of the republican leader of the ninth district.

—Nathan C. Clarkson was to day appointed postmaster at Hamilton, Caldwell county, Mo. Nearly all the leading republicans of Caldwell county, and most of the prominent citizens of

Hamilton, had indorsed for this place Wm. B. Walker, a prominent republican of Hamilton.

There is only one reason why Walker should not be appointed, and why Clarkson should be appointed. Clarkson is a cousin of John S. Clarkson. —*St. Louis Republic*, June 5.

—The nomination of John Pentreath to succeed Miss Lillian C. Keyes, as postmaster at Yonkers, also made to-day, is due to the influence of Speaker Husted and James Wood, the defeated candidate for congress in the fourteenth district. —*June 19*.

—The republican county committee of Schuyler county had a meeting and adopted resolutions protesting against the appointment of Peter Conroy as postmaster at Watkins, alleging that Conroy is a democrat. Conroy is Congressman Flood's man, and Senator Hiscock is vigorously opposing the confirmation of the nomination in the senate, which has occasioned considerable ill feeling between him and Flood.

—President Harrison has the opportunity to select a new man for internal revenue collector in the Fifth North Carolina district. The nomination of John B. Eaves for that office was rejected by the senate. Eaves was appointed a few days more than a year ago. His nomination was sent to the senate early in December. Ever since his appointment strong efforts have been made by republicans not in sympathy with the Settle-Mott faction and the old Sherman "machine" and by the democrats of the state to prevent his confirmation. It was declared that Eaves was a mere figurehead for ex-Collector J. J. Mott, and that there was a deal by which the men appointed to subordinate places had to pay so much cash to cover Eaves's expenses in securing the collectorship, while a certain percentage of all salaries was collected by the ring which obtained from President Harrison control of the federal patronage in North Carolina. Accusations were also made affecting the personal fitness for office of the collector. —*New York Times*.

THE OFFICE-HOLDING CLASS.

—The appointment of Henry H. Fay as postmaster at Newport, R. I., was made upon the recommendation of the two senators, with the approval of the representatives. Mr. Fay has been in the legislature and held many other public offices.

—The appointment of Herbert G. Briggs to be postmaster of Portland created no surprise in this city to-night, for it has been expected for the past three months that Mr. Briggs was to receive the appointment when it was made. Mr. Briggs is a native of Auburn in this state, and is about thirty-seven years of age. He has been very prominent as a ward politician and has held several minor offices. He has been an alderman and is to-day one of the park commissioners. He has been chairman of the republican city committee and is a strong personal friend of Speaker Reed, and it is due to the latter's influence that Mr. Briggs received the appointment. —*Portland, Me.*, July 10.

—The nomination of Ex-Postmaster Blunt, of Haverhill, to be surveyor at the custom house was a cruel blow to the Hobart men. —*Boston Post*, Aug. 11.

MATTHEW S. QUAY,

United States Senator and Chairman of the National Republican Committee, Silent under the Charge of Embezzlement
by Reputable Newspapers.

The Ways and Means of the Subjugation of a State by a Modern Office Baron.

FOR once Senator Quay has been beaten at his own game of buying votes. Maj. McDowell, who was nominated by the republicans for congress in the twenty-fifth district by the votes of four purchased delegates (three quoted at \$650 each, and one dirt cheap at \$250) has resolved to maintain a discreet policy of silence. "I have secured the nomination, and that ends it," says the Major. "I shall pay no attention to anything that may come out. I shall not withdraw, nor shall I agree to a new convention." So he informs the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, Quay's organ.

William D. Wallace, of New Castle, who is supposed to have conducted the negotiations that converted four Townsend conferees into voters for McDowell, says also in an interview in the *Commercial Gazette*: "Mr. Quay, the leader of the republican party, has established the precedent of answering no charges. I am willing to abide by the decision of the voters, and I will patiently await the result. People with stolen goods in their pockets are not in a position to cry thief."

This delicate reference to receivers of stolen goods refers to the fact that two years ago Congressman Townsend's friends bought away from Oscar L. Jackson the one vote that nominated Townsend.

The *Post* this morning says editorially: "There is a great joke in this whole business. In 1888 a vote from Lawrence county was bought up to defeat Jackson of Lawrence. In 1890 four votes from Beaver county were purchased to defeat Townsend of Beaver. The necessity of the policy of silence is apparent. It has become one of the fundamental beliefs and practices of the republican party of Quaysylvania. Four disciples of the political methods of Boss Quay in his own county of Beaver have confessed they accepted bribes as the price of their vote for a congressional candidate. They were elected, pledged, and instructed to vote for Congressman Charles C. Townsend, and did so for awhile; but when negotiations were completed, and the fitting moment arrived on the 109th ballot, they flopped with the money in their pockets and voted for and nominated McDowell for congress. The primary election law of this state subjects these self-confessed receivers of bribes to fine and imprisonment. We are glad to see that the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* has awakened to the enormity of bribery and embezzlement, and parades its virtue by insisting that Mr. Quay's district attorney in Beaver county and Mr. Quay's county committee shall bring Mr. Quay's bribed heels into court at "the earliest practicable moment."

The twenty-fifth district includes the counties of Beaver, Butler, Mercer and Lawrence. Beaver county's action in calling a meeting of the county committee to take action in the matter was followed yesterday by Butler county. A meeting of the republican county committee has been called for July 23, the object being to discuss and take action on the bribery. If anything were wanting to complete the proof of the bribery of congressional delegates at New Castle, it was obtained yesterday. Thomas Downing, the Townsend conferee, who is charged by the other three boodlers with having conducted the negotiations for the sale of their votes, made a full confession to the *Philadelphia Press* correspondent, and signed it in the presence of witnesses.—*Special Dispatch to the New York Evening Post, July 15.*

The facts have been unearthed by republican journals like the *Philadelphia Press* and *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, and appear well substantiated in every detail. The affidavit of Tate is explicit, even to his own degradation. This disciple of Quayism says:

"I went into Wallace's office, Downing remarking that he wanted to see another party. While I was talking to Wallace Downing returned. Then Wallace said, 'I've got the cash right here,' and he produced four envelopes, in each of which he said there was \$300. I then and there promised to vote for McDowell. Previous to that time I had made no promise to vote for McDowell. Wallace wanted to know if we would change our votes from Townsend to McDowell on the first ballot after assembling. 'Do it on the first ballot and be done with it,' were his words. I objected, and said that it ought to be done on the second or third ballot. He said, 'All right; I'll have it fixed on the third ballot.' In consideration of this promise of Mr. Wallace I voted for Mr. McDowell that night. After we got to Beaver Falls Downing handed me an envelope in which there was \$645. After we came out of the convention hall Shaffer told me that he had the money."

Our inquiries were more than ordinarily useful in Pennsylvania, owing to the muzzled condition of the republican press in that state, the like of which, we think, has never been seen in a free community, unless we call the southern states during the days of slavery free communities. Our correspondent found some ministers who had never heard of the charges against Quay, owing to their confining their newspaper reading to two newspapers, one of them, we regret to say, a journal which we greatly respect—*The Ledger*. It is of the highest impor-

tance that the lid should be taken off such minds as these, and a little of the light of contemporaneous history be allowed to shoot in.—*New York Evening Post.*

To the Hon. Matthew S. Quay:

DEAR SIR—The charges of embezzlement while state treasurer of Pennsylvania brought against you by the *New York World*, *Evening Post*, *Nation*, *Puck*, and other papers of responsibility, have so far met neither reply nor denial at your hands. It is and has been very irritating to many earnest republicans to have you ignore these grave accusations, made most pointed and emphatic in last week's *Puck*, which undoubtedly you have seen. You are there depicted in a felon's garb, plainly called a felon, holding the whip, and compelling the respectable leaders of the "Grand Old Party" to march at the command of a felon overscr.

As you perhaps shun suit for libel against any or all of your accusers on account of the great expense therein involved, it has been suggested by some of those republicans who are indirectly smarting under these accusations, to raise a fund of sufficient amount to institute and push suits for civil and criminal libel against your open accusers.

Please let me know if this plan of vindicating your honor as chairman of the republican national committee and United States senator meets with your approval, and oblige yours, respectfully, RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG.

Philadelphia, Tuesday, Aug. 5, 1890.

[Mr. Quay still maintains his policy of silence.]

The legislature of 1879, which assembled January 7, and adjourned June 6, of the same year, was a notable one in the annals of Pennsylvania. Governor Hoyt was entirely under the power of Quay, and the latter was absolute monarch of the situation at Harrisburg. The bill of indemnity for the damage by the Pittsburg rioters would place \$2,000,000 at Quay's disposal to divide among his gang of followers, bribe members of the legislature and fatten his own purse.

Of course so monstrous a scheme could not be run through the legislature rough-shod. The comment on the action of Quay in creating the office of recorder of Philadelphia for his individual benefit had been widespread, and the newly elected members were not all in accord with the eminent statesman's methods. Certain of their number were at Harrisburg for other reasons than merely those of sentiment, and among them was Emil Petroff, member of the house of representatives. The bill was introduced in the house, and the

workers for the bill were as active as cats in their efforts to obtain votes. One of the principal manipulators was *William H. Kemble*, at present the highly respectable president of the People's Bank, on Fourth street, at Philadelphia. Under Quay's able counsel, the highly respectable Kemble was detected as among the corrupters, and Emil Petroff and others were likewise found in the same boat of criminality.

The grand jury of Dauphin county, indicted the bribers. Under the new constitution the legislature and the state's business were guarded in a measure against the old looseness of past days and you could no longer openly perpetrate frauds upon the people. Openly? I say. Important distinction. The difference was simply that the frauds had to be covertly enacted. In the old days bribers would do their work while the member sat at his desk in session. The lobby carried out the task they had undertaken with a tithe of circumspection in later times.

Petroff was tried for bribery. Matt Carpenter, of Wisconsin, the great Jeremiah Black and F. B. Gowen, afterwards president of the Reading railway, were the prosecuting counsel. Gowen was after higher game than Petroff and he would have driven it to the wall had not Quay and his friends been too smart for him. By reason of Quay's grip on the state government he was in a position, as will be shown, to protect his friends. When Petroff was convicted, and the eminent lawyers of the prosecution had sharpened their wits for the run for bigger rascals, Kemble et. al. astonished every one by pleading guilty. By so doing the dangers of an examination in open court were averted. The conspirators were greatly alarmed by Petroff's trial. They knew that with Kemble before the bar of justice, the outpouring of iniquity would be tremendous. Kemble is the author of the famous epigram which indicates his morality: "Addition, Division and Silence." And well he understood how to apply his political creed, as his worldly prosperity to-day will demonstrate.

Kemble smiled jauntily after he had been sentenced to the state penitentiary by the court. Some of his unsophisticated friends were alarmed, but he reassured them. "Don't fear," he said. "I will prove another Samson and pull the temple down over their heads"—referring to Quay and other members of the gang—"unless they fix things for me."

When the excitement over the conviction of Petroff and the self-acknowledged criminality of Kemble diminished a little, Statesman Quay displayed his hand. The state board of pardons was a machine which was practically in his power, and he proceeded to use it in behalf of his followers who were at the gates of the state prison. The board of pardons consists by law of the secretary of the commonwealth, then held by Statesman Quay; the lieutenant-governor, then C. W. Stone; the attorney-general, then F. W. Palmer, and

the secretary of internal affairs, then A. K. Doble. Quay caused the board to be assembled in extra session and without ado proceeded to pardon the scoundrels. It is alleged that Attorney-General Palmer and Licut.-Gov. Stone objected seriously to the scheme, but, as in another abuse of power, the superior will of Quay dominated and Petroff and Kemble were whitewashed for their misdeeds by a vote of the board, which recommended to the governor their pardon. Gov. Hoyt, as Quay's henchman, of course carried out his part and the culprits were free to again conspire against the state.

An odd bit of history leaked out about this time. Samuel Butler, of Delaware county, was the state treasurer elect. His bond, as required, was a large one. Butler was, as far as is known, an honest man. Certainly his antecedents were above criticism, and that Quay should have allowed such a person to obtain the office of treasurer was a subject of criticism on the part of some of the members of the gang. Butler secured a number of good names as bondsmen in his home county, and then the document went to Philadelphia and Harrisburg. Notwithstanding the fact that Kemble was a convicted felon, his name was placed on the bond of the treasurer of the state he had only recently conspired to indirectly rob. The bond was held in secret at Harrisburg. When any one asked for the names of the bondsmen the list was handed out with Kemble's name omitted.

A storm of indignation swept over Pennsylvania owing to the pardoning board scandal. Quay's conduct was discussed by respectable people, and he was strongly condemned. Presbyterian synods passed resolutions against the shameless pardoning board, and in a state where a healthy public sentiment prevailed Statesman Quay's career would have ended then and there. Had the people been aware of his greater rascality, which had then been perpetrated, the storm would have burst in a manner that would have been disastrous to the unprincipled boss.—*New York World*, February 10.

United States Senator Quay and William H. Kemble sat together this afternoon on the porch of Mr. Kemble's handsome country residence, near Glen Side, Montgomery county. The two were engaged in earnest conversation. Mr. Kemble more frequently being the listener than the talker.

The senator's visit to Mr. Kemble was not generally known in the city, and the two had nearly the entire day to themselves. Colonel Quay told the *Times's* correspondent he had simply taken a quiet run to the country to spend the day with Mr. Kemble. When asked if his visit was purely social, he replied yes. The senator said, with a smile, "I am resting here for the day, having a quiet time, as you see. I expect to leave this evening, and will go straight through, without stopping in Philadelphia."—*New York Times*, Aug. 10.

REPORTS ON THE CIVIL SERVICE

The *Civil Service Record*, which has been printing a series of *fac-simile* and wood cut illustrations of the examinations in the different departments of the civil service, contains in its August number an especially valuable one illustrative of the labor service.

Mr. Theodore L. De Land, chief clerk of the treasury department, and member of the board of examiners, has written an excellent report illustrative of the examinations in the treasury department.

The report of the civil service commission of Brooklyn for 1889 has been printed. Among the samples of examination questions the following are to determine the "intelligence" [rating 13 out of 100] of candidates for park policemen:

1. State briefly what you understand to be the duties of the place for which you apply, park policeman or doorman, as the case may be.
2. About what is the population of New York City?
3. What other large cities are there in New York State?
4. Give the boundaries of Long Island.
5. Name as many savings banks in Brooklyn as you can.
6. What are the different kinds of pavements used in the city of Brooklyn, between the curbstones?
7. What are the daily newspapers published in Brooklyn?
8. Enumerate the bridges in the city of Brooklyn, telling at what streets they are, and over what streams of water.
9. Enumerate the parks in Brooklyn, telling where they are and about how large they are.
10. Give the names of:
 - (a.) The present president of the United States.
 - (b.) The present governor of the state of New York.
 - (c.) The present mayor of Brooklyn.
 - (d.) The present commissioner of police.
 - (e.) The present president of the park commission.

The seventh annual report of the civil service commission of the state of New York has been printed. A competitive examination for instructors of pupil assistants in the state library was held last March. Seven candidates were examined on cataloguing, classification, card cataloguing, library training, library binding and library economy. The highest average was 96.85 and the lowest 87.7. At the same time an examination for court interpreter was held, and these were examined in dictation, handwriting, spelling, English to German, French, Hungarian, Spanish and Italian. The report also contains samples of the examination questions.

The sixth annual report of the civil service commissioners of Massachusetts says that "in nearly one-half the subordinate offices of Massachusetts and her cities, the people have for their public servants persons who have passed the examinations, been certified from the top of the eligible lists, and, so far as the commissioners know, have been appointed to office without regard to political or religious belief or influence." This report also contains many sample examination questions.

These reports should be in every college library in the state.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 19.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in Boston, Oct. 1 and 2. The annual address will be delivered by the president, George William Curtis, at Tremont Temple, at 8 o'clock on the evening of Oct. 1. The first general business session of the league will be held at 10 o'clock A. M. in Meionaon Hall, on Tremont street.

The business at this session will be the election of a president and the reading of the following papers: "Examination in Character essential to a Complete Competition," by Edward M. Shepard; "The Relation of Civil Service Reform to other Reforms," by Charles J. Bonaparte, and "All other Reforms should be subordinated to Civil Service Reform," by Lucius B. Swift. The second general business session will be held at the same place at 2 o'clock P. M. the same day. This session will be devoted to the hearing and consideration of reports and resolutions. At 6:30 P. M., Oct. 2, the members of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform League will give a dinner at the Parker house to members of the National League.

SOME forty federal office holders were helping to run the republican state convention held in this city, September 10. Conspicuous among these were Postmasters Higgins, of Fort Wayne, Smith, of La Fayette, Greiner, of Terre Haute, Bennett, of Evansville, Crockett, of South Bend, Tomlinson, of Logansport; and Postmaster De Motte, of Valparaiso, read the platform to the convention. The excuse can not be made that if these office-holders had not got up the primaries and conventions, there would have been no party organization, no primaries and conventions, and no delegates to the state convention. Every meeting would have been held just the same, the same number of delegates would have come together, and the zeal would have been in no manner less. A convention managed by office-holders is not a party convention. It is the lordship of a faction, paid out of the public treasury and having means and leisure, over the rest of the party and in the service of some lord paramount. At this convention, without the interference of office-holders no attempt would have been made to make it a Harrison convention—an attempt which failed. Such an attempt ought to fail. A

president has no business to allow office-holders to appear in party meetings to see that he is properly puffed. He should stand before the country on his own merits and not upon the true or false praises which a gang of office-holders may get into a platform. Possibly he might not secure a renomination, but he has no right to use office holders to secure a renomination.

THE latest attempt to get money out of government clerks appears in a circular by one W. W. Curry, a pension-claim man, who writes as agent for the Indiana state republican committee. The circular is very insulting in its insinuations, and no self respecting clerk will contribute anything in answer to such a demand. There is no need of much money to run a campaign. Every attempt to get it out of government employes ought to be denounced and fought, because these attempts are plain declarations that the employes must thus pay for their places.

CONGRESSMAN GROSVENOR, of Ohio, having failed of renomination, bids fair to follow Cheadle of this state into private life. Of Grosvenor, also, it may be said, that he retires noted for nothing except a frantic opposition to the civil service law. He set his heart upon this work, and evidently thought he was going to have an easy road to travel. His efforts have been a complete failure, and he is apparently very sore.

SECRETARY TRACY returned a rather curt answer to the house inquiry regarding the employment of men in the Kittery yard just before election, in which he says that public work shall not be interrupted nor shall he be deterred from the performance of his duty by unfounded suspicions. This is all very well, but two things are undoubtedly true. One is that the outcry unquestionably warded off the disgrace of seeing the Kittery yard filled with voters to help Congressman Reed's election, of which every one including Reed himself was in doubt. The other thing is that Secretary Tracy's expression of injured innocence would be much more appropriate if it were not a fact that he has allowed the Brooklyn navy-yard to be looted by the fighting factions of Brooklyn ward politics. According to the *Boston Post*, the order sending the Chicago for repairs to the Charlestown yard, in the district where

Congressman Lodge's campaign is going on has been revoked. But the Norfolk yard is in full blast with a thousand men working at ante-election repairs to the advantage of Congressman Bowden, who the white republicans claim puts on too many negroes. Undoubtedly "local option" has something to do with deciding what yards it is safe to "work."

REPUBLICAN opposition to Quay has become organized in Pennsylvania and will do what it can against him in the campaign. This is the duty of every republican who recognizes the impassable gulf between Quay and common, ordinary honesty. And each man should perform this duty with all his might, without any regard to the result of the election. Those leaders who hesitate to again take up such a struggle because once they defeated Cameron and got Quay, and now feel that a defeat of Boss Quay will simply raise up Boss McGee, are falterers by the way. Defeat in detail is one of the powerful forces that will in time free this boss-ridden country, and restore its political self-respect.

PRESIDENT HARRISON has promoted Henry Sherwood to succeed Mr. Ross as postmaster at Washington, Mr. Ross having been appointed by the President to another position. Mr. Sherwood has been twenty-eight years in the military and civil service of the country. For twelve years he was in the postal service, for four years he was postmaster of the house of representatives. For eight years he has been assistant postmaster in the Washington post-office. He was retained by Mr. Ross, who was the democratic incumbent under Mr. Cleveland. This is as it should be, a competent and conscientious public servant is promoted according to his merit.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE in its recent issues has been printing a list of persons connected with newspapers who have received federal positions—mostly postmasterships. The list is a very incomplete one; some states are omitted altogether. No state has been investigated thoroughly, and those who have received or whose family has received federal positions other than postmasterships were not investigated at all. But the list as it is ought to surprise and alarm people. There could be no better work for some important and powerful newspaper than to print a revised

and complete list, for it would show as by no other method that this country has, as a rule, government by the people only in name and government by bosses in fact. Were these newspaper office holders as they run for their congressman or other boss, in uniform, distinguished by a Quay button or an Ingalls rosette, then their number and activity and power would be realized. As it is, the village paper and the village postoffice, although conspicuous parts of the local machine and a steady irritant to a part of the inhabitants, seem isolated cases and the editor himself too harmless a fellow to provoke rebellion. But print lists covering the entire country, then the consequences of being able to control a great number of country papers, of bringing forward or holding back facts, of exaggerating or belittling political news, become apparent. No wonder that Mr. Clarkson in an outbreak of irritation wrote Mr. Dana, "I would like to know what good cause is served by keeping a list like this before the public."

These papers are manacled, and of the harm and danger nothing can be added to Daniel Webster's eloquent statement. But even he did not foresee the usual condition of the newspaper office-holder of to-day. Daniel Webster characterized the effect of the gift of office in silencing the paper; he did not conceive the possibility of the scandal caused by continued political activity on the part of the office-holder and of making his paper his chief weapon for controlling caucuses and county and district conventions. It is so grave a scandal, and will in time arouse such widespread indignation that no wonder Mr. Clarkson deprecates publicity.

It is not only republican editors who have been subsidized. It is instructive to note the great number of democratic editors who have been allowed to hold on to their offices. On every ground of offensive partisanship, if any office-holders were to go, these should have been the first. But shrewd Mr. Clarkson spiked his enemies' guns far more effectually by his process. Another significant thing was the gift of office to such great numbers of so called "independent" papers. Again Mr. Clarkson had mastered well the meaning of that happy statement of President William Henry Harrison, that with "golden fetters" on, how much less troublesome an "independent" paper would be.

OFFICE-HOLDING STRABISMUS.

Elsewhere is printed an extract from the speech of District Attorney Chambers, delivered before a republican club of this city, and which the *Indianapolis Journal* says will prove an "effective campaign document." Few things have happened to disgrace the administration so much. No matter whether a government is run on the spoils system or on any other system, the gross impropriety of a speech by any public officer in such a spirit and tone must be apparent to any one. Let us take a single instance. Mr. Chambers says that democratic

committees have at times issued "corrupt circulars inviting and urging bribery." He quotes from a Morgan county circular, "Those who have to be bought are not doubtful but are floats." Again, from a Decatur county circular: "Get the float well in hand." There can be no possible question but that Mr. Chambers means by the word "float" or "float-er" a man who is paid for his vote. Turning to the Dudley letter, it is written, "Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters. * * Divide the floaters in blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five." Of the two versions of that letter, which differed in no essential respect, Chambers said, in the *Indianapolis Journal* of December 13, 1889, that they "have nothing in them of a criminal character, but, upon the other hand, * * are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections." We should like to have Mr. Chambers, in writing, over his own signature, explain himself. Will he make it clear that money paid to a "float" by democrats is bribery, and money paid to "floaters in blocks of five" by republicans is not bribery, but indicates "simply a patriotic interest in the elections." He can not do this, for he knows that the Dudley letter means bribery. He appears to be verifying Dr. Johnson's definition that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, and he affords to the people of Indiana the spectacle of a public prosecuting officer, paid out of the common treasury, excusing bribery in his own party while joining in a campaign cry, for bribery, against the opposite party. Such an officer does not deserve the respect of the public or of his neighbors. The Columbia Club, which prides itself upon its "clean politics," ought to petition the President to remove Chambers from office.

CLARKSONISM.

Clarkson has gone out of office at last, and there is uncertainty as to what he will do next. He says he has nothing to apologize for, though no one expects or is calling for an apology. It is the President who ought to make an apology, if he can. He has allowed Clarkson to give the country an example of the spoils system such as has never been known before. Through Clarkson's agency thirty odd thousand post-offices have been absorbed as spoil in eighteen months. President Harrison can never show that this is not a defiant disregard of the platform upon which he was elected, and which said: "The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments." When the President places the partisan seizure of these thirty-odd thousand post-offices by the side of this platform promise, he will have to keep silent.

The Maryland republican clubs sent a delegation to Clarkson to thank him for his opposition to the civil service law. The *Indianapolis News* of September 13, treats the matter fully. It says:

It is worth while noting this spectacle: A repre-

sentative body of citizens thanks a man for his opposition to the law of the country while he was an official of that country sworn to execute its laws. There is a spectacle demoralizing enough, surely. Mr. Clarkson's notion of a reformed civil service as explained was that he would make the examinations departmental, conducted by those under whom the clerks would have to work, and would always select all clerks in sympathy with the party in power. He added that he believed this to be a representative government based on party responsibility, and that no party in power could escape this responsibility if it tried; therefore, he believed that any administration, state, national or county, was entitled to have all places under it filled by its friends, or those anxious for its success and not its failure.

It is not worth while controverting the fallacy that the routine work of the public affairs; the keeping of books and writing of letters; the scrubbing of floors and cleaning of spittoons, can have no possible influence upon a policy or principle of governmental administration. The theory that a clerk or scrub woman is going to obstruct the public service in order to discredit the political party charged with administration, springs from the spoils idea that the public service is the prize of victory to be fought for by the people, divided into two armies, each absolved from any consideration of the other, the victor warranted in taking this service as his earned reward, as the victorious prize fighter takes the purse that has been "hung up" to spend in treating his backers and heelers. It is needless to say that the public service in every attribute of its exercise and all the justification of its being is as much the possession of the defeated party as it is of the victorious party. That in every contemplation which does not degrade public administration to the level of brigandage, the "victor" is entitled only to its direction along certain lines of policy, and that this applies only to administration—not to substance. That the service is not a visible mass of loot, to be portioned out among retainers by a feudal lord entering upon a conquered domain, but that it is the possession of the whole people, created and maintained by them for their benefit, and that control of it means control, not ownership.

MINISTERS AND POLITICS.

There is everywhere a part of the clergy who maintain that their work in the church is to inculcate the broad principles of the brotherhood of man and the saving, elevating power of Christianity, but it is not to apply those principles to matters of conduct. There is now and then a preacher of such largeness of mind and eloquence of tongue that he can move the hearts of men and women to seek for noble living by these general truths and by no special application to matters of conduct. But men in the pulpit with these gifts are rare, and were they more common, would we be willing to spare the men who have shown the relation of religion to conduct? Could we spare the ministers whose denunciations of slavery still make the heart beat faster?

But suppose a church has for years heard from the pulpit the sermons declaring "the fatherhood of God and the truths only related to that," and yet its members are callous to the immorality of buying a public office by the gift of money or place, or who excuse it on the ground that a politician must be expected to have a different code of morals. What is to be said of the results of such preaching? Surely it has been a disheartening failure. Clergymen can not allow themselves to be blind to this. If they find, for instance, that a large number of their intelligent

church members are lethargic over the purchase of votes by money or office, their duty is plain to change their method of the presentment of the principles of Christianity and to apply them to matters of political conduct. It need not be stated that they should not be partisan, that their horizon should be large, and that they should be just and temperate in expression.

The work now being undertaken by clergymen in New York illustrates this view. In spite of their teachings there has grown strong a most corrupt political organization; it robs the people, it cheats justice, and its corrupting influence is all-pervading. Those clergymen now see a chance to bring their influence as *clergymen* to bear on a great plague spot, and it is encouraging to note how heartily their attempt is co-operated with by the young men of their churches.

WORKINGMEN AND DISMISSALS.

Of late years one of the characteristics of attempted settlement of strikes has been that the workingmen stipulate that there shall be no dismissal without cause. In some cases they have proposed that each man shall first be granted a hearing before a board composed, in part, of his fellow-workmen. The recent railroad strike in New York was based upon the assertion that certain workmen had been dismissed without any apparent business reason. Yet labor organizations stand by without protest and see successive presidents dismiss more than a hundred thousand wage-earners without any reason whatever except to find places for favorites. For instance, President Cleveland in this manner turned the hundreds of employes out of the Brooklyn navy yard and put in his favorites, and now President Harrison has turned these out and put in his favorites. Under such a system of course a large share of government work falls to sycophants, heelers, and hangers-on. Honest and industrious labor gets little benefit from this colossal employer of labor. It is the inexplicable enigma of the present movement of workingmen to better themselves that, year after year, they let this richest of labor prizes go without even an attempt to secure it. This undoubtedly proceeds from a mistaken idea that government labor has something peculiar about it. It has not; public bookkeeping and carpentering are just the same as private bookkeeping and carpentering, and to hire either done upon the principle of favoritism is a detriment to honest labor. Government labor should be brought into the general labor field. To secure this only a few simple rules are necessary. Let the workingmen's principle of no dismissal without cause be enforced in the government service. To avoid favoritism in appointment, the places requiring skilled labor should be filled by open competition. Unskilled laborers, in selecting whom there now exist the greatest scandals, should be chosen on the plan of the Boston labor system—which has met with unanimous

approval. If these rules were observed both in the states and with the federal government, fully 200,000 places which are now practically of no benefit to workingmen would be brought where they and their children could secure permanent employment at good wages, not exactly in the same way but upon the same principles by which they now secure employment of private employers. Why do they sit still and see this field go to waste year after year?

A MANACLED PRESS.

Daniel Webster in 1832.

And is a press that is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can the people look for truths to partial sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim the approach of national evils, nor seem to deery them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the palfidum of liberty into an engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy, and patronage of government all to bear, with united force, on the means of general intelligence, and on the adoption or rejection of political opinions.

President William Henry Harrison in 1841.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of the public press.

—Henry L. Spooner, of the *Courier*, is postmaster at Brookfield, N. Y.

—Nathan J. Milliken, of the *Ontario County Times*, is postmaster at Canandaigua, N. Y.

—Wm. J. Glenn, of the *Patriot*, is postmaster at Cuba, N. Y.

—Frederick Bennett, of the *Patriot and Gazette*, is postmaster at Fulton, N. Y.

—L. H. Brown, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Hammondsport, N. Y.

—C. M. Cartwright, of the *Phoenix*, is postmaster at Hunter, N. Y.

—J. M. Williams, of the *Register*, is postmaster at Phoenix, N. Y.

—A. W. Lansing, of the *Sentinel*, is postmaster at Plattsburgh, N. Y.

—L. R. Muzzy, of the *Democrat*, is postmaster at Pulaski, N. Y.

—A. L. Rinewalt, of the *Amherst Bee*, is postmaster at Williamsville, N. Y.

—Fred De K. Griffen, of the *Central Dakotian*, is postmaster at Bangor, S. Dak.

—Edward L. Bales, of the *Courier*, is postmaster at Bloomington, S. Dak.

—John W. Banbury, of the *Dakota Daylight*, is postmaster at Britton, S. Dak.

—Wm. B. Tapley, of the *Advocate*, is postmaster at Frankfort, S. Dak.

—H. O. Besancon, of the *Star*, is postmaster at Harold, S. Dak.

—John W. Jones, of the *Advocate*, is postmaster at Oelrichs, S. Dak.

—Orin A. Cheney, of the *Country Home*, is postmaster at Pitrodie, S. Dak.

—Spencer L. Sage, of the *South Dakota State Journal*, is postmaster at St. Lawrence, S. D.

—Peter W. Emmert, of the *Unakean*, is postmaster at Erwin, Tenn.

—John Schrader, Jr., of the *Lawrence Union*, is postmaster at Lawrenceburg, Tenn.

—Wm. R. Keyes, of the *Tennessee Tomahawk*, is postmaster at Mountain City, Tenn.

—Frank H. Dunning, of the *Dispatch*, is postmaster at Sunbright, Tenn.

—John R. McLain, of the *Review*, is postmaster at Della Plain, Texas.

—L. C. Chambers, of the *Indicator*, is postmaster at Liberty, Texas.

—W. L. Golson, of the *Iron City News*, is postmaster at Llano, Texas.

—David K. Simonds, of the *Journal*, is postmaster at Manchester, Vermont.

—L. E. Kellogg, of the *Big Bend Empire*, is postmaster at Waterville, Washington.

—J. R. Greenawalt, of the *McDowell Progress*, is postmaster at Elkhorn, W. Va.

—Henry W. Deen, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Jackson Court House, W. Va.

—Marion F. Hall, of the *Republican*, is postmaster at Phillippi, W. Va.

—P. Lipsecomb, son of Jeff. Lipsecomb of the *Tucker County Pioneer*, is postmaster at St. George, W. Va.

—Edwin H. Flinn, of the *Roane County Record*, is postmaster at Spencer, W. Va.

—John W. Jones, of the *Register*, is postmaster at Barneveld, Wis.

—C. G. Bell, of the *Press*, is postmaster at Bayfield, Wis.

—Will C. Thomas, of the *Blade*, is postmaster at Osseo, Wis.

—Edwin R. Beebe, of the *Republic*, is postmaster at Princeton, Wis.

—M. E. Kenealy, of the *Alaskan*, is postmaster at Sitka, Alaska.

—James J. Chatham, of the *Herald*, is postmaster at Nogales, Arizona.

—Wm. E. Wheeler, of the *Idaho Register*, is postmaster at Eagle Park, Idaho.

—D. Bacon, of the *Progress*, is postmaster at Nampa, Idaho.

—James Casebee, of the *Mail*, is postmaster at Casper, Wyoming.

—Isaac C. Wynn, of the *Fremont Clipper*, is postmaster at Lander, Wyoming.

[“I find, in looking over the list of appointments in Indiana, that sixteen democratic newspaper proprietors and editors have been appointed to office. * * * If I could believe that in appointing these men Mr. Cleveland meant that they should pursue a perfectly inoffensive course politically, that these newspapers should not irritate the feelings of republicans, should not publish charges against republican candidates for office, should say nothing offensive to the republicans—if I believed he meant by these appointments sincerely to put these sixteen democratic newspapers under those bonds, I should

have brighter hopes than I have now of carrying Indiana next time. But it will not be so. Here are these sixteen editors, two of the three collectors of internal revenue in Indiana, and the others holding influential post-offices; and Mr. Cleveland knows, and every honest democrat knows, that those sixteen newspapers will be fulminating with all the force and vigor and power and partisanship they can against the republican party."—*Senator Benjamin Harrison in 1886.*

PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTIES.

We reaffirm the declaration of the national republican convention with reference to civil service reform, and we commend the efforts of the national administration to secure the best result of the wise provision of the existing law on this subject.—*Illinois Republican Platform, June, 1890.*

6. The silence of M. S. Quay under the charges which have been made against him through the public press can only be interpreted as a confession of his guilt, and his retention of a seat in the U. S. senate, while refusing to demand a legal investigation of these charges, is a national scandal. We accept the issue of Quayism as now tendered by the republican state committee and convention.

7. We arraign the republican party * * * for its open disregard of the provisions of the civil service law, which the President of its choice was solemnly pledged to support.—*Pennsylvania Democratic Platform, July, 1890.*

For the chairman of our national committee, Mr. Quay, we feel a lasting sense of gratitude for his matchless bearing in the last presidential campaign, and commend his bearing under the slanders which his successful leadership of our party has purchased for him. As a citizen, a member of the general assembly, as secretary of the commonwealth under two successive administrations, as state treasurer by the overwhelming suffrages of his fellow-citizens, and as senator of the United States, he has won and retains our respect and confidence.—*As Originally Presented in Pennsylvania State Convention, June, 1890.*

For the chairman of our national committee, M. S. Quay, we feel a lasting sense of gratitude for his matchless services in the last presidential campaign. As a citizen, a member of the general assembly, as secretary of the commonwealth under two successive administrations, as state treasurer by the overwhelming suffrage of his fellow-citizens, and as senator of the United States he has won and retains our respect and confidence.—*As Passed by the Convention, June, 1890.*

We denounce the administration of Benjamin Harrison for its deliberate abandonment of civil service reform; for its use of cabinet positions and other high stations in payment of financial campaign debts; for treating public patronage as a family appendage, instead of a public trust, and quarantining a host of relatives, by blood and by marriage, upon the national treasury; for dismissing honest and competent public servants, in violation of solemn pledges, because of

their political opinions, and filling their places with men devoid of character or capacity, and whose only title to preferment rested upon disreputable partisan work.—*Indiana State Democratic Platform, August, 1890.*

—Among the resolutions adopted at a meeting of representative republicans of Wayne county held at Lyons a few days ago, and carefully excluded from the columns of the republican newspapers of the county and elsewhere, are the following:

"Resolved, That we condemn and denounce any attempt to build up or strengthen a personal following by assuming to parcel out in advance public offices, which are the gift of the people, and should be conferred, held, and administered solely in the interest of the people at large.

"Resolved, That we insist upon the largest individual freedom of thought, speech and action without dictation or interference; upon the free, fair, untrammelled, and unbought expressions of caucuses.

"Resolved, That we insist that no man, or set of men, shall be permitted to make the republican party subservient to their own personal aggrandizement, or to dictate nominations, or to ostracise republicans who refuse to surrender their manhood and bow in submission to their will.—*Evening Post, August 2.*

The great increase in state expenses and the creation of an army of needless officers, paid out of the state treasury to perform republican party service, show that the same disposition to impose on the people and squander their money for party gain still prevails in Madison as in Washington.—*Wisconsin State Democratic Platform, August, 1890.*

The present administration came into power as a result of a deliberate agreement that it would reward the vast army of political jobbers and speculators which for four years had been held at bay by opening to them the federal treasury for miscellaneous pillage. Its sanctimonious professions in favor of civil service reform have been followed by the most flagrant exhibitions of official spoliation ever witnessed.—*New Hampshire State Democratic Platform, September, 1890.*

We indorse the administration of Benjamin Harrison and the able statesmen selected as his co-laborers and advisers, as being wise, vigorous and patriotic. It has kept the pledges made to the people. * *

We demand that our benevolent institutions be placed above the level of partisan politics, and that they be controlled by boards composed of members of different political parties, appointed by the governor, to the end that the cost of their maintenance may be reduced, and the helpless and unfortunate wards of the state may not be made the victims of unfit appointments dictated by the caucus and made as a reward for party services.—*Indiana State Republican Platform, September, 1890.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF THE LINCOLN INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The platform of the republican party in Pennsylvania indorses without qualification or reserve, the junior senator of this state, Matthew S. Quay, a man whose very name has entered the political vocabulary as a term of political domination and corruption; a

man whose way to political eminence has been won by no distinguished service to the nation or the state, either by the conception or the execution of a single great or beneficent public measure, but solely by chicanery and political corruption, by the creation of an immense army of servile followers through bribes of public office and by the skillful distribution of public patronage. This man has so successfully increased his own power that he is to-day among the most influential, if he is not indeed the most influential, of republicans, and in his own state his personal will has virtually usurped the will of the people. He is at least popularly understood to have controlled the last republican state convention and to have imposed upon it a candidate of his own selection. But to crown his own dishonor and the shame of the commonwealth, he stands for months silent under public, repeated and specific accusations of the greatest official misconduct, of having taken from the treasury of the state large sums of money with the knowledge of its official guardian. In this man the republican party platform expresses entire confidence, and it calls upon the citizens of Pennsylvania to indorse both him and it by the election of Mr. Delamater as governor of the state.

* * * * *

Are the men who saw the republican party begotten, through the eloquence, the statesmanship, the lofty public morality of Sumner, the political genius, the all-embracing humanity and self-sacrifice of Lincoln, through the great and popular hatred of wrong and oppression, through the great and first awakening of a national heart and a national conscience, dead, that they should accept such a lame and impotent, such a disgraceful conclusion to a great party history as this? Indeed, all keen sense of public honor and of justice must have fled the state if its citizens will tolerate this disgrace. It was unswerving devotion to principle as opposed to greed, to selfish expediency, to every low inducement, that made the republican party and its founders great. If we honor them and approve their political policy we can not be false to their example.

CONGRESSMAN KENNEDY ON MATTHEW S. QUAY, IN THE HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 4, 1890.

Some time since I stood up in my place on this floor and denounced a senator from my native state because, when charged with corruption and branded with infamy, he did not arise in his seat and demand an investigation and inquiry that should establish the purity of his actions and his personal honor. One other, occupying the high place in the councils of the party to which I belong, has suffered himself, month in and month out, to be charged with crimes and misdemeanors for which, if guilty, he should have been condemned under the laws of his state and have had meted out to him the fullest measure of its punishment.

This man is a republican. Shall I now remain silent? Is it just and honest to remain in my seat silent because one who is accused

of crimes and refuses to seek for vindication is a republican and that republican the recognized leader of my party? Neither decency nor honor would permit me to do so. I do not know whether the charges made against the chairman of the national republican committee are true or false, but I do know that they have been made by journals of character and standing again and again, and I do know that in the face of these charges Mat Quay has remained silent, and has neither sought nor attempted to seek opportunity to vindicate himself of them. I do know that, as a great republican leader, he owed it to the great party at whose head he was either to brand them as infamies or to prove their falsity, or he owed it to that party to stand aside from its leadership.

He has done neither, and for this I denounce him. The republican party can not afford to follow the lead of a branded criminal. He has failed to justify himself, and though opportunity and ample time have been given him, he remains silent. His silence under such circumstances is the confession of guilt. An honorable man does not long dally when his honor is assailed. He has delayed too long to justify the belief in his innocence, and he stands, a convicted criminal before the bar of public opinion. Under such circumstances he should be driven from the head of a party whose very life his presence imperils. The republican party has done enough for its pretended leader. Let him be relegated to the rear. It is no longer a question of his vindication; it is now a question of the life of the party itself.

THE ARISTOCRATIC SYSTEM.

English statisticians have displayed much individual interest in the complicated mechanism and extensive scope of our census-taking, but they have not been inspired thereby to alter their own census scheme, which is simplicity itself. The enumeration will be begun and finished on a single day—Sunday, April 5. In striking contrast with the American method, nothing is here attempted beyond the bare counting, with a few elementary facts as to age and sex, and whether married or single. *To do this work there will be 40 000 enumerators in England and Wales. All of these will be appointed by the local registrars of births and deaths, and nothing could be stranger to American notions than that so much as a hint of political influence being used or desired will never be heard of. The higher clerks who are to tabulate the returns will be chosen by public competition, the terms of which will shortly be issued by the civil service commission. No suggestion of partisanship will enter the whole arrangement from top to bottom. Perhaps that is the reason for Mr. Giffen's confidence that the census will be absolutely complete and trustworthy.—London Letter to New York Times, Sept. 7.*

THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

A sample of Porter's methods is afforded by the system adopted to take the census of this city. Here is the metropolis of the nation, a vast aggregation of people from all parts of the world, speaking all sorts of languages, living in all kinds of crowded buildings. The task of taking the census in New York was beset by the utmost difficulties, and required the services of the very highest type of enumerators that could be secured. What type did we have? The method adopted by Mr. Porter's representative in this city was to send out to the "Jakes" and "Barneys" and "Mikes" who "run the machine" in the various districts this circular:

DEAR SIR—You will please forward to this office the list of applicants that the republican organization of your district desires to have named as census-enumerators. This list must be sent here on or before April 1. Yours, C. H. MURRAY.

Comment upon such a performance would be a waste of space. Is it any wonder that the count of New York returned by enumerators thus selected by the republican machine falls fully 100,000 short of the number to which the city is entitled by every test that has applied to all previous censuses?—*New York Evening Post, Sept. 12.*

BARONS AT WAR.

"I know of no such division," said he, "in the state, and I am surprised that any one should misunderstand the very plain statement and purport of my protest. It was simply and clearly a denunciation of a systematic attempt of one of the Maine senators to control the politics of the state by the use of patronage, by seeking to dictate the most important federal appointments in the city of his residence, and the fact that the same thing had been attempted in my own district induced me to call a halt in the work of setting up a political dictatorship in Maine. I have known of no instance in which any of the representatives from Maine has sought to interfere with the rights or privileges of the senators, but I regard the invasion of Portland and Bangor, to control the selection of public offices, as indefensible and mischievous. * * *

"It is a significant fact," said Mr. Boutelle, "that when Mr. Reed was believed to have a desperate fight on his hands for re-election, the most important offices in his district, and, in some respects, the most important federal office in Maine, the collectorship of Portland, was occupied by one of the leading democrats of the state, whose term expired months ago, because the senators would not consent to the appointment of a man regarded by Mr. Reed as friendly to himself. It is certainly difficult to reconcile this with any theory that the senators were zealously desirous of strengthening the speaker in the greatest contest of his political life."

"You complain of similar treatment in your own district?"

"I have been perfectly frank about that. On the same ground upon which I dispute the right of the senators to thrust upon Mr. Reed a hostile collector, I regard the appointment of a supervisor of the census in my city without consulting me as a gross political indignity. The supervisor had the selection of enumerators in every town in my district, and, while there was no reason why he should be hostile to me, yet the fact of the selection of so important an official in my own town without regard to my wishes was significant. In fact, when the appointment was announced in the morning paper, and it was naturally supposed to have been made by the congressman from the district, the democratic evening paper, in commenting upon it, said its reporters had talked with a large number of prominent republicans, all of whom were surprised at Mr. Boutelle's selection."

"What was Mr. Hale's motive?"

"The obvious motive seems to be to hamper and embarrass me in my congressional district, and, so far as he may have been successful, I think I may justly construe the gratifying support of my constituents as a rebuke to that sort of interference. In other words, my complaint has been and is that the powers granted by the people of Maine for public purposes have been unfairly diverted to the advantage of individuals, in derogation of the rights of others. I believe that in Maine, as elsewhere, public men should stand upon their merits and be judged by the service they may render to the public."—*New York Times, Sept. 15, Interview with Representative Boutelle.*

THE UNAMERICAN SYSTEM.

Examples from a Recent Examination under the Merit System in Baltimore.

1ST EXERCISE.—WRITING FROM DICTATION.

N. B.—Spelling, use of capitals, punctuation, and all omissions and mistakes will be taken into consideration in marking the exercises of this subject. Penmanship will not be marked on this exercise.

One of the examiners will dictate an exercise of not less than ten lines so distinctly that all persons being examined can hear him. The passage will first be read for information, and then be dictated in

phrases of five or six words, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty-five words per minute. If from any cause the competitor miss a word, he should not pause, but leave a blank space and go on with the next words he hears. Three minutes will be allowed after the dictation for punctuation and correction.

Specimen papers.

Persons failing to pass an examination may, after six months from the date of their failure, file new applications, and be re-examined.

No person who has passed an examination, shall, while eligible on the register supplied by such examination, be re-examined.

Re-examinations, other than as specified above, can be had, only by special permission of the Commission, and such permission will be given only in very exceptional cases, where special reason exists on account of sickness, and then only upon affidavit of the facts.

Every appointment is made for a probationary period of six months, at the full salary attached to the position, at the end of which time, if the conduct and capacity of the person appointed have been found satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute.

Mark 100.

Persons Failing to Pass an examination May after Six Month. after Date of there failure May File New Application and be Re-examined while eleagleble supplied by such Examinations be Re-examined. Reexamination Specified above can be had oly by Special Permission and such permission will be given oly in very Exceptionled Cases oly where Special reasons exist on account of sickness and then aply upon Affidavid) of the facts every ap-point is made for a probation period of Six Months at the full sallery.

if the Conduct and capacity of the person appointed have bein foun satisfactory the ap-pointment is made absalut.

Mark 0.

ENCOURAGING SIGNS.

Plainfield republicans are signing a petition to be forwarded to Washington asking that the postmaster, E. R. Pope, be "influenced" to discharge the clerks and carriers left in office by the democratic administration, and to substitute in their places "deserving" republicans. Postmaster Pope has held his present office only a few months. Already he has had 124 applicants for positions under him. He has made no changes, but the resignation of one man has enabled him to make his son first assistant postmaster. Because of this alleged family favoritism there has been considerable fault-finding. Some of the applicants for positions are men who were removed four years ago to make room for democrats. Mr. Pope says that he will not imitate the mistakes of predecessors, but will adhere to civil service rules altogether. The existing staff of clerks and carriers is deemed very efficient. The women of Plainfield, who have the most frequent dealings with them, are especially ardent in praising their work. The housewives are just beginning to learn of the petition their husbands are signing, and threaten to prepare an opposition document. The men have already secured 600 signatures.—*New York Evening Post, Aug. 12.*

—The nomination of John Kirkpatrick for postmaster at South Hadley Falls, sent to the senate to-day, was recommended by Congressman Wallace. Mr. Kirkpatrick is a democrat and a veteran of the war, but there were no other candidates and his reappointment was recommended by both republicans and democrats of the town. He was appointed during the last administration when the office was fourth-class. It has just been raised to the presidential grade, and a nomination by the President was necessary.—*Boston Post, May 9.*

Office-Holders Defending their Possessions.

Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole: wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster. . . —Blackstone.

FORT WAYNE, IND., Sept. 6, 1890.

—DEAR SIR: Those favoring the candidacy of our fellow-citizen, Mr. George W. Pixley, for treasurer of state, have gratifying assurances that his nomination can be secured by a prompt and tangible evidence that such is our desire. You are hereby invited and requested to go to the state convention, at Indianapolis, to forward his candidacy. The fare for the round trip will not exceed \$3.60. Please signify at once to C. R. Higgins whether you accept this invitation. As many as can should go Monday afternoon.

A. A. CHAPIN.
D. N. FOSTER.
N. R. LEONARD.
WM. GEAKE.
H. C. HANNA.
J. B. HARPER.
A. H. DOUGALL.
P. DICKINSON.
C. R. HIGGINS.

[Mr. C. R. Higgins is the republican postmaster at Fort Wayne.]

—Postmaster C. R. Higgins, of Fort Wayne, was among the civil service reformers who were hustling at the Denison last evening.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 10.

—The postmasters from Fort Wayne, Terre Haute, Evansville, Lafayette, South Bend and Logansport were conspicuous men in the convention hall yesterday. There were not less than forty of these federal officers present, and five of them presented an unusual scene—drinking together at the Denison bar.—*From the Report of the Indiana State Republican Convention in the Indianapolis Sentinel*, September 11.

—The republicans of Warlick county met in mass convention in Boonville, Saturday, Sept. 6, and nominated the following county ticket.

* J. B. Cockrum, assistant district-attorney of Indianapolis, came down and took an active part in the convention. He told the boys here how things were worked at Indianapolis, and how this convention must act. They made John chairman of the committee on resolutions, and let him write them to suit himself, and to flatter the bosses at Washington and Indianapolis.—*Boonville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 8.

—District Attorney Chambers's speech at the Columbia Club, to-night, will be devoted to democratic iniquities and election methods. He will have for his text that portion of the democratic platform that alleges all political evils against the opponents of that party and claims for it all political purity. Mr. Chambers will detail many instances of democratic bribery, not those of mere assertion, but those that have been established by evidence. He has given great care to this speech, and it will be made up of facts obtained from nearly every county in the state.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 5, 1890.

* * *

The speech of Hon. Smiley N. Chambers, delivered last night before the Columbia Club, will be found elsewhere in this paper. It abounds in indisputable facts concerning democratic rascality, and gives in detail some of the political infamies committed by that party in Indiana. These crimes have been frequent and flagrant, and the party committing them should be deprived of power by an outraged people. The speech is strong in statement, and will prove an effective campaign document.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 6, 1890.

All these years there has been a democratic majority in the legislative department. It is a disgrace to the state, a reflection upon the ability of the people to manage their own affairs, and should and doubtless will be repudiated by the people at the polls. You may investigate the affairs of the cities of the state where democracy prevails and there will be found incompetency, defalcation, and disregard of public rights, as in affairs of the state. * * * From that time [1876] to the present the corrupt use of money has been more or less indulged by the democratic party in every location in Indiana, until everywhere and on all hands it has become a well-recognized fact that the use of money has been limited only by the amount that could be procured. This has brought its legitimate results to the people of the state of Indiana, so that corruption has not been confined to national politics, but has spread into state, county and township elections, ramifying and pervading every corner of the state. Taught in the use of money, democratic leaders in Indiana have resorted to every device known to ingenuity to deceive the voter, to tyrannize him, to corrupt him, to thwart the will of the people, legitimately expressed, at the ballot-box.

Another feature is the corruption of the democratic press. On all hands we find the same spirit which we have heretofore characterized prevailing so that there is no respect for law, nor for the administration of law, where the same comes in conflict with democratic success. * *

As a result, the most ignoble methods were resorted to by democratic leaders [in 1888]; ingenuity, skill and device were all used in originating methods for disturbing and confusing republicans, and breaking up their solid ranks, and for encouraging democracy, and drawing into its ranks all the ragged edges of society. The amount of money brought into the state from New York and the border states of the South, has never been told, but undoubtedly it far exceeded anything that had ever occurred before. Democracy was in charge of the state and federal offices within the state, and the rank and file were led to believe that they would be protected in everything that was done for the success of the party, no difference what its character, nor who was the author of it. Supported by the state central committee, the central committees of the various counties issued corrupt circulars, inviting and urging bribery, intimidation, and every other means for the accomplishment of the defeat of the republican ticket. As a sample of that which was issued in many counties, I give you one issued by the chairman of the democratic county committee of Morgan. * * * * Make the doubtful list as small as possible and mark every one who has to have money as a 'float.' Those who have to be bought are not doubtful, but are 'floats.' Let no one escape. Your prompt attention in this matter will aid materially in the efficiency of our efforts.

"Respectfully,

"N. A. WHITTAKER, Chairman."

The date of this letter is September 7, near two months before the election, and discloses a conspiracy, formed early in the campaign, to carry the election by fraud and corruption. I have before me a copy of a letter sent out by the chairman and secretary of the Decatur county central committee. It was sent from the office of the democratic central committee. In it is found the following advice:

"For the plan of organization we suggest the following: Select with care such men as are safe counselors, and can be trusted. Meet frequently at each other's homes, and canvass all matters pertinent to

the coming election. Canvass all doubtful voters. Get the float well in hand. Let it be well understood before the election day arrives what each man is to do. Select men to look after all doubtful and floating voters."

Imagine the good citizens of Decatur getting together in their homes surrounded by their wives and boys, devising ways and means to buy votes, to debauch the ballot-box and destroy the morals of the people. Yet, such is the advice of the democratic management of Decatur county. A similar letter was sent out by the chairman of the Shelby county democratic committee, and largely acted upon by the democrats of that county. As a result of these circulars, it is not surprising that local leaders in the different localities should have been led into excesses, into corruption and intimidation unparalleled in the state of Indiana, and which, it is hoped, will never be repeated.—*Extracts from the Speech of District Attorney Smiley N. Chambers, before the Columbia Club, September 5, 1890.*

[This is from a United States district attorney appointed by President Harrison to prosecute for all the people of Indiana offenses against the law whether committed by republicans or democrats. This same prosecuting officer said, in December, 1889, regarding his suppression of the warrant for Dudley's arrest: "I exercised the prerogative in this case that I would exercise in any other of like character, and decided that the warrant be not issued upon this affidavit."

And after reading in Dudley's circular: "Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters. * Find out who has democratic boodle and steer the democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. Divide the floaters in blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket," this same United States district attorney said in an interview in the *Indianapolis Journal* of December 13:

"I wish also, to state that I have read the letters printed in the press, purporting to be written by the colonel, and, in my opinion, unattended by any extraneous evidence, they do not advise bribery, as appertaining to the election of 1888. The letters, construed in the light of the knowledge that we all possess of how elections in Indiana are conducted by both parties, have nothing in them of a criminal character, but, upon the other hand, when so construed, are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections."]

—Three days ago N. W. Cunney, the colored collector of the port of Galveston, and the dispenser of federal patronage in that state, made a speech here in which he vilely abused certain leaders of the white republicans by calling them "flee dogs" and "northern dough-faces." To day they have made out papers and forwarded them to Washington charging him with offensive partisanship.—*Houston Dispatch to the St. Louis Republic*, August 28.

* * *

The republican state convention will meet in this city next Wednesday, the 3d prox., and, if all signs are not woefully misleading, it will be the liveli-

est assemblage of the kind ever held in San Antonio. N. W. Cuney, President Harrison's black collector of customs at Galveston, is the acknowledged leader of the colored faction, as he is also the most influential dispenser of federal patronage in this state under the present administration. The leader of the white faction is yet to be developed.

Hon. Webster Flanagan is coming down here as peacemaker, with a hope of playing the role of the monkey who acted as arbitrator between the two cats quarrelling over a hunk of cheese and marching off with the gubernatorial prize. That is "what he will be here for," so the wisecracks say.

In view of the fierce contention between the "Lily Whites" and the blacks, there is hardly room for doubt that the convention will split. The whites, most of them, will, by preconcerted movement, arise in the convention as one man if Cuney and his colored supporters get control of the organization of the assemblage, march out of the hall and take themselves to Mission Garden, in another part of the city, and proceed to nominate a ticket independent of the blacks. Local republicans to-day made arrangements for renting the Mission Garden for convention purposes, and they make no bones of declaring their intention of assembling there with the whites from other parts of the state if the Cuney crowd does not allow them to have their way in the regular convention.

Two republican Bexar county conventions were held in this city to-day. The colored cohorts, with quite a sprinkling of whites, met at Turner hall with a total attendance of 140, and the "Lily Whites" assembled at the Mission Garden 65 strong, with only one negro present, and he was employed as janitor. Postmaster Johnson, Assistant United States District Attorney Terrell, brother of Harrison's minister to Belgium, and Hon. George Paschal, state district attorney, were the most conspicuous whites at the colored convention and were elected delegates to the state convention. Col. Jim Newcomb, postmaster under Arthur; Judge A. P. Tugwell, ex-collector customs at Eagle Pass, and John A. Bolton, second in command of the G. A. R. in Texas, were the leaders of the "Lily Whites" and head their delegation to the state convention. They declare that they are going to have Postmaster Johnson and Collector Cuney removed from office for offensive partisanship, and likewise that they will occupy seats in the state convention or burst up the whole affair.—*San Antonio Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, Aug. 30.*

* * *

The republican state convention delegates are beginning to arrive already, and A. W. Cuney, the colored collector of the port of Galveston, is on the ground preparing plans for the campaign, and was in consultation with the federal administration leaders this morning. At this conference it was understood that it was to be war to the knife and the knife to the hilt against the Lily White League. A. B. Reutfie, collector of the port at Brownsville, who is an aspirant to the congressional seat of the seventh district occupied by Mr. Crain, will arrive this evening with a delegation of twelve.—*San Antonio Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, Sept. 1.*

* * *

The republican state convention was called to order at noon by Executive Committee Chairman Degress, of Austin. There were something near 500 delegates present, forty per cent. of whom were black as Erebus.

Wright, of Lamar county, was put up by the "Lily Whites" for temporary chairman, and Cuney and his colored following pitted R. B. Hawley, of Galveston, against the Lamar man. The Cuney people won and will perhaps continue to win throughout the convention.

When the convention reassembled this evening at five o'clock none of the committees were ready to report, and adjournment was taken until nine o'clock to-morrow morning. Before adjournment the Hon. Webster Flanagan delivered an address. He pleaded for harmony, and said as a republican he knew no white nor black. Harrison, he said, was the best president since Washington; he had expelled from public office more rascals than any of his predecessors. The

speaker had been a candidate for office under Harrison and had been disappointed, but felt no bitterness toward the administration, as he recognized that there were not enough offices to go around.—*San Antonio Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, Sept. 3.*

* * *

The republican state convention was rapped to order this morning promptly at 10 o'clock by temporary chairman Hawley. There were not more than half the delegates present and those who were there had red eyes and a tired look. They had been wrangling in committees with closed doors nearly all night and scores of them had had no sleep.

Every man closed up like a clam when questioned as to the details of the committee proceedings further than to announce with joyful gladness that the "Lily Whites" had been sat upon and mashed so flat that even the traditional pancake appeared mas-tonic in comparison. This was the work of the committee on credentials. Every white contesting delegation was forbidden seats in the convention.

Cuney and his blacks are here for harmony, and they swear they will have it at any cost—or to put it in the language of an ebony statesman from the canebrakes of the Brazos Bottom: "Dis here am a fight between de dog and de coon dis season, and de coon from Galveston done got de enemy in de water whah he want him."

D. C. Kolp, of Wichita, was chosen permanent secretary, with S. C. McCoy, of Galveston, and J. H. Stuart, of Robinson, as assistant secretaries. McCoy is a mulatto, and one of Cuney's main henchman in the Galveston Custom House.

The gubernatorial stock of the Hon. Webster Flanagan took a big jump to-day. It is, however, generally conceded that Judge Bell can have the nomination if he wants it, but his friends say he will not accept it, and Flanagan very openly and bluntly declares himself. He says he is extremely anxious to secure the nomination, even at great personal sacrifice, in order to meet Hogg on the stump all over Texas. Osterhout, of Bell, is also still quite popular, while Rector, of Travis, has a large and big lunged following. The proceedings on the whole to-day were featureless, except for much noise.

The convention reassembled to-night at eight o'clock. The only business transacted was the appointment of the committee on platform and resolutions, composed of one member from each senatorial district. Hon. R. B. Rentfrow, collector of customs at Brownsville, is chairman of the committee. Cuney is not on it.—*San Antonio Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, September 4.*

* * *

The republican state convention adjourned sine die this afternoon. The Cuney wing of the party return home flushed with victory save the bare nomination of Web Flanagan for governor. They won everything else and they lost that by only a hair's breadth. Flanagan's only opponent was C. W. Ogden of this city, who received only forty six votes less than the successful candidate. The only fight in the convention was over the selection of a chairman of the state executive committee. Cuney wanted to get Degress out and Degress was determined to stay in. After a short, sharp and decisive battle, Cuney put in Lock McDaniel, of Grimes county, by a very close vote.—*San Antonio Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, September 5.*

—The negro state convention assembled here to-day. Sixty counties are represented by 200 delegates. They are the most intelligent men of the negro race. Speeches have been made by nearly every leading man, and the burden and strength of their addresses have been the unequal division of the federal patronage and the discrimination against the negroes in this respect by the white leaders of the republican party.

The revolt against the white leaders of the republican party is full and complete, and the federal patronage throughout the state must be redistributed or there will be dire disaster, politically, wherever the negroes number many voters. The republican state convention meets in this city on Thursday next, and most of the delegates to this convention are delegates to the republican state convention, and they are instructed to enforce the position of this convention in that body.

A committee will be appointed to wait upon the President and the cabinet officers and present the resolutions to them, and insist that the federal officers throughout the state at once reconstruct their forces and give the negroes their full share of the offices under their control.—*Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 26.*

* * *

The republican state convention met here to-day and eighty counties were represented. Great interest was taken in the convention because it was expected that it would be the scene of a bitter fight between the contending factions as represented by J. B. Eaves on the one side and Dr. J. J. Mott on the other. Eaves was rejected by the senate for collector of the fifth district through the influence of Mott. The President, Secretary Windom and Commissioner Mason, of the internal revenue bureau, are all known to be supporters of Eaves, and they are said to feel greatly outraged at his rejection. Some one or all of these gentlemen have given Eaves to understand that if he could obtain an indorsement from the state convention his name would be sent to the senate by the President for collector of the fifth district.

Proceeding upon this assurance, Mr. Eaves organized his forces all over the state and then called the state committee together on the 30th of July and issued the call for the convention to be held to-day. This only gave thirty days' notice in which to elect the delegates by ninety-seven counties. As soon as Dr. Mott and his friends ascertained the plan of battle, and that Eaves was seeking an indorsement from the convention, they did all they could to rally their forces in order to control the convention. Collector White, fourth internal revenue district, put all his deputies and storekeepers and gaugers in moving order, and, of course, Eaves did the same, and the result is that a very large number of the delegates are federal office-holders.

The same scene has been presented to-day as was presented before Cleveland's election, when every convention was controlled by the internal revenue officers. Everything was at white heat when to-day it was announced that the contending factions had usurped the functions of the convention and had settled their difficulties, and that there would be no fight. The arrangement agreed on is this: Eaves is to be re-elected chairman of the state committee, and in consideration thereof he is to indorse some gentleman from the ninth congressional district for collector to succeed himself.

It now turns out that Eaves has played a very shrewd game. He intends to go to Washington and press the President to renominate him to the senate for collector. Eaves says that Ransom and Vance will not oppose his confirmation, that he has put two negroes in his office, and has promised to put in as many more as may be demanded of him, and that Senator Blair will not therefore oppose his confirmation as he did before. It is understood that Jeter C. Pritchard, of Madison county, will be recommended for collector by Eaves after Eaves has failed to be renominated to the senate. Congressman Ewart is for Pritchard. The whole convention has been subordinated to the questions of federal patronage.—*Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 28.*

* * *

The last effort of Collector J. B. Eaves in the convention last night was the introduction by his henchman, W. E. Henderson, colored, a clerk in his office, of a resolution requesting the President to reappoint Eaves collector. This was an attempt to nullify the bargain of the night previous, and brought a storm of objections. It appeared at one time as if there would be a genuine row, but J. C. Pritchard, who is to be Eaves's successor by virtue of Eaves's indorsement, went to Eaves and told him that he would fight that resolution and would expose the bargain and trade between Mott, Eaves and Pritchard. This frightened Eaves, and the resolution was withdrawn.

T. N. Cooper and G. H. Brown are disgusted with Eaves, as both feel that they have been sold out by him. Both expected to have the recommendation of Eaves for collector, and the fact that Pritchard is to have Eaves's support is greatly disappointing to them. Cooper is furious over the fact that Congressman Ewart has indorsed Pritchard.

The general expression to-day as to the result of

the conventions of the week is that the republican party has been seriously injured. The domination of the revenue officers and the open and notorious fact that nothing but public plunder in the shape of offices moved the convention has created general disgust.—*Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to N. Y. Times, August 29.*

—Mr. Orcutt, the new collector of internal revenue, says the *Boston Post*, enters actively into the factional contest of the republicans of the sixth Middlesex senatorial district as a delegate to the convention.

—Mr. Currier, the new naval officer, still acts as secretary of the republican state committee of New Hampshire, and lately served in that capacity at a meeting of the managers with Senator Chandler in Boston.

—Senator Higgins, of Delaware, is at present engaged, if reports to trustworthy newspapers are correct, in packing caucuses and otherwise preparing the way for a republican gubernatorial nomination in accordance with his own inclinations. The rank and file of the party have other views. The chief feature of the canvass is the pernicious activity of the federal office-holders. Internal revenue collectors, United States marshals, post-office employes and others are earnestly engaged in turning the crank of the Higgins machine.—*Boston Post, Sept. 2.*

—Early this morning the office holders of the fifteenth congressional district began to assemble around the court house. Among them were James H. Clark, of Mattoon; Bank Examiner Capt. J. Swisher, Paris; *Census Supervisor Charles P. Sitch, Paris; United States Marshal J. C. Glenn, Mattoon; Member State Board of Equalization Jake Bell, Paris, formerly postmaster; Geo. A. Rice, of Ridge Farm, post-office inspector; C. H. Kienzie, St. Joseph, collector of statistics for the census; Dr. I. S. Wilcox, Campaign revenue collector, and concerning whom it is whispered around here that he was confirmed by the senate; W. R. Jewell, Danville, postmaster, and many country postmasters.*

The object of the gathering was the republican convention for the fifteenth congressional district. The delegates were selected by Congressman Cannon and his brother "Bill," and they took care that the majority of the delegates should be either office-holders or relatives of office-holders.—*Danville Dispatch to St. Louis Republic, Aug. 28.*

—"AGENT FOR THE INDIANA REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE. Room No. 7, 631 F street, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 15, 1890.—DEAR SIR: Having been designated by the republican state committee of Indiana to receive and forward such funds as the republicans of Washington may see proper to contribute towards defraying the campaign expenses of the present year, I respectfully ask your consideration to the following suggestions:

"First, as intelligent citizens, you are well aware that to organize a party and conduct a campaign requires money. With the most patriotic devotion and self-sacrificing labor on the part of committees and candidates, there are still unavoidable expenses which must be met by the rank and file who desire party success. All parties expect to and do raise money by the voluntary contributions of their members. There are two classes who are always ready to cry out against such contributions—those whose meanness seeks an excuse for refusing to aid in securing the success of the party of which they are the beneficiaries and those whose consciousness of their own corruptness make them able to charge corrupt motives on others. I feel sure that you do not belong to either of these classes, and will feel willing to bear your share of the burdens and necessary expenses.

"Second—as republicans you must desire the success of the party, and especially that we retain control of the next congress in order to complete necessary legislative work. A single congress is not enough in which to harmonize opinions, mature laws to protect the equal rights of all citizens, and determine what

is best to be done for the vast and varied material interests of this great country. Since the successful introduction of the 'shot gun,' 'tissue ballot' and 'counting out industries' into the democratic policy in the south, we have not had two successive republican congresses because of the large number of stolen seats the other party has held. As we have special interest in the success of President Harrison's administration, a duty devolves on us to do our utmost to obtain a republican majority in the next house.

"Third—As Indiana republicans, you know the desperate political methods of the democracy of our state, and the infamous means to which they have resorted to hold it. In open and flagrant violation of the constitution of the state they have passed an election law intended to deprive republicans of just and equal representation in congress and the legislature; they have shamefully prostituted the public and charitable institutions of the state to the meanest party uses, and they have doubled the state debt as a result of their mismanagement.

"You are, therefore, confidently appealed to by your fellow republicans of the state, to assist them in the present campaign with so much of the sinews of war as you can afford. This will enable them, by thorough organization and a free use of the means of information, to make a successful appeal to the people of the state. Two years ago we wrested from the democrats the executive and the judicial departments, and this year we should win the legislature. This will give us the senate, to whom we are justly entitled; will secure to us a fair apportionment under the new census, and will enable us to remedy the abuses of the last ten years of democratic misrule.

"To those republicans who are in office allow me to say: You have the same right to contribute to the campaign funds of your party as if you were not in office. No one has a right to assess or to coerce you into giving; but no one has a right to prohibit you. You can not be solicited at your places of official duty, but outside these you can confer and contribute as you please. The civil service laws are designed to protect you in the free exercise of your rights—not to convert you into political eunuchs. Any civil service commissioner, superior officer or fellow employe who attempts to hinder your giving will be himself in violation of the law. I address you, therefore, as free men, as republicans, desirous of aiding your party in all proper and lawful ways.

"That all Indiana republicans, in and out of office, who wish to aid the state committee by their contributions may have the opportunity of so doing, I have the honor to announce that I will be at my office during business hours and will remain there from 4 to 6 o'clock on the following days: August 31 and September 1, 15 and 30. Come and see me as above.

"Very truly yours, W. W. CURRY."

The *St. Louis Republic*, which prints the above, adds that Curry is an old machine worker whose office adjoins Dudley's, and that the circular has been mailed to every Indiana republican employed in the government service. The dates above given are the days on which the department employes are paid their salaries.

—Nic Karr has been made head dog catcher by Marshal Thomas. He made a hot fight for the place when the marshal went into office, but Thomas wanted him to take the honor of the official title and divide the emoluments with John Loesch, who looked after the marshal's interests in the seventh ward during the campaign. Karr refused to accept it with that condition, and Loesch was appointed. But Loesch and Karr have worked together. They joined hands in an effort to induce the municipal assembly to give them \$5,000 for destroying dogs this year. They failed. The appropriation was reduced to \$3,000, and now Karr is put in charge of the dog-killing department of the marshal's office. Loesch has recently been quite conspicuous in the fights in his ward, and he may get something "equally as good," but the chances are against him, unless he cultivates

"the boss" more actively.—*St. Louis Republic, Sept. 4.*

—The appointment of "Jim" Asay, of Ogle county, to a position in the Indian service is generally credited to Mr. Hitt, and it testifies to the fact that patronage is an injury rather than a benefit to our congressmen. The appointee is exceedingly obnoxious. If spoils principles were to control in a department of the public service from which they should be rigorously excluded, Asay should still be excluded. He has not been a working and representative Ogle county republican. It is even asserted by some that he is a democrat, but whatever his politics he does not have that standing in the county which warrants his selection by Mr. Hitt as the recipient of official favors. He is remembered in connection with legal proceedings in the circuit court at Oregon in which a young woman from Chicago was complainant. In course of the trial his conduct was shown in a light far from commendable, and Judge Cartwright rendered decision for the complainant. He is perhaps popular in a certain limited circle where his convivial habits commend him, but the people of Ogle county are generally not of the class who admire men of Asay's stamp. Many feel indignant that such a man should be preferred for official place and obtain it through the favor of Mr. Hitt.—*Rockford (Ill.) Register, Aug. 22.*

—That was an extraordinary illustration of the spoils system which was described by our Washington correspondent yesterday. A letter-carrier in a western city, with an excellent record, was requested to resign his place, which he naturally refused to do. The republican congressman who had sought to get rid of the carrier, because he was a democrat and the place was wanted for a republican "worker," then induced the post-office department to issue an order for his removal. But the carrier would not give up the fight, and he sent to Washington letters of remonstrance from many of the leading citizens on his route, who declared him well qualified, efficient, and faithful. The congressman then made the plea that he wanted the place for a veteran of the civil war, whereupon the carrier produced a petition for his retention signed by 600 old soldiers whose mail he had been carrying for years. Nevertheless, the order for his removal was not revoked, and the papers for the appointment of his successor had been made out, when his wife appeared in Washington in his behalf. "She visited the department, learned the exact state of things in regard to her husband, and at last accounts was chasing the obdurate member of congress around the city, resolved to convert him with the testimonials she carried with her." The congressman has already spent probably one hundred dollars' worth of the time which the government pays him for devoting to the public interests in this disgusting squabble over a petty office, which pays the incumbent only about \$2.50 a day, and the end is not yet!—*New York Evening Post, Aug. 29.*

—Boss Quay took an active part in the "freezing out" of Sergeant-at-Arms Canaday, although he did not succeed in putting in his man Bailey. Canaday does not retire until July 1. This morning the sergeant-at-arms discharged George H. Mann, a page, who had been appointed at Quay's dictation, and filled the place thus provided by putting in a Montana boy at the request of Mr. Sanders.

Quay was mad, and within ten minutes after the senate met he introduced a resolution directing the sergeant-at-arms to make no changes in his force without the consent of the senate. The resolution was laid over until to-morrow. "Meanwhile Quay's page is out and Sander's page is in, and Canaday is still sergeant-at-arms."—*New York Times, June 19.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 20.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

INDIANAPOLIS, September 5, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR—For about a year and a half we have been sending the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to the public library. I observed yesterday that it is not on your printed list of periodicals. Our object in sending it is to have it in the usual way brought to the notice of those who frequent the library in the hope that some of them may be led to read it.

If there is any reason why it should not be placed on the printed list we shall be obliged if you will inform us of it. Respectfully,

LUCIUS B. SWIFT,

For the Civil Service Chronicle.

MR. CHARLES EVANS, Librarian.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, September 6, 1890.

DEAR SIR—It has been the intention for some time to revise the list of periodicals and print a new revised list, containing all periodicals now currently received. This will be done as soon as possible. The fact that this was to be done was the sole reason why the CHRONICLE has not been added. The omission was one of several, and I am obliged to you for calling my personal attention to the matter.

Yours, very truly,

CHARLES EVANS, Librarian.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT, Esq.

The list referred to is a printed one of periodicals with additions of names of new papers from time to time inserted in writing and tacked up in the reading-room of the library. While the question when the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE shall go upon the list is being decided, any one wishing to see this paper can get it in the reading-room by asking for it.

THE National League of Civil Service Reform Associations held its annual meeting in Boston, October 1st and 2d. In this congenial atmosphere the League could but get and it got a large hearing. The speech of Mr. Curtis, in Tremont Temple, was listened to by a large and appreciative audience, and was admirably adapted to the occasion. This speech and the papers read and the resolutions will be found elsewhere in this paper. The resolutions justly and fairly point out what the administration has failed to do according to promise. In speaking of the civil service commission the resolutions could not be expected to distinguish individuals. But both in the meetings and at the dinner, where two hundred guests were present, the mention of Mr. Roosevelt's name was always applauded. It is well known that Mr. Thompson is an equally fearless upholder of the law against its enemies and is in accord with Mr. Roosevelt, but being a democrat he is not under a republican administration, and in the present condition of the reform, so effective a spokesman. If the next administration should be of his party we may hope that he will be the commissioner militant to beat off the Grosvenors, Houks, Ewatts and Hattons.

THE men who live by campaigns and elections are trying in every way they dare to scare money out of the department clerks in Washington. Among others, Congressman Grosvenor's brother is particularly bold. Referring to these attempts, Mr. Roosevelt says:

Any government employe who is directly or indirectly concerned in soliciting or receiving money for campaign purposes from any other government employe, whether he does so on his own account or through a club or association which acts as his agent, renders himself liable to prosecution, and whenever we get any evidence against such offenders, we will immediately lay his case before the proper authorities. No government employe need pay a cent unless he wishes to, and we will welcome information from any one as to any effort being made, no matter how indirectly, to force him to subscribe for political purposes.

The country and the clerks now know that this is no sham protection which is offered against political pirates. Prosecutions of violators of the law are not so certain, thanks to President Harrison's prosecutors, but with Mr. Roosevelt ready and certain to make open war, no officer will dismiss a clerk for refusing to contribute. Nothing like this attitude of the commission, of which Mr. Roosevelt is the spokesman, so well shows the progress and gathering strength of the merit system.

THE Pennsylvania campaign presents a sight that gratifies every one who is tired of being ruled by bosses, not to say rascals. A great body of Pennsylvania republicans refuse to vote for Quay's man Delamater, and are actively working for his opponent Pattison, whom the democrats elected governor of the state in 1882. Quay has carried the golden-rule maxim of Ingalls too far, and a large number of ministers are aroused against him. A meeting which packed the Academy of Music in Philadelphia was held October 20, to give public expression to the protest. There is no question but that the revolt is widespread and embraces many thousands of the best republicans in Pennsylvania. Whatever the result, the agitation will add to the number of independent voters and will bring into activity against boss rule a large number of new men. There is a majority of 80,000 to overcome. There would be no hesitation in saying that this would be done were it not for the means possible with Quay. As Mr. Bonaparte says, if we had not seen Gorman under like circumstances make the figures in Maryland foot up right for his side, we should feel sure of Quay's defeat now. It may again be remarked for the benefit of President Harrison and Mr. Wanamaker that Quay does not and can not deny that he stole money from the

Pennsylvania treasury; and that he could not remain in public life if deprived of the federal patronage. The latter the Lincoln republicans have already told the President in a formal communication.

MR. ROBERT LINCOLN has interfered in the Pennsylvania matter by writing a letter saying that the anti-Quay republicans have no right to use his father's name and call themselves Lincoln republicans. It was hoped that this letter was a forgery, as it smacked too much of a man of few wits defending a knave. As the *New York Evening Post* says, Mr. Lincoln can not in this manner write his father up, but he can very decidedly write himself down. Mr. Herbert Welsh thus puts him to shame:

"You further say that you can not agree 'in the soundness of a position which is based on an assumption of representing the opinions of Republican leaders who can no longer speak for themselves.' Your father, my dear sir, be it said in all sincerity and reverence, was one of that goodly company of martyrs and of prophets, who, 'being dead, yet speak.' You do him less honor than we to suppose the contrary. Neither the lapse of years nor the debasement of the name which his speech and acts made glorious can silence his words in the heart of the American people. Neither the words nor the counsels of Abraham Lincoln are of private or family interpretation. They are the common property of the nation."

THE Buffalo common council thought it was a "jigger man" than the law and it appointed some street and health inspectors in entire disregard of the New York civil service law. Mr. Sherman S. Rogers, representing the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, promptly took the common council into court, and has won a succession of victories in the special term, in the general term, and now in the court of appeals. The payment of salaries to the persons improperly appointed is enjoined. In its opinion handed down October 7, the court of appeals says of the merit system:

"If the system were to be carried out to its fullest extent by appropriate legislation, and if the laws thus enacted were to be enforced bona fide and with cordial heartiness by the men to whose hands it would necessarily be confided, it has been confidently predicted that the improvements in our entire civil service would be such that no unprejudiced citizen would ever give his consent to return to the old order of things. * * * That the former system was bad, very bad indeed, is a fact regarding which it is almost impossible to dispute. * * * That the results, if the legislation be fairly carried out, will be immeasurably superior to those obtained under the old system, is a prediction most confidently made by those whose knowledge upon the subject is the greatest. It is somewhat difficult to imagine a worse than the old system of appointments to civil office. That a letter-carrier should lose his position because his views upon the question of the tariff were not in accordance with the ruling powers seems to be the very height of absurdity."

ALL GIVERS AS WELL AS RECEIVERS WERE MUTUALLY BOUND TO DEFEND EACH OTHER'S POSSESSIONS.—Blackstone.

The middle ages in Europe had its local despots, its robber barons, who seized the control of its cities and provinces, levied tribute on citizens and toll from passers-by. At present dungeons and daggers are discarded from the use of the successors of these early tyrants. But not the less really is the power used and we made the prey and the sport of a class as infamous in the sight of any true man as any robber-baron of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The weapons they use now are vastly more potent than prison or sword. They are organization and money. The very form of our institutions makes them potent, and to the whole extent that our institutions are designed for the discharge of duty by virtuous citizens are they adapted to serve the purposes of vile demagogues, when the respectable class become negligent of public duty and unvigilant as to the condition of the state, and permit themselves to be betrayed by appeals to their own selfish interests and carried away by cheap party cries to prefer anything to the pure welfare of the state and the honest administration of government.—*From the Sermon of Rev. Joseph May on the present situation in Pennsylvania.*

—About two hundred republicans will go to Indiana from Washington to vote. *Twenty-five have already gone.*—*Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 16.*

—At Fort Wayne the postmaster and his chief deputy headed the petition for federal supervisors.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, October 22.*

—Thomas V. Cooper, who holds a federal appointment in Philadelphia has been selected by Senator Cameron to conduct his campaign.

—Mr. Thomas Ryan, of the treasury department at Washington, is home to vote. As an Irish-American he is an enthusiastic supporter of the McKinley tariff law.—*Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 15.*

—Hon. Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] delivered a splendid address before a large audience at the opera house this evening. He dwelt at length upon the *Indianapolis Sentinel* and its anarchistic utterances and tendencies, and stated a fact not generally known—that the editor of the *Sentinel* had circulated in Fort Wayne a petition for the pardon of the Chicago anarchists after they had been convicted.—*Marion Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 15.*

—Mr. Hinton was followed by Hon. J. B. Cockrum [assistant U. S. district attorney], of Indianapolis, in a masterly presentation of state issues, giving a thorough discussion of the iniquities of the democratic party that have passed directly under his notice as an officer of the United States court.—*Rushville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 17.*

—District Attorney Chambers has written to the state central committee that he and Mr. Trusler, republican candidate for secretary of state, had two grand meetings at Marion and one at Kokomo. "Our meetings have been well attended and very enthusiastic," he writes.—*Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 17.*

—The Hon. John B. Cockrum delivered a telling speech to a large and enthusiastic audience at the court-house in this city last night. * * He also dealt with the infamous violation of election laws by the democratic party, and the extravagant and dishonest manner in which the affairs of the state institutions of this state have been mismanaged at the hands of the democratic legislature.—*Noblesville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 12.*

—This is about the time when all the Indianians employed in the government departments at Washington come home for a vacation. The Indianapolis contingent has begun to arrive. Gus Shaw, who is influential with railroad men, has been here several weeks getting the "boys" into line. The first of next week all the Indianapolis republicans who have positions at the capitol are expected here.—*Indianapolis News, October 17.*

—Here in Georgia the federal district attorney for the northern district is a candidate for congress and actively canvassing. The collector of internal revenue for the state is a candidate for congress in the fourth district, and the postmaster of Rome in the seventh.—*New York Times, Oct. 23.*

—Congressman Bowden jumped into the town this morning from Washington, where he has been hard at work to seat Langston. *He was surrounded with politicians at the custom house this morning.* Many of his henchmen were after money to use at to night's precinct meetings, but not one cent was given up to-day.—*Richmond Times, Sept. 25.*

—There was a throng of politicians at the Tremont House last night. It was the night before the republican convention, and the boomers were at it for all they were worth. There were a great many old war horses on the ground, and they looked as happy as could be. They were in their element. Among these was Collector Alanson W. Beard of the port of Boston. Then there were Internal Revenue Collector Frank E. Orcutt of Melrose, Postmaster Odell of Beverly, Postmaster W. W. Adams of Quincy, Major Cook, auditor at the custom house; Assistant Secretary Pilgrim, an inspector at the custom house, detailed for duty in the office of Mr. Beard.—*Boston Post, Sept. 17.*

—When the delegates were finally seated, Mr. Towner, his brother and the rest of his party sat alone on two long wooden benches. Near by sat Mr. Fish between Prof. George C. Smith, of the Drew Female College, and Under Sheriff J. W. Hazen. Mr. Fish's success in placing his friends was illustrated by the fact that there were not five square feet of floor in the room that were not trodden by the feet of office-holders. *There was Henry Mahlie, an appraiser of land for the new aqueduct; George Hine, the supervisor of Brewsters; County Clerk Weeks, Willard F. Agor, the postmaster of Mahopac Falls; John Bennett, the coroner and postmaster of Kent; Abram J. Miller, the district attorney; Dan Inspector Yale, Deputy Sheriff Day, Tax Clerk and Constable Shore, Justice of the Peace Barnes, Assessor Baxter, besides a cloud of highway commissioners and an army of smaller office-holders.*—*New York Sun, Oct. 7.*

—W. H. Collier, a reputable colored man, chairman of the republican executive committee of Marion county, says that George I. Cunningham, United States marshal, attempted to bribe him by offering him a position in the Charleston custom house if he would desert Brayton. Collier declined. He was afterward beset by various emissaries, and finally, just before the convention met, Thomas Miller, who is contesting Congressman Elliott's seat, urged him to drop Brayton, offering him a government job either at Washington or Charleston, together with \$300 in money. Collier says that the delegates were bought like cattle. He declares that if his statements are questioned he will bring forward still more damaging facts and will substantiate them by witnesses.

He says that one of Webster's employees in the internal revenue service told him that he was obliged to vote for Webster in order to keep his position.—*Columbia, S. C., Dispatch to New York Times, Sept. 19.*

NOTES.

THE *Baltimore Sun*, of October 22, prints the address of Mr. John Hemsley Johnson before the tax-payers' association, on "The Merit System of Appointing City Officials."

THE *Civil Service Record*, for October, has the speeches in full made at the dinner given by the various associations in Massachusetts upon the occasion of the meeting of the National League. They read as well as they sounded.

THE *Civil Service Record*, for September, prints Mr. Roosevelt's statement before the congressional committee investigating the civil service. It also publishes the appearance of Congressman Grosvenor before the committee and his statement and final discomfiture by Mr. Roosevelt. The whole article is of great interest and value.

THE October *Civil Service Reformer* contains a very clever editorial on the significance of a so-called request for voluntary subscriptions recently received by the employes of the internal revenue service in Baltimore. The money raised was to be exclusively used for the benefit of the canvass of the Hon. Sidney E. Mudd in the fifth congressional district, stated Senator Coffin who "held up" the employes. They knew that Senator Coffin was the personal and political friend of the collector, and that Mudd, who seeks re-election, had largely contributed to the collector's appointment, and, as Mr. Quay would say, *under all the circumstances* Senator Coffin's request could hardly be disregarded.

THIRD REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

Presidential Postmasters.

To the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:

Your special committee, appointed to inquire into the condition of the federal service and the operation of the reform law, has completed its investigation of removals and resignations of presidential postmasters during the first year of the present administration.

It gave us satisfaction to note in our last report the improved condition of the patent office and the adherence to civil service principles in its management. We are not able to discover the same adherence to business methods in respect to the changes made among presidential postmasters. In investigating these changes, we have attempted to ascertain:

1. Their number.
2. The motive, whether made for political

reasons or to promote the efficiency of the service.

Our first effort was to ascertain what changes had been made. For the purpose of obtaining official information, our chairman opened a correspondence with the officers of the post-office department, which is fully set forth in the following letter addressed by him to the President on March 27, 1890, and in the letters therein referred to and annexed to this report:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 17, 1890.

Hon. Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States:

DEAR SIR—On February 20, I wrote to Mr. J. Lowrie Bell, general superintendent of the railway mail service, asking him how I could secure copies of the daily bulletin of the orders affecting the postal service, and obtain access to past files of this daily bulletin. On February 21, he answered that it could only be furnished for official purposes; that the file was kept at his office; and that, if I would call and show why I should examine it, I would, if proper, be allowed to do so. On February 22, I answered, saying that a special committee was recently appointed by the National Civil Service Reform League to inquire into the present condition of the civil service with reference to this reform, and that I was placed in charge of this work in Washington, that a list of appointments and removals of postmasters was necessary, and asking whether I might be allowed to look over these past files and take copies of such portions as might seem necessary, or whether such inspection would be inadmissible. On March 1, I received an answer from Postmaster-General Wanamaker, that the department was governed by a well-established precedent, which denied to the public the privilege of inspecting papers in appointment cases for many sound reasons, in furtherance of which such papers had invariably been deemed privileged and confidential with the department. It will be observed that I asked nothing more than to inspect past files of the daily bulletin in the office of the general superintendent of the railway mail service, and that I am told that such papers have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential.

Thinking there must be some misapprehension on the part of the postmaster-general, I wrote him on March 6 that the files I desired to look over were the files of the daily bulletin containing lists of appointments and men removed, and not any other files, and that I understood these were given to the public press, and did not see how they could be deemed confidential. I stated that all I desired to see was a record of the removals and appointments, and not of any other files or papers relating in any other manner to such removals and appointments. To this I received an answer from the postmaster-general, dated March 11, politely requesting me to call upon him at my earliest convenience. On the afternoon of March 14 I accordingly called upon the postmaster-general, but he declined to permit an inspection of these files of the daily bulletin, telling me I had no business to see them.

On April 26, 1889, Mr. William Potts, secretary of the league, asked Mr. Wanamaker for information as to the names of postmasters who have died, resigned, or been removed since the incoming of the present administration, and the names of those who have been appointed during the same period, and also their offices. Mr. Wanamaker replied May 10 that the information asked was furnished daily through the press in announcing the appointments made, and that the changes were furnished in manifold to the representatives of the press, embracing the name of the office and the former official, the cause of the change, whether from resignation, death, improvement of the service, or removal, and the name of the new appointee. Mr. Wanamaker said that it would be impossible for the working force of the department to furnish the special information sought, and that it would be a violation of the regulations to admit outsiders to perform any work in connection with the official and legal papers of the department.

On June 18, 1889, Mr. J. Hemsley Johnson, the editor of the *Civil Service Reformer*, a newspaper published in Baltimore, wrote a letter to the postmaster-general asking for the total number of removals in the railway mail service between March 4 and June 1, 1889. Mr. Wanamaker answered that there was a daily statement given to the public press of all the changes made, and added the following: "As we understand it, your paper has thus far given scarcely anything but misrepresentations by way of alleged facts to the people in discussing this question. We are very much gratified to see this change in your disposition, and a desire to deal frankly and fairly, and to come to first sources to gain official facts before taking up official discussion. Therefore, if you are ready to begin the discussion on the basis of truth and candor, and willing to correct the false statements heretofore made in your journal, and to say frankly to the public that said previous information was wrong, and that you henceforth intend to discuss matters connected with the postal service intelligently and fairly, on actual official data, we should be glad to furnish you with any information at our command."

I enclose copies of this correspondence for your inspection.

Without considering now whether the record of removals and appointments is not so far a public record as to entitle any citizen to its inspection at such reasonable hours as may be consistent with the business of the department, permit me to say that the refusals to allow it ought to be more consistent. Mr. Wanamaker refuses to allow me to look over the files of appointments and removals because such papers have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential, and yet he tells Mr. Potts and the editor of the *Reformer* that they are furnished daily to the public press. He says to Mr. Potts that it would be impossible for the force of the office to furnish the special information, and a violation of the regulations to admit outsiders to obtain it; and yet he says to the editor of the *Reformer* that, if the latter will retract certain unspecified statements made in that journal, and say that the *Reformer* intends to discuss matters connected with the postal service on actual official data, he will be glad to furnish that paper with any information at his command.

I think you will see that these statements are not consistent, and before publishing this correspondence I respectfully submit it for such consideration as it may seem to you to deserve.

Very respectfully,

WM. DUDLEY FOULKE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, March 19, 1890. }

Hon. Wm. D. Foulke, Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR MR. FOULKE—The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst., with the accompanying copies of correspondence. Very truly yours,

E. W. HALFORD, Private Secretary.

Your committee is of the opinion that the lists of postmasters removed and appointed ought to be a public record,—that any person dealing with the department should have the right to know who is the lawfully commissioned officer, when he was appointed, and when his term would expire, and ought not to be required to establish a special interest before being permitted to inspect this list, any more than if it were the record of a court of justice or of a legislative body. If the postmaster-general has the discretionary right to refuse such inspection, the exercise of this right can not fail to incur the distrust of those who believe that the public service should be administered with such publicity as not to shrink from examination.

The past numbers of the daily bulletin issued to the press had become scattered and

lost before your committee was appointed; and it is impossible thus to obtain a complete official list of the changes made, especially in relation to fourth-class post-offices. The results of our inquiries will perhaps show why the postmaster-general considered it necessary to refuse access to this information. The mere number of such removals (which the department offered to furnish) would of itself throw no light upon the motives for which they were made; and without the names of the offices, of the men removed, and of the new appointees, it would be manifestly impossible for us to obtain information of value. We have, however, been able to obtain this information so far as the changes in presidential post-offices are concerned, in other ways; and, if it is not derived wholly from the postmaster-general's own list, it is because he declined to furnish it.

A partial enumeration of the changes in presidential offices, those made between March 4 and July 1, 1889, had been already given in the report of the postmaster-general for 1889. It is as follows (see p. 19):

By deaths.....	24
By resignations.....	176
By expirations.....	105
By offices becoming presidential.....	119
By removals for various reasons.....	136
Total	560

And the report says of these removals, "55 were removed upon inspectors' and other official reports, 23 others had served over four years, 22 others had an average service of nearly four years, and the remaining 36 were removed to secure better service." This report reveals a curious system resorted to in the post-office department to explain removals. In the first place, changes made by resignations and by expirations of terms are excluded before these removals are counted. Then we are told that among the men removed 23 had served over four years (although the term for which they were commissioned had not expired), and "22 others had an average service of nearly four years." This is certainly a peculiar reason for the removal of an efficient postmaster before the expiration of his term.

If A, B, C and D are four unexceptionable postmasters, and A has been in office two years, and B, C and D have been in three years and eleven months, this will give an average term of "nearly four years"; but it is a rather poor reason for the removal of even B, C and D, to say nothing of A, who has served only two years, and whose average is thus extended by this involuntary companionship. There is no claim that these men are removed for improper conduct, nor even to secure a better service; for those classes are specially mentioned. According to the postmaster-general's report, each of these removals appears to be without other reason than the iniquity of serving an average term with some other unknown person of "nearly four years."

But the statements in this report go further: "55 were removed upon inspectors' and other official reports; while the remaining 36 were

removed to secure a better service." It thus appears that as to this remainder there were no official reports in reference to the good of the service; and the information upon this point must have come from unofficial sources. We shall examine hereafter somewhat in detail the character of such information and the way in which these removals were made.

The nominations to presidential post-offices are sent by the President to the senate, and appear scattered through the records of congress. An examination of these records has enabled us to ascertain the changes in these offices with substantial accuracy. The changes in presidential offices made during the first year, as given by Mr. Clarkson, first assistant postmaster-general, are as follows:

1. On deaths.....	48
2. On resignations.....	374
3. On expirations.....	521
4. On offices becoming presidential.....	227
5. Removals:	
A. On inspectors' and other government officials' reports.....	298
B. Upon expiration of four years' service and second commission not yet expired.....	201
C. Upon undoubted evidences of mismanagement, without reports.....	114
613	
Total.....	1,783

The entire number of presidential postmasters, according to the report of the postmaster-general on July 1, 1889, was 2,662 (see p. 12.) Two hundred and twenty-seven offices became presidential between March 4, 1889, and March 4, 1890, according to Mr. Clarkson's statement above. Of these, 119 had become presidential on July 1, 1889, according to the postmaster-general's report above referred to. One hundred and eight offices therefore became presidential after July 1, 1889, and before March 4, 1890, making the total number of presidential offices on March 4, 1890, 2,270. It is thus shown that over 64 per cent. of these officers were changed during the first year of the present administration. The statement made by the post-office department, however, indicates that only 613 of such changes, or about 23 per cent., have been made by the removal of the incumbents, and that the remaining changes have been upon deaths, resignations, expirations of terms, and upon the respective offices becoming presidential. It will be noticed that the number of changes owing to the death of the incumbent is only 48. The changes on account of the offices becoming presidential are in their nature very similar to removals, since there would appear to be no better reason why an efficient fourth-class postmaster should be displaced when the business of his office increases so as to make it presidential, than why the same change should be made if the office had always been presidential. If such change is made for political reasons merely, it is equally a violation of the promise that "fidelity and efficiency" should be "the only sure tenure of office."

We determined, however, in view of the graver evils resulting from changes made during the incumbents' four years' term to confine our attention to the more important cases of resignations and removals, and to ascertain,—

1. Whether the alleged resignations were voluntary or were made under pressure for political reasons; and

2. Whether the removals were, as alleged in the above statements of the postmaster-general and first assistant postmaster-general, made upon official reports and upon other undoubted evidences of mismanagement and "for the good of the service," or whether these terms were used as a cloak to cover removals made for political reasons.

Your committee, therefore, addressed to each postmaster removed or resigned, as well as to his successor, a communication calling for the facts regarding the change. The following was addressed to the postmaster removed or resigned:

DEAR SIR—We understand that you were displaced from the office of ——— on the ——— day of ———. Would you be willing to state to this committee the circumstances of this change?

1st. Were any causes assigned for it? if so, what were they, and by whom assigned? If you resigned was your resignation requested or suggested? if so, by whom? If in writing, will you kindly inclose a copy?

2d. By whom were you succeeded?

3d. To what political party do you belong? To what party does your successor belong?

4th. What political services did you render while in office? What position, if any, did you hold in your party organization? Were you connected with any newspaper? if so, give its name.

5th. What political services, if any, did your successor render in the last campaign or previously? What position, if any, did he hold in the party organization to which he belonged? Was he connected with any newspaper? if so, give the name of such paper.

6th. Do you know upon whose recommendation or influence, if any, you were displaced or your successor appointed?

7th. Give any facts known to you regarding the motive or reasons for your displacement and his appointment.

8th. When did your term of office expire?

9th. Please state as specifically as possible any facts you know regarding the efficiency of the administration of the office before and since your removal.

10th. Who was your predecessor, and how long had he held office?

11th. When were you appointed?

When the answer to such communication was received, we embodied the substance of such answer in a letter to the new appointee, with the request that if in any respect the information was incorrect, or he desired to add any other facts in reference to the change, he would communicate the same to your committee. In all cases where the postmaster removed or resigned did not answer our inquiries, the appointee was addressed in the following letter:

DEAR SIR—We understand you were appointed to the office of ——— on the ——— day of ———, in the place of ———.

Previous to your appointment had you any experience in the duties of the office? If so, what was it?

What political claims, if any, had you upon the office?

Did you take part in the last campaign? What position did you hold in the party organization, if any? Are you a member of the republican party? Were you connected with any newspaper (if so, what was it? and in what capacity?)

Upon whose recommendation or influence was the appointment made? What were the circumstances which led to your appointment?

When did your predecessor's term of office terminate?

In thus getting information from both sides, and giving both postmasters a chance to be heard, we believed that we would arrive at the truth as nearly as it was possible to do so by written correspondence. The answers to these communications were filed, tabulated and classified; and from these answers we are enabled to report, it is believed, with substantial accuracy in regard to the system pursued. We made these inquiries in 927 cases, 574 being removals and 353 resignations. We have received answers in 558 cases (a little more than 60 per cent. of the whole number concerning which inquiry was made), giving more or less fully the information asked for. In 321 of these cases the answers came from the postmasters removed or resigned, in 90 cases from the successors only, and in 147 cases from both. Shortly after we commenced addressing inquiries to the new appointees, First Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson, in an interview sent through the associated press to all the leading papers in the country, said:

We are receiving letters from newly appointed postmasters who have been addressed in this way. The inquiries sent out, in every instance that I have seen, show that the case has been pre-judged and the change made assumed to be wrong. It is evidently an effort to get statements from removed and disappointed officials for political use, and some of the letters show an intention to try to induce the new postmaster to make statements of defence where no defence is needed. The postmasters seem to realize that they have reports to make only to their superior officers. No political capital can be made out of these changes. The President has made no removals except for cause—for delinquency in official duties, inefficiency of service, or violation of law. He has refused to make any changes for partisan reasons. Changes made for cause have been on the reports of inspectors, showing a demand for the change in the interest of the public service.

It is hardly necessary to say that if the first assistant postmaster-general had desired to convey to these appointees an intimation that they were not to answer these inquiries, or, if they did answer, what the tenor of the answer should be, he could not well have used words more aptly chosen for the purpose.

RESIGNATIONS.

We received answers in 143 cases to our inquiries as to resignations. In 95 of these it appeared that such resignations were voluntary, and in 48 cases that they were not voluntary, but were requested by the congressman of the district or by other influential parties, who were believed to have the disposal of the office in their hands. In some cases inducements were offered in the shape of a postponement of the time for the change or an offer by the proposed successor to pay a good price for the fixtures of the office when the appointment should be made; and sometimes the resignation was procured by threats of immediate removal. Among the instances of such resignations, we would call attention to the following letters from J. P. Dolliver, M. C., to Patrick Cane, postmaster at Fort Dodge, Ia., written ten days after the inauguration of President Harrison:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11, 1889.
Mr. P. Cain, Fort Dodge, Ia.:

DEAR SIR—Will you have the kindness to forward to me, to be filed in the department, your resignation as postmaster at Fort Dodge, to take effect on the appointment of your successor?

Very truly, J. P. DOLLIVER.

P. S.—If this is done, your successor will not be named till July 1.

J. P. D.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1889.
Mr. P. Cain, Fort Dodge, Iowa:

DEAR SIR—Your letter enclosing your resignation as postmaster at Fort Dodge, to take effect July 1, is received. I thank you for the promptness and willingness with which you have decided to lay down the cares of an office on the change of administration.

Hoping you may be as successful in your future political moves as you have been in the past,
I am yours very truly, J. P. DOLLIVER.

The following letter from M. S. Brewer, M. C., to Charles Cowan, postmaster at Ovid, Mich., speaks for itself:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,
PONTIAC, April 13, 1889.

Charles Cowan, Esq., Ovid, Michigan:

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 17th duly received, and contents noted. My dear fellow, you last fall were a very "offensive partisan;" in fact, it was the worst case of that fatal malady that I had knowledge of in this district. *I feel it my duty to have a change made in postmaster at your place as soon as convenient. There will be many cases in presidential offices where I shall feel perfectly willing to let the applicants hold their time out; but in your case you seemed to stake your political or rather your official life on the result of the election, and the tide of fortune moved against you. I have no personal or revengeful feeling in the matter, but deem it my duty to do what I can to make the change suggested. I am in no great hurry about the matter, and do not wish to oppress you in any way. Permit me to suggest that, if you will place your resignation in my hands to take effect at the close of the present quarter, the 30th of June, I will arrange it that you can hold on till then. I simply make this suggestion for your consideration. I shall start for Washington to-morrow night, and would be glad to know about the matter before leaving.*

I am truly yours, M. S. BREWER.

P. S.—This will be kept confidential, should you wish it.

(The italics in all the letters in this report are ours.) The postmaster resigned.

The following is the correspondence between George W. Andrews, former postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., and George W. Smith, M. C.:

1922 H STREET, N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 20, 1889.

Hon. George W. Andrews, Murphysboro, Ill.:

FRIEND ANDREWS—So far, I believe, your conduct and mine has been in keeping with the friendly relations existing between us. Circumstances now are such that I am compelled to act a little earlier than anticipated in reference to the post-office at Murphysboro. Your conduct toward me has been manly, gentlemanly, and honorable. The favor will not be forgotten. By your voluntary resignation, placed confidentially in my hands, you placed me in a position to favor a political opponent and a personal friend. I have carefully guarded your future as I would wish you to guard mine. Matters have arisen, personal to myself, which absolutely demand immediate action on my part. Those matters I can not make public. I desire to have the appointment of a postmaster at Murphysboro at once. In the nature of things, you know it will be several days after an appointment is made before the office could possibly change hands. On receipt of this wire me at my ex-

pense O. K., and I will at once settle the matter. Do not ask the reasons for such a request, as you can as a politician readily account for it in various ways. Your record will be clear. Treat this communication in the same manner you would wish such a one from yourself to me treated. Wire immediately on receipt of this. On receipt of such dispatch I will understand that your resignation already sent me, which by its terms was to take effect July 30, is, by your consent, to take effect immediately.

It is raining very hard here. In fact, it rains about one-half the time. With kindest regards, believe me, very truly, Your friend,

GEORGE W. SMITH.

Copy of telegram.

May 23, 1889.

To G. W. SMITH,

1922 H Street, N. W.,

Washington, D. C.

You have my permission to O. K. it, if desired.

C. W. ANDREWS.

J. P. Gaspar, postmaster at Kingsley, Iowa, resigned on January 30, 1890. The circumstances leading to his resignation are clearly shown in the correspondence between him and I. S. Struble, M. C., of which he has sent us the following copy:

LE MARS, IA., Aug. 26, 1889.

Peter Gaspar, Esq., Kingsley, Ia.:

DEAR SIR—Within the last eight or ten days such movements have been made in relation to the Kingsley post office as convinces me that it will be wise for you to look the inevitable in the face and prepare for a change. If you see proper to tender your resignation quietly, I will forward the same without recommendation, thus leaving you to be the apparent mover in the case, and willingly surrender the office you have so acceptably filled during your term.

One other potent feature in the case is the fact, as I am advised, that the parties in whose store the office has been and is now kept, are defendants in a case brought by one of the highest authorities in the state to enjoin them from selling liquors unlawfully. This, as you see, gives me good ground to recommend your removal. I prefer, however, that you should resign, if you desire to do so, rather than to recommend your removal. Let me hear from you by return mail, and believe me,

Yours very truly,

I. S. STRUBLE.

Of this Mr. Gaspar writes us:

My reply to Struble was, in substance, that I would like to know the cause of my proposed removal (in justice to myself), and would rest the case (on my part) with the republican patrons of this office.

Here is Mr. Struble's second letter:

LE MARS, IA., Aug. 31, 1889.

J. P. Gaspar, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—Replying to your favor of the 28th inst., will say that as yet I am not prepared to advise you upon what ground your removal may be recommended. It has not been decided to recommend; but action in that direction is quite probable at an early date.

I am strongly of the opinion that it would be better all round, and just as well for you upon any substantial point, if you tender your resignation rather than have charges preferred against you, as I am informed there will be soon. Yours truly,

I. S. STRUBLE.

Copy of letter written to one John McIntosh:

LE MARS, IA., August 30, 1889.

John McIntosh, Esq., Kingsley, Ia.:

DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of yours of the 28th inst., replying to which I will say that it only adds to my embarrassment, already sufficient by reason of having to choose between republican applicants for post-office, to be informed that some of my republican friends in and about Kingsley are desirous of having the present postmaster retained, and especially if such friends will allow themselves to become to any considerable extent concerned in the matter. The

line on which I have acted is this—to make no move myself with a view to having democratic post office incumbents displaced by republicans until such time as the republican patrons of the office should themselves lead off in attempts to have a removal and a new appointment, or four years from appointment had expired. This has been my position in relation to the Kingsley office; and I have kept quiet about it until a number of republicans became active in the matter, and evinced a strong desire that a change might occur.

My opinion, after some experience about these post-office matters, is that, when republican patrons to any considerable extent begin to act relative to a change, the sooner thereafter the case can be disposed of, on a basis of the expression of the republican patrons, the better for the party and community; and so I feel now in relation to the Kingsley case. The sooner a new man is appointed there, the sooner the community will recover from the agitation and possible excitement in relation to the appointment of the most important official of the town. I wish the republican patrons of the Kingsley post-office, however they may appreciate Mr. Gaspar, might take a sensible view of the situation, and come as near as possible uniting in the thought of an early disposition of the case in the interest of the party and the peace of the community in that part of the country. It is my understanding that substantial charges will be preferred against Mr. Gaspar, and, if such shall be sent to me, I will, according to my uniform custom in such cases, consider them, and make such indorsement thereon as may at the time seem right. *If no formal charges are preferred, I shall, within a comparatively short time, decide between the applicants, and recommend the one who, in my opinion, has the greatest weight of republican sentiment in his support, not being governed by number merely. This is my feeling now, supported, as it is, by the strong belief, based, as I have indicated, on some experience, that the most satisfactory way out of a post-office controversy is as early a decision in the case as can intelligently be reached upon consultation with the republican patrons. Shall be pleased to hear from you on this or any other subject at any time or to meet you personally.* Yours truly, I. S. STRUBLE.

James S. Catherwood, former postmaster at Hoopston, Ill., writes that "Joseph G. Cannon (M. C.) was here looking for a cause to remove me. I tendered my resignation on condition that they would buy the fixtures." Charles W. Warner, the new appointee, writes: "Catherwood, knowing he had only six months to serve, was anxious to sell his outfit to some responsible republican successor. Mr. Cannon (M. C.) called an election. There were six candidates. I received one hundred and fifty-eight out of three hundred and ninety-one votes. Catherwood thereupon resigned, and I was appointed."

Another method is shown by a letter from Mr. Frank C. Morse, the postmaster appointed by the present administration at Colfax, Wash. He says:

The history of the matter is this: Mr. Berry was sheriff of the county and a candidate for re-election. Being defeated at the polls, he circulated a petition asking his appointment as postmaster. Five days before his term of office expired, Mr. Berry started to Washington with his petition, taking the resignation of Mr. La Rue (the former postmaster) with him. How he obtained this resignation I do not know; but I was afterwards shown a copy of a contract made between Mr. Berry and Mr. La Rue, in which Mr. Berry agreed to pay Mr. La Rue \$1,000 for the office fixtures in case Mr. Berry should be appointed postmaster, and I have always believed this procured the resignation. All this occurred before I had taken any steps toward securing the appointment. In fact, I knew nothing of Mr. La Rue's intended resignation; nor did I know that Mr. Berry

had started for Washington until he was gone some four days, the whole matter being kept as secret as possible. As soon as it was learned that Mr. La Rue had resigned, Mr. Fullerton and others of my friends circulated a petition asking for my appointment. Mr. Fullerton procured a second resignation from Mr. La Rue; and my petition, Mr. La Rue's resignation, and a copy of the contract above mentioned, were sent to Mr. Allen [John B. Allen, then M. C.], and my appointment as postmaster followed in due course of time.

W. N. Hensley, formerly postmaster at Columbus, Neb., and now county judge of Platt county, informs us that he was told on various occasions by the leaders of the republican party that he would be removed first in May, 1889, and again in July, and finally by the confidential political advisers of Mr. Dorsey (the republican congressman of the district), that his removal would be ordered about the first of September, and that charges would be preferred against him. He says that, upon request, he was permitted to see such charges, and found same to be that he was appointed to the office for political services rendered his party, and for no other reason. These charges were signed by the man who became his successor and a few others. He says, "I was led to believe that my removal was only a question of a very short time, unless I resigned."

The statement made by Carl Kramer, the present postmaster, is: "Mr. Hensley resigned because he knew *he could get a better price for his fixtures then than at the end of his term*, and mainly because he wanted to enter at once the race for county judge." Mr. Kramer does not deny or qualify the statement as to the charges made by him for his predecessor's removal.

Mr. W. T. McGinness, postmaster at Minden, Neb., says: "Why I resigned was because W. D. Hart (my successor), had everything his own way. It was 'take so much, and resign at once, or I will not take your outfit.' I was too poor a man not to accept." A letter of inquiry from the committee to Mr. Hart failed to elicit an answer.

From such instances as the above, the conclusion is obvious that many of these so-called resignations were not such in fact, but that the changes thus made were, in spirit and essence, removals for political purposes.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. D. FOULKE, *Chairman*.
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.
RICHARD H. DANA,
WAYNE MACVEAGH.
SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

GEO. WM. CURTIS TO THE LEAGUE*

I salute the city in which we are assembled. Founded upon Puritan principles by Puritan courage, foremost in the great controversy of the colonies with the crown and of the Union with slavery, from the Arbella to the tea-ships, from John Winthrop to John Albion Andrew, from Sir Henry Vane to Ralph Waldo Emerson, her voice has been the voice of progressive liberty and her history the story of advancing civilization. No good American cause but Boston has been its champion. Here James Otis thundered against the writs of assistance and Samuel Adams defied the king. Through these streets Joseph Warren hastened to Bunker Hill, and from yonder common marched the first Union regiment of the civil war. Here Adams and Quincy pleaded, and

*The address of the president at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, Boston, October 1, 1890.

Channing taught, and Garrison demanded immediate emancipation. Here, as the mighty debate that shook the Union deepened, Sumner besought Webster to heed the changing aspects of the time and add to his great title, Defender of the Constitution, the greater name, Defender of Humanity. Here, when Webster declined the call, his party fell, the party which had been the organized political force of the conscience and intelligence of New England. To the moral firmness and practical wisdom of the lineal successors of the revolutionary whigs, the conscience whigs of Boston and Massachusetts, the beneficent national results of the last half of the closing century in this country are largely due.

Boston, therefore, as the American nursery of political reform and of the fundamental American principle that good morals and good politics are inseparable, has seen all the vicissitudes of early reform and of uncompromising reformers. Here they have passed through all the maladies incident to infancy in reforms as in manhood. They have taken all the degrees of obloquy, ridicule, wrath, scorn, persecution and social ostracism. But reforms and reformers have survived. Hostility has changed to homage, ridicule has become respect, anger is admiration now, and the hatred of an hour is transfigured into endless gratitude.

Indeed some of our fellow-citizens are of opinion that reform in this country has done its work so thoroughly that nothing remains to do—that we are so great, free, intelligent and prosperous a people that it is absolutely Pharisaic and unpatriotic to try to point out specks upon the sun, and that for every little American infelicity we ought to be consoled by the misery of foreigners, the military rigors of Germany, or the Siberian terrors of Russia. There is an amusing readiness to suspect in all criticism of ourselves a lurking preference of other lands, which is much like supposing that a demand for clean streets in Boston implies a secret belief that the streets of New York are cleaner.

Undoubtedly we are a very great, a very free, a very intelligent and a very prosperous nation. Our friends, the other great nations over the sea, declare that we are always boisterously saying so; that we are perpetually and offensively crowing our Yankee doodle-doo, and are unnecessarily fond of playing Jack Horner, putting in our thumb and pulling out our plumb and vociferating that we are a very great and good boy. Undoubtedly our critics state the case fairly. We are constantly proclaiming that undeniable truth, and the best book that was ever written about us, Mr. Bryce's American Commonwealth, says distinctly in the very ear of our elder brother Bull, "He is a very remarkable boy." Our older European friends who complain that we are vain-glorious forget that they, too, celebrate their own superiority. The Frenchman who does not proclaim the glory of France, the Briton who does not loudly sing that Britannia rules the waves and much of the shore, is not a typical Frenchman or Englishman. Thackeray says in one of his early papers, meditating in Paris upon an impressive historical picture commemorating an act of French heroism, which never occurred, "Thus the great truth is handed down from father to son, that a Briton, a Frenchman, an Ashantee, a Hohenzollernsismaringenite is superior to all the rest of the world, and by this truth the dullards of the respective nations swear, and by it statesmen govern."

GOOD AMERICANS AND BAD.

Undoubtedly we are a great, intelligent, and prosperous nation, but it does not follow that there are not immense abuses in our political methods, dangerous tendencies in our public life, and charlatans, demagogues and rogues among our public men. Those who acknowledge it, who propose to reform dangerous tendencies, and who pitilessly expose rogues of every degree, are not bad Americans, but good Americans; they are not pessimists, but patriots. Because we are the youngest born and best beloved, the very Benjamin of Liberty; because we have done much shall we scornfully deny that there is anything more to do? Mr. Choate tells a story of a good old federalist—perhaps he mentions another party name—who was reproached for refusing to support, let us say, the Alien and Sedition bill

"What!" remonstrated his friends, "have you deserted, have you apostatized, have you lost your pride and abandoned your principles, are you no longer a federalist?" "Abandoned my principles," he answered, "I am a better federalist than ever, but I don't see why, because I am a true-blue federalist, I should be a darned fool *all* the time." We are justly proud that we are Americans, but one chief source of our pride ought to be the fact that we see our faults clearly, speak of them plainly and urgently appeal to each other to reform them, in perfect confidence that the sons will not shame the fathers by dread of heroic self-correction.

Justly proud of our country we may be, but no sensible American is proud of a disposition in congress to make merchandise of patriotism, or to offer under any pretense to buy with money the votes of large classes of citizens, or to tolerate without rebuke conduct intolerable among gentlemen and honorable men. No patriotic American is proud of the control of a state by lottery gamblers, nor of the terrorized suppression of voters nor of their coercion by employers. No self-respecting American is proud of elections in doubtful states carried by "soap" or by buying mules or by marshalling voters in blocks of five, nor of national legislation palpably in the interest of owners of commodities and of classes of citizens. He is not proud when, seeing in the great cities of other countries municipal order, cleanliness and economy, he sees the local government of of the greatest city in his own country under the control of its ignorance, venality and vice, and not of its intelligence, industry and public spirit; nor is his American pride consoled by the remark that the city has just such a government as it chooses and deserves. He is not proud when he sees reputable and upright Americans, from some fancied political necessity, acquiescing in the party leadership of those who have no answer for the most damaging and detailed personal accusations of a kind and under circumstances unprecedented in our history. He is not proud when he sees a degrading and demoralizing system of appointments and removals in the public service such as might be supposed to prevail in Costa Rica or Honduras, in Turkey or the Asian provinces of Russia, extolled as especially American. He is not proud when a senator of the United States says in his place upon occasion of the impeachment of a high public officer, that he has heard the taunt from foreigners that the only product of our institutions in which we surpass all other nations beyond question is our corruption. Nor is he proud when he is told that in a republic his only choice of action is symbolized by Thaddeus Stevens's reported question in a contested election case in the house, "Well, then, which is *our* damned rascal?" Every American, I repeat, is justly proud of being an American, but he is not proud of such things as these. What he is justly proud of is the American willingness to acknowledge such abuses when they exist and the American determination to correct them.

I am not saying that other times were better than ours. Public abuses and party spirit and patriotic despondency are as old as political society. Eighty years ago William Wirt said he sought in vain for a man fit for the presidency or for great responsibility. Chancellor Livingston died in 1813, but not until he had said that more talent and learning were demanded in congress. I doubt if any member of congress now is of the chancellor's opinion, and if we should venture to regret the national shame and disgrace of certain scenes in the capitol, there would be a prompt chorus to reply that congress is as good as it ever was. Perhaps it is, but I never heard that it was any consolation to a drowning man to be told that one of his ancestors was hung. If an observer were disposed to wish that some things were different in congress, he might not feel that he was answered satisfactorily by being told that Chancellor Livingston wished the same thing eighty years ago. I am not now extolling the earlier day nor praising the superior virtue of our fathers. But it is not a noble people which excuses its own faults by exposing its fathers' shame. Happily time idealizes the past as distance softens the sharp outlines of reced-

ing mountains, and it is always well to measure ourselves, if not with our actual historic ancestors, then with what our filial and patriotic reverence believes them to have been. The heroes who traced their descent from gods were spurred by a divine emulation. It will do us in New York no harm when we come to nominate a governor to remember that John Jay and DeWitt Clinton have been governors of New York, nor are we Americans less likely to select a fitting man for the Presidency, if we recall that Washington and the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison and Abraham Lincoln have been our Presidents.

CORRUPTION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Again, because I mention things which are disgraceful and dangerous in our own country, I am not saying that other countries are more illustrative of a higher public welfare and private happiness than ours. For myself, I have seen Naples, but I prefer New York. I know no place in which I would rather live than the place in which I do live. But I do not therefore think Tammany Hall the gate of heaven. When we acknowledge and decry an evil tendency in our time and among ourselves, we do not deny its existence elsewhere at other times. In this country we are largely men of English stock. Our political traditions, usages and spirit are mainly English. Now every man in any land who speaks the English tongue and is sprung of English blood, is, or ought to be, honestly proud of his great lineage of constitutional liberty and if he be worthy of it he does not deplore his political origin. But enriched by other blood and under other friendly conditions we have grafted the English stock, as we believe, with a fresher life, until on the American continent it spread into a wider sweep of hospitable shade and towers more loftily toward an equal heaven. Yet there is an American puerility which scoffs at the healthy and vigorous American exposure and rebuke of American evils and dangers, as due to overweening admiration and envy of what our fathers truly and fondly called the mother-country. But I confess that it strikes me differently.

There are just reasons for American admiration of England, but superior political virtue is not one of them. Lord Chatham paid a famous tribute to the continental congress, and the most upright modern statesman of France, Guizot, agreed with him that no nation had ever such a group of able and high-minded public men to guide its first steps as the people of the American republic. The force of that impulse has not yet expired. It is the spirit of those men, not of their British opponents, which stimulates the American protest against political corruption. When I hear of buying and selling votes, of the recklessness of party spirit, of jobs and bribery, of the prostitution and degradation of the public service, of political corruption and charlatanry, I do not recall the men of the continental congress and the constitutional convention, but I remember Walpole and Newcastle, and George the Third's agents turning parliament into a market, and Edmund Burke's denunciations of the rotten boroughs and his trumpet-call for reform, and the more recent and amusing melodrama of Lord Jingo Beaconsfield, and to my English critic who assures me of his poignant grief at seeing in my country what I also behold, I can only reply, "So English you know." And to the shallow, swaggering American who decries the protest as a feeble imitation of British fashion, I say, read the history of your own country and try to understand American manhood!

WHO ARE THE PESSIMISTS?

But then I must honestly add that grappling vigorously with domestic abuses of every kind and effectively correcting them, is, also, "so English, you know," and in nothing more than in this disposition do we Americans illustrate the tradition of our race and prove our descent from the champion of constitutional liberty. Whether other times and countries were better or worse than ours, our pride in America would be a paltry emotion if it did not lift us to scorn such things as I have mentioned and highly to resolve that in our time and in our country they shall cease to be. Like the cruel abuse of prisoners and the insane, like the noisome filth of cities and the unpitied wretchedness of poverty, if they were to be

expected in the eighteenth century, they are disgraceful in the nineteenth. If they were good enough for Europe and the colonies, they are too bad for America and the United States. If they were good enough for our fathers, they are not good enough for their sons.

No American, it seems to me, is so unworthy the name as he who attempts to extenuate or defend any national abuse, who denies or tries to hide it, or who derides as pessimists and Pharisees those who indignantly disown it and raise the cry of reform. If a man proposes the redress of any public wrong he is asked severely whether he considers himself so much wiser and better than other men that he must disturb the existing order and pose as a saint? If he denounces an evil, he is exhorted to beware of spiritual pride. If he points out a dangerous public tendency or censures the action of a party, he is advised to cultivate good humor, to look on the bright side, to remember that the world is a very good world, at least the best going, and very much better than it was a hundred years ago.

Undoubtedly it is, but would it have been better if everybody had then insisted that it was the best of all possible worlds, and that we must not despond if sometimes a cloud gathered in the sky, or a Benedict Arnold appeared in the patriot army, or even a Judas Iscariot among the chosen twelve? Christ, I think, did not doubt the beloved disciple nor the coming of his kingdom, although he knew and said that the betrayer sat with him at table. I believe we do not read that Washington either thought it wiser that Arnold's treachery should be denied or belittled, or that he or any other patriot despaired, although the treason was so grave. Julius Caesar, or Marlborough, or Frederick, would hardly be called great generals if they had rebuked the soldier who reported that their lines were beginning to break. When the sea is pouring into the ship through an open seam everybody is aware of it. But it is then too late. It is the watch who reports the first starting of the seam who saves the ship.

It is an ill sign when honorable public men find in exposure and denunciation of public abuses evidence of the Pharisaic disposition and a tendency in the critic to think himself holier than other men. Was Martin Luther, cheerfully defending his faith against the princes of Christendom, a Pharisee? Were the English Puritans, iconoclasts in church and state but saviors of liberty, pessimists? Were Patrick Henry demanding liberty or death, and Wendell Phillips in the night of slavery murmuring the music of the morning, birds of ill omen? Was Abraham Lincoln saying of the American Union, a house divided against itself can not stand, assuming to be holier than other Americans? To win a cheap cheer I have known even intelligent men to sneer at the scholar in politics. But in a republic founded upon the common school such a sneer seems to me to show a momentary loss of common sense. It implies that the political opinions of educated men are unimportant and that ignorance is a safer counsellor of the republic. If the gentleman who in this very hall last stooped to that sneer had asked himself what would have been the fortune of this state and this country without its educated leadership from Samuel Adams to Charles Sumner, both sons of Massachusetts, both scholars in politics from Harvard College, he might have spared his country, his party, and himself, the essential recreancy to America and to manhood which lies in a sneer at education. To the cant about the Pharisaism of reform there is one short and final answer. The man who tells the truth is a holier man than the liar. The man who does not steal is a better man than the thief. The senator from Massachusetts declaring that politics are moral principles applied to public affairs, is a truer patriot and a nobler American than the senator from Kansas declaring that the decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign.

CORRUPTION IN BOTH THE PARTIES.

Our plea for civil service reform rests upon the actual situation. Other public questions than that of political corruption engage the public mind, but none takes precedence of it in importance. We say of it what Dunning said of the power of the Crown, it has

increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. Under our government reform can be accomplished only by party administration. Yet the chief obstruction is the fact that the evil is common to both parties. No intelligent man would seriously allege, whatever partisan orators and newspapers may assume, that buying votes or prostituting the whole power of the public patronage in every form of appointment and removal, of salaries, of contracts, of judicial references, of lucrative opportunities, are practices confined to one party, or that what is known as the machine of one party is better than that of the other. The old democratic Plaquemine frauds in Louisiana were like the old whig pipe-laying frauds in New York. The modern republican "soap" and "fat-frying," and the money raised for secret campaign funds of which no account is ever rendered, belong to the same system of corruption as the modern democratic mule buyings and money barrels, and Tammany sales of judicial nominations. These things are not distinctively republican or democratic. They are the common crimes of parties, the common disgrace of the national name, the common danger of American institutions, the common reproach of American citizenship, and it is the common duty of that citizenship to arrest and correct them. Reform of the civil service is one of the plainest, most direct, and most effective methods of correction because it reaches the great fundamental corruption fund, the enormous wages of public employes and the vast opportunities of public contracts, because it disbands the organized office-holders, the political janizaries of the republic, all constituting a system of coercion and bribery universally practiced, with the authority of long tradition and of national acquiescence.

The government itself in this way sanctions corruption. It leads the way in public demoralization and on the greatest scale tempts to the commission of crimes which its own laws punish. By treating the emoluments of public employment as rewards for the discharge of the common duties of citizens, the party of administration, whatever it may be, corrupts the motives of political action, promotes cheating and violence at the polls, and resorts to an insidious form of the bribery which the laws condemn. If a man may properly sell his vote for five hundred dollars in the guise of a public office, or fifty thousand dollars in the form of a job, he may as properly sell it for five dollars in cash. When a party practically promises a general sack of the public salary fund in the event of its success, it appeals to the most venal motives, and invites votes not by faith in its purpose to advance the public welfare, but by hope of individual pecuniary gain. Partisan prostitution of the public service is radical treachery to popular government, because it makes private interest and not public welfare the motive of political action. If, as shrewd observers hold, the most obvious change in American character within the century is the decline of public spirit, one of its most fruitful causes is the spoils system, and to the same source—the expectation of reward for the discharge of the public duty which rests upon every citizen—may be traced the distorted and demoralized public sentiment which largely prevails in regard to military pensions and reckless public expenditure. To argue that the common duty of American citizenship in peace or war will not be discharged without bribery of place or money is to acknowledge that honest and efficient government is not in itself the highest and only legitimate reward, and to admit that corruption has already done its fatal work. There can be no more hopeless pessimism than this, and no greater treachery to the fundamental American principle. When government itself puts a price upon public spirit it degrades and demoralizes the national character and every relation of life, inviting the people to measure all action by the standard of money. But when the government which does this is itself the people, it is plain that they can confront no greater peril nor consider any question more momentous.

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

In the interest of reform it is the annual duty of the League to test the performance of the administration by the principles of reform, and I can best

discharge this duty this year by considering a question which is frequently and strongly urged upon my attention. It is this: Is the conviction of the necessity of reform so general, is public opinion upon the subject so ripe, that the friends of reform may wisely abandon a separate movement and merge their action in that of some existing party? In other words, is there already a political party which is actually a party of reform? If there be such a party, I invoke the inquisitive shade of Flanagan and ask what are we here for? As reformers the League is composed of protectionists, advocates of a revenue tariff, prohibitionists and independents, republicans, democrats and mugwumps. In answering the question, therefore, I shall bear this fact in mind, however plainly I may speak.

The republican party has unquestionably declared itself in the strongest manner to be a party of civil service reform. At the same time and with equal force it announced that it was a party of protection, and it also demanded effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections. These were the three cardinal declarations of the platform, and one of them was especially addressed to civil service reformers. Has the course of events during the year and since our last meeting justified the assertion of eminent republicans that all honest and practical reformers ought to adhere to a party which has proved its fidelity to reform? If it has done so there can be but one answer. But has it done so?

In accordance with its declaration of protection the republican congress rapidly matured a tariff at which, as many republicans think, even Henry Clay would have blushed, and in its eagerness to fulfill its pledge, hardly stopping for debate, it passed the tariff bill in the house, and the delay in the senate led to protests and complications which seemed to threaten a serious breach in the party. The party platform also demanded a free vote and a fair count, and to secure them the party leaders prepared a bill which with the same ardor was swept through the house, and again irritated party journals chafed at the slow senate, and, like the galleries of the French convention of '93, imperatively demanded the passage of the bill. With all this zeal and eager haste not to break its pledged faith with the country and to carry out the promised policy of protection and of free elections, we might naturally expect the party to have shown equal zeal in fulfilling its other great promise of civil service reform. A revised tariff, an election bill and civil service reform were the three great party promises. They were the three distinct pledges, as I think every honest republican will agree, upon which the party appealed to the country. If, with Mr. Lincoln, it had said one war at a time and this time the war is for protection, there could have been no question or misunderstanding. But it did not say so. While, however, it was content with merely making the promises of a protective tariff and an election law, it did not pledge itself to keep them. But the promise of civil service reform it expressly proclaimed that it would not fail to keep.

THE BREADTH OF THE PROMISES.

What was this promise? Was it only to enforce a law already on the statute book which is confessedly but a tentative beginning of reform? It was very much more. The platform affirmed that reform ought to be completed by extension to all grades of the service to which it is applicable, that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed to all executive appointments, and that all laws at variance with existing reform legislation should be repealed. This was the promise. The candidate accepted it and reiterated the pledge. Upon this comprehensive and unequivocal declaration and upon that for protection and for an election law the party went to the country. The country at the election adopted the platform as the policy of the administration. It authorized a revision of the tariff, the enactment of an election law, the extension of the reformed system to every grade of the public service to which it is applicable, appointments and removals according to the spirit and purpose of reform, and repeal all laws at variance with reform legislation. It is now a year and seven months since the

party with this authorization came into complete control of every branch of the government, and we have the highest assurance that every promise has been fulfilled and every pledge redeemed.

On the 26th of August, Mr. McKinley, the distinguished leader of the House of Representatives, said in Ohio, "I do not recall any legislative body which has so thoroughly kept the pledges of the party electing it as the present majority in the House of Representatives." In commenting the next day with admiration upon the speech, the *New York Tribune* said, "The House, at least, has thoroughly kept the pledges of the republican party." On the 4th of September, at Portland, in Maine, the speaker of the house declared amid the enthusiastic acclamation of his audience. "We have achieved all that the party promised and more. Most platforms are but glittering generalities good enough for the campaign, but our last platform has been treated by the house of representatives like a deed of trust." The speaker and the leader did not mean that the house alone has been faithful, because that would imply the recreancy of the executive and the senate and impeach the good faith of the party before the country. The evident intention is to claim proudly that the party has thoroughly redeemed, or is in course of redeeming, its pledges; that a revised tariff bill has been practically passed; that a national election law is in progress; that congress is extending the reformed system wherever it is applicable; that appointments and removals have been made according to the principles of reform, and that all laws at variance with them are in course of repeal. Let us test the accuracy of this unqualified assertion by the facts in regard to the pledge of reform in the civil service.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

To how many grades of the service to which it is applicable has the reform system been extended? Not one. How far has the spirit and purpose of reform been observed in all executive appointments? There are about 3,600 postmasters appointed by the President. All of them but four hundred have been changed. There are more than 60,000 fourth class postmasters appointed by the postmaster-general. Almost half of the whole number and much the larger part of those in desirable offices have been changed within the nineteen months of the administration, the largest record of changes, I believe, ever made within the same time. It was promised that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed. That spirit and purpose demand the retention of public officers of the highest efficiency in places which are not political. How many such officers like Mr. Pearson, late postmaster of New York, and Mr. Saltonstall, late collector of Boston, have been retained? In place of such officers, how many successors have been appointed primarily for fitness and not for politics? Every community can answer. The platform declared that all laws at variance with the object of reform legislation should be repealed. The power to repeal was given by the election. Chief among these laws and chiefly intended by those who drew the declaration were the laws which prescribe official terms of four years, one of the earliest and greatest victories of the spoils system. This declaration in favor of the repeal was drawn six years ago. It has been solemnly published in the same words by two successive conventions. During the six years how many of these laws have been repealed? How many party conventions or party journals have demanded their repeal? How many republican members of congress have proposed to repeal them or any other laws which facilitate corruption by patronage? So far as I am aware, not one.

The party administration declared that all these things were to be done, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided. Is it to avoid those dangers that the post-office department has been administered in a more partisan spirit than ever before; that the postmaster-general has declared that he should not think of appointing a democrat if he could find a fit republican; that the assistant postmaster-general laughed

to scorn one of the chief party pledges under which he became a public officer, and was enthusiastically congratulated upon his contempt of the pledge by an organized association of members of the party, and that the whole postal service of the country has been reconstructed for party purposes? Senator Hiscock, of New York, to spur the senate to action upon the tariff, said that not to pass the tariff bill would be not only a violation of the most solemn party pledges, but it would be perfidy to a direct trust imposed upon congress by the voters in 1888. How was this trust imposed but by the result of the election? And how does the election impose the fulfillment of one promise and not another? How is the declaration in favor of civil service reform a less solemn pledge of the party, or a less direct trust imposed by the election upon congress, and how is it less perfidy for the President, the house and the postmaster-general and his assistant, deliberately to violate one solemn pledge of the platform than for the senate to disregard another?

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOT THE PARTY OF REFORM.

Why should not reasonable and intelligent men tell the truth frankly? The year has demonstrated incontestably that while the republican party, absolutely dominant in the administration, is a party of protection, it is not a party of civil service reform. Its careful and elaborate tariff declarations were sincere. They were intended to be the substance of the platform, because the republican leaders thought that Mr. Cleveland had thrown away the chance of the democratic party by his message of 1887, and they were sure that upon the issue of protection they could carry the country. But the republican platform declaration of 1884 upon civil service reform was reiterated in the same words in 1888, not as a cardinal article of party faith like the non-extension of slavery in 1860, or the unconditional prosecution of the war in 1864, or the measures of reconstruction in 1868 and 1872, but both as a bribe and a lure for independent voters. No sincere republican, I think, would say that the party and the platform in 1888 meant civil service reform in the same sense that they meant protection, or that they had meant the restriction of slavery in 1860. The political devastation of the post-office and other offices, which has been accomplished within nineteen months would have been impossible under a reform administration as the reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis under a protection administration. It is undeniable that in passing a tariff bill the republican party has kept its promise. It is equally undeniable that in the general partisan pillage of the civil service, the republican party has broken its promise.

CREDIT FOR WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

This is not to say that nothing has been done, nor that the reform law has been either grossly violated or generally disregarded. It is only saying that the party can not honestly claim the confidence of civil service reformers. The law indeed, might have been repealed, as republican representatives in congress and republican journals have desired. But it is still a law. The commission might have been paralyzed, but it remains efficient and alert. Mr. Commissioner Roosevelt, whose fidelity and zeal can not be questioned, assures us that ninety-two per cent. of employees who were appointed in the classified service under the late democratic administration still hold their places, and that the law has been fairly enforced. Congress, also, after some republican opposition, has granted the commission five additional clerks, with salaries amounting to \$6,600. The prompt protest of the League and of the friends of reform prevented the nullification of the rules by congress in the appointment of additional medical pension examiners, and some postmasters, upon urgent local requests, have been retained. McKinley, also, in the house, when arguing for the appropriation for the five clerks, declared that if his party is pledged to one thing more than another, it is to the civil service reform law, which, he added, "Is sustained by the best sentiment of the country, republicans and democrats alike." He was seconded by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, who stated with force and lucidity the principles of reform. The *New York Tri-*

bune, also the Philadelphia *Press*, *Telegraph*, *Ledger* and *American*, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, the Boston *Journal* and Worcester *Spy*, and other leading republican organs, vigorously advocated reform.

These are all very agreeable and very significant facts, for they show the steady rise of public opinion. But what I have stated is the total fulfillment during the year of the great promise of reform. There has been no increase of appropriation except for the five clerks, and congress has not yet acted upon any other of the recommendations made in the last report of the commission. There has been no pretence that the service has not been treated as spoils; there has been no repeal of the four years' laws or attempt to repeal them; there has been no enlargement of the classified service by executive or legislative action since the 30th of June, 1889. The number of persons embraced in the classified service is larger, perhaps, by three thousand than it was a year ago, but this is due wholly to the growth of the service previously classified, which now includes probably about 32,000 places. If this were the manner in which the republican promise of tariff revision and of an election law had been fulfilled, would the speaker of the house and the leader of its majority have celebrated with so joyful a hallelujah the thorough fulfillment of every party pledge and the sacred observance of the party promises? If private trustees had so executed a deed of trust would they have been proudly eager to call public attention to their performance?

The leader of the house and the republican journals which advocate reform in the abstract would hardly admit that the reform declarations of Mr. Cleveland and his secretary of the treasury, Mr. Fairchild, the appointment of Mr. Pearson, the fair enforcement of the reform law, and many other excellent acts of the late administration, with the strong support of many friendly papers, proved the democratic party to be a party of reform. They would be wholly justified. No intelligent man would venture such an assertion and certainly such facts do not prove it. But they prove it quite as much as some excellent appointments of President Harrison, and the fair enforcement of the reform law, and the frank declarations of Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Lodge, and the admirable articles of certain newspapers, prove the republican to be a party of reform. Of what avail, as such proof, are the words of Mr. McKinley against the contemptuous words and despoiling deeds of Mr. Clarkson? But is Mr. Clarkson denounced and repudiated by the republican press, by republican conventions, by republican orators? Mr. Butterworth in the house doubts for one brilliant moment the wisdom of certain details of the tariff bill; Mr. Plumb, in the senate prefers a lower tax on crockery; Mr. Halstead in the press doubts the timeliness and expediency of the election bill; Mr. Blaine himself is unable to see in the tariff bill visions of greedy foreign markets opening to the American farmer—and instantly the party heavens darken, in newspaper offices thunder of warning growls and the lightning of denunciation flashes, the lurid air resounds with the explosion of dreadful epithets, "renegade," "apostate," "traitor," "assistant democrat." The whole party is in an uproar; the hesitating heretics are warned to remember the solemn promises of the platform, the awful mandate of the country, and to pause shuddering but repentant upon the brink—which, when the vote is taken, they wisely do.

IS CLARKSON THE REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS PARTY?

But if one platform pledge be so vital and its least neglect or infringement so fatal, why not another? If Mr. Plumb be condemned as a deputy democrat, and Mr. Halstead branded as an apostate, and even Mr. Blaine rock in the doldrums of party doubt, not because of rejection or scorn of any party pledge, but merely because of difference of view as to the degree or method of applying an accepted party principle, why should Mr. Clarkson be feasted and cheered by fellow republicans after contemptuously rejecting a professed party principle, ruthlessly violating a party pledge, and at every cross-roads in the Union gaily posting his party as a liar? The reason is not that Mr. McKinley and Mr. Lodge and the party papers

which I mentioned are playing false, but simply that they are playing. Republican organs called the republican tariff dissenters and republicans who would defer the passage of the election bill Benedict Arnolds, because the party is aggressively a party of high protection and of a national election law. But they do not call Mr. Clarkson Judas Iscariot because the party leaders generally, and their captains of hundreds and lieutenants of fifties, scorn civil service reform, and heartily approve and applaud Mr. Clarkson's course.

I said, three years ago, that, however worthy of respect and confidence for many reasons the democratic administration might be, this League did not regard it "as in any strict sense of the words a civil service reform administration." So I say now of its successor. It would be a great misfortune for the cause of reform if it were supposed that the League held certain excellent executive appointments, and the unqualified declarations of the leader of the house, and the strong expressions of some leading republican journals, and the retention of ninety-two per cent. of the employes in the classified service, which was equally true of the last administration, gratifying and encouraging as such signs undoubtedly are, to be a fulfillment of the republican pledge to observe the spirit and purpose of reform in all executive appointments, and to correct the dangerous evils of patronage. If it be said that the spirit and purpose of reform is a phrase of doubtful meaning, it is certainly a phrase no more doubtful than the American spirit and the spirit of liberty. However doubtful it may be, it is certain that it does not mean a practical clean sweep of the service, except that part included within the law. I ask any candid republican how many republican conventions this year, except in Massachusetts, have even remembered to mention reform, or how soon reform is likely to be achieved by the party at its present rate of progress? I ask him whether that party would ever have stayed the territorial devastation of slavery, have aroused the glorious enthusiasm of the American people, or have consumed our national sin in the fervid glow of patriotism, if it had been no more the party of liberty than it is of civil service reform? At the close of the war for the Union, when the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery was adopted, Mr. Garrison, president of the American anti-slavery society, declared that its object was accomplished, and proposed that the society be dissolved. When the republican party is in the act of making its pledge of civil service reform, like its pledges of protection and of an election law, an actual performance, if I am then still president of the League, I shall gladly entertain a motion for its dissolution.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

But if I admit that the country is divided practically into two parties and that reform is not the present serious purpose of either of them, do I not concede a general and hopeless public indifference upon the subject? I answer that I concede only what is true of every reform at the beginning. "The first thing," said Alexander Hamilton, "in all great operations of such a government as ours is to secure the opinion of the people." Reformers make opinion, and opinion makes parties. First the abolitionists, then the republicans. Seven years ago the reform law was passed in a spasm of congressional terror from the reverse of the election. It did not represent mature public conviction, but it did show congressional consciousness of the drift of public opinion. This year the whole weight and character of the house refused to repeal the law, while its leader affirmed that the best sentiment of the country demanded reform. The house and the leader, indeed, were content with the affirmation and did not try to satisfy the demand. But so far opinion has ripened. The reformer who would despond because no party has yet adopted reform, would despair of day because the sun does not rise at dawn.

The opinions of thoughtful men, the convictions of the fireside and of the private citizens, affect very slowly party action. The American feels that he can act effectively only with a party, and it is one of the chief evils of the spoils system that reckless abuse of patronage, the most lavish and acknowledged cor-

ruption, have made party despotism so absolute that the conscience and intelligence of the country are largely enslaved by unprincipled ignorance and insolent cunning. Even public men are shy of their own consciences lest they should obstruct their own advancement. Like Lord Melbourne they are afraid that "this damned morality will ruin everything." Honest and patriotic citizens wince at the methods by which often candidates are nominated and hang their heads as they reluctantly vote for them, following ignoble leaders and strengthening public wrongs. Young men with the generous political ambition of their race burning to reach that lofty prize, the noble leadership of men, find to their dismay that the hard condition is bowing down to the hat of Gesler and losing their self-respect.

Civil service reform has the future because it means crushing this machine, overthrowing this tyranny, recovering political independence, and emancipating American citizenship. It means parties that stand for conviction, for self-respect in the public service, for political morality and honest government. It is not yet established for the same reason that slavery was not destroyed at once when its enormity was perceived and acknowledged. Like political corruption, slavery was entrenched in tradition, interest, ignorance, prejudice, possession, and only gradually did conviction ripen into purpose and private wish tower into indomitable public will. It was a dark shadow in which long and shamefully the country walked, its conscience wounded, its name disgraced. But the Union emerged in the clear light of liberty, and there is no American who would turn backward to the evil day. The same conscience, the same intelligence that at last overthrew slavery, now proposes with the same undismayed persistence to stay political corruption, and every sign shows that, like our brothers of the last generation, we, too, are walking toward the light.

THE RELATION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO OTHER REFORMS.*

For the past ten years our government has been and it still is engaged in a costly but indispensable work, that of restoring the national defenses by sea and land, grown dangerously obsolete, through the progress of military and maritime industries since the close of our civil war. The experience of this great undertaking has shown that a sufficient and appropriate plant must be first provided to afford a reasonable prospect of success in any form of mechanical construction on a large scale. To build good steamships and cast good guns we must have suitable shipyards and foundries: attempts to obtain the product without furnishing proper tools in the first instance have invariably resulted in disappointment: an inadequate plant means an imperfect output, short-lived at best, and of limited and uncertain efficiency while it lasts. That we should seek to make something first and to get the means of making it afterwards is *a priori* illogical: the same method has been proved by trial at once wasteful and ineffective.

It is the function of civil service reform to provide for all other reforms, whether legislative or administrative, in our polity, the necessary plant for their work. They can become realities only through the instrumentality of public men fit to mould them in a shape for lasting and practical utility and our politics for a generation's space before the growth of civil service reform had supplied no public men of this type, and can now supply only here and there one of them, a fruitful and promising but as yet infinitesimal leaven for the lump in which it is hidden. To suppose that the politicians who make up the great bulk of either house of congress will or can deal worthily with the problems presented by our tariff, our currency, our pension system—to ask that they and their humbler fellows in state legislatures and city councils should furnish remedies or even palliatives for public evils arising from the liquor traffic or from labor disputes is, to my mind, as irrational

* A paper read at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League at Boston, October 2, 1890, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

as to expect figs from thistles; to try to get such work out of such workmen is as if Secretary Tracy should order another Maine built on the same stocks and with the same materials that might furnish forth an old seventy-four.

This incapacity does not, however, arise from the undoubted fact that most of our public men are intellectually, or for want of education, incapable of understanding the merits or appreciating the importance of these questions. A very limited acquaintance with our legislative bodies leads me to think that these treat most satisfactorily the topics about which their members know and care the least, since they are then open to the influence of volunteer experts. When there is neither "money" nor "politics" in a proposed measure, the average American politician is a very fair legislator, provided that reputable citizens will take the trouble to tell him just what he should do. He is usually timid and patient, anxious (when it costs him nothing) to conciliate public opinion and accustomed to being bored: he repeats so constantly the party shibboleth that he may have half persuaded himself he believes that, but beyond it he has few prejudices and no opinions. He is therefore a good subject for judicious guidance, and, since he considers all enthusiasm as factitious and all professions as insincere as he knows his own to be, he is protected from the contagion of a visionary fanaticism. But in measures relating to the questions I have mentioned he finds always either "money" or "politics" or both, and in such case he is utterly wanting: wherever there may be some one able and willing to buy him, his sale depends only upon the amount and form of the price offered, and *ex necessitate rei* a would-be purchaser is found as soon as his public action begins to touch the pockets of wealthy or influential persons or classes, long accustomed to control legislation by systematic corruption. As an illustration, take the question of tariff reform. Whether the tariff should be based upon principles of free trade or of protection—that is to say, whether its aim should be primarily to produce the greatest revenue while imposing the least burden on those taxed, or to make some or all branches of productive industry in the country more profitable to those pursuing them—it is neither my province nor my purpose to discuss. Whichever principles we adopt, their application in modifying our present laws involves the sacrifice or advancement of powerful interests—powerful, because able to dispose of much money or many votes. A change in the laws can not at once meet the view of both producers and consumers of the article affected; it must inevitably injure pecuniarily one class or the other as individuals, although, of course, if wisely conceived, it may benefit both as members of the community. And although mere consumers make up usually a mass too amorphous and unwieldy to be conscious of its interests or able to defend them, inasmuch as the finished product of one industry constitutes, in numberless instances the raw material of another, a bitter strife and a keen competition for legislative favor between different groups of producers must attend any attempt to change, whether in one direction or the other, the existing provisions of our revenue laws, be these, as a matter of fact, wise or unwise, salutary or the reverse. The task demands real statesmanship and of no mean order: a veritable Serbonian bog of intrigue and bribery will be created if those who grapple with it have any but the highest standard of morality and honor. What, then, is their standard? It has been within a few months fairly enough defined by one of themselves.

"The purification of politics," says a senator of the United States, "is an iridescent dream. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. The modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub dilettanteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes." There is certainly nothing obscure or equivocal about this language; it expresses a theory of ethics which all can understand, and with which the world is unhappily familiar. *Mutatis mutandis* it might be

echoed and is acted upon by every unfaithful servant or trustee, every dishonest trader, every habitual swindler, every common thief. All of these hold practically that "the decalogue and the golden rule have no place in" their trade, all consider that for them "the object" and the only object "is success," all find "cant" about their own corruption "fatiguing in the extreme," although I doubt whether either they or the senator object to this because it is insipid; it "fatigues" them because they know it is true. The man who uttered these words may not be a wholly normal specimen of professional politicians; comparatively few of these would publicly admit that in any field of thought or action they had just as much and just as little conscience as a brute; perhaps the majority would try to persuade themselves that they had more. It is unusual to find one to whom the sentiments natural to a man of integrity and honor have become so unfamiliar that he can not even see the practical advantage of counterfeiting them, who is not a hypocrite only because his utter want of sympathy with rectitude prevents his understanding that the simulation of rectitude may pay. But the words, themselves, if exceptionally candid, none the less describe with substantial truth the code of morals recognized more or less consciously by our politicians and logically resulting from the conditions of their business. When out of office "to...expel the party in power is the purpose" of their labors, not as a means, be it remembered, but as an end; not that they may thus gain something great for the country or for humanity, but that each one of them may gain something little for himself. "The object is success, to defeat the antagonist," but only that the victors may seize and enjoy his place; the use they will make of it is a wholly secondary consideration, or rather this is not considered at all; it goes without saying that they will use power when they have gained it, only to retain their hold on it as long as possible and to make all they can for themselves out of it meantime. And in their efforts to attain this end, efforts as purely selfish as the struggle of a carnivorous animal for his prey, moral restraints are unknown, and the promptings of patriotism, of charity, of self-respect, have no place. Any regard for the decalogue or the golden rule seems to them "dilettanteism" and "sentimentalism;" for "practical" men these are

"Words, mere words."

In plain English, then, the profession of politics, as understood by a spoilsman, is an essentially immoral profession, like the profession of a gambler or a confidence man. An honest man may enter it, but he must, sooner or later, cease either to be honest or to be a politician.

It is surely needless to speculate how those to whom one or another change in the tariff may mean wealth or ruin will treat men such as these. The saying is not of yesterday:

"In quorum manibus iniquitates sunt dextera eorum repleta est muneribus."

It will be more to the purpose if I point out that the character of our public men and the inducements wherewith alone they can be approached with reasonable hope of success by those seeking favors at their hands, explain the curious phenomenon, so often noted and lamented by tariff reformers, that they seem to have no idea of proportion in dealing with our industries, and often sacrifice one of them to advance the interests of another, although the latter may be utterly insignificant, both in amount of capital and in number of laborers employed, when compared with the former. Supposing legislative action inspired by a thought of the public good, such a course is, on any conceivable theory of political economy, inexplicable, but supposing such action to be inspired simply by some form of bribery, direct or indirect, is intelligible enough. Two or three men can corrupt more promptly and secretly, and with less risk of subsequent indiscretion and consequently more effectively and safely, than a score or a hundred can. A single capitalist, having nobody else to inform or consult as to his course, and able to tell with almost mathematical accuracy what profits will accrue to him from a given law when made, and how

much he can therefore afford to invest in the requisite law making machinery, will have great advantages in his competition with a multitude of manufacturers scattered throughout the country and unaccustomed to act in concert, of whom each will usually seek to throw on others the burden of defending their common interest, and among whom there is danger, proportioned to their number, of finding some "epicene" too much affected by "tea-custard and syllabub" views of ethics to perceive the necessity of indulgence or even of discreet silence regarding the peculiar methods of modern American statesmanship.

I have used the tariff as an apt illustration, but what I have said applies with equal truth to our pension system or our currency, or any other subject of national concern in which there is room for gain or loss to individual interests. Conflicting theories about bimetallism or a single standard do not impede a rational solution for the silver question; the wealth and influence of our "silver kings" do; we should hear little enough about "dependent pensions" or "service pensions" if the would-be pensioners were few in numbers or had no votes. For I need hardly say that whether a man is bribed to vote against what in his best judgment he believes to be the public interest by so much cash in his own pocket or by the payment or promise or hope of cash for the party-treasury, or by the expectancy of thus getting offices or votes or help of any kind for himself or others, makes no manner of difference as to the moral question. A politician may as well, so far as his self-respect or his public utility is affected, be owned by a rich man or a rich corporation as by the Farmers' Alliance or the Knights of Labor or the Grand Army of the Republic; he is a bale of the same goods, whatever may be his trade-mark.

To rid our country thoroughly and once for all of these dangerous and noxious counterfeits of statesmen, and thus make room for the genuine article, which we produced in good measure a hundred years ago, we have only to do away with the incidents of public life which have arisen within those hundred years and made it no fit career for honorable men. Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, Patrick Henry and Alexander Hamilton grew up from another political soil from that which nourished the senator I have quoted; if we would have again among our rulers "epicenes" and "dilettanti" such as these we must "thoroughly purge" our meadows of that which has choked out the good wheat and give them over to tares and cockle. We must do away with the swinish scuffle for support at the taxpayers' cost which has become all that "politics" mean to the mass of our public men, and make a political campaign once more something in which the decalogue and the golden rule have a place. When we have done this—in other words, when we have practically applied the essential principles of civil service reform throughout our federal, state and municipal governments, we shall have again, as we had once, under the same conditions, men in public life able to consider in proposed changes of law more than the hopes they may arouse of personal or party gain. And when we have thus deserved such rulers and, by deserving them, obtained them, we may hope for those reforms which only their rule can give us. To ask that civil service reform wait while we reform the tariff or the currency, or anything else, is to ask that a surgeon cut out the tumor first and sharpen his knife afterwards, that a shipwright wait for his dockyard and meantime build his ship.

ALL OTHER REFORMS SHOULD BE SUBORDINATED TO CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

Our civil government, state and national, has developed into a huge boss system. The country is districted for boss purposes. The district of a boss is limited only by his limitations as a manipulator. With Quay and Gorman the district is a state; with the late John J. O'Brien, it was a single assembly district of New York; with Collector Nathan, it is the twenty-third ward of Brooklyn. No one will do violence to credulity by pretending that the bosses have any genuine political principles. A year ago, at the meeting of the League, it was said that "to promise or confer public office as a bait or reward for personal or party service is always and everywhere immoral; it is a breach of trust and a form of bribery." The truth of that statement can never be shaken.

*A paper read by Lucius B. Swift before the National Civil Service Reform League in Boston, October 2, 1890.

Yet it is by that immorality and by that bribery that the bosses thrive and increase in power and rule this nation. It is not necessary before this audience to show that their heel-marks cover the country. I only say that, well as we know them, we do not grasp the magnitude of a system whose outcroppings extend from the appointment of Meade as police justice in New York City, to Clarkson manipulating his 30,000 postmasters a year; and whose field reaches from the dog catcher to the governor, and from the elevator-boy to the President. If an executive or legislative office-holder is not a boss or the agent of a boss, he is a rare exception. In general there is spread over the country a tough network of township, city, county, state and national office-holders, standing to each other as principal or agent, master or man, boss or worker. Along with such evil government as we have, goes this vast exploitation of the offices for spoil. These are the ins, ready to catch at any issue, and say or do anything that will leave them masters of the offices. And, as has been stated many times, man for man and side by side with these are the outs, ready to catch at any issue and say or do anything that will in turn make them masters of the offices. The bribery is plain and simple, from the township trustee of the township embracing Indianapolis, paying with clerkships the small party hustlers who assisted him to election, to the President paying with marshalships and post-offices the men who voted for him in the nominating convention.

Our 65,000,000 of people have seen this going on at their very doors, until even the children knew without being told that if Smith succeeds, Jones, who has worked day and night for Smith's nomination and election, will get from Smith a clerkship. They know that this is to be Jones's pay and that he works for this contingent fee. At every four corners in our forty-two states the people for two generations have seen such bribes paid with state and federal offices.

I have said that we do not grasp the magnitude of the boss system; neither is it necessary for me to explain to you its strength; and yet, we do not realize its strength. In the twenty-odd years' struggle to uproot this system, some progress has been made. Nevertheless, it remains generally true that to retain or get the offices is the present object of our parties, in every field of operation; and the desire for this object is, with spasmodic exceptions, the regulator of American legislation, of American executive government, of the formulated opinions of American parties and public men, and of the exercise of political power. This is its strength.

HOW THE PEOPLE ARE FOOLED.

The bosses know, first, that they live by the offices, and second, that if the people once realize the evils of patronage they will take away the offices. The skill of the machine is therefore directed to diverting the attention of the people from this division and enjoyment of spoils. To this end, issues true or false are urged forward. For many years southern outrages, an issue which never did and never was intended to lead to any practicable measure, blinded the majority and enabled the republican machine to keep the offices. In Pennsylvania, to-day, Quay raises jeopardized protection like a wall close to the eyes of republicans to blind them to the criminal evil of himself as a man and of his literally feudal rulership of his state. For years the people of the state of Maryland, in a manner disgraceful to themselves, have permitted Gorman to keep his heel on their necks, solely by his control of the offices; and in every campaign when they might have overthrown him, he has blinded them by the cry that such a result would lead to national party disaster.

When a machine has fixed upon an issue as one which will enable it to succeed, it does not permit dissent. Mr. Randall is a notable instance. But to most party bosses an issue has only its expedient side, and when taken up by their party machine it never staggers those who may have been for years on the opposite side.

Some years ago Senator Voorhees made many speeches to show that the record of his party was misrepresented upon the tariff question—that it was and had been protection. Now Mr. Voorhees makes

speeches proposing to hang the men who are profiting by protection. Again, Senator Gorman, the overlord of overlords, two years ago was a protectionist. To-day he is a tariff reformer. No one will ask us to believe that the merits of the tariff question had anything to do with this change of heart. Mr. Gorman read in the signs of the times that his party machine was against him, and that he must bring about this change if he would continue as the absolute party controller of offices in Maryland.

Thus, occasionally adjusting themselves to what they consider a minor demand, the bosses remain the controllers of the governmental spirit of the country, and they guide it skilfully away from acts which would undermine the only foundation upon which they stand or can stand—the use of the offices as spoil. If they think justice will hurt their party chances, they stop the course of justice. For instance, the guilt of Mahone's campaign fund clerks is clear and the evidence is ready. But they are not punished because the party bosses have the notion (a mistaken notion, to be sure), that punishment would weaken election chances. The eleventh hour indictment just decided upon proves my argument.

THE STEERING PROCESS.

They can not control the rise of discussion, but their skill, to a degree often consummate, is displayed in a steering process that permits a discussion to come to a beneficent end, or anchors it or wrecks it, according as it is necessary to avoid defeat at the polls, with the consequent loss of the offices. In our legislatures, if good legislation will help them, they pauper that much to the moral sentiment of the people. Any legislation which endangers them is blocked at any stage they desire. We have a late illustration. The bill to regulate elections was on the highroad to final passage. At a word from Quay, professed principles went to the winds and the bill was meekly laid aside.

While the bosses control the switches and brakes of the legislative road, it is useless to hope for legislation based upon business and patriotic principles. This is shown by the recent course and present condition of the tariff question. The prominent idea and discussion connected with the early administration of President Cleveland was in relation to the civil service. The antagonism of his party machine to the civil service reform views and acts of Mr. Cleveland was fully expressed in the Indianapolis *Sentinel* in November, 1886, which said: "The un-American policy he has pursued in dealing with the party and the partisans that elected him to office is the direct cause of the apathy of the party in so many sections of the country. He has done all he could to destroy the party organization. He has chilled the honorable ambition of young men and grievously abused the old leaders. Mr. Cleveland must either prove himself a democrat in the remaining years of his administration or prepare to meet emphatic repudiation by his party."

With this threatening attitude the bosses of his party confronted Mr. Cleveland until he brought forward the tariff issue, upon which the bulk of them seemed willing to unite, and he took the first step by a message to congress devoted exclusively to that subject. To thus state this great change, and at the same time to say that defeat was expected upon the tariff issue, is an incongruity.

The second step to divert meddlesome attention from the division of spoil was the Mills bill, a step guided by the unseen power of the bosses. The intention was to frame a bill upon which they could carry the country, and the result may be called a measure with free trade leanings for republican communities and protective leanings for democratic communities. It was a fortunate thing for civil service reform that this attempt to shelve it was punished by defeat. Any other result would have left this cause discredited, too weak even for the contempt of the bosses, and alive only in the half dozen places where "local option" might permit the law to be enforced.

The republican machine, in its turn, has elaborated a tariff bill such, and no other, as it believes will help its election chances. The tables are turned. We have

protection for republican districts, and free trade for democratic districts.

If it were not so serious, all this would be laughable as the play of children or fools. In fact, it is a mockery of government. It is but stating the commonest principle of government to say that any legislation touching our present tariff should be the result of the unbiased investigation and report of skilled men. Yet such statement only emphasizes the chimerical quality of the hope of such legislation under the boss system. And the same is true generally. The enactment of our public laws is advocated with the halting advocacy caused by the skeleton in the party closet—the fear of losing the spoil of office. Those interested in all questions which relate to the currency, to taxation, to the regulation of the liquor traffic, to our great Indian trust, or which cluster around the cause of labor, or any other subject arising with a progressive people, have found, and will find that the measure of relief granted is gauged by its supposed effect upon the continued power of the Quays and the Gormans over the spoil of office.

THE PREY OF THE BOSSES.

With their power well in hand as they have had it for years, the bosses prey upon all they help or can harm. Formerly the Indianapolis post-office paid \$1,200. In 1888 the pension office in that city was called upon for \$600, part of which was collected in violation of law. In that year the Indiana republican candidate for reporter of the supreme court paid \$2,250. The candidates for the judgeships of the courts sitting at Indianapolis are each regularly assessed \$500 upon a salary of \$2,500. In larger cities and offices all over the country these figures are many times multiplied, and when these sums are again multiplied by the number of state and national offices which still pay assessments, the result shows a startling sum of money to be devoted to the perpetuation of the buccaneering power which extorts it. Great moneyed interests can be helped or hurt by boss legislation. Jay Gould gave his check for \$50,000 to the late John J. O'Brien to the use of the O'Brien machine, and Mr. Wanamaker, then a new recruit to the machine, suggested that the Northern Pacific Railway should help the campaign of 1888 with \$100,000.

With the money thus gathered, the bosses in the struggle for the offices leave their mark in the shape of 20,000 floaters in Indiana, and in like proportion in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and other states.

Our boss system of officeholders, with its paramount boss and a graded line of under-bosses, has thus become a quasi-feudal system, without the romance or the courtesy or the honor of feudalism. It is the footpad in armor. It uses various interests for its own ends and lets itself for hire to various interests. Destroy it and leave every reform and every interest standing alone, and spontaneous discussion, followed by the untrammelled action of the people, will reward every agitation with that result to which the civilization of the country entitles it.

Therefore I say that the destruction of the spoils system ought to regulate individual political effort. Not that other reforms may not have sympathy and support. But in every case there comes a time when the roads part. Then there can be no compromise, no hesitation. The pursuit of these bloodsuckers upon all our civil government should be relentless. To cease this attack at any point and unite with this common enemy with the hope of benefiting some other object is to strengthen the common enemy and fill him with joy. Such deviation prolongs the unequal struggle on our hands and does not accomplish its object.

Our cause has suffered and is in danger of suffering from such deviation in a single case only; but that is a case of such magnitude as to cause concern and call for protest. I refer to the number of thinking and distinguished men who are entirely with us in opinion, but who would now lay aside civil service reform on behalf of, or would now subordinate it to effort for a modification or abolition of, the tariff. They are certainly mistaken. It was useless that they joined their clean-handed effort with such efforts as the use of the offices to break down the refractory protectionist Congressman Randall, and with the wholesale subsidy of the western press, and with the use of the pension bureau as a political machine, and with the use of the civil service as a trip-hammer to help one-half of the people strike the other. The means do not justify the end. Civil service reform wars against such weapons, no matter in what hand or cause.

Deviation from it now but helps to raise up more bosses and strengthen the boss system. The congressman from the Indianapolis district is a typical instance. He has ability, and in trying circumstances he has displayed the highest skill in unscrupulous manipulation of the offices. He is the enemy of the merit system. His issue is tariff modification. To follow him upon that issue is to help

build up a man who might become to Indiana what Platt is to New York, Mahone to Virginia, Quay to Pennsylvania and Gorman to Maryland. The thought is intolerable. And yet I submit that the advocacy of tariff modification, as it is now offered, gives no satisfactory reward and actually helps the bosses to obscure civil service reform and extend their own rule. And the poison of office—exploitation for spoil—is left with increased virulence to course its way through every hamlet, town and city in all the states of this Union. It ruins public morals. It is the destroyer of nations. No man can look at our national, state and city governments and deny that it is the crying evil of our time. The call to destroy it rings in the ears of every man who loves his country. Our faces should be always towards it, and our hands should be always against it.

NOTES OF THE DISCUSSION.

[From the Boston Journal and the Boston Post.]

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Swift's paper, Mr. R. Francis Wood, of Philadelphia, moved that Mr. Bonaparte's and Mr. Swift's papers be printed. Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, of New York, moved as an amendment that the papers be printed separately, and Mr. Wood accepted the amendment. He must take exceptions to some of Mr. Swift's statements, and did not think that they should be sent forth entire as expressing the views of the league. He must take exception to the statements made therein, which he thought was in error, that President Cleveland's tariff message was put forth in response to the demands of the party bosses. Secretary Fairchild had told him, the speaker, that what led to the writing of the message, and the equally noticeable report of the secretary of the treasury, which accompanied it, was their absolute conviction of the necessity of the immediate presentation of that question to the country. Mr. Wheeler vigorously denounced the use of money in elections, and in the bribery of committees and legislators. The league should aim to do away with this evil as heartily as it did to abolish the evil of party patronage. The league should not confine its work to one branch of reform.

Winslow Warren, Esq., of Boston, said that while he agreed with much that Mr. Bonaparte and Mr. Swift had said, he could not agree with it all. He could not agree with Mr. Bonaparte in his laudation of the political methods of Hamilton and others of the old leaders in comparison with those of the leaders of to-day. Neither could he agree with Mr. Swift that the Mills bill or the McKinley bill, abominable as he thought the latter, was devised for the purpose of shelving, or meant the shelving, of civil service reform. We should be averse to having all the views expressed in those papers go forth as an official expression of the views of the league.

Col. Charles R. Codman, of Boston, said that if he had understood Mr. Swift aright he had declared that civil service reform was of such transcendent importance that the members of the league must abandon all the other great reforms of the day.

Mr. Swift interrupted at this point to say that his position had evidently been misunderstood. His position was that when civil service reformers came to a point where the road parted between an advocacy of civil service reform and any other reform, they should choose the former.

Col. Codman resuming, said that if the league should take the position that civil service reform was of transcendent importance, the only consistent course for its members to take would be to form a third political party and be civil service reformers, first, last, and all the time, as the prohibitionists were prohibitionists first, last and all the time.

Mr. Wheeler moved that the whole matter of printing the papers be referred to the executive committee, with instructions to print, and authority to prepare the papers, with the statement that the league did not indorse them.

President Curtis thought such action would be establishing a most unfortunate precedent; it would look as though the league were putting forth a disclaimer. He did not believe that the league, in printing his own annual addresses before it in its proceedings, deliberately adopted in advance all the views embodied in it. If he did think so, he should

certainly feel very much constrained in the preparation of those addresses.

Sherman S. Rogers, Esq., of Buffalo, hoped Mr. Wheeler's motion would not prevail. The mere printing of the papers did not place upon them the league's imprimatur. He was not quite sure how far he should follow Mr. Swift, but he thought very far, even so far as to hold that civil service reform was of paramount importance.

Richard H. Dana, Esq., moved as an amendment that the papers be printed so that the members of the league might have an opportunity to consider the opinions of the authors therein so ably expressed.

Mr. Bonaparte said that he should feel the same embarrassment as the president if his paper were to be taken as an official expression of the views of the league.

Henry J. Richmond, Esq., of Buffalo, supported Mr. Dana's amendment.

President Curtis interrupted to ask why, if the president's address were not to be prefaced with the statement that the league was not responsible for the views in it, the paper read by any member of the League should be so prefaced.

Mr. Richmond replied that there was a great difference between the president and an humble private in the ranks like himself. He suggested that hereafter the annual printed proceedings be prefaced with the statement that the league must not be held responsible for the views therein contained. Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dana both accepted this amendment.

Mr. George Fred Williams, of Dedham, said he should be very much opposed to having Mr. Swift's views, or some of them, go forth to the world as those of the league or his own. Mr. Swift's statement in regard to Mr. Cleveland's object in putting forth his tariff message was to shelve civil service reform. That, he understood, was merely Mr. Swift's inference. But he, the speaker, knew it was wholly false.

Mr. Myers moved as an amendment that the addresses be printed and that the question of prefixing them with any explanation be referred to the executive committee, with full power to deal with it as they deemed fit. This amendment was accepted by Messrs. Wheeler and Dana, but was lost.

Mr. Wheeler said the printing of the papers without some such explanation as indicated would cause grave trouble in New York.

President Curtis said that certainly no man in his senses would accept Mr. Swift's statement as to the origin of Mr. Cleveland's tariff message as being the view of the league.

The result of the long discussion was the adoption of the following motion: That the executive committee be directed, in preparing papers for publication hereafter, to prefix a note or statement to them to the general effect that the league is not responsible for the views therein expressed.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

[The committee on resolutions were George William Curtis, Charles J. Bonaparte, Edward Carey, Henry H. Sprague and Lucius B. Swift.]

The National Civil Service Reform League, in common with all citizens who desire the overthrow of the great and perilous evil known as the spoils system, congratulates the country that the attempt to nullify the reform law during the present session of congress was decisively defeated in the house of representatives; that the law was defended by distinguished and able members of both political parties, and that the leader of the majority of the house declared that his party was pledged to nothing more than to civil service reform, which, he said truly, was sustained by the best opinion of both parties, republicans and democrats alike.

The League gladly recognizes the fact that about thirty-two thousand places in the public service are now filled upon free and fair competition by merit alone; while Commissioner Roosevelt gives public assurance that 92 per cent. of clerks so appointed under the late administration have been retained under the present administration.

The League records with satisfaction the wholesome precedents of the action of the attorney-general of the United States in sustaining, after long controversy, the civil service commission, and in causing the revocation of appointments made in defiance of the reform law; and the indictment, although after long delay, by the grand jury of the district of Columbia of the president and treasurer of a political club in Washington for soliciting political contributions from government employees. With equal satisfaction, the league recalls the success of the friends of reform in frustrating an attempt in congress to evade the reform law by securing the ap-

pointment of pension examiners without the prescribed examination.

The league regards the complete, forcible and comprehensive explanation and defence of the principles, operation and results of reform which was made by the national civil service commission before the committee of investigation of the house of representatives, as a great and timely public service, for which the commission is entitled to public gratitude. It again congratulates the country upon the admirable choice of civil service commissioners made by the present administration; a selection the merit of which has been demonstrated by the ability and efficiency with which they have performed the duties of their office; and the league mentions with pleasure, as a sign of the progress of public opinion, the unqualified advocacy of the principles of reform by many of the leading journals of both national parties in the country.

Whilst according to the national administration the amplest credit for whatever advance may have been made in the practical application of civil service reform to the conduct of public business, it is nevertheless our duty to again remind the country of the pledges made by the successful party at the last presidential election, and to note how far these pledges have been kept.

The pledges of the party of administration were, first, that reform of the civil service, already auspiciously begun, should be completed by further extension of the reformed system to all grades of the service to which it is applicable; second, that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments; third, that all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed.

These pledges have been disregarded; the reformed system has not been extended; not only have not the spirit and purpose of reform been observed in all executive appointments, but they have been often and gravely violated; that laws at variance with reform legislation have not been repealed, nor has there been any proposition for their repeal.

Against this practical contempt of pledges the league records its unqualified protest.

The arbitrary removal of postmasters for no other cause than their political opinions or party affiliations, resulting in a partisan devastation of an important branch of the public service, is a breach of faith with the country and a grave offense against pure politics and the interests of an efficient public service.

The league holds that the important duty of taking the census should have been committed to officers selected because of their fitness, and with no regard to political or partisan considerations, and it sees in the general dissatisfaction throughout the country with the results of the census a logical consequence of disregard of these principles.

While holding that the power of removal should be vested in appointing officers subject only to a sound discretion, the league also holds that no opportunity for changing the public service which is not political, for partisan reasons should be permitted. It therefore urges all friends of reform to press upon public attention and on congress the repeal of the laws prescribing fixed terms of office, which were designed to facilitate partisan charges without the odium of express and positive removal.

Places which are not political and which are filled by appointment should be vacated, except by death or resignation, only by the deliberate act of responsible appointing officers, after fair opportunity of explanation or denial of charges, and, in order that such officers may be held strictly to their responsibility, the widest publicity should be given to removals, and such officers should be required by law publicly to record the reason for removals made by their authority.

The experience of Boston and Cambridge has proved the entire practicability of extending the system of selection by merit to the labor service of those cities, and in view of the renewal of our coast defenses and of the reconstruction of our navy, the league recommends the application of the same system to the selection of laborers in the national navy yards, and the extension of the examinations to all other positions in the navy yards to which they are applicable, and it renews its recommendation for a similar extension of the merit system to the Indian service.

As a measure of relief from one of the worst and most widely diffused abuses of the spoils system, the league approves the principles and object of the bill introduced in congress during the present session to regulate the appointment of fourth-class postmasters, by causing their selection to be made upon business principles and without regard to political interests and opinions.

The league reaffirms its unswerving fidelity to the American and democratic principle of the equal right of every citizen to seek and to compete on equal terms for appointment to office without the necessity of asking aid from party friends or political leaders.

The practicability and benefit of civil service reform have been amply and conclusively demonstrated, and as the necessity of reform was never more urgent, the league declares that, in the interest of honest government, of the freedom and purity of the ballot and of the overthrow of political corruption, it will prosecute with unflagging energy its appeal to that matured opinion of the American people which steadily and happily reforms every abuse that menaces the welfare of the republic.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 21.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

God give us men! a time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready
hands;

Men whom the lust of office can not kill:

Men whom the spoils of office can not buy;

Men who possess opinion and a will;

Men who have honor, men who will not lie;

Men who can stand before a demagogue

And damn his treacherous flatterings without
winking;

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog.

In public duty and private thinking.

THE election in Massachusetts will greatly strengthen congress in the matter of sincere believers in civil service reform, a large number of its new members from that state having been for years open advocates of the reform. We may now expect aggressive movement and that the democratic house will be powerfully urged to pass the bill regulating the appointment of fourth class post-masters, and to repeal the four years' tenure act, and to give the civil service commission liberal financial support.

THE result of the recent election in Pennsylvania is the most magnificent victory that has been gained since the beginning of the struggle to break down the spoils system. That system had reached its final development in that state. The situation of affairs with Quay and the government of Pennsylvania was not widely different from the situation after Rome had conferred the tribunitian power upon its boss for the time being. This was to a great extent realized in Pennsylvania, and Quay's inability to answer to the charge of embezzlement merely brought the matter to a focus. The reformers, with a boldness that can not be too highly commended, undertook to convince the people of Pennsylvania that they must decide whether they would rule themselves or be ruled by one man because he controlled the federal and state patronage. This issue was never departed from, and upon it the reformers accomplished the almost incredible feat of changing 80,000 majority to 17,000 the other way. Surely after this it may everywhere be felt that in a righteous cause no majority is too great to be overcome. After Mahone and Quay one wonders where the administration will next use the patronage to carry an election. To have rendered the least help to the result in Pennsylvania will always be a satisfaction. The names of the great leaders in the movement will always be held in grateful remembrance, and not the least satisfactory part of the result is the high grade of intelligence shown by the people of the state in grasping and mastering the situation.

THE effort to redeem New York from Tammany failed disastrously. The facts of the corrupting influences of this organization were widely spread, and there appeared to be against it strong and irresistible elements. But there were too many like Mr. Astor whose reply to a request for help was: "Regret, am free from all political interests." The only depressing thing about such a failure is that the burden of really patriotic, unselfish citizens becomes greater. These have to carry a weight of timid and selfish people who quickly seize upon any excuse to stop a troublesome and disagreeable contest. But the municipal league does not intend to quit the good war, and probably in spite of himself Mr. Astor and his kind will enjoy in the future the pleasant results of their work. Above all things it is to be hoped that those patriotic clergymen who believe that the decalogue has a place in New York City government will not be dismayed, but will keep on helping.

MR. FOULKE ought to be a shining example to citizens like Mr. Astor, that is, on the supposition that they are interested enough to know what Mr. Foulke is doing. He is a thoroughly equipped guard for the civil service reformers of the country. He stops at Washington, where the spoilsmen are thickest and noisiest, and he keeps track of what they are doing and promptly calls attention to them when they are operating any little schemes for the division of spoil. The *Civil Service Reformer* for November has a report of an interview he had with Postmaster-General Wanamaker, which the latter must find unpleasant reading. Mr. Porter has recently found Mr. Foulke a tough adversary to tackle regarding his political census. What Mr. Foulke has done as chairman of the committee to investigate the operations of the civil service is well known to readers of this paper.

THE Indiana Civil Service Reform Association is in need of funds for the distribution of documents and for carrying on a correspondence over the state. There has long been the plan of preparing an especial appeal to the clergy of the state to lend their aid in the effort against the spoils system, but to print and mail such an address would require several hundred dollars. If those who believe in the objects of the Association, would assist in increasing its membership, they would thereby materially increase its power of usefulness. As an instance, the other day six people in New Albany were suggested as in sympathy with

civil service reform. At the first request three joined the state association. A slight individual effort by members over the state would add hundreds to the membership.

CAUSES OF DEFEAT.

Within the field of this paper there were powerful elements which contributed to the results of the recent elections. The course of the administration made the reform element indifferent or hostile. This was the only source from which it could expect strength outside of its regular partisans. This was the most effective aid to President Cleveland when he was elected, and four years later nearly its whole strength was given with enthusiasm and success to President Harrison. The outrageous treatment of Postmaster Pearson followed, to be supplemented later by the turning out of Col. Burt, Mr. Graves, Collector Saltonstall and others of the same stamp. The administration turned in to help Mahone put Virginia under his heel. A reasonable request to provide for a non-partisan selection of census employes was refused and that important work was put into the hands of 60,000 party hacks, who have taken a census which has not and never will have the confidence of the country. Headsman Clarkson was allowed and encouraged to remove postmasters at the rate of thirty thousand a year. The Indian service has been disgracefully used as spoil and the Indian Rights Association, which has a better knowledge of the needs of the Indians than the administration itself, has been treated by the administration with insult and contempt. Officers have been removed upon secret charges without being allowed to know the charges. The boss system was encouraged on every hand. In Indiana it was Michener, chairman of the state republican committee; in Texas it was men like the negro collector Cuney; in New York it was Tom Platt. The crowning disgrace was Quay, in Pennsylvania, controlling every federal office, and who led two cabinet officers, Wanamaker and Blaine, by the nose into the state to make speeches for him. Assessments of office-holders went unpunished and unchecked. The McFarlands, the Bagbys and the Ransdells, though wholly unworthy, were kept in the service. Office-holders were encouraged to interfere in the campaign. Commissioner Raum, who is believed by the great majority of the people to have compromised himself with pension attorneys until he is unfit to retain his office, was sent out, in apparent willful defiance of public opinion to make campaign speeches. The

increased majority of Congressman Cooper is a fitting answer, and is in part due to this very thing. The Indiana district attorney was permitted to remain in office after he had publicly declared that Dudley's proposed plan for taking care of the floaters evinced only a patriotic interest in the elections. If the administration can do any worse it has two years yet in which to do it. If it means to do any better it has no time to lose.

The President has divided spoil as it was never divided before. Never before has so much been given out for personal or party service in the same length of time. Yet the seekers of spoil are not his friends. They dislike him and they hope he will not be re-nominated. The chief duty of the President is to manage the civil service, and always excepting the work which comes within the field of the civil service commission, it must be said that President Harrison has been so far a failure. When he looks at his feats with Mahone and Quay and the rest, he must admit this to himself. President Cleveland was a very similar failure, and when elections in 1886 indicated to him the tone of the people, he did not heed it but got farther away from the whole subject of civil service reform. Will President Harrison do likewise or will he now bring himself to realize that his one great work is to get the spoils system out of the civil service. If he would give his next two years to an unrelenting fight against the spoils system, he would at least go out of office at the end of his term with the respect of the people.

CLARIFIED VIEWS.

The writer has been turning over the pages of the *Civil Service Record* from 1886 to 1888, and his conclusion is that no where has civil service reform advanced more than among civil service reformers. Examine the report of the civil service commission on the Philadelphia post-office, where upon finding that there are no applicants for examination, except among those of the postmaster's own politics, the commission, like a Greek chorus, helplessly says: "Partisan prejudice, created by a partisan press for party purposes, keeps democrats out of the civil service examinations when the republican party is in power and keeps republicans out when the democratic party is in power," and further, "*When the law shall have been accepted in good faith by both the great political parties, and appointing officers shall all, by official word and act, declare their determination to execute it faithfully, there will be no longer question of the unpartisan operation of examinations for the classified civil service.*"

Such helplessness seems to-day absurd. Judged by the inquiry sent out by Mr. Cushing for Mr. Wanamaker, asking:

Why should not both parties discard all their insincere professions for the law, and have the patriotism to go back to the old system?

the law has not yet been accepted in "good faith." But a commission with Mr. Roose-

velt and Mr. Thompson on it does not have to wait for a change of heart with the Wannamakers and Clarksons. A request through the public press for applicants to come forward for examination without reference to politics, and the promise of fair treatment brings the applicants of all political opinions. When the southern states do not have the quota of appointments to which they are entitled, because they have not furnished enough applicants for the eligible lists, this difficulty is solved in the same downright and simple fashion. Southern editors and congressmen are urged to use their influence to induce people from these states to try the examination. The request is successful.

A timid, irresolute commission is always a contingency, but the great body of believers in civil service reform the country over, will not again acquiesce in the notion that the spirit of the reform law can not be secured until the politicians are converted, and that the civil service commission has no sphere but to record what they see and hear, and be humbugged and bullied by politicians.

Again, examine an address before the Massachusetts reform club in April, 1887, by Dr. William Everett, a sincere friend of civil service reform. It reads to-day like some of those curious whig documents before the war on the slave question. Dr. Everett spoke for a large number of civil service reformers, when he said, "We must stop weighing the President in a perpetual pair of scales, and weighing him against every new appointment to see whether he goes up or down, or hangs in *equilibrio*."

* * * It is not my intention to defend all the President's appointments. * * * What I look to is that, while some civil service reformers feel disappointed, and are answering "no" to my question, "whether the cause has received all the co-operation from Mr. Cleveland that we had a right to expect," the spoilsmen all over the country, of both parties, feel much more disappointed; and they are grumbling all the time that he has done so much for us, while some of us are whining, shall I say, because he has done so little. * * * Moreover, there is no doubt he gives his own personal attention to appointments more than any President has done for years. * * * But if on the other hand, you do trust President Cleveland, you must trust him entirely. You must see him remove and appoint according to his best judgment, without threatening to withhold your trust if the next removal and the next appointment do not suit you."

Dr. Everett, in his recent spirited campaign in Massachusetts, did not follow his own prescription, and it is well for the progress of civil service reform that the fog of 1887 has lifted about him. Nor was any such advice given by those who believe that with all his shortcomings President Harrison has done for civil service reform more than did his predecessor in this, that he has given the country the best civil service commission it has ever had, which

is not disputed, and that for the first time, through the influence of this commission, there have been comparatively few dismissals traceable to politics from the competitive service, and many applicants of all politics have come for examination and received appointments in it. But no one, because of this, says to-day that therefore we must trust the President "entirely." No one disputes the unpopularity of the present executive with the spoilsmen, nor that their rumblings and grumbings exceed those of the civil service reformers. The *New York Times* of November 21 contains the following in its report of a meeting of a republican county committee to discipline somebody for the paucity of patronage:

The claim has been made repeatedly that too many democrats were kept in office at the custom house, the post-office, and elsewhere. With some men it has been the popular thing to "growl" at Collector Erhardt because he did not appoint more republicans to office. When Mr. Erhardt's friends pointed out that the civil service laws were in the way, the hungry hosts only grew hungrier still and cried louder for office than ever.

But nobody is found to repeat Dr. Everett's sophistry that therefore the President is doing all he can and more than we should expect for reform. Again, no one disputes that President Harrison has gone into the matter of giving his personal consideration to appointments to a degree greater even than his predecessor, and that his health has suffered, but no one now regards that as any palliative for using public offices to pay personal or party debts.

These are some of the many encouraging signs of the chill and refreshing breeze that has, in the last four years, relieved us of much cant as to how much political morality is due from a public man; and it is well to acknowledge our debt in this respect to Senator Ingalls. The shock of his bold declaration that the decalogue has no place in politics was the thing that brought home to many honest people the fact that unconsciously they had been judging men in public life by a different code from that applied to other people and in which the decalogue did not have the place of honor.

One thing is certain, whoever the next president, he will not be judged according to Dr. Everett's standard of 1887. He will not be trusted entirely. Nor will he be judged by what he finds it convenient as a politician to do to redeem the country from spoils and bosses. He will be judged by what he actually does for civil service reform, measured by what remains to be done. Civil service reformers, for the first time, in fighting Quay, learned the meaning of taking the public entirely into their confidence, making all their protests public and permitting no private explanations and excuses from a chief executive who may secretly have sympathized with them, while at the same time he was unwilling to brave the consequences of the vengeance of a great boss. Whoever the next president, he must expect every appointment and every dismissal to be examined by the facts at hand in the various communities; he will not, uncriticised, "remove and appoint according to

his best judgment." He will not be treated as an all-wise, all-beneficent dictator, but as a president subject, from the very fact of having been successful in getting elected, to many entangling alliances, and as, therefore, a proper subject for vigilant watchfulness. If he hobnobs with Quays and Gormans, or if he wears the imperial robes while they parcel out the spoils of conquest, the wrath of his fellow-citizens will fall upon him in the same increasing proportion that it fell upon President Harrison's for his alliance with Quay, over what fell upon President Cleveland for his alliance with Gorman.

FOURTH REPORT

Of the Special Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League.

REMOVALS UPON SECRET CHARGES.

To the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:

Your special committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the federal service and the operation of the reform law, would respectfully submit the following report as to the system of removals of presidential postmasters upon secret charges:

Out of 356 answers received to our questions whether or not any cause for removal was given to the man removed, it appeared that in only 47 cases was such cause assigned, in 10 cases the matter was disputed, and in 299 cases it appeared, from uncontradicted statements, that the incumbent was removed without any cause being given for his removal. In a very large number of cases he solicited information from the post-office department as to the character of the charges; but this information was almost invariably refused. If he ever learned what the charges were, he learned it by private inquiry from other sources, generally from hearsay and rumor merely. In many instances the new appointee, in answer to our inquiry as to the causes of the removal, while declining to state these causes himself, refers us to written charges on file in the department. As Mr. Wanamaker tells us that "all papers in appointment cases have invariably been deemed privileged and confidential with the department," and as the postmasters themselves are refused access to the charges upon which they are removed, but little can be done to lift the veil which conceals these secret accusations.

The following instances are submitted.

William Wilson writes in regard to his removal from the post-office at Chadron, Neb.:

I immediately wrote President Harrison that I only asked the privilege and right of an American citizen—that is, to defend myself; that, if there were any charges against me, I would like to have an opportunity to answer them. In reply I received the following (copy):

"Mr. William Wilson, Chadron, Neb.:

"DEAR SIR—The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to inform you that it has been referred to the Hon. Postmaster-General, to whom all further communications upon the subject should be addressed.

"Very respectfully yours,

"ELIJAH W. HALFORD, Private Secretary."

I was never able to hear from the Hon. Postmaster-General or any one else.

Jas. A. McKenna, postmaster at Long Island City, N. Y., was removed and no cause stated. On Sept. 6, 1889, he wrote to the first assistant postmaster-general as follows:

UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE,
LONG ISLAND CITY, QUEENS CO., STATE OF NEW YORK.
September 6, 1889.

Hon. J. S. Clarkson, First Assistant Postmaster-General,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR—In the New York Tribune of August 27 there is quoted an interview with you, in which you are made to say that "the department was in constant receipt of complaints against Postmaster McKenna, some of them being of a serious character, and clearly proving careless management of the office.

Inasmuch as the President has seen fit to remove me from my position as postmaster of Long Island City, these charges will be a serious injury and drawback to me in any business I may now be obliged to take up, and, as I am not conscious of any dereliction of duty, I respectfully request that I may be allowed to inspect the charges referred to, or may be allowed to have a copy thereof, in order that I may submit an answer to the same, not hoping for retention in office, but to clear my future from a cloud that might otherwise rest over it. I have never heard of any charges against me, except as stated in the above interview; and I assume it is not the intention or desire of the President to have me leave my office under unfounded charges.

Very respectfully,

JAS. A. MCKENNA,

Postmaster L. I. City.

The only answer he ever received to his communication was the letter of which the following copy was sent to us:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.
OFFICE OF THE
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, Sept. 7, 1889.

DEAR SIR—In the absence of the First Assistant Postmaster-General, I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 6th inst., which will receive his attention on his return, in about a week.

Respectfully yours,

COKER CLARKSON, Private Secretary.

JAS. A. MCKENNA, Esq., Postmaster, Long Island City, N. Y.

Elijah Ratnour, former postmaster, of Weeping Water, Neb., wrote to the assistant postmaster-general, asking the cause of his removal, of which he had not been informed. The following is sent to us by him as a copy of the answer received:

Yours of Nov. 23, 1889, received, asking the cause of your removal. When your successor receives his commission, turn the office over to him without further notice.

Yours truly,

J. S. CLARKSON, First Assistant P. G.

Mr. Butler, his successor, informs us that the causes assigned for Mr. Ratnour's removal "are on file with the President."

Jacob Van Riper was postmaster at Rutherford, N. J. He was removed, and wrote to the President asking what charges, if any, had been preferred against him. The receipt of his letter was acknowledged by the President's private secretary on July 10, 1889, and he was informed that it had been referred to the postmaster-general. He obtained no further information as to the cause of his removal.

Henry S. Farnum was removed from the post-office at Uxbridge, Mass., on November 20, 1889, as he understood, upon the report of Inspector Stoddard, and his successor, Crysis T. Scott, was appointed by recommendation of Congressman Walker. Judge A. A. Putnam

wrote to the postmaster-general as follows: "I do very respectfully request of the department that Mr. Farnum be permitted to know for what specific cause or causes his removal from office was recommended, and, to the end that justice be done him, and the state of facts bearing upon the matter of his removal be made apparent to the people of this town, he should be permitted to meet whatever charges may have been made impugning his integrity or competency." No information was furnished.

D. W. Pratt, postmaster at Farmington, Me., removed Dec. 18, 1889, writes: "I wrote the Postmaster-General last December, asking him what law I had violated. He acknowledged the receipt of my letter, but has never answered it."

Harry C. Evans was removed as postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., and when Congressman Walter J. Hays inquired on his behalf the reasons for the removal, an answer is returned of which Mr. Evans sends us the following copy:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 3, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR—In response to your letter of January 30, asking to be advised "what, if any, charges were made against H. C. Evans, late postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., as basis of his removal," I would say that the change was made on statements of reliable people in Bloomfield for the improvement of the postal service. It seemed a pretty clear case; and I would be glad to send you the statements, *except that they were made by private citizens and in a confidential manner.* The fact that Mr. A. H. Fortune, previous postmaster in the same city, was removed by President Cleveland before the expiration of his term, no doubt had something to do with the eagerness of the republicans in Bloomfield to replace Mr. Evans with a republican postmaster. I know personally the persons making the complaints, and was satisfied of the truth of their statements; and I presume it was largely on my assurance as to the sufficiency of these statements that the almost invariable rule adopted by the present administration of sending an inspector to verify such statements was not followed in this case. Very truly yours,

J. S. CLARKSON, F. A. Postmaster-General.

HON. WALTER I. HAYES, M. C., Washington, D. C.

A. H. W. Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., addressed to the postmaster-general the following letter:

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., April 26, 1889.

SIR—Having learned through Mr. L. Le B. Holmes that I have been removed from the office of postmaster upon charges of incompetency and inefficiency, made by Pay Director Gilbert E. Thornton, United States Navy, and indorsed by Hon. Charles S. Randall, and realizing that there is no just ground for such a charge, I would most respectfully ask that the post-office department make a thorough investigation of the case, that I may have an opportunity to exonerate myself. Very respectfully,

A. W. CARPENTER.

HON. JNO. WANAMAKER, P. M. G., Washington, D. C.

But he failed to obtain this opportunity. He writes to your committee as follows in respect to his knowledge of the cause of his removal:

One day Mr. Gilbert E. Thornton, pay director in the navy, called at the post-office and demanded that his letters should be given to him as soon as the mail arrived in the morning, *i. e.*, that the mail should be gone through with, and his letters given to him before the other patrons of the office were served. Now the morning mail brings to this office

from two thousand to four thousand letters daily, and I have known it to go as high as fifty-five hundred.

There are usually from fifty to sixty people in the lobby upon the arrival of the morning mail, waiting for their letters to be boxed. I told Mr. Thornton I could not go through the mail and select his letters before serving the rest of the patrons, but that as soon as the mail reached the office it would be distributed as quickly as it was possible to do it, and that then he should have his mail.

Mr. L. Le B. Holmes, of the law firm of Stetson & Green, of this city, called upon the postmaster-general, who told him I was removed upon charges of incompetency preferred by an officer of the navy, indorsed by Charles S. Randall, representative in congress from this district. He declined to let Mr. Holmes see the charges, but I learned afterwards that the charge made by Mr. Thornton was inefficiency in not handling his mail properly when he was in New Bedford, the same being government business. I know of no other charges that were brought against me.

Mr. L. Le B. Holmes who was a member of the republican city committee of New Bedford, wrote as follows to the postmaster-general in respect to his refusal to investigate this removal: "The investigation asked for would have fully shown all that I represented to you, and the groundlessness of the charges against Mr. Carpenter.

Yet the investigation requested was not granted, obviously because the department did not regard it important to ascertain the truth or falsity of the charges upon which it had removed Mr. Carpenter.

As a republican who has witnessed the whole transaction, I ought to and do feel humiliated. It is a revelation as to the conduct of the administration of my own party.

Its platform and the letter of acceptance of President Harrison distinctly promised that should not be done which I have seen done here with my own eyes. Nor is that even fairly stating it. Not only has an honest and efficient public officer been dismissed from the service on a charge of incompetency, but he has been turned out of office under a cloud, and denied even the opportunity of proving the utter falsity of such a charge.

If this is the spirit of civil service reform, civil service reform should be denounced by all honest men. The old way of removing an official because he was not of our party was more honest and decent.

A letter addressed to the new postmaster, and answered by him, failed to elicit any other or different statement of the facts concerning this removal.

William H. Greenhow, removed from the office of postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., addressed the post-office department on the 3d of December, 1889, asking if any charges had been filed against his management of the office. He received the following answer:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 6, 1889.

SIR—Yours of the 3d inst. relative to charges against the management of the post-office at Hornellsville, Steuben county, N. Y., and requesting a copy of same, has been received and placed upon the files of this office. In reply, I beg to inform you that it is not the custom of the department to furnish postmasters with copies of charges against them, except in cases provided by section 25, page 727, of the "Official Postal Guide" for 1889.

Very respectfully, J. S. CLARKSON,
F. A. Postmaster General.

[The section referred to is found among "Suggestions to the Public on Postal Subjects," and contains the following: "Copies of papers on the files of the department will not be furnished on the application of individuals, except in cases where a suit is commenced and pending, involving the substance of the paper or document itself, and then only on the certificate of counsel showing that such papers or documents are material as evidence in the trial or preparation for trial of the cause, and stating wherein such materiality consists, with such other proof of materiality as may be required by the postmaster-general."]

It will thus be seen that by the rules of the department, as interpreted by Mr. Clarkson, no copies of charges can be furnished to the men whose removal is contemplated or perhaps already made.

The following letter is from the postmaster-general in regard to the cause of the removal of Mr. Langham as postmaster at Hawley:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 1, 1890. }

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo, I have to advise you that, according to the best information received at the department, a change in the office of postmaster at Hawley, Pa., was made in the interest of better mail service.

Very respectfully,

JOHN WANAMAKER, Postmaster-General.

MR. P. J. LANGHAM, Hawley, Pa.

James DeLaney was removed as postmaster at Orlando, Fla.; and if any charges were made against his administration, he was unable to find out what they were. His successor, Mr. Ingram Fletcher, writes: "There were charges preferred against Mr. DeLaney by certain republicans; but what they were I know not, as I never saw them. Mr. Charles E. Ferguson and I believe in civil service reform; and, feeling like most every other citizen, that Mr. DeLaney had made an efficient officer, we asked that he be retained until his time expired, unless he had violated some postal law. Mr. Ferguson asked to see the charges, but they were not shown to him."

Mr. H. E. Bundy was removed from the post-office at Oneonta, N. Y., no notice being given to him of any charges preferred, and he knew of none until his removal from office.

Mr. George E. Bachelder, the post-office inspector, who had inspected his office only a few weeks before the removal, writes to him a letter of which he sends us the following copy:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF POST-OFFICE INSPECTOR,
ALBANY, N. Y., June 2, 1889. }

Mr. H. E. Bundy, Oneonta, N. Y.:

FRIEND BUNDY—I am surprised that there is a change in postmaster at your post-office. Supposed you would stay as long as any one differing from the present administration.

You have my best wishes for success in whatever you venture, as I am sure, from the executive ability shown by you in the management of the post-office, you are entitled to success in any business that you undertake.

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE E. BACHELDER, P. O. I.

The tendency of political intrigues for appointments and removals to perpetuate themselves can not be better illustrated than by the case of the post-office at Wyoming, Ill. In this case the incumbent was removed, and no cause assigned, so far as he knew. This fact being communicated to Augustus G. Hammond, his successor, Mr. Hammond answers that the cause was the manner in which Mr. Thomas secured his own appointment, being the result of a political intrigue. Now, if this proceeding is to be used in like manner against Mr. Hammond upon the next change of administration, it is pretty evident that the removals upon charges and counter-charges could go on indefinitely, and this quite without reference to the fact whether the office had been administered efficiently or not.

Mr. J. H. Middleton, former postmaster at

West Hoboken, N. J., states that no cause was assigned for his removal:

My successor was asked to make a charge, but answered, no charge could be made against me, as I ran the office to the satisfaction of the people.

To this his successor, Julius Klumpp, answered:

I did not use my influence to have the said gentleman removed, or was asked to prefer charges, or that I said no charges could be made, as he ran the office to the satisfaction of the people. How could I say such a thing? Because we are aware, and the good book says, mankind is not infallible, consequently charges could always be made if required.

Your committee can not too strongly express its reprobation of the continuance of this system of removals upon secret charges by unknown accusers without opportunity for defence, explanation, or denial. It is inquisitorial in its character, and totally inconsistent with republican institutions and with our present civilization. It encourages falsehood and slander, which are thus protected by the veil of official secrecy, and the confiscation of the office for the benefit of the informer completes the injustice. No efficient civil service can be procured until such a system is utterly overthrown. It leads to the appointment of the men who are the most unfit to carry on the business of the government, the slanderer and maligner receiving the place as a reward for his evil doings. This system could easily be abolished if the inspector or the department, previous to the removal, should be required to acquaint the officer accused with the nature of the charge against him and hear what he had to say. If such a vast number of removals were not made for purely political reasons, this would not be by any means an impossible or even a difficult task. It is only because the energies of the department and of the inspectors are exhausted in an improper and immoral effort to turn men out without cause for political reasons that they might find it difficult to give the necessary time to an investigation of charges, where publicity would be some guarantee that they were honestly made.

It would be just as absurd to expect a judge to decide a case properly when he heard nothing but the plaintiff's statement as to expect removals to be properly made under such a system as this. Your committee is of the opinion that there is no evil in the spoils system as inherently wicked as this, whereby both the livelihood and reputation of innocent men are liable to be overthrown by secret and false accusations.

In connection with these removals upon secret charges, it may be well to recall the expressions made by Mr. Harrison in the senate upon this subject in his speech of March 26, 1886, as reported in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 7, No. 3, page 2,790, *et seq.* In reference to executive nominations then pending in the senate, he said:

Let me say now that, if the prompt and just demand which was made in many cases by the incumbents of these offices, when they were suspended under charges, to be advised of the character of those charges and to have an op-

portunity, however little it might influence the mind of the executive, to place on file their ample refutation of the slanders and lies that had crept into the departments against them—if that denials had been allowed, I must believe that most of the cases that are held up before the senate would have been withdrawn or have gone through. . . .

In many of these cases it leaked out in the community where the officer resided that charges had been filed against him. Some base fellows had been used for that unholy office, and, being advised that charges had been sent, the appeal was made to heads of the different departments, and, I believe, in many cases to the President himself, to be advised of the character of the charges made. . . . Here was an accusation, a hearing, a sentence and an execution without the accused being advised of the character of the charges against him. . . .

What is it these people ask? An honorable discharge after honorable service. That is all. They ask that they may go out of the offices, to the duties of which they have devoted themselves with conscientious fidelity, with an honorable discharge. . . .

As I shall show presently, democratic newspapers and many democratic congressmen do not approve of the policy that stimulates and invites charges against the characters of men and women and hides these charges from the light of day. That is the issue; and, great as the constitutional questions involved here may be, it is practically a greater question whether this government in its civil service shall be administered as in the Star Chamber, where accusations may be lodged and heard and decided without the knowledge of the man whose interests are to be affected and whose character is to be blackened. . . . Will you unite here in support of a proposition which denies to a republican removed knowledge of the charges filed against him in a public department of this government? . . . My colleague (Mr. Voorhees) arraigned the senate because, he said, we were condemning the attorney-general unheard. . . . What does he think, then, of these trials that have been going on from day to day in the secrecy of the postmaster-general's office, with closed doors? These charges, by the thousand, are piled upon his table, and he assorts them over, and, without letting the persons accused know or have any intimation that they are accused at all, he deprives them of office and, so far as such judgment can, of their good reputation. . . .

My colleague said yesterday that the first feeling of the masses was for fair play. . . . Does he think this is fair play? In every Anglo-Saxon heart, and especially in the western heart, among the frontiersmen, who always believed in a fair fight, there is that imbedded sense of justice and fair play which resents and denounces these unfair methods.

Mr. Harrison quotes with approval the following extract from the *Freeman*, an independent paper at Indianapolis:

A place is wanted for a camp-follower. Of course, it must be forthcoming. But Vilas has said that no one will be removed unless charges be preferred. So some convict or gutter-snipe is hired to blacken the character of the man who is unfortunate enough to hold the coveted place. When he is bounced, he tries to find out what is the reason for it; and he is told that he can not be allowed to see the charges or to be faced by his accuser. He goes out under a cloud of suspicion. We say this is outrageous. It is one of the fundamental rules of Anglo-Saxon liberty that every man shall be entitled to a fair trial. And this swearing away the character of American citizens can not be apologized for by the warmest friend of the administration.

Mr. Harrison then refers to the case of the postmaster at Shelbyville, as follows:

Last summer he was suspended from office. It was understood through the town that some charges had been presented against him. The men who made them did not disclose themselves, and he could gather at home no intimation as to their character. Whether they affected his personal integrity, whether they charged a mal-administration of the office, or whether he was simply charged with being a republican, he could not tell. He sat down and addressed the postmaster-general a letter, asking, in the most respectful way, to be advised of the character of the charges against him. He got no answer. Need I add that? Who did get an answer? Failing to get an answer from the postmaster-general, he addressed me this letter [here Mr. Harrison quotes the letter, asking for a copy of the charges preferred against him, and says]: Upon that letter I wrote, on the 9th day of July, 1885, this indorsement: "Respectfully referred to the Honorable Postmaster-General. I hope you will not deny the request of Mr. Bone to be advised of the character of any charges filed against him, and to have an opportunity to meet them. The slip he encloses from the democratic newspaper shows how good an officer he has made; and his good civil record, with a long, gallant service in the war for the union, entitles him, I think, to a favorable consideration of his request," and adds: Not only this soldier's appeal to know, but my appeal in his behalf, went unanswered from the post-office, and remain unanswered to this day. I want to know if there is a democratic senator here who approves of that sort of treatment of a citizen. I want to know if there is one who, much more, approves of that sort of treatment of a man who for four years fought for his country in the hour of its pressing danger. If the democratic party means to unite upon this issue and in defense of these practices, then I welcome the issue.

Mr. Harrison then cites the case of Isabelle Dela Hunt, somewhat similar in character, as well as a number of others, and says:

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not pursue and compel his cabinet officers to pursue a civil service policy pure and simple upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly, either have that kind of a civil service, or, for God's sake let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. It was the conflict of these currents—the President on one side, endeavoring to be responsive to his self-imposed pledges, and the pressure of his party on the other—that has driven those who were at the heads of the departments, in the attempt to preserve and maintain the President's professions and at the same time to give to the hungry who were demanding to be fed,—it was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable that has brought this wretched condition of things in which men and women are condemned without a hearing. Let us have one or the other, pure and simple.

It seems incredible that the administration of the man who uttered these words should perpetuate this system of removals upon secret charges. Yet such is the fact.

Your committee concur most heartily with the expressions quoted above. They furnish the best standard of criticism possible of the system of removals which is still practiced in the post-office department. It can never be unjust to the President to judge him by his

own standard of duty, by his own conceptions of justice and fair play. The fittest condemnation of his own acts is found in his own words. Nor will it do to shift the responsibility from the chief executive to the heads of these departments. Mr. Harrison has told us why it can not be so evaded: "I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue or *compel his cabinet officers to pursue* a civil service policy pure and simple, . . . or," etc. It is not the postmaster-general and his first assistant who, in the last analysis, is responsible. It is the President, who appointed Wanamaker and Clarkson, and who permitted these things to be.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. DUDLEY FOULKE, *Chairman*.

CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.

RICHARD H. DANA.

WAYNE MACVEAGH.

SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

THE CAUSE.

THE President will do well to heed a staunch republican paper like the *Minneapolis Journal*, which warns him thus:

"The President appears to have been captured by the looting element from the time he got comfortably seated in the white house. His appointees for postmaster-general and assistant-postmaster were extremely hostile to the reform, and they have ignored the law and defied it ever since they went into office. The administration has made a complete failure of itself so far as the civil service reform pledges are concerned. This failure is to be deeply regretted. Every such failure hurts the republican party. It has declared for civil service reform. It must place an administration in power which is brave enough to execute that reform."

In 1888 the people of the United States trusted us with their political power. Now, the first power was the power to appoint postmasters and all the various officers of this great government of ours; and that power, instead of being a strength to any party, is a weakness to any party, and upon that basis nearly all the public men who fall in public life by the wayside fall by the exercise of patronage. I say to you now, if I had the power I would not allow a member of congress to recommend any man for any office whatever. I would take from your political agents all the power that is vested in them by custom—not by law; I would take from them all that power, and I would not even allow a member of congress to recommend postmasters, because it is an element of weakness; it weakens the member of the house and senate, and it makes a cause of constant trouble and quarrel, and I think the time will soon come, and the republican party will be the agent in that great reform, when a law will be passed separating entirely the appointing power from the law-making power.—*Senator Sherman at Pittsburgh, October, 1890.*

Mr. Leonidas F. Houk, of Tennessee, is one of the most aggressive republican opponents of reform in the civil service, and in the debate of last winter upon the appropriation for the commission, he made one of the most ve-

hement speeches in denunciation of the reformed system. He held in substance that the entire public service should be regarded as the lawful plunder of the victorious party.

Mr. Houck's majority two years ago was more than 13,000. This year he has been re-elected by about 5,000 majority, and in response to the question, what had caused the republican disaster, he said that it was not the McKinley bill, which was "an element of strength instead of weakness," and is the kind of bill which the republican party will never abandon, nor was it the force bill, nor anything that congress has done, but, he said, according to the report, the defeat "is principally attributable to the matter of offices and dissatisfaction at the distribution of patronage, a dissatisfaction that always follows a change of administration from one party to another."

Of course the dissatisfaction which defeats an administration party is within the party, not in the opposition party. Mr. Houck therefore holds that it was republican disgust, not the repudiation of republican policy by the country, which led to defeat. His remark implies that if the administration, by its distribution of spoils, had not disgusted republicans so that they angrily voted against themselves, they would have carried the election. In other words, the effort to strengthen the party by spoils has overwhelmed it with the greatest disaster in its annals. There could not be a stronger argument for civil service reform than this statement of a bitter enemy. —*Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 22.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

*Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster. . . —BLACKSTONE.*

—A collector of internal revenue for the first New York district, which includes the city of Brooklyn, has always been known to exercise an enormous political influence. He is in a position to hold a rod of iron over the head of every liquor dealer or cigar manufacturer or retailer whom he may for any reason desire to injure. Through this influence the liquor dealers especially have been forced to contribute both time and money to local politics.

Now they are being forced to elect William C. Wallace to congress in the third district. Positive proof of this became public yesterday, together with a letter signed by Ernst Nathan, the United States internal revenue collector, copies of which had been sent to every liquor dealer and cigar manufacturer in town. Nathan is the man who recently showed himself

to be the local republican "boss," and in that capacity forced the renomination of Wallace for congress and dictated the nomination of every other candidate on the republican general ticket.

During the past week it became evident that Mr. William J. Coombs, the democratic candidate for congress in the third district, was making a great fight. It has been known for several days that Nathan tried to get up a deal by which votes for Courtney should be given for votes for Wallace. This was refused, the democrats claiming that they could win without any trading. This led Nathan to resort to the influence of his office, and he had letters like the following printed:

BROOKLYN, Oct. 25, 1890.

DEAR SIR—The Hon. William C. Wallace having been renominated for member of congress for the third district, comprising the seventh, thirteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-third wards, and being very much interested in his reelection, I would deem it a personal favor if you will interest yourself among your friends by advocating his election. Respectfully yours,

ERNST NATHAN.

This was regarded as likely to be thrown into the waste basket, so two days later Nathan had the following official stamp placed in the left-hand corner of each letter:

"Ernst Nathan, Collector Internal Revenue. Oct. 27, 1890. First District, Brooklyn, N. Y."

Then he sent these "orders"—for that's the light in which they have been regarded by those who received them—to the liquor dealers and cigarmakers. One man who received the above took it to the managers of Mr. Coombs's canvass and complained about being intimidated in such a manner.

"This is nothing but intimidation," he said, "and it will force many men to vote for Wallace. This fellow, Nathan, could cause us much annoyance by hauling us up on every slight infraction of the law. His deputies gave an example of what could be done recently when they extorted bribes from liquor dealers when the stamps on empty beer barrels were found to have been torn off. There are many other ways in which Nathan can put us to trouble and expense, and this circular means that he will do it if we vote against Wallace."

A *Times* reporter saw Collector Nathan yesterday and obtained from him a confession that the above letter had been sent out; "but," said Nathan, "I sent copies only to my personal friends."

"Then why was your official stamp placed in one corner two days after the letters were printed?"

"That was merely to identify the letter; to show where it came from. You see, some of the people might have forgotten me."

"But did you not say the letters were sent only to personal friends and were intended to be from Ernst Nathan and not from the United States collector of internal revenue?"

"Oh, certainly," responded Nathan; "but, you see, people may have forgotten me."

"Have you not many personal friends among liquor dealers and cigarmakers, Mr. Nathan?"

"Yes. I am a manufacturer of cigars myself."

"Well, did not some of these circulars get to at least a few of those personal friends?"

"Perhaps they did," was the reply, "but I don't know."—*New York Times*, Nov. 2.

—Mr. Samuel Stratton, who is president of the Union of State Republican Associations, announces that the associations each have a roster which shows every man, woman and child in the service in Washington. It is the intention to send every republican voter home for election day, and to accept subscriptions for campaign purposes. The clubs, Mr. Strat-

ton says, are picking up in membership very rapidly. He said:

"During the Cleveland administration they got timid and left us, but are coming back in swarms now. At present the Illinois, Ohio, Kansas, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New York people are well organized, and Connecticut, Maryland, the Carolinas, Virginia, the District of Columbia and Tennessee are falling into line. We now have a total membership of about fourteen hundred. During the Cleveland administration not a single one of these clubs kept up its organization. They were afraid to take an active part in politics, but recent republican successes, and especially Reed's boom, have entered their bones, and they now want to crawl under the canvas. The mugwumps, interlopers and half-breed fellows are bracing up and declaring themselves."—*Boston Post*, Sept. 16.

—There is one office-holder in Washington who believes thoroughly in the spoils system. His name is Daniel Grosvenor. He is a brother of the Ohio congressman who came out second-best in a skirmish with Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt a few months ago. He held office in the treasury department under former republican administrations, and when President Cleveland came in he was allowed to remain; but about three years ago he received his dismissal for a breach of discipline, and practiced as an attorney till President Harrison was inaugurated, when he soon found his way back to his old place.

Mr. Grosvenor is one of the most notable members of the Ohio republican association, and made a flamboyant speech at a private meeting the other evening, the gist of which has leaked into the local prints. When asked by your correspondent whether he had been correctly reported, he answered:

"I have not seen the accounts, and, as I do not crave newspaper notoriety, I have certainly not authorized any of them."

"You are represented as finding fault with the slow way in which the money has come in from the government employes for campaign purposes."

"Well, I did say that. I have no hesitancy in stating anywhere that I am far from satisfied with the rate at which campaign contributions have been offered. What else do they accuse me of?"

"You are quoted as urging a more efficient method of collecting money from the clerks."

"I am, eh? Well, I did say something of that sort, too. I remember saying that, in my opinion, any man who wouldn't put up his money for the support of the party that gives him his bread and butter ought to be turned out of his place. And that is just exactly what I do think."

"But there is a hint given of some plan you have devised whereby the civil service law can be evaded."

"Yes, I proposed such a plan, and there were plenty of those present who approved it. But some of them, toward the close of the meeting, got frightened and went back on the whole thing."

"And the details of your plan were —"

"Ah, my friend, I am not giving them away to the enemy," and Mr. Grosvenor chuckled. "No, sir, it may be adopted yet, so you needn't try to get me to expose it. I'll simply say that it is a very good one and ought to have been taken up. Is there anything else? No? Good-day."

From other sources it is learned that Grosvenor's plan was to have every clerk notified by the state association to call at the city post-office and get a letter which he would find addressed to him there. The letter would be, of course, the dunning circular from his club. It is held by Grosvenor that the post-office is not

a "government office" in the sense intended by the law against soliciting political subscriptions, and hence that no prosecution could follow such a device. The question at once suggests itself, why it would not be a more direct and easy process to send the circular to each clerk at his residence, where the law could not reach it? The answer is, that in case of recent changes of residence, or owing to some other hindrance, the circulars might go astray. If a clerk is notified personally at his desk by an officer of his club that a letter is in the post-office for him, and he does not call for it, that "spots" him at once as "disloyal." If he does call for it and does not respond with a gift of cash, he goes upon the black list unless he can give a satisfactory explanation.

Samuel R. Stratton, the "high-cockalorum" of the state republican clubs in Washington, is out in an interview this morning in which he says of the clerks who are going home to vote: "I issued at least 100 certificates to day to clerks who wished to avail themselves of the half-fare rates. The railroads at first wanted to limit the tickets to four days before and four days after the election. This, however, would not have allowed the clerks to go home and work for the party before election day. So a larger limit was fixed. Quite a number of the department clerks and officials have already gone home, and are making speeches for the party. R. Theophilus, assistant disbursing officer of the house, who is a Welshman, has gone to talk republicanism to the Welsh people in Representative Bayne's district. C. W. Filer, chief of the war and navy division in the pension office, and secretary of the Connecticut republican association, is making good use of his leave by helping the republicans in his state. A number of government printing office employes have gone home to talk and vote. I shall leave on Saturday, and am already booked for speeches in Pennsylvania towns."

Stratton has a clerkship at the capitol, and is on the pay-roll of congress.—*Dispatch to New York Evening Post, Oct. 23.*

—The control of this matter, according to the *Washington Post*, is under the direction of Samuel R. Stratton, president of the "union of republican state associations." Mr. Stratton is a federal office-holder from Pennsylvania. He is described in an interview to-day as being enthusiastic over the prospects of republican success. He said:

"The outlook is good so far as we people in Washington are concerned, and remember now that I speak for the organizations within the radius of our union of state republican associations. There was never greater activity and energy put forth in getting every qualified voter home for the November election."

"Have you lists prepared from your own state of the voters employed in the various departments, and are the state organizations similarly provided?"

"Yes, we have a roster showing every man, woman and child from the state of Pennsylvania employed in the government service. To-night this roster will be overhauled, and the faithful will be checked with a blue mark. The doubtful men and pretenders, and the fellows who hide behind the civil service will be checked in red."

"The unfaithful will be known?"

"Every man. He will be marked. I ought not to give this away, but there are a few of our people who have lost their legal residence in the states, who have been formed into a sort of vigilance committee to keep watch on the stragglers and report them after election."

"Are all the associations on the alert in this particular?"

"So far as I know, no guilty man will be allowed to escape, and the appointing power of the government will be obliged to take cognizance of this report after the election is over."

This, in other words, is a brutally frank

admission that government employes who do not contribute both their time and money to the interests of the republican party will be reported to the appointing power in the different departments with a view to securing their dismissal. The "bosses" estimate that of the employes who will thus be dragooned into going home, 600 belong to New York, 200 to Massachusetts, 1,500 to Maryland, 200 to Indiana, 600 to Pennsylvania, 30 to Wisconsin, 80 to Ohio, 150 to Illinois, 70 to Connecticut, 50 to Michigan, 80 to North Carolina, 30 to Iowa, 500 to Virginia, 100 to New Hampshire, 30 to Delaware, 30 to Rhode Island, and 30 to Kansas.—*Boston Post, Oct. 20.*

—When Representative Willard Howland of Chelsea, was conducting a campaign for the nomination as secretary of the commonwealth on the republican ticket, one of his newspaper organs charged that the custom house was backing Colonel William M. Olin, and beyond that claimed that custom house influence was attempting to control the policy of the party in the state as in years past under republican administrations. Officials in the custom house are certainly engaging in politics this year as they never did under Collector Saltonstall during the administration of President Cleveland. Upon the stump for the republican tickets in the state this fall have been heard Collector Alanson W. Beard and Deputy Collector John L. Swift, while Inspector of Customs Edward Fitzwilliams has given a large part of his time since the campaign opened to speaking at rallies throughout the state. Upon the list of republican speakers displayed at the republican state committee headquarters on School street, there also appears the name of Special Agent of the Treasury Department Charles H. Litchman. Naval Officer Frank D. Currier, of New Hampshire, is secretary of the republican state committee of that state and is now on the stump there. He is very little at the naval office owing to the press of campaign work. Internal Revenue Collector Frank E. Orcutt has taken a lively interest in the present campaign, with McIlrose politics especially, and was in the state convention. Dr. E. G. Frothingham, of Haverhill, is examiner of drugs at the custom house and also chairman of the republican city committee of Haverhill. At a republican rally there last week he called the meeting to order, and is doing very active work in the politics of his city and state. Two other active politicians are Messenger Flanagan, of the collector's department, and Night Inspector J. J. McCarthy. Both of these men are taking an active part in the politics of their localities, and the former is said to be absent from his post a large share of the time. "Under President Cleveland," said a custom house official last night, "not a federal officer in Massachusetts went on the stump. More than that, no federal officers took any part in politics, except to vote as they thought right, and no influence was brought to bear to cause them to vote. To-day every United States official in the state of republican proclivities is being used for political purposes to the neglect of official duties. Under Collector Saltonstall some of the officers asked permission to take part in politics, but he declined to give it. He circulated the order of President Cleveland prohibiting federal officials from taking part in politics, through all the divisions, and the clerks read it and indorsed it on the back as having read it. Consequently the printed copies of the order contained the signatures of all the men, so that they could not, if brought to task for going into politics other than to vote, plead that they did not know about the order. There was never any cause for complaint against anybody, however, on the score of violating Mr. Cleveland's order."—*Boston Post, Nov. 3.*

—The *Republican* can not support the claims of Joseph G. Cannon this year, because they are adverse to the best interests of the republican party in the district. Mr. Cannon is the candidate this year, not by the free and untrammelled voice of the republican party of the district, but by the crafty manipulation of a well organized factional Cannon machine, which has controlled the nominating conventions of the district for more than a dozen years past.

This factional machine is fostered by a perpetual district committee, selected biennially by delegates picked, usually, by the committeeman himself in his county convention. Chas. P. Hitch, whose federal office-holding under the influence of Mr. Cannon makes him, except for voting purposes, a non-resident of the district, is now, and has for the past ten years, been the committeeman from Edgar county; Postmaster Weaver represents Coles; ex-Postmaster Wright, Champaign; Post-office Inspector Dice, Vermillion, and L. L. Parker, Douglas county. These constitute the present committee. Thus this committee is, and has been, selfishly Cannonized for years. Republicans who do not favor the life-term policy of Mr. Cannon have not a representative or a friend in this committee. Why are non-officeholding republicans studiously kept off the congressional committee? Nor is this kind of selection of committeemen confined to the congressional committee. It runs on through to the smallest committee. Everything is Cannonized in the fifteenth district. Every aspirant for any office, little or big, is closely scrutinized by machine bosses, and unless he willingly subscribes fealty to the factional machine, he is a marked subject and ostracised at once and in every way.—*Paris [Ill.] Republican on Congressman Cannon.*

—Jo. Cannon accounts for the opposition of some half dozen republican papers in his district by declaring that the editors are disappointed aspirants for post-offices.—*Rockford [Ill.] Register, Oct. 24.*

—The Ohio men who hold office in Washington are the latest sufferers from the republican campaign assessments. Each clerk and government employe from Ohio received to-day a notice from the executive committee of the republican state committee that William Mayse had been authorized to receive subscriptions from Ohio men, and that as the committee was in need of money, it was expected that the contributions would be liberal. Mr. Mayse, who is a note broker of Ninth street, is treasurer of the Ohio state association.

The notice informs the clerks that Mayse will keep, for the state committee, a complete record of their contributions, a copy of which will be furnished to the association. It was, of course, unnecessary to tell the clerks what use would be made of this record. They understood perfectly well that it is a threat to punish any one who fails to appear upon it as a contributor.—*Dispatch to New York Times, Oct. 20.*

—The men who are managing William Kramer's campaign for sheriff were disturbed yesterday by a well authenticated rumor to the effect that Nathan [internal revenue collector] and Nichols were preparing to sell out their man in the wards comprising the third congressional district in order to save Wallace. This story has been circulated among democrats for several days, but it was not until yesterday that the Kramer people put any faith in it. Then they started an investigation, which, it is said, opened their eyes. They learned of several instances of trading on the part of republicans, and then hurried to Nathan with their proofs. He denied all knowledge of such a thing, and

said it would be the height of folly to knife the only German on the republican ticket. He promised to investigate the matter and put a stop to all deals. Kramer, according to his managers, is not going to sit down and put entire faith in Nathan's promise.—*New York Times*, Oct. 29.

—The republicans at this end of the state have been crying to Blaine, and he would not hear them. A special messenger was sent to Chicago in the person of *Revenue Collector Warmcastle*, to plead with the secretary of state to make one speech in Pittsburgh.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 29.

—Internal Revenue Commissioner John W. Mason thought he would assist in the defeat of Representative Wm. L. Wilson, of West Virginia. Mr. M. F. Hall is a prominent republican in Mr. Wilson's district, and the editor of the *Phillippi Republican*. Mr. J. E. Hall is a well-known democrat of Phillippi, and a warm friend of Mr. Wilson. Commissioner Mason thought he could give the republican editor a "pointer or two" for use against Wilson, and wrote about it to Mr. Hall. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Mason addressed his letter to Mr. J. E. Hall, instead of Mr. M. F. Hall, and now his little scheme to injure Mr. Wilson in the second district is exposed.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 29.

—One of the two battle grounds in the state is the sixth, or what is known locally as the Newark district. The administration pressure that forced Lehlbach into retirement bred heart-burnings and disagreements and so disaffected the German element that it was believed that the district could not be saved again to the republicans. They gave the nomination Mr. Lehlbach was not permitted to have to Elias M. Condit. The *Times* has heretofore told of the contest between Gen. Sewell and the Essex republicans over the distribution of the federal patronage. One of the bitterest of recent struggles was over the revenue collectorship. The Newark republicans wanted a Newark man appointed because he was to succeed a Newark man, and because it is in Newark that most of the revenue of the district is collected. Gen. Sewell induced President Harrison to give the place to an ex-senator from the Hunterdon wilderness. There was another breach between them and Sewell over the United States district attorneyship, and the Newark republicans were discomfited again. Then Judge Fort wanted to be solicitor general, and he failed to get it. Wayne Parker wanted two or three things. He received in place of them an offer of something he did not want.—*New Jersey Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 6.

—One of the most active of the republican managers in the work of raising money from government clerks and employes during the campaign just closed, was the notorious W. W. Dudley, of "blocks of five" fame. His latest effort in that line was in the interest of republican candidates here and there, who needed "boodle" in their districts. Dudley's plan was simple enough. In the case of a South Carolina candidate, for example, he wrote a personal letter to the clerks from that state, saying that he had himself subscribed \$100 for use in Mr. Blank's district, and calling upon the clerks to give liberally to help the republicans to win. Dudley was careful to send letters to the house addresses of the clerks, and so keep himself just outside of the penalties of the civil service law, which forbids any importuning of clerks for political contributions in their offices. If Dudley really contributed \$100 to the campaign fund of each of the candidates for whom he has asked money from others, he will have a snug little bill of ex-

penses for the republican congressional committee to foot.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Nov. 4.

—The arrangement now is for President Harrison to leave Washington for this city Sunday night. He will arrive here Monday night and return to Washington Tuesday afternoon or night. Attorney-General Miller and Private Secretary Halford will accompany the President. With the exception of the President, Mr. Miller and Mr. Halford, nearly all the Indianapolis men holding government positions at Washington are here to vote. Several came in last evening, among them the President's barber.—*Indianapolis News*, Nov. 1.

—According to the officers of the various state associations, who have been very active in the work of driving voters home, not less than 5,000 government employes will be absent from their posts next Tuesday for the purpose of voting in their respective congressional districts.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 29.

—Congressman Sherman, of New York, secured the appointment of country postmasters by the score, but in the majority of cases he thereby provoked lasting enmities. It appears to have been his ambition to build up a personal machine as an annex to the "gang," and, as is usual in such cases, the unworthy received his favor. But the climax came a year ago. The whole county of Oneida was intensely excited over the impending struggle for the district attorneyship. The "gang," which is largely reinforced by gamblers and other law-breakers, set out to capture the office of public prosecutor. Sherman threw his whole influence for one Van Auken, who had been a tool of the "gang." By means of his postmasters and other official retainers he was enabled to control the county convention and nominate Van Auken. The better element of the party fought Van Auken in the convention, where much bad blood was displayed. Their candidate was Josiah Perry, an able and reputable lawyer. Then followed one of the most exciting contests in the history of this storm center of state politics. The democrats renominated district attorney Thos. S. Jones, who was the mortal enemy of the "gang." The result was that Sherman's candidate was snowed under by 2,300 plurality in a county that had given Harrison 1,932.—*Rome [N. Y.] Dispatch to New York Times*, October 13.

—When the new ballot law left the hands of the governor, the employes in the several state departments breathed easy. They felt that it exempted them from further political assessment. This belief was strengthened when it was learned that there was to be no contest over the court of appeals judgeship. When the 1st of October had passed and no notification had been given of any assessment, the clerks and others felt certain that they were to escape. Then, without warning, notification was given the employes in nearly all the departments that an assessment of 2½ per cent. on yearly salaries was needed immediately.

The order was reluctantly obeyed, but there was no dodging it, and portions of the month's salaries were assigned over to Controller Wemple and State Treasurer Danforth. Clerks were assessed \$30 to \$40, and orderlies and messengers \$10 to \$15. The corruption fund amounted to several thousand dollars.—*Dispatch from Albany to New York Times*, Oct. 17.

—HEADQUARTERS OF THE CENTRAL REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DR. M. URWITZ, Secretary, Houston, Tex.: FELLOW-REPUBLICANS—Our patience is exhausted, and we can not any longer endure the shame, disgrace and humiliation brought upon the re-

publicans in Texas by the audacity, arrogance, corruption and treachery of the negro leaders and their followers. They have taken forcible possession of our primaries and ruled our conventions with relentless tyranny, and have driven many of the best and most patriotic white republicans out of the party ranks. They have demoralized and disorganized the republican party of our state. They have laughed decency to scorn and branded patriotism with ignominy. They have bartered their citizenship away in open market and have sold their votes to the highest bidder at every election. Republicanism in Texas has become a stigma upon American citizenship, a reproach to our civilization and a curse to our country.—*Circular Referring to Collector Coney [Galveston], St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 17.

THE REST OF THE PLATFORMS.

We condemn it for its deliberate abandonment of civil service reform, for its use of cabinet and other official positions to pay financial campaign debts.—*Michigan State Democratic Platform*, September, 1890.

We again pledge the republican party in this state to the fullest sympathy with the letter and spirit of every reform which would prevent the bestowal of public offices to secure political support, and trust that the principle of the civil service law will be extended throughout the post-office department, and that the president, under the authority already given him, will extend it wherever practicable. And we call upon our representatives in congress to support the civil service commission by such appropriations as may be required for its greatest efficiency.

We congratulate the administration on its national civil service commission, which has executed and defended the civil service law with courage and vigor. The very successful application of the principles of that reform to the employment of laborers in the city of Boston suggests a method of regulating the employment of laborers in the navy yards and other public establishments, which would prevent all charges of suspicions of abuse, and we urge the consideration of this upon the President and congress.—*Massachusetts State Republican Platform*, Sept., 1890.

We condemn the administration for its open and defiant repudiation of the letter and the spirit of the civil service laws, for making wholesale removals and appointments for purely partisan purposes, and for permitting the active interference of federal officeholders in Massachusetts politics, an interference in striking contrast with the course of the holders of the same offices under the democratic administration.—*Massachusetts State Democratic Platform*, Sept., 1890.

We arraign the present republican administration, not only for its gross and willful violation of its pretensions in favor of civil service reform by the removal of competent and faithful officers before the expiration of their terms, but for the appointment to office of notoriously incompetent, disreputable and corrupt men, and for its reward of unscrupulous partisans because of their corrupt connection with the elections of 1888, in contributing large sums of money to poison the ballot and debauch electors.

We denounce it for prostituting the census bureau to secure partisan information, to the neglect of a correct and complete census in all sections of the country.—*Indiana Democratic Congressional Convention, Terre Haute*, July 24.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

We have still to convince them [the independent voters] that democracy means something more than mere management for party success and a partisan distribution of benefits after success. This can only be done by insisting that in the conduct of our party principles touching the public welfare shall be placed above spoils, and this is the sentiment of the masses of the democratic party to-day.—Ex-President Cleveland to Young Men's Democratic Club, Canton, Ohio, December, 1890.

VOL. I, No. 22.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1890.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

AN organization in Washington calling itself the Indiana Republican Club, and apparently headed by one W. W. Curry, met December 6, and resolved that the exigencies of the hour call for the appointment of "tried and true republicans in place of democrats holding positions outside of civil service scope." The brazen quality of this resolution is almost beyond comprehension. About everything in Indiana "outside of civil service scope" has been handed over, and throughout the country post-offices have been given to "tried and true republicans" at the rate of over thirty thousand a year, and other offices at the same rate. The Washington special sending the above resolution to the Indianapolis *Journal* of December 8, also says: "The President has stood by the party workers, and in a way that elicits the endorsement of all members of the party here and wherever the conditions are known." And yet, upon the heels of this, comes the worst defeat the republican party has ever known.

THE truth is, Washington clubs have become a source of dislike to the people. They are largely made up of office-holders, some of whom are forced in by the others who are the most offensive type of politicians. In addition, there is a crowd, such as claim agents, whose business somehow goes better if their party is in office. Almost all are obscure persons. For instance, away from his neighborhood about all that is known of W. W. Curry is that he is from somewhere in Indiana, and that he was one of those who, by the sufferance of President Harrison, were engaged in bleeding government employes just before the late election. The Indiana Republican Club has but one conviction upon the subject of its resolution, and that is that receiving a living off the government as spoil is a good thing and must be kept up, and the way to keep it up is to have as much of it as possible.

THIS is all there is of it. This club could not change two hundred votes in Indiana. Its actions in campaigns impress the people as an attempt of a ring of office-holders and hangers on to control the state from Washington. The appearance here of the Ransdell-McFarland crowd from Washington before the late election affected the republican party adversely a hundred-fold more than it did favorably.

These are not the times for office-holders to interfere in campaigns. When the time comes that they can write and speak and give money to a political cause without affecting their own tenure, they will do it from a belief in principles, and it will, within the fair limits of discussion and within the efficient performance of their duties, be a harmless and proper exercise of their rights as citizens.

THE system upon which labor is obtained by this city is wasteful and extravagant. It is a system of personal and political favoritism; and any public work of any kind which is done by the rule of favoritism is done at a needless expense. It is, besides, a corruptor of public morals, for it teaches laborers to rely, not upon their own merits as workmen and as citizens, but upon the power of a political boss. It is time that this species of boss government was done away with. The Boston labor system accomplishes this by providing registers upon which laborers, without regard to color, politics, religion, or political or personal influence, may get their names in the order of application and in turn may get employment. It is sufficient to say that criminals and bad citizens can not get their names upon these registers.

CHAS. E. VANDEVER, a republican of Terre Haute, was appointed by President Cleveland agent of the Navajo Indians. There is the highest authority for saying that his record as agent was excellent. He was dismissed not long since and the Indian Rights Association, much disappointed by reason of its great satisfaction with Vandever's work, tried to ascertain the cause. The department of the interior replied that "the department does not feel at liberty to disclose the contents of private files, whatever their nature." It is not surprising that a secretary who has played a trick with the public service should sneak behind the shelter that the evidence of his trick is "private files." It is not aside the mark to say that Vandever was dismissed because some party boss wanted his place for a henchman. This proceeding is in line with Secretary Noble's career.

"Gene" Higgins appears to have lost some of that serenity for which he was well known as a Democratic office-holder. He was here yesterday on a visit of some sort, and at a well-known saloon he fell in with another ex-office holder named Gallagher. An animated controversy that was begun in the saloon was continued with him on the sidewalk, and finally led to a bout between Gallagher and Higgins, when Gallagher pressed Higgins hard and presently thumped him with so much vigor that "Gene's" blood besprinkled the sidewalk.

Spectators of the affray say that Higgins drew a glittering weapon after he was struck, but did not get a chance to defend himself with it, and that a companion named Lathrop, from California, when Higgins was knocked down, drew a preposterously large "gun" from his pocket, to the dismay of the throng that was studying the fighting qualities of Higgins and Gallagher. The controversy is understood to have been about an election matter.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, Dec. 3.*

This is the henchman whom Senator Gorman compelled President Cleveland to retain in office against the protest of respectable democrats, though the President knew perfectly well that the scandal of his yielding to such compulsion would stain his whole administration.

In the same manner President Harrison, as a resident of Indianapolis, must be entirely familiar with the history of McFarland, employed in the government printing office, an appointment so disgraceful that the seasoned politicians even felt squeamish. It is instances like these that disclose the real character of a government by feudal chiefs. Higgins and McFarland are obscure men of unsavory character. Such are likely to slip into public place, but why is it that a president can not, or does not, turn them into the street when decent people demand it? They are somebody's henchmen, and no interference will be tolerated with the lowliest of their hirelings.

THE *Indianapolis Journal* of December 8, has a special from its Washington correspondent containing an interview with a man who, he says, is "a republican representative from the west, and his name is a household word throughout a broad expanse of the country." The representative said:

"Don't publish my name, but say to the world that in politics we find the basest and most general ingratitude to be encountered anywhere. I can respect the person who stands his neighbor up in the dark at night and robs him; he gains that which will bring him happiness. I can have patience with the one who kills his fellow; he has an excuse. But the man who accepts of his friend's assistance in a campaign and fails to appreciate it, or the civilian who gets a place at the hands of his congressman and then turns his back in indifference is worse than the thief or the murderer, for he has no excuse except ingratitude. I never was so much impressed as in the recent campaign with the fact that only those who stand by their friends through thick and thin can ever succeed. It is this ingratitude that upsets confidence and gives defeat. I did very much for some men in my district who never stirred a peg in the recent contest, and on the other hand I presume there are some of my constituents who think I am the most ungrateful man on earth. Public men have to keep on intimate terms with those who make them. If we let a little indifference arise we soon become separated. Men who are elected to office should never grow to believe they are better than their party or the fellows who helped them when they were in need of

friends most. There was a heap of 'evening up' in the recent contest, and the result is many heartaches on both sides of the issues."

The debauching influence of the spoils system is here proved in a most startling manner and by conclusive evidence. This congressman who, like the great bulk of his fellows, has abandoned his constitutional duties or performs them but perfunctorily, and has become a divider of spoil, gives it as his moral condition that he has respect for a thief or a murderer, but that worse than these is the man who has received an office through a usurpation by his congressman and then refuses to work for the latter's re-election—in other words who refuses the feudal service which calls upon him politically "to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge, or carry out his dung."

THE POLITICAL CENSUS.

The *Indianapolis Journal* of December 8, has an editorial headed "No Partisanship in the Census," and quoting from Census Superintendent Porter's late article in the *North American Review* to the same end. The quotation says, "in no case have chiefs or experts been selected because of their political faith." To this the *Journal* adds: "The supervisors were selected with reference to their fitness for the work, some of them being democrats, and the enumerators were appointed on the recommendation of the supervisors." There is some satisfaction in seeing those who made spoil of the census bureau smart under criticism, and it is not surprising that they should be prone to forget the facts. Editorials and articles in reviews can not save them. It is not necessary to go out of Indiana to confound both Mr. Porter and the *Journal*. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for March and June, 1890, covers the ground. In recapitulation, did not Mr. Porter describe himself as "waist-deep in congressmen" after spoil? Was not every supervisor in Indiana a republican party worker? In the Terre Haute district did not the supervisor refer the appointment of enumerators to the chairmen of the several county committees of his district, and did not the *Indianapolis Journal* say:

Mr. Wilson H. Soale, census supervisor for the Terre Haute district, has referred the appointment of census enumerators to the chairmen of the several county committees of his district, and these in turn are referring them to the chairmen of the different township committees. That seems a queer way of getting official subordinates to perform an important executive work.

Who is Sid Conger, the supervisor of the Indianapolis district? Is he not a poultry raiser of Flat Rock, a smart republican politician, and a defeated republican candidate for office? Did not Conger leave the choice of enumerators for this city to Merrill Moores, who was in no manner connected with the public service, but who was a member of the republican county committee and who is said on good authority to deal in slum politics? Did not Moores say in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* of June 19:

"Some of those I recommended have turned out most miserable failures. When Mr. Conger was first appointed supervisor, a great many people knowing him and me to be intimate friends besieged me for recommendations as enumerators. After they had received their appointments, they bothered me for instructions, and now since they are at work and have found out they won't get their money before the middle of July at the earliest, they have importuned me to loan them money."

Is not the case in Indiana typical of the operation of the census bureau throughout the country? The affirmative is the truthful answer to every one of these questions. It is no wonder that a census taken in such a manner should be doubted on every hand. The mischief is done and can never be rectified. The present duty is to see to it that those who with cool insolence in the face of protest used the census bureau as a political machine do not soon hear the last of it. The load is heavy, but they will have to carry it.

"A CENTURY OF DISHONOR."

The people of the United States have little to be proud of in their dealings with the Indians, and they have much that will forever be a disgrace. We can boast of our physical greatness as a nation, but we are put to shame by the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia. We have succeeded in killing Sitting Bull, against whom there was a widespread animosity for causing the death of Custer; yet the battle which led to Custer's death was brought on by a plain violation of a treaty by us. In its course with the Indians our government has from the beginning been a swindler and a promise-breaker. Sitting Bull knew us; he rated us at our true value and declined to be cajoled or swindled. If he and his men had lived in Canada under the honorable treatment of the Canadian government hostile acts would never have proceeded from them.

Our treatment of the Indians has not been without protest from our side. The American people are not inhuman, and if we had not been ruled by bosses the wrong would long ago have been righted. Nor have efforts been lacking. President Grant called in philanthropic people and a great show of justice was made. But when contractors and Indian agents robbed, Grant refused to anger his party machine by removing the politicians who held the offices and his efforts came to nothing. The most powerful, systematic and beneficial attempt to help the Indians that has been made is that of the Indian Rights Association; and this attempt is handicapped and its noblest efforts repeatedly brought to nothing, for no reason but that party bosses must have places for henchmen. The most infamous practice is the latest and goes by the name of "home rule." It means, for instance, "Dakota loot for Dakota looters." Under this rule President Harrison's bosses worked until under inexperienced and worthless agents the griefs of the Indians broke out, not in hostilities, but in their form of protest.

According to General Miles the Indians

were starved, and according to General Howard hostilities were begun by white men. Doubtless the administration is proud of its military maneuvers and of its attempt to seize Sitting Bull under the guise of a parley, which attempt resulted in his being killed. Strange things sometimes stir up pride. His killing was no better than murder—not on the part of the Indian police nor of the troops—but on the part of the administration. He was not a marauding and murdering Indian. He was trying to maintain the rights of his people, and he did it in the same spirit in which John Hampden refused to pay taxes. His death may cow the Indians for a time, but their wrongs will remain, and will cry out. The root of these wrongs is in the boss system, which at this most critical time, at the most critical points in the Indian country, such as the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River agencies, gives us new and inexperienced agents and other employes who know nothing of the Indians and how to deal with them. President Harrison could have stopped this long ago, but he apparently proposes to perpetuate the system by which, and by which alone, the government is and can be kept a cheat and a swindler for the benefit of political bosses and private greed.

THE Bloomington branch of the State Civil Service Reform Association has elected Prof. J. W. Jenks, of Indiana University, president, and C. M. Hubbard, of Indiana University secretary. It is the intention to have a public address again this year. The last one was given by Theodore Roosevelt.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

*Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. *** Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound, when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster.*
—BLACKSTONE.

—All that is left of the Kings county republican general committee met last night in the Athenæum, on Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn, and tried to ascertain what had happened. Franklin Woodruff presided and found all the discredited "bosses"—Israel F. Fischer, David A. Baldwin, Naval Officer Willis and William J. Buttling—in front of him.

As soon as the meeting had been organized, Fischer, who has been running the navy yard patronage since Harrison's election, and who was mainly responsible for "Billy" Watson's nomination in the twelfth assembly district, sent up a cry for reorganization. He had been talking to three or four friends, he said, and had about concluded that reform was necessary, whereat there was much derisive laughter, the significance of which Fischer didn't

appear to appreciate at all. He went on to offer a resolution for the appointment of a committee of fifteen to consider the subject of a re-organization, and report in two weeks.

Then Col. John Wesley Jones, the same who was bought off by Congressman Wallace's backers in the third congressional district, arose with a mass of printed resolutions in his hand. These documents consisted of demands on the part of some unknown "independent citizens' and workingmen's reform" for a whole lot of things. Internecine warfare must cease, said the resolutions, and there must be a re-enrollment of republicans all over the county. The general committee must be reorganized, reduced in numbers, and its members must be elected for one year only. Col. Jones also demanded that no one be compelled to acknowledge a ward "boss," and that in the future all dirty linen be washed in private and not handed over to the reporters for their inspection. These were about all the reforms Col. Jones could think of.

But Hugo Hirsch thought the proposed committee should have power to discipline as well as to re-organize, and he made a long speech denouncing republicans who had knifed their candidates. He referred to young Timothy L. Woodruff who had supported Mr. Boody for congress, and demanded that men like him be expelled.

Then it was David A. Baldwin's turn. He was disgusted, he said. He had been a wheel horse for thirty years and didn't propose to do such work any more.

"We have too many bosses," he cried, and the crowd yelled. "We should have the power to discipline and bounce traitors."

Mr. Baldwin expressed opposition to doing any more wheel-horse duty led Chairman Woodruff to ask him if he would serve on this re-organization committee, and Baldwin said he would not.

"Perhaps you would like to drive," suggested some one in a loud tone; but Baldwin paid no attention to him.

William H. N. Cadmus raised a cheer when he attacked Mr. Fischer's committee of fifteen as a close corporation. It should consist of one member from each ward and town, Mr. Cadmus said, thirty in all, and then he went on to show how Mr. Fischer and his assembly district needed re-organization. His complaint was that Mr. Fischer and his pals in a ward that gave a democratic majority had forced Watson on the district, thereby throwing away one republican assemblyman and possibly a United States senator. The crowd hooted and yelled at Fischer, and the old faction feeling got so hot that several gentlemen induced Cadmus to sit down. His plea for a big committee had to be taken up, however, and it was made part of the original motion.

"Billy" Buttlings, one of the "boys" from the fifth ward, seized this opportunity of putting in a word for a straight out party machine built on the lines of the democratic one.

"What's the use of re-organizing?" he asked, in ungrammatical but very forcible language. "You will see the same old faces back here another year. What we want to do is to take care of the ward workers, the men that stand by us when we are out of power. Now, in my ward there were seventeen navy yard employes parading around on election day with democratic badges on their coats. There are 120 men from my ward got jobs in the yard, and only thirty of them are republicans. What sort of way is that to carry on business? The boys ain't got no show at all. A re-organization of this committee won't help them, but if we would give some of those who knife us the grand bounce the boys would like it."—*New York Evening Post*, Dec. 17.

—The closing of Delamater's bank, with \$100,000 of state money and \$45,000 of county

money and \$3,500 of school district money among its liabilities, comes at a critical moment for the republican party of Pennsylvania. Among the causes of the failure the *Tribune's* special from Pittsburgh mentions the heavy campaign expenses of the late candidate for governor thus:

It is the current opinion here that Senator Delamater's recent campaign for governor had not a little to do with his financial reverses. The canvass for the nomination lasted six months, and is known to have cost enormously, while after the convention Mr. Delamater's expenses were largely increased. He spent much money upon marching clubs and in aid of all manner of organizations, charitable and otherwise, paid a liberal sum to the state committee, and frequently answered the call for funds where they were most needed to affect the election. Some politicians estimate that the fight cost the senator \$150,000, but that is perhaps \$50,000 too high.—*New York Evening Post*, Dec. 17.

—A prominent republican office-holder stated here last night that since he has held a government appointment, the period not covering twelve months yet, he has paid three contributions for political purposes. Not only the government office-holders, but the judges and officers of the minor and municipal courts in the state, whose places will be affected by the results of next Tuesday's state election, are being assessed, or, in the parlance of the hour in political circles, "asked to contribute" to the campaign fund. It is actually asserted that the common pleas court in New Haven, of which the chairman of the state central committee is the clerk, has been apportioned \$1,000 for the political fund that is to be brought into service between now and election night. The common pleas courts throughout the state are presided over by republican judges and officered by republican workers. The judges of most of the municipal courts, whose successors must be appointed by the incoming legislature, are dependent upon politics for their retention on the bench.—*Hartford Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 28.

—The President's southern campaign, opened by the notorious Mizell, will be watched with interest here. There is proof that it is to be a thorough one. The place-holders and the place-hunters are to be organized everywhere for the control of state delegations to the next national convention. The President is to be landed as the leader, who held on his way in spite of the discouragements of a disastrous defeat, and as battling more strongly than any other man in the party for the bill designed to bring the south again under national republican control. That sort of talk, supplemented by material things in the shape of fat offices here and there, will, in the opinion of the President's friends, soon make the whole republican south not only rise up and call him blessed, but wildly demand his renomination at the hands of the party at large.—*New York World*, December 15, 1890.

—For collector of the port of Wilmington, N. C., the President nominated, by direction of Congressman Cheatham, James H. Young, a negro. Young resides in Raleigh. He attended a ward meeting there just before the late election, was elected a delegate to the county convention, and that body made him secretary of the county committee and delegate to the republican state convention. Notwithstanding all this, he went over to Wilmington and registered and voted at the late election. Runnell, another negro, also wants the office, and his faction, armed with the above facts, are making it lively for Young on the ground that he ought to be sent to prison.—*New York Times*, December 13.

—Politicians regard the trouble as but a natural outcome of the rivalry between the Platt and anti-Platt factions. Col. Erhardt

[collector] is supposed to take care of the anti-Platt people, while Lyon [surveyor of the port] is expected, on a modified scale, to protect the Platt patriots, in which policy he enjoys the support of the federal administration. Col. Erhardt's friends express the most exuberant admiration for his policy in making places for republican workers. In the nineteen months he has held the office he has made more removals than Collectors Hedden and Magone made in the four years of their occupancy. In the unclassified berths, which are exempt from civil service laws, not a democrat, his friends proudly boast, draws salary to-day.—*New York Times*, Dec. 17.

—At a recent election a candidate failed to pay a cent of his assessment. He continually promised to pay and as persistently failed to do so. Finally, about four or five days before election the delinquent candidate received a communication from the state committee, which informed him that unless his assessment was paid at once, an accident would happen which would be of peculiar interest to him. The accident, it was intimated, would be that in some of the counties this candidate's name would not appear upon the ballots. The assessment was paid within forty-eight hours.—*Indianapolis News*, Oct. 3.

—The politicians are wondering why Quartermaster Arthur Boyle of the navy yard is not removed. He is a per diem man, but he was away for two days last week electioneering for Congressman Wallace, and did not report for duty on either occasion. He did not answer the roll-call as others have to do.—*New York Times*, Oct. 5.

—Senators Quay and Cameron conferred with state party leaders at the Continental Hotel in Philadelphia, December 12. They were anxious to strengthen the lines of battle. The internal revenue collector, David Martin, was the first one summoned, and the three had a private conference. Three others were summoned. It was argued that nothing should be done which would lead to the belief that bossism was still rampant. It was also agreed that the houses of the state legislature should be allowed to choose their own officers.—*From Philadelphia Dispatch New York Times*, Dec. 13.

—And the party is likewise the aforesaid postmaster, at the present writing. He has the credit of wielding a tremendous influence in his capacity of professor general of local politics.—*Richmond, Ind., Sunday Register [Rep.] on Richmond's Postmaster-Editor*, Nov. 23.

—From away up in the Adirondack region comes a New York republican assemblyman who says of the election that "that census did the business; for every one of the enumerators appointed in each census district, ten workers were disappointed and resolved to get even with the local boss who had control of the appointments, wherever the census officials were located there was a center of discord and a horde of disappointed republicans."—*Springfield Republican*, Nov. 28.

TAMMANY HALL.

A Quasi-Feudalism Without the Romance or Courtesy or Honor of Feudalism.

Tammany Hall has begun its annual levy of campaign assessments. Within a week every police captain who desires to avoid conflict with the "powers that be" will have subscribed \$25; every police sergeant and rounds-

man \$15, and every police patrolman \$10. Foremen of fire department companies will have paid \$25 each if they desire to retain their places, assistant foremen \$15 each, and firemen and truckmen \$10 each. The clerks and other helpers in the various departments of the city government will have paid various sums from \$5 up, according to the amount of their annual salaries. Heads of departments will not be exempt from the levy. It is said that no one is exempt from the Tammany campaign levies save the "Big Four" and a chosen few of the district leaders.—*New York Evening Post*, Oct. 18.

OUR estimated table of Tammany "assessments," as enlarged by yesterday's filed statements of candidates' expenditures, reads as follows:

Mayor	\$4,000
District attorney.....	4,000
Sheriff.....	4,000
County clerk.....	5,000
Comptroller.....	2,500
President of the board of aldermen.....	2,000
Superior court judge.....	10,000
City court judge, two candidates.....	8,000
Coroner (not yet filed).....	2,000
Civil justices, two candidates.....	4,000
Congressmen, six candidates.....	6,000
Assemblymen, twenty-four candidates.....	7,500
Aldermen, twenty-four candidates.....	3,500
Total.....	\$62,500

The price which judge McAdam paid for the superior court nomination emphasizes the well-known fact that Tammany has for years obtained a higher price for its judicial nominations than for almost any other within its control. The long term and the high salary which pertain to the more important judgeships are considered sufficient reason for this. It has happened frequently in the past that as much as \$25,000 has been paid for a superior or supreme court nomination.—*New York Evening Post*, Nov. 14.

The importance to Bourke Cockran of Mayor Grant's re-election can scarcely be overestimated. Nobody except himself knows how many sources of income he has because of his "pull" with the mayor, but everybody knows they are numerous and valuable. It came out during the investigation of the sheriff's office, for example, that each of the thirteen deputy sheriffs had to pay \$35 a month out of his pay of about \$3,000 a year to Cockran as a "retaining fee" for Cockran's services in advising him about the levying of blackmail. Cockran's income from this source alone was, therefore, about \$6,000 a year. It has since been shown that he had one of his relatives put on the pay-roll in the register's office, with little to do and a salary of \$1,300 a year, though he had been in this country only two months, and never had been naturalized. These two revelations were mere accidental glimpses of the almost countless streams which flow in more or less circuitous channels between the city treasury and the pockets of the custos.—*New York Evening Post*, Nov. 1.

"I am not surprised that a man like Grant can be elected mayor of New York when there are people in the city who would make an alderman of 'Jake' Kunzenmann," said a resident of the fourteenth assembly district to a reporter for *The Evening Post* last evening. Kunzenmann is the fellow described in *The Evening Post* some days ago as the leader of the Voorhis democracy in the fourteenth, whose influence in behalf of that Tammany auxiliary was secured, as is alleged, by giving him the privilege of naming five policemen, whose appointment was to be secured (so he said) by Mr. Voorhis, the police commissioner. Kun-

zenmann boasted that every "cop," which is the slang name for a policeman, was worth \$100 or \$150 to him.

"Kunzenmann," continued the fourteenth district man, "ran for alderman as an independent democrat, and was elected. Of course the decent people were up in arms against him, and every effort was made to prevent his election. No pains were spared to recall to the people's minds that he was one of the worst men this city had ever sent to Albany. One document that was liberally distributed was a circular showing that while a member of the assembly he had accepted bribes from both sides in the gas bill controversy, and that he had afterwards admitted it. This circular did not seem to bother Kunzenmann at all, but on the contrary seemed to please him. He went so far as to have 1,500 copies of it printed and distributed through the district. I asked him why he had done that, and he replied:

"Why, it makes me solid with the people. That's the kind of a man they like."—*New York Post*, Nov. 8.

Mayor Grant this morning, in fulfilment of two political bargains, appointed Patrick (commonly called "Paddy") Divver, a rum-seller, and the Tammany leader in the second assembly district, and John J. Ryan, an undertaker in the fourth assembly district, police justices. We quote from *The Evening Post's* "New Tammany Pamphlet":

"Patrick Divver, commonly called 'Paddy,' is the Tammany leader in the second assembly district. He is the keeper of a sailor's boarding-house, and is the proprietor, or has interests in, several liquor saloons. He is an ex-member of the board of aldermen, a race-track frequenter, and the friend and confidant of gamblers. He is on terms of intimacy with 'Johnny' Matthews and 'Jake' Shipsey, two members of the sporting and gambling fraternity, whose particular methods of gaining a livelihood are not unknown to the frequenters of Paddy Divver's and other rum shops on Park Row, where they are generally to be found."

Up to within a few months of the late election Divver was known to be at odds with the mayor, presumably because the mayor would not make him an excise commissioner, and the presumption was generally accepted to be correct. Divver and his friends were threatening all kinds of vengeful acts, the most serious of which was to "bolt" from the Tammany organization and carry the whole Tammany committee in the second assembly district with them. That alarmed the mayor and the other members of the "big four," and they at once set to work to make their peace with Divver. Just before the election Divver "fell into line" for Grant, and it was rumored that he took an active part in making Tammany's peace with the gambling fraternity, in which he has many friends. It was then said that Divver had been promised a police justiceship. This story was denied at the time, but it now turns out to have been true.

After making the appointments this morning, the mayor gave out the usual statement that they had been made at the recommendation of a number of good tax-payers. Divver's appointment was said to have been recommended by fifty citizens, among whom recorder Smyth and J. Edward Simmons were mentioned.—*New York Evening Post*, Dec. 17.

Mayor Grant to-day made public some of a large number of written indorsements, which he received, of the candidacy of Patrick Divver, Tammany rum-seller, for the police justiceship. Here are some of them:

J. Edward Simmons, president of the Fourth National Bank—I am informed that Mr. P. Divver is a candidate for the appointment of

police justice. I have known Mr. Divver for many years and it gives me pleasure to commend him to your favorable consideration. I think he will discharge the duties of the office in an acceptable and efficient manner.

F. B. Thurber—I take pleasure in indorsing the recommendation of Hon. Patrick Divver for the position of police justice. Mr. Divver has an intimate acquaintance with the masses of the people, and possesses their confidence in a remarkable degree. This is not a position that requires an intimate knowledge of the general law, but simply a knowledge of the laws which apply to the administration of the police department and the administration of criminal justice. I believe he would make an excellent police justice.

David McClure—During the years that I have known Mr. Divver he has been a reputable gentleman, and has merited universal respect.

Recorder Frederick Smyth—I have known Mr. Divver personally for many years and believe him to be in every way well qualified to discharge the duties of the office to which he desires to be appointed. My long experience as a judge of the court of general sessions of this city convinces me of the propriety of placing men in the office of police justice of integrity, good common sense, and who are familiar with the peculiar population of which the city is made up.

State Senator William L. Brown (Tam.)—He (Mr. Divver) has a kindly heart, a quality much needed in the discharge of the functions of a police justice. I am sure his appointment would meet with general approval from your friends, of whom I am not among the least or unconcerned.

Joseph J. O'Donohue—There is nothing that has given me more pleasure during my entire business life than to recommend as one of the police justices Pat Divver. I have known him personally for many years, and could not say enough for him. I know him to be honest and, in my opinion, fully capable to fill the position.—*New York Evening Post*, Dec. 18.

The mayor's choice of Divver for police justice is universally condemned by the press of the city. *The Herald* says: "He is the toughest kind of raw material to make a police justice of. * * * The interests of New York be hanged. His honor has all he can do to look after the interests of Tammany." *The Tribune* says: "Here is a vulgar, illiterate gin-mill keeper, by his very profession a breeder of vice and a maker of criminals, as ignorant of the law as a kangaroo, whose saloons are the hanging-out places of gamblers and sharpers, elevated to the bench of that court where in all the virtue and charity and wisdom of which man is capable would often be severely tested. Could anything be more shameful or more disgusting?" *The World*, which supported mayor Grant for re-election, says: "These appointments are unfit to be made. Divver is a saloon keeper, a politician of a small and unworthy sort, an ex-alderman, and the friend and associate of men of defective reputation." Even the *Sun* does not venture to commend Divver's appointment, which shows that it must be a shockingly bad one.—*New York Times*, Dec. 18.

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

The seventh report of the federal civil service commission, covering the year from July 1, 1889, has appeared under date of November 20. It effectively devotes a large share of space to evasion and violation of the law under the power of removal. The tables of changes made in certain offices do not permit a comparison of removals in the classified service between cor-

responding years under Cleveland and Harrison, as has been claimed in some quarters. They do, however, show conclusively, that in the departments at Washington there has been, since the law went in force, but little disposition to remove those who obtained places under it, the average of such removals being in the first year of an administration, the time of the greatest temptation, only eight per cent. This proves that a man who has obtained his place in open competition has a moral power that beats back the hungriest office-seekers.

THE tables fearlessly place the spoils system and the merit system side by side. We copy the percentage of removals per annum under both systems in thirteen post-offices during the first months of President Harrison's administration:

	Months.	Classified Service. Per Cent.	Unclassified Service. Per Cent.
Indianapolis, Ind.	12	14	75
Denver, Colo.	12	19	50
New York, N. Y.	12	8	...
Jersey City, N. J.	12	19	48
Chicago, Ill.	12	7	70
Milwaukee, Wis.	10	3	48
Philadelphia, Pa.	8	11	28
Newark, N. J.	9	7	68
Syracuse, N. Y.	7	28	90
Albany, N. Y.	8	28	90
Pittsburgh, Pa.	5	22	90
Kansas City, Mo.	7	8	50
New Haven, Conn.	5	15	50

Of these figures the commission pertinently says:

Taking the first table given above and comparing the percentages of removals in the classified service in each post-office with the number of removals made in the unclassified and excepted places, the difference is astonishing. In one case the percentage ranges from 3 to 28; in the other, from 46 to over 90; and the average is about seven times as great among those employes not protected by the law as it is among those who are protected by the law. It would be difficult to advance any argument which would show more conclusively the good effect that the law has in preventing in the classified service clean sweeps and removals for political purposes. The interests of the public service demand changes to the extent of only 10 or 15 per cent. among those who have entered through the examinations, whereas 50 or 80 per cent. of those who have not thus entered are removed during the year succeeding any change of administration. The conclusion is irresistible either that where the law does not apply appointing officers put into excepted and unclassified places incompetent persons, or else that their successors remove from these places men who are competent, and who are therefore removed for reasons unconnected with the good of the service. These figures show either that, outside of the classified service, poorer grades of appointments are made, or else that there are large numbers of removals of perfectly good men who are sacrificed simply for party or personal considerations. Probably both of these conclusions would be just.

It may be added that this comparison holds good, almost without an exception, throughout the federal service.

THE report shows that during the year the commission examined 22,956 persons, of whom 13,811 passed. There were appointed during the year, from the eligible lists, 5,415 persons, the proportion of appointees being about one to two and a half. The spoils system makes a poor show next to these figures. President

Harrison could give only one out of thirty-five the office of collector of customs of this city. Mr. Blaine said there were more than 5,000 applications for 200 consulships, so that if all the places were filled only one in twenty-five could be appointed. Recently there were fifty applicants for a janitorship in the courthouse of this county. In the first year of President Cleveland and of President Harrison there were more than 100 applicants for each place in Washington that could be vacated as spoil, and these applicants, in droves, traveled hundreds of miles to Washington, and at their own expense for days and weeks ranged from the dearest down to the cheapest board, and at last came home humiliated and penniless. The number of applicants for each bit of spoil and the amount of bitter quarreling over it, if known to the public, would be the most astonishing and humiliating fact connected with our civil government. On the other hand, the competitors under the merit system go to a convenient point for examination and then return home. If an appointment follows, the appointee is beholden to no one, and he may enter upon his duties his own man. If he gets no appointment he has not humiliated himself.

It is proper to close these remarks by asking Mr. Wanamaker what, in the light of this report, becomes of the suggestion of his present private secretary on his behalf that the commission had, more than a year ago, examined enough persons to fill appointments for ten years, and were open to the charge of simply providing themselves with employment by holding further examinations? To the ordinary mind it would seem that fairness and decency call for an apology from Mr. Wanamaker, and a confession that both himself and his secretary were wholly ignorant of the workings of the merit system, which they had with an assurance bred solely in conceit, entered into a plot to discredit.

EXTRACTS

From the Report of the Civil Service Commission for the year ending July 1, 1889.

* * * * *
From July 1, 1889, to July 30, 1890, 3,751 applicants were examined for the departmental service at Washington, of whom 2,117 passed and 1,634 failed to pass. For the customs service 3,552 were examined, 1,746 passed and 1,806 failed; for the postal service 11,190 were examined, 6,801 passed and 4,389 failed to pass; for the railway mail service 4,463 were examined, 3,129 passed and 1,334 failed to pass. The whole number examined for the four branches of the classified service was 22,956, of whom 13,811 passed and 9,145 failed to pass. Compared with the previous year this shows an increase of 3,896 in the whole number examined, an increase of 1,833 in the whole number who passed, and an increase of 2,063 in the whole number who failed to pass. The whole number appointed in the year covered by this report is as follows: Departmental service, 534; custom service, 375; postal service, 3,106; and railway mail service, 1,400; total, 5,415; an increase of 1,634 over the previous year.

* * * * *
When President Arthur classified the departmental service it included, as above stated, some 6,000 per-

sons. In his time 378 persons entered the service by examination. When President Cleveland came in he therefore found over 5,600 employes in the departments who had been appointed prior to the classification of the service, and less than 400 who had entered through the examinations. Under President Cleveland the classified service was extended so as to take in somewhat less than 2,000 additional persons, and 1,109 entered through the examinations. Deducting those who had been removed, there were at the beginning of the present administration in the classified service of about 8,000 people some 1,275 who had entered through the examinations, somewhat less than 2,000 who had been included in the classified service during the administration of President Cleveland, and somewhat less than 5,000 of those who had been in the service originally when it was classified by President Arthur. Every year, of course, sees a greater proportion of persons in the service who have entered through the examinations, and every year, therefore, sees a greater proportion of the government clerks at Washington whose appointments have been made wholly without regard to political considerations.

* * * * *
The commission takes this opportunity to reiterate, however, its belief that in all cases where a removal is made the appointing officer should give the accused man a chance to be heard in his own defense, and should be required to file in writing a full statement of his reasons for making the removal, such statement to be made public if the accused so desires it. In the event of a very large number of removals being made in an office this fact should be considered presumptive evidence that they were made for political reasons, and to overcome this presumption the officer making them should be able to give specifically and in detail the reasons for each removal made.

* * * * *
The commission respectfully points out the need of legislation by congress which will give it complete control of the central board of examiners, and which will allow the payment of small sums to the local boards and their appointment from within or without the government service. There should be a board of twenty examiners at Washington, selected under the rules governing the classified service and under the control of the commission. These examiners would be able to mark all the papers in every examination, local or otherwise, and thus secure a perfectly uniform system of marking and prevent any suspicion of carelessness or bad faith on the part of the local boards.

At present the central board at Washington consists nominally of ten men detailed from the various departments, and they thus owe a divided allegiance to the commission and to the departments. Being lent to the commission, they are lost to the sight of the promoting power, and are often passed over in promotions in consequence, while the commission itself has, of course, no power to promote them. This works an injustice to the examiners themselves, and often makes the best among them unwilling to be detailed to the commission. Moreover the commission is obliged to depend entirely upon the good will of the departments for furnishing the examiners. The departments are, of course, required to do so by law, but there is no way of enforcing the requisitions. Thus, during the last fiscal year, very nearly half of the commission's work has been done for the post-office department, yet, until very recently, the post-office department has been represented on the central board by but one man, and the commission, therefore, had to take up the time of men detailed from other departments to do work not from the departments from which they were detailed, but for the post-office department from which no detail could be obtained. Finally the commission was forced to notify the post-office department that it would be impossible any longer to mark the railway mail papers unless an adequate force was detailed. Ten examiners in all are now detailed. It would cause no increase of expenditure at all to have these examiners estimated for as employes of the civil service commission instead of as employes of the different departments from which

they come. This would put them completely under control of the commission.

This transfer could be made at once in the appropriation bill, and it would cause no increased expense whatever. But there should also be ten additional clerks at an average salary of \$1,400 or \$1,600 to do the work of marking papers now marked by the local boards. This would secure a much greater uniformity and accuracy in marking of the applicants for the local offices than can be obtained at present. A sum of say \$6,000 is needed in order that the members of the local boards may be paid something for their services, which even aside from marking papers are often arduous and always responsible, and the law should permit these members to be appointed from within or without the government service. The net increase of appropriation would be only some \$21,000 by this arrangement, with the result of very greatly increasing the efficiency of the commission.

* * * * *

The commission has fortunately been able to make an experiment of its theory that good would result from putting on the local boards men unconnected with the offices for which those boards conduct examinations, and therefore free from all possibility of influence on the part of the local appointing officer. In Indianapolis and Baltimore the commission found citizens who were in the public service owing to their connection with the federal court or census bureau, but who had no connection with the local post-offices, and who were independent gentlemen of position and of high standing in the community. Messrs. Fishback and Butler, of Indianapolis, and Mr. Rose, of Baltimore, consented to serve on the postal boards in their respective cities, Mr. Rose at the time being connected with the census bureau, and Messrs. Butler and Fishback, with the United States court. The presence on the boards of these gentlemen brought about excellent results in convincing outsiders that the workings of the boards were absolutely non-partisan, and beyond all suspicion of improper influence. The commission already had thorough confidence in the integrity of both the Indianapolis and the Baltimore boards, but recognizes the fact that every means should be taken to insure public confidence in the working of the system, and hailed the chance of putting on these boards men of high standing in their respective communities, who did not make their living in the government service, and were entirely independent of government position. The result has been most satisfactory, and thanks are due Messrs. Fishback, Butler and Rose for their disinterested public service.

* * * * *

The most wholesome effect has been produced in many offices and departments by the prosecution or removal of delinquents in accordance with suggestions made to the proper departments by the commission after the investigation of cases of alleged misconduct. In other instances, where the law was being disregarded through mere ignorance, all that was necessary was to call the attention of the appointing officer, and of the board and of the community as well, vividly to what the law was, and great changes for the better ensued. Thus, the commission at its first visit to the Indianapolis post-office after the change of administration, was forced to express dissatisfaction with some features of the observance of the law in that office. It gives the commission great pleasure to say that at present the Indianapolis post-office is one in which the law is being observed most rigidly in letter and spirit. Any candidate for position of clerk or letter-carrier in that office, whether democrat or republican, or neither, is examined, marked, certified, and appointed absolutely without regard to his political belief, and is retained as long as by good conduct he merits retention, and of this the commission is satisfied by careful personal investigation. As is generally the case with an office where the civil-service law is being rigidly observed, the Indianapolis post-office is also remarkable for the efficiency and integrity with which the public business is executed therein.

* * * * *

The commission's decision to make public the eli-

gible lists has worked admirably, and has given the greatest satisfaction. After an examination, the names of the persons examined are not disclosed until the markings are completed, the boards and individuals doing the marking being completely ignorant of whose papers they are examining. This is done to prevent all possibility of favoritism; but once the markings are completed, the papers are open to inspection by any proper person, and the whole proceedings in the case of every individual candidate can be followed out from beginning to end. It is thus almost impossible for any fraud to be committed without imminent and immediate risk of detection. There are occasionally cases of cheating, or attempt at cheating, among the candidates themselves at examination time, but as far as is known, during the year covered by this report, there has not been a single accusation of fraud against any governmental employe connected with the civil service examinations which has proved to have the slightest foundation in fact.

FIFTH REPORT

Of the Special Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League.

POLITICAL CHANGES IN PRESIDENTIAL POST-OFFICES.

To the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:

Your special committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the federal service and the operation of the reform law would respectfully report as follows in regard to the political character of the changes made in presidential post-offices:

Our questions in regard to the politics of the postmasters removed and those appointed elicited the following results: Out of 437 answers received in which the information was given upon this point, it appears that in 427 cases the postmaster removed or resigned was a democrat, in 1 case a prohibitionist, in 1 an independent, and in 2 cases, the incumbents being women, it was stated that they belonged to no political party. There were 3 resignations and 3 removals of republicans. From 513 answers received regarding the politics of the postmasters appointed, it appeared that 510 were republicans, 1 was a Knight of Labor, 1 an independent, and 1 a democrat. The democrat was Samuel P. Burris, of Talladega, Ala., of whom his predecessor writes: "I was removed because I was a democrat, and not in sympathy with the administration. It was believed that my successor, being a protectionist, was in sympathy with the administration and would support it." The uniformity with which democrats were removed and republicans appointed shows pretty clearly that political motives were not absent in the making of these changes. It appeared in some cases that quite full inquiries were made as to the political faith of candidates for appointment before their commissions were issued. Thus, C. A. Gildea was postmaster at Bracketsville, Tex., and on Sept. 16, 1889, he resigned. Not long afterward, Robert C. Ballantyne was appointed; but a protest was filed against this appointment on the ground that Ballantyne was a democrat. An inspector who came to investigate a mail robbery was engaged for two or three days inquiring about Ballantyne's politics, questioning a

large number of persons, among others the old postmaster. Mr. Gildea denied his right to make these inquiries. The inspector told Gildea that it was reported that Ballantyne was a democrat, and that, as an agent would have to be sent out to investigate, he would attend to it himself and save the expense. After some months' delay, Mr. Ballantyne's political orthodoxy was vindicated, and he received the appointment. The employment of post-office inspectors to do this sort of political work at government expense carries with it its own criticism. These facts are furnished by the concurring statements of the postmaster resigned and the one appointed.

Out of 423 answers to our questions regarding the political services rendered by the former incumbent of the office, it appeared that in 83 cases such services were rendered, 16 cases were disputed, and in 324 cases the answers showed that no political services had been rendered while in office. We are inclined to believe, however, that the proportion of the old postmasters who did political work was very much larger than would appear from these figures.

To our inquiries as to the political services rendered by the new appointees in the last campaign and elsewhere we received 496 answers. In 155 cases it was stated that no services were rendered, 6 cases were disputed, while in 335 cases, a little over 63 per cent., the new appointees were active in party work. The positions held in the party organization were as follows: officers and members of state, congressional, county and township committees, delegates to national, state and congressional conventions, candidates for various offices, officers of republican clubs, campaign speakers, county "leaders," distributors of tickets, etc. Chairman and secretaries of county committees and delegates to congressional conventions are quite prominent.

Some of the new appointees state quite fully the political services rendered by them. Thus, E. B. Fletcher, the new appointee at Morris, Ill., writes:

"I took part in the last campaign, as I have in every campaign, since the first election of U. S. Grant for president in 1868; was an alternate delegate to the last national convention; was vice-president of the state republican league; was chairman of congressional committee; was member of county central committee; was private secretary to lieutenant governor. I am now, and ever have been since casting my first vote in 1868, a member of the republican party. I am now, and have been for fifteen years, connected with the *Morris Herald*, a wide-awake, progressive republican newspaper, as one of its publishers and editors.

Robert J. Rogers, appointed by the President at Searcy, Ark., states:

"I am chairman of the county republican committee, and have been for fifteen years, and have represented the county in nearly every state convention; and I have taken part in every campaign from Gen. Grant down to the present. I owned some stock in the only republican paper ever published in this place. The reason they are getting up a howl against me is because I am a republican.

C. C. Bush, the appointee at Reading, Cal., has sent to your committee, neatly bound and in book form, a printed copy of the papers

filed on his application. After the preface and table of contents appears the original petition from the patrons of the office and others, stating, among other things, the various offices which Mr. Bush had held, such as delegate from California to the national convention of 1884, alternate elector, and an active worker in the campaign of 1888. It is signed by the judge of the superior court, chairman and secretary and other members of the republican county committee, editor of the republican *Free Press*, county clerk, under-sheriff, sheriff, city attorney, marshal, and others, and is supplemented by a petition of democrats that, when a change of political complexion of postmaster at Redding is made, they desire the appointment of C. C. Bush. This is signed by the secretary and treasurer of the democratic county committee, by the mayor, city treasurer and others. Then follows a petition signed by all of the republican members of the legislature of California. Then follows a certificate by republicans of Tahama county that Judge Bush was an active, untiring republican worker in the campaign of 1888, and rendered efficient services. Then followed letters from ex-Governor Low, General W. H. Dimond, chairman of the republican state central committee, Hon. A. P. Williams, ex-Senator George A. Knight, Hon. M. M. Estee, chairman of the national republican convention of 1888, Charles F. Crocker, delegate to the republican national conventions of 1884 and 1888, two members of the republican county committee, ex-governors, members of congress, and other republican politicians, concluding with a letter from Hon. J. D. De Haven, M. C., from the first congressional district. This is believed to be a fair sample of "a strong petition" for the appointment of postmaster.

Adolph Zadek, postmaster at Corsicana, Tex., writes:

I held every position from precinct chairman to chairman of the republican state executive committee; was a delegate at large from this state in 1876 to the national republican convention held at Cincinnati, Ohio. I am at present chairman of my senatorial district. I published in this city, in 1872, a republican newspaper, was proprietor of same, and spent for that honor \$2,000 out of my personal means and for the love of the republican party. The paper was called the *Progressive Age*. I was an applicant, for the first time, under this administration for the consulate at Hamburg. You can find my papers on file in the state department. I am personally known to the Hon. Secretary of State. Being a southern republican, I did not receive the appointment I thought I fully deserved for services rendered to the country and the party that saved the union. Colonel J. C. Degress, and other leading republicans of this state, wishing to see me recognized by this administration, requested me to make my application for this office. So I applied for same, and received my appointment. . .

The following correspondence shows a congressman's views on the claims of "party service":—

THE RISING SUN STOVE POLISH FACTORY AND BLACK LEAD WORKS.

ELIJAH A. MORSE, Propr. ABNER L. MORSE, Agt.
ALBERT E. MORSE, Supt.

CANTON, MASS., March 23, 1889.

Mr. Wm. Burns, Plymouth, Mass.:

DEAR SIR—Enclosed find a letter accompanying the petitions of Avery, Whiting and Harlow, by which you will see I paid you and your assistant a compliment.

Your petition was received yesterday, and forwarded to-day. Your friends waked up to late in the matter. I doubt very much if the President would appoint you, or any other democrat, to a presidential office in the face of the clean sweep which the Cleveland administration made of republicans. From all I can learn, you will retire from the office with the good wishes of the people of Plymouth. Will you be kind enough to show this to your assistant?

Respectfully yours,

ELIJAH A. MORSE.

ADDRESS MORSE BROS., CANTON, MASS., U. S. A.

CANTON, MASS., March 18, 1889.

Gen. Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States:

DEAR SIR—The commission of the present democratic postmaster in Plymouth, Mass., in my district, expires the last day of March. I hand you herewith three petitions sent me by my constituents in that place—one for the appointment of Winslow W. Avery, one for the appointment of Henry O. Whiting, and one for the appointment of Henry Harlow. These several petitions are numerous signed by the business men and first citizens of Plymouth. Should you do me the honor to desire my opinion I say frankly it is difficult to decide between the three candidates. Either of them is well indorsed, and all are well qualified for the position. While Mr. Avery has the largest number of signers to his petition, Mr. Whiting has at least an equal indorsement from the business men of Plymouth; and, while Mr. Harlow has a smaller indorsement than either of the other two, he has among his indorsers the Plymouth Cordage Company, which is one of the largest establishments and manufactories of its kind in the world, and, of course, large patrons of the mail.

In your inaugural address, you stated that honorable party service would not be a bar to political preferment. Mr. Avery, the first gentleman named, is one of the editors of the *Old Colony Memorial*, an ably edited paper, having a large circulation in Plymouth county, and for twenty-five years that paper has been a stanch, honorable and able defender of the republican party, and to its influence is due, in a measure, the large republican majority given in Plymouth county for the last twenty-five years. So that, if I am asked to decide between these three candidates on the ground of honorable and patriotic party service, I should give my preference to Mr. Avery.

I learn from my constituents that the present democratic postmaster, whose term is now expiring, has faithfully discharged the duties of his office; and his assistant—whom I hope will be retained by his successor—is an affable, pleasant and courteous gentleman, universally popular in Plymouth.

ELIJAH A. MORSE.

FOUR YEARS' SERVICE.

One ground for the removal of postmasters is given thus, in the statement furnished by Mr. Clarkson: "Upon expiration of four years' service, and second commission not yet expired," and he states there were 201 removals on this account. It will be observed that in these cases the commission of the postmaster had not expired. Such cases generally occur where the appointment was made in the first place to a fourth-class office which became presidential during the administration of Mr. Cleveland, and a new commission, running four years, was thereupon issued by the President. The two terms of service, as fourth-class postmaster and as presidential postmaster, are thus added together in making up the four years. It is not claimed that these removals are made for inefficiency nor for the betterment of the service, but upon no other apparent ground than the impropriety of permitting a postmaster to serve more than four years. Instances of such removals are furnished in the following correspondence:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 20, 1890.

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 12th inst., addressed to the President, and requesting to know why you had been displaced as postmaster at Neodesha, Kan., is received.

In reply, I beg to state that your original appointment was dated Dec. 4, 1885, while the office was fourth-class, and you have had continuous possession for over four years.

Yours truly,
J. S. CLARKSON, First Ass't P. M. Gen'l.
L. W. LEE, Esq., Neodesha, Kan.

John C. McCauley was appointed postmaster at Searcy, Ark., in July, 1885. In July, 1887, the office became presidential, and he was confirmed as postmaster for four years. In answer to an inquiry respecting his removal, the postmaster-general responds as follows:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C. Sept. 11, 1889.

Mr. Jno. C. McCauley, Searcy, Ark.:

DEAR SIR—Answering your letter, which bears no date, I beg to say that an examination of the records of the office shows that you were appointed originally on the 9th of July, 1885, and therefore you have held the office for more than four years fixed for the term. You would have no reason to complain if the President were to make a new appointment. I shall lay the case before him at an early date for his action.

Yours truly,

JNO. WANAMAKER, Postmaster-General.

The following copy of a letter from the postmaster-general is sent to us by C. T. Marsh, the removed postmaster at Oregon, Ill.:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 10, 1889.

Mr. C. T. Marsh, Oregon, Ill.:

DEAR SIR—I have to-day the honor of your letter of the 7th, inquiring as to the appointment of postmaster in your city, and beg to say that no charges of any kind were made against you, but the removal was made on the recommendation of the member of congress representing the district in which your office is located, because you had served a term of four years and upwards, having been appointed by the removal of your predecessor when congress was not in session. Yours truly, JNO. WANAMAKER, Postmaster-General.

Mr. W. J. Johnson had been appointed postmaster at Manchester, Mass., October 1, 1885. The office was then a fourth-class one. Later it became a presidential one, and Mr. Johnson was re-appointed January 16, 1888, his commission expiring January 16, 1892.

The position of the administration is clearly expressed in the following letter of the postmaster general:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 18, 1889.

Mr. W. J. Johnson, Postmaster, Manchester, Mass.:

DEAR SIR—In reply to your letter of the 17th, I beg to say that it is held that, when a man holds an office for four years, which is the usual term in cities and municipalities under the federal government, he enjoys a full term. Your commission dates from October 1, 1885; and all postmasters' commissions are at the pleasure of the President, who is taking great pains not to allow the removal of any good officer until he has had four years' enjoyment of the office.

Yours truly, JOHN WANAMAKER,

Postmaster-General.

The following letter from the member of congress for the district shows that he considers the matter simply a question of the length of the term and politics, and not of fitness for the place:

SALEM, MASS., Sept. 18, 1889.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 17th have received, also one of same date inclosing your commission, which I return this mail.

Your present commission appears to run to January, 1892; but I have been informed that you will have served four years in January next, and it is my impression that the post office department think so too. Yours very truly, WILLIAM COGSWELL.

W. J. JOHNSON, Postmaster, Manchester, Mass.

The term of Jno. R. Brunt, postmaster at Osage Mission, Kan., expired Feb. 10, 1890. He was removed, and Ebenezer B. Park appointed on July 31, 1889. Prior to his removal,

on Nov. 23, 1888, Congressman Perkins wrote to him thus: "I know of no complaints made against your efficiency; and, so far as I know, all that are asking for the privilege of succeeding you admit that you have made a faithful and efficient officer, and they seem to take pleasure in bearing this testimony in your behalf, but desire to succeed you as republicans." His successor, Mr. Park, writes as to the causes of the change: "I understand that this is a republican administration. I was appointed because I was the choice of a large majority of the patrons of the office, and because the term of the democratic incumbent had expired." (By the expiration of the term, Mr. Park probably means that Mr. Brunt had held the office more than four years.)

It seems evident that this cause for removal, like the others, is designed to cover a removal made for political reasons; and the political motive is all the more apparent from the inconsistency in appointing several republicans who, prior to the last administration, had served four or even eight years.

If it is right, as we believe it is, to re-appoint efficient republicans who have held office four years or more, why is it not proper, excepting from political motives alone, to allow efficient democrats to serve out the terms of their respective commissions, whether they had been in office four years or not?

On a careful inspection of the answers received, stating the dates of the expirations of the terms of the incumbents removed, it would appear that removals have been made on an average sixteen and one-half months before the expirations of these terms.

APPOINTMENTS DICTATED BY CONGRESSMEN.

The influence of Congressmen in dictating removals and appointments is very clearly shown in a letter sent by the chief clerk of the post office department to Edward Smith, postmaster at Carrollton, Ill., which is as follows:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF CLERK,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 25, 1889.

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 7th inst., which has been referred to this department by Rev. J. W. Scott, I beg to inform you that a change of postmasters for Carrollton was made upon the recommendation of Senator Cullom; that the postmaster has been commissioned; and that recommendation of this character is in accordance with the long-standing practice of the department, deemed to be the best ground of action. Very respectfully,

W. B. COOLEY, Chief Clerk.

MR. EDWARD SMITH, Carrollton, Ill.

Ebenezer M. Lockwood was postmaster at Burlington, Kan., upon the incoming of the present administration. Harrison Kelly, member of congress from that district, on July 10, 1889, wrote to Mr. Lockwood the following letter:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1889.

P. M. Lockwood, Burlington, Kan.:

MY DEAR SIR—I have been conferring with the department in reference to the appointment of your successor. Your four years from first appointment expires the 28th of this month. I think your successor will be appointed at that time. Courtesy to you suggests that you have an opportunity of resigning, to take effect August 1, if you wish to do so. Would be glad to hear from you in reference to the matter at an early date. Respectfully,

HARRISON KELLY.

Mr. Lockwood, however, did not resign, and was removed, Squire M. Lane being appointed in his place. Immediately upon his appointment, Mr. Lane appointed the daughter of Congressman Kelly to a place in the office, and a short time afterward promoted her to be assistant postmaster.

In many cases it was stated that the new appointee was active in congressional conven-

tions in behalf of the congressman nominated at such conventions, and by whom he was recommended for the place.

In every answer received from the state of Arkansas, except one, the change is attributed to the influence of the Hon. Powell Clayton.

Offensive partisanship seems to have been employed as an agency of removal by this administration in much the same way as by the last. The following special dispatch to the *Chicago Daily News*, of March 19, 1889, published in an issue of March 20, states as follows:

Special to the Chicago Daily News.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 19.—Representative Payson, of Illinois, made a test case before the postmaster general yesterday; and the result is shown in the list of nominations that came to the senate to-day. Judge Payson said to the postmaster-general: "I want Mark A. Reno, postmaster at Pontiac, removed. That is the town where I live. I have no charges to make against his official or personal character or conduct, except that he is a democrat, and an offensive partisan. He did all he could to defeat the republican presidential ticket and my election to congress; and I desire to make an example of him. I submit his case first, because I want to know what to do in other cases; and I want to have the department decide whether offensive partisanship is a sufficient cause for removal."

Mr. Reno informs us that he wrote to the department to ascertain whether this information was correct, and received a reply that it was.

It is clear to your committee that the motive for the numerous changes, more than sixty-four per cent. of all the presidential postmasters, has been in great measure political. Mr. Clarkson, in an interview sent through the Associated Press to all the leading newspapers of the country, is reported as saying: "The President has made no removals except for cause, for delinquency, inefficiency, or violation of law. He has refused to make any changes for partisan reasons." Our inquiries have led us to the conviction that this declaration can not be true; and, in our opinion, it would have been more just to have acknowledged the existence of political influences. This would have involved an inconsistency with the promises of the last republican platform, that the "spirit and purpose of the civil service law should be observed in all executive appointments." But, where the fact is as clearly established as it is in this case, the avowal of such inconsistency would have been far better than the attempt to conceal it by giving reasons for the changes, which, in point of fact, are not the real ones.

MR. CLARKSON AND MR. WANAMAKER.

It was indeed hardly to be expected "that the spirit of civil service reform" in the post-office department could be enforced through such instrumentalities as Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Wanamaker. Mr. Clarkson has been openly and conspicuously an opponent of the reform. At Boston, at Pittsburgh, and elsewhere, he has in public speeches endeavored to discredit the system to which his party pledged itself. His appointment as first assistant postmaster-general, gave him, we believe, control of a larger amount of patronage than that of any other officer appointed by the President.

The opposition of the postmaster-general to civil service reform has been less candid, but it has been no less intense. There are circumstances which have occurred since he has been in office, clearly showing his hostility to the platform of his own party in regard to this re-

form. Marshall Cushing, who afterward became his private secretary, undertook on his behalf an investigation of the present civil service system by addressing letters to a number of gentlemen interested in the reform, of which the following is one:

BOSTON ADVERTISER,
WASHINGTON OFFICE, D. C., Oct. 23, 1889. }
Confidential.

DEAR SIR—I have undertaken some investigations of the present civil service system for a cabinet officer, and beg to ask your distinguished assistance.

Why is the law and the commission subject to so much criticism at this time? What answer do the civil service reformers make to the objection that a civil pension list is the logical result of the present system; to the objection that, having certified enough clerks to last ten years, and having instituted yearly re-examinations, the commissioners are open to the charge of merely providing themselves with employment; to the objection that the efficiency of the departments will be seriously interfered with in ten or fifteen years by the old age of many of the clerks who can not be removed? Why should not both parties discard all their insincere professions for the law, and have the patriotism to go back to the old system, under which it was inquired simply whether the man was honest, capable and faithful to the constitution? How does the administration of President Harrison please the civil service reformers of the west? How has it compared in that respect with President Cleveland's administration?

What you write me, if I am honored with your confidence, will be merely for the eye of the cabinet officer referred to, and will not be printed. With the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

MARSHALL CUSHING.

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, Richmond, Ind.

As this letter was unsolicited, and refers to a public matter only, the inquiries being made for a public officer and for public purposes, its contents can in no sense be regarded as confidential. It is believed that this is the first instance in which an inquiry instituted on behalf of a cabinet officer is based upon the assumption that the platform of the party upon which he came into power was insincere and unpatriotic.

The feeling of the postmaster-general toward civil service reform also appears in the statements made by him regarding Commissioner Roosevelt before the select committee of the house of representatives on reform in the civil service; and the report of this committee, which fully exonerated Mr. Roosevelt, is a severe commentary upon the groundlessness of the postmaster-general's allegations.

The postmaster-general's attitude toward the reform is further shown by his statement to Congressman Rockwell, of Massachusetts, who recommended the re-appointment of Gilbert W. Farrington, a democrat, as postmaster at Monson. Farrington was indorsed by the mass of the citizens and business men of that place, without regard to party, and his petition was then the only one on file. The statement made by Mr. Wanamaker, and taken down in writing by Mr. Rockwell, was as follows: "The postmaster-general declines to recommend to the President the appointment of a democrat unless it is clear that there is no republican to fill the place." It is not hard to divine the motive for removals and appointments under such an administration of this department.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. D. FOULKE, *Chairman.*
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.
RICHARD H. DANA.
WAYNE MACVEAGH.
SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 23.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1891.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

WITH the next number the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will close its second year. Its publication may end at that time, although it was intended to cover at least President Harrison's term. As has been stated, no one except the printer is paid anything for work upon the paper. It can not, however, enter into financial struggle or uncertainty. It has in the main occupied a field of its own in gathering from widely different sources facts of the actual working of the spoils system and printing them in a compact form. It is believed that this work has never before been done by any publication. As a weapon against that system, nothing else compares with it, not to mention the historical value of such a collection. This work ought to be done upon a greater scale, but the expense has been in the way. The managers have too much evidence from too many sources not to say frankly that the paper is abundantly appreciated. Being, however, a publication not for pecuniary profit, each friend is apt to think, sometimes in the case of his own subscription, that all other friends are supporting it and that it will go on forever. To the managers the work of the paper has been a labor that has brought its own ample reward. In case of discontinuance all unexpired subscriptions will be returned, and there will be no unpaid bills.

DURING the month some events have happened to the republicans of the state. Louis T. Michener has removed to Washington and entered into partnership with Dudley, who has been giving dinners to "attorneys, statesmen and federal officials" in honor of his new partner. This makes it very difficult to believe that Michener has not approved of Dudley's ways, which make the latter one of the greatest scoundrels out of, or for that matter, in prison. Michener sent here his resignation as chairman of the republican state committee and the committee met January 6 to receive it. For the vacated office, the Administration struggled in the old fashioned ward bummer style. William T. Steele, of Marion, Indiana, now governor of Oklahoma territory, came and acted as Administration Boss. Warren G. Sayre, of Wabash, now a member of some Indian commission, also came, as did other office-holders. Russell B. Harrison, son of the Pres-

ident, also came. Thus organized and led, the Administration proceeded to turn a hostile majority into a minority. It succeeded; just how does not appear. That it was the usual deal in which the people are to be the paymaster there is no doubt. This is an old practice, but that a President should so far forget the dignity of his office as to allow his son to go into a state where he is not a voter and does not live, and take part in struggles of party factions and join with office-holders appointed by his father, to influence the action of a party committee is a humiliation to the whole people. And the more so when it is done with reference, as in this case, to his father's renomination. After this meeting, *The Indianapolis News* of January 8 has the following relating to him:

He arrived at the New Denison hotel Monday evening and Tuesday night disappeared. This forenoon he walked into the hotel again.

"I thought you had gone," said a prominent republican.

"I did go but I am back."

"Where have you been?"

"Oh, I've been taking a quiet little run out over the state, doing a little work."

The friends of President Harrison believe it necessary that Indiana be kept in line.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable.—*Republican National Platform*, 1888.

Nearly two years have passed since President Harrison was inaugurated after election on that platform, and yet in not a single instance has the system been extended. In the meantime, the country is being filled with letter-carriers in all small cities and every one is the spoil of some congressman or local boss. There are dozens of offices of less than fifty employes, to which the system is in every sense applicable. Every friend of the Indians and all who are best able to say what the Indians need urge the extension of the system to that service. There is no pretence of argument against any of these extensions; it is simply not done. It would be interesting to know just what President Harrison understands by his position in the matter, for he approved the platform in writing. Does he wish it understood that he joined in a promise which he did not intend to keep? If not, why does he not keep it?

UNDER all political skies Maryland is despoiled. President Harrison made Bill Johnson postmaster in Baltimore, and he at the head of the republican ins has ever since been carrying on a tremendous war with some one at the head of the republican outs. The result of this and other similar transactions is that the republican party in Maryland is split in two, the factions being made up of the cold toes and the warm toes. Under the late administration Maryland gave great promise of becoming a republican state. The effect upon the Baltimore postoffice as a business institution has been disastrous and has made Mr. Wanamaker protest. *The Civil Service Reformer* says: "In addition, and of course, in explanation of this inefficiency, it is stated that the removals of the force left in by Postmaster Brown have been very numerous; as many, it appears, as one hundred and thirty among the carriers alone. Outside of the classified service there has been a clean sweep."

Among the multitude of good things said by Mr. Depew in his address at Pittsburg, this may be singled out as meriting a second reading: "That the fireman can become a locomotive engineer, the locomotive engineer the master mechanic, the master mechanic the superintendent of motive power, the superintendent of motive power the superintendent or general manager of the railway, and possibly its president, is the law of our American development and the source of our national pre-eminence." Mr. Depew rarely fails to hit the nail on the head. In this sentence he has admirably set forth a principle that bears upon every department of our complex life. It applies with equal force to all other vocations as well as to that of the railway man.—*New York Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1890.

But suppose Mr. Depew should inject into the above the stipulation that every railroad should only employ men of one political complexion and that "for the good of the service" there should be a clean sweep every four years. How would that look?

THE address of the Civil Service Reform Association, of Buffalo, written by Mr. Sherman S. Rogers, is published elsewhere and ought to be read by every one. It brings into strong light the limitations of our Commercial Club. This club has drawn a bill for the better government of this city, but, although the spoils system is the root and branch of bad city government, the club has evidently not even taken the trouble to post itself as to the means of getting rid of that system. Their

bill is in brief a concentration of patronage distributing power. The fundamental evils such as have been in the police, the fire and street departments still remain. City after city is destroying the spoils system in its government, and it is discouraging that a club made up of the leading citizens of Indianapolis should seem to be unaware of the only distinctive progress that has been made in municipal government.

KICKING AGAINST THE PRICKS.

I.

THE old time civil service reformer who has been toughened by divers jokes and gibes of the "snivel" service order is appreciating that familiar observation that he laughs best who laughs last. For many months now he has been diverted by the wiggings and twistings and explanations and apologies of the spoilsmen, big and little. There have been two years of seeing Wanamaker cuffed about, his evasions brought to light in the most heartless manner and his equivocations exposed so often that his Sunday-school will surely soon have to bring him to account. General Wade Hampton, Commissioner Roosevelt and Mr. Foulke have all felt obliged to expose his tergiversations and all have done their work with much neatness and dispatch.

II.

THIS political census just finished seems full enough of humor to last for a decade. Census Supervisor Sid Conger, of this district, has evidently returned to the solace of fowl-raising for he is reported thus in the *Indianapolis News* of January 10:

"Sid Conger, of Flat Rock, is in the city. He says if the powers forgive him he will never again have anything to do with the taking of a census."

And the *Civil Service Record*, always mild and persistent and serious, buttonholes Porter thus:

"Commissioner of Census Porter declared before the congressional committee on civil service reform that his examinations for clerks were superior to the civil service examinations. We asked for samples of these papers to compare with the samples furnished by the civil service commissions, and especially to compare with the examinations for census clerks under the Massachusetts commission, and were told 'that it is impossible to furnish you with these documents.' Why it is 'impossible' we are not told. The examinations were held months ago, and if new ones should be held again, of course new questions would have to be asked."

III.

THE Raum family, too, have been an edifying sight since they were inducted into drawing wages from the public treasury. Commissioner Raum started in with a clever little scheme to beat the civil service law, which was promptly exposed and had to be hustled into an ignominious

grave. Later the commissioner was put on the rack of a congressional investigation and had every appearance of having put into practice that vulgar saw that "public office is a private snap." Unabashed, however, Mr. Raum came out into Indiana to make campaign speeches with a happy result for Congressman Cooper who had been looking into the Raum way of doing business. Since the election the investigation has continued, and the following from the staunch and true *Indianapolis Journal* of January 20 must be authentic:

Green B. Raum, jr., was asked by Mr. Cooper the name of the man who took care of his horses. He replied that his name was O'Donnell, and when asked if the man was in the pension office said: "That is none of your business."

The committee admitted the questions, and Mr. Raum stated that O'Donnell was messenger at the pension office at \$70 a month. He had been appointed by witness's father. O'Donnell did his duty and attended to witness's two riding horses after office hours, for which witness paid him. He refused to tell the compensation, saying it was none of Mr. Cooper's business.

Young Raum appears to have made Tweed's manner of meeting the public his study; all this must make the President wince.

IV.

BUT everything pales beside the spectacle of Ingalls ashamed of his old role of the Kansas Mephistopheles and tortured into a tea-custard and syllabub diletteism on the top of the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of an epicene. What he said last May and how he squirmed over it by January must go side by side:

The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. It proceeds from the tea-custard and syllabub diletteism, the frivolous and desultory sentimentalism of epicenes.

He then referred to the newspaper interview with him several months ago, in which he had said that the golden rule and the decalogue had no place in an American campaign. It seemed superfluous to explain that in that utterance he was not inculcating a doctrine, but describing a condition. His statement was a statement of fact; not an announcement of faith. But many reverend and eminent divines; many disinterested editors; many ingenious orators perverted this utterance in a personal advocacy of impurity in politics. He did not complain. It was, as the world went, legitimate political warfare; but it was an illustration of the truth that the golden rule and the decalogue ought to have a place in political campaigns. "If the enemy smite thee on one cheek, turn the other" was a good precept to follow. But he would observe that until that precept was more generally observed than it had been, or was likely to be, if his political enemy smote him on one cheek, instead of turning to him the other, he would smite him under the butt end of his left ear if he could. [Laughter.] If that be political immorality, he must be included among the unregenerate.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 15.

V.

OF course we must have our joke in Indiana and Lawyer Brush does not stint in quality. The best of it is that the whole story is authentic. The *Indianapolis Journal*, of January 8, tells it as follows:

The only unpleasant incident of Tuesday's meeting was a speech by Mr. W. T. Brush, of Crawfordsville, in which he took it upon himself to say that the only way for republicans to carry Indiana was by the free use of money; that the state had been previously carried by this means, and that it could be done again, notwithstanding the Australian ballot law. There is no law to prevent Mr. Brush or any other man from making a fool of himself.

Lawyer Brush did not appear to think the *Journal's* version had enough touch and go. It is, perhaps, in a rather too heavy manner for comic writing, but the *Journal* refused to print Brush's version and it appeared in the *Indianapolis News* of January 10 and can not fail as an explanation to arouse the mirth of even the most effeminate civil service reformer:

William T. Brush, member of the republican state central committee from the eighth district, is very much put out over the sensation he caused by his speech before the republican conference at Indianapolis last Tuesday. His republican friends, upon reading the *Sentinel's* report of the affair, were very much disgusted, but his explanation has satisfied them that he made no such bad break as that paper claims. To-day Mr. Brush cheerfully consented to an interview.

"What makes me the maddest," said he, "is that the *Indianapolis Journal*, without investigation, seemingly, took for granted that the *Sentinel's* report was correct and proceeded to attack me. As soon as I saw the *Sentinel's* account I immediately wrote out from memory, as nearly as I could, the exact words that I said in that speech. I have written to the editor of the *Journal* in explanation, asking that he print my version of the speech, but no reply has come, and I don't expect any. I don't think the *Journal*, now that it has made a fool of itself, wants to do me justice."

Mr. Brush then read the speech as he had written it from memory, as follows:

Mr. Chairman:

In accordance with the motion passed at the last meeting of the central committee, I selected and sent to the secretary the names of five republicans from the eighth district to serve on this committee of sixty-five to prepare and submit plans and specifications for beating the democrats in 1892. I don't see any of the gentlemen selected here, and suppose their absence is to be accounted for on the ground that they have no plans to submit to the committee. I do not myself think this kind of a meeting amounts to much. It partakes too much of the nature of a post-mortem into the causes of defeat. We have already had one meeting of that kind. It was called to formulate plans of re-organization for the next campaign, and not for the display of oratory; but so far, while the districts from one to eight have been called, and responses have been received from three or four gentlemen from each, no plan for future action has been suggested, save the establishment of a cheap newspaper and the infusion of more harmony into the party. The burden of the speeches so far heard seems to be to convince us that some accident befell us in November, and that we were not really beaten at all. Let us not deceive ourselves into the belief that it was an accident, or that the lack of a cheap newspaper and the want of harmony did it. The fact is there are more democrats than republicans in Indiana, and a larger proportion of them voted last fall. Any poll of the state made within

the last twenty years which shows it to be anything but democratic is wrong. That being the case, anybody can see that we have either to convert democrats to our faith or otherwise induce them to vote our ticket. Heretofore when the right kind of inducements were used we succeeded, and when not we got left, and we always will. The means of conversion and the inducements held out in the last campaign, it seems, were not sufficient. The democrats attribute their late victory to the existence of the Australian election law, and perhaps they are right about that, but I can't tell whether it made more democrats or lessened the number of republicans. If it did either we want to work some plan to circumvent the system, because we need more voters on our side, and we will have to get them or get left, in spite of cheap newspapers, more harmony and everything else. The plans used in 1880 and 1888 put us through in fine style, and the eighth district submits them for your consideration, if you can recollect what they were. The committee is to select a new chairman to-day, and I am in favor of finding a man for the place with a big head on him; one who has brains enough to know what to do, when to do it, and who has the nerve to do it when the time comes.

"Now, that is the whole thing. I never mentioned the words 'Harrison,' 'boodle' or 'money,' and no one interrupted me with a question, or with a remark of any kind. The people who were there will testify to this fact; but I don't believe the *Journal* had a reporter there, or it would never have followed the course it did.

"The speech was made, not in a serious vein, but to be laughed at, and it was taken in that way by all present. All the districts (before the eighth) had been represented by long-winded speakers who did nothing but whine over the past. I wanted to get them out of that rut and put a little life into things."

VI.

AS IF Brush's erratum were not embarrassing enough, *The Delphi Journal* joins in. It is all the more embarrassing for the President and Mr. Wanamaker because *The Delphi Journal* is a subsidized sheet. Its editor is postmaster and not only advocates buying votes, but flouts those who reprehend the practice. That puts the President and the postmaster-general, politically speaking, in a hole, for how can they indorse the following:

Mr. William T. Brush, of Crawfordsville, a good lawyer, a stalwart republican, and a most agreeable gentleman, appears to have thrown the staid and tight-laced *Indianapolis Journal* into a fit of hysterics. According to the *Indianapolis Journal*, which would fain appear to the world as prim, stately, saintly and virtuous as old Aunt Phoebe, who always sits at the head of the quilting frame, Mr. Brush has been guilty of an unpardonable sin. At a recent meeting of the leading republicans of the state, who met for consultation, the *Journal* alleges that Mr. Brush made the statement that the republicans could not carry the state in '92 without the use of money. And the truly good, pious party organ, taking this as a text, proceeds to denounce Mr. Brush as "a fool" and place him in bad odor generally. Nay, more; the sanctified expounder of republican principles at the state capital cries in a loud voice and would have the world know that Mr. Brush is the only bad man in the republican party in Indiana who has ever hinted at such a profane idea, and that the other members of the recent conference indignantly repudiated his expressions in the conference. The *Journal* then goes on and attributes the victories won by the republicans in this state to the "resistless tide of public opinion," "boundless enthusiasm" and the Lord, and attempts to make itself

and the dear people believe that the two-dollar bill has not been "in it" at all. All of which has a tendency to make any one but a hypocrite and a pharisaical political psalm singer very tired.

Worse than all, their editor postmaster seems to gibe at the President and Mr. Wanamaker for being religious men. Of the campaign of 1888, he says:

We admit that there was much "boundless enthusiasm," "overwhelming popular uprising" and Lord business in the last campaign, but none of these touched the "floater."

Calmly and serenely he sat on the fence and asked for "turkey."

The democrat might talk to him about free trade and the republican about protection, but he would quietly whistle a little ditty and then ask, "What'll you give?" And then it was simply a question of who would give the most. The republicans generally got the best of it for the simple reason that the democratic workers insisted on putting the greater portion of the boodle intrusted to them into their own pockets. These are facts, and if the *Indianapolis Journal* is not acquainted with them it should come out in the country and consult some of the workers on the political history of the state. The republicans were driven to use money in elections in this state. The ugly business was forced upon them by democrats. They would have been a lot of noodles to have done anything else than fight the devil with his own fire.

And in conclusion:

If the *Indianapolis Journal* expects to ride to republican victory in this state in 1892 by dishing out to republican workers the tepid "pap" of civil service reform, and by recklessly abusing such stalwart, ever-vigilant party leaders as William T. Brush, it will be worse fooled than the celebrated character who attempted to weather the fires of hades by enlacing his carcass in a cotton jacket.

Ordinarily, one might expect to see an employe dismissed for such language, as being not only immoral, but showing contempt for his superior officers; but when this editor wanted about a year ago the Delphi postoffice, and the high spoils distributors seemed cold, he proceeded to warm them as follows—and got his office forthwith:

If, when John C. New, of the *Journal*, asked for the London consulship, he had been informed that Cleveland's appointee would be retained, what a blue tinge the air would have taken on. And how Dan Ransdell and W. H. H. Miller and Porter and Huston, and all the rest of them, would have howled in agony if civil service slop had been doled out to them. Under these circumstances would the *Indianapolis Journal* be feeding the pampered, weak-minded, scrofulous child on choice bonbons? No, indeed. The *Indianapolis Journal* would have been a center from which greased lightning would have darted in all directions. The *Journal* ought to know that it is of infinitely more importance to satisfy the working republicans in the outcounties on this point than the prominent politicians of that paper and in Indianapolis. For the outcounties give the republican majorities. * * * * *

We can see that President Harrison is merely executing the law as it now is. This is all right. But unless the present congress relieves him of the law by wiping it out of existence they will show to the country that they lack the courage of their convictions, that they are not in harmony with the republican sentiment of the country.

Let Congressman Cheadle go ahead. Let him force his bill to a vote. We want to see the names of the cowards who are tarred with the same stick that has made the names of Roosevelt, Curtis, *et al.* odoriferous to a purgative extent.

AN OLD-TIME MUGWUMP.

It seems that Attorney-General Miller was formerly guilty of the crime of being a mugwump. In 1872, being then a lawyer in Fort Wayne, he made a speech against the administration of General Grant which was very greatly to his credit. This was August 31, 1872, and the speech fills six columns of *The Fort Wayne Sentinel* of September 2, following. Of this speech which everyone ought to read and which displays throughout a high standard of ability to distinguish public evils and gives in every line evidence of independent thought and action, we can give only a few extracts. He says to fugitives from the effete despotisms of the old world:

I ask you, citizens of America by adoption, who have fled from the despotisms and family distinctions of the old world, whether a President who regards his high office, with all of its patronage and power, as mere family property; and a vice-president, who commenced his political life as a know-nothing, taking an oath that he would never support or countenance the election of a foreign-born citizen to any office, are according to your idea of a republican government?

And to Irishmen:

I ask the Irishmen of the land whose ancestors have for centuries, and whose fathers and brothers are to-day writhing beneath the heel of a carpet-bag government, whether they are in favor of maintaining such governments in the south? I ask all citizens of every class whether you are in favor of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in time of profound peace; of keeping alive forever the hates and enmities of the past; of the use by the President of his whole first term in manipulating and purchasing a second? * * *

Talk of civil service reform, with Tom Murphy, through his tool, Chester A. Arthur, assisted by Leet and Stocking still running the New York custom-house; with brother-in-law Casey, notoriously steeped in corruption, still holding the most important federal office in New Orleans, and with brother-in-law Cramer, misrepresenting the American name and disgracing the American people and the American pulpit at Copenhagen; with Butler, the worthy representative of his notorious uncle, rioting and reveling as consul-general in Egypt, with good men and true being daily removed from office for daring to doubt the wisdom of Grant's re-election, with assessments being daily levied on all government clerks and employes for the purpose of carrying on the administration campaign in direct violation of these pretended regulations; * * * * * with the heads of the departments scattered from Maine to Oregon, using all the influence, patronage and money at their command to bolster the failing fortunes of their chief.

It is true that in seeming derogation of the foregoing sentiments, Mr. Miller is now perhaps the most influential member of an administration which has set off a very large share of patronage "as mere family property." And if the President, whom he much admires, is not manipulating for a second term on a scale never known before then all signs fail. And it must be admitted that for many years Mr. Miller has not been heard to lift up his voice in favor of civil service reform, although Wanamaker, Clarkson, Noble, Nathan, Willis, Warmouth, Johnson and others under his very nose revel and riot in spoil. And many "good men and true" have been removed

from office by him. Neither does he prosecute plain cases of assessments nor encourage such prosecutions, although the evidence is so plain that if pressed the culprits would likely throw themselves upon the mercy of the court. Canting Phari-sees may urge these objections to Mr. Miller, but this ought not to detract from a just and large admiration of him as a fearless and independent young man in 1872, and as a worthy example.

INDIAN PROSPECTS.

The spoils system in the Indian service goes bravely on. It is not surprising that the party in the spoils machine who is responsible for the reckless order to, in effect, kidnap Sitting Bull should be kept concealed. And solely out of our system of spoiling the Indians with bogus agreements, bogus supplies and bogus officers came the massacre of Wounded Knee Creek, in which we have the honor of having killed sixty-three women and children. It turns out, also, according to Mr. Welsh, and undisputed statements from all quarters, that the administration appointed as agent at Pine Ridge a man named Royer because he had rendered conspicuous services to some boss in a county convention in South Dakota. One day an attempt was made to arrest an Indian in front of the agency, but he drew a knife and got away. Royer at once took a bee-line for the nearest railroad station and telegraphed for troops, and did not return to the agency until the troops had gone first and made sure of his own precious safety. President Harrison and Secretary Noble built up their own spoils machine in the Indian country in contempt of the advice and protests of those who had known and worked for the Indians many years. The fine-working qualities of their machine are illustrated by the fact that that when trouble came, and their Indian agents should have been of inestimable service, as, in effect, fathers of their people, the administration had to put out a whole grist of them, and appoint in their places army officers of honesty and capacity, and experience with the Indians. Royer went with the rest, remarking with incomparable brass that his removal had been brought about "by political influences, jealousy, and at a time when the Dakota delegation in congress was at home looking after an election." Whether any permanent improvement will, under this administration, be the outcome of the present Indian troubles seems doubtful. It is announced that none of the henchmen who posed as agents have been permanently removed except the abused Royer. This means that as soon as it seems safe for them to again become a part of the Indian spoils machine they will be allowed to do so. The instructions from Washington to Captain Pierce, the new agent at Pine Ridge, are not to

clear out the barnacles he may find in the service at that agency, though that would be the only way to carry out the boasted rule of the spoilsmen that the man who is responsible for an office should have the appointment of his subordinates. He is ordered to look over his subordinates and make report to Washington as to such as he can not keep, with explicit reasons in detail for his objections. This simply means that the reasons are to be referred to the congressmen who own these henchmen, and who will either bully the administration into keeping them, or will foist upon Captain Pierce another crowd of the same stripe. The bottom of all this is, that President Harrison has determined to take a hand in securing his own re-nomination, and he is afraid to offend congressmen. He has precedents before him to show that a re-nomination by a party machine, bought with patronage, does not insure re-election.

Several thousand miners have sent in a petition to the Indiana state legislature to the effect that the great hazard connected with their work renders it an outrage to appoint as mine inspector a man who knows nothing about mines and mining. It is stated that Governor Hovey appointed for this important position a farmer who knew nothing about mining. A bill has been introduced to have the state inspector of mines appointed by the state geologist instead of by the governor and that there shall be a pass examination.

Pass examinations were discredited years ago. They offer no protection against favoritism and are no bar to incompetency. Tammany uses them in New York for its braves and finds them no inconvenience. Unless the legislature is willing to let all applicants have an equal chance by means of competitive examinations, it is quite as proper to let Governor Hovey go on frankly appointing farmers as mine inspectors who may draw the salary of \$1,500 and thus be paid for political work.

Dr. R. French Stone, one of the pension examiners at this point, has been removed, and Dr. S. A. Elbert, a negro, appointed. At its meeting, January 20, the Marion County Medical Society, forty members being present, unanimously resolved:

WHEREAS, The various boards of examiners for pensions were created by the government for the purpose of fairly adjusting the claims of wounded and disabled soldiers; and,

WHEREAS, It was the intention of the law that these boards should be composed of intelligent and reputable physicians in order that justice might be done to both the soldiers and the government: therefore,

Resolved, That the recent action of the president of the United States in removing from the board of pension examiners of Indianapolis an honorable member of this society and a veteran union soldier, in order to give place to one who is not, and who never has affiliated with the profession, and who does not possess the necessary qualifications for the important

trust thus committed to his hands, is a base and inexcusable prostitution of the office of pension examiner to partisan purposes, and an insult to every reputable physician in this city and state.

Resolved, That the secretary is instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to the daily papers of this city.

Elsewhere are given illustrations of the institution known as the primary or caucus. It is not lovely. These examples are of the noisier variety and their sharp practice is coarser, but in the main they do not misrepresent the spirit which governs these meetings. In the better bred neighborhoods the tricks are slicker. For instance, lately we heard one of the better element complain that at the caucus in his ward the usual allowance of five minutes for difference in watches was not made, and when he got to the place of meeting five minutes late, not only had the delegates been chosen but every one who had taken part in the choosing had vanished. The workers never tire of saying that those who object to their delegates and candidates should attend the primaries and choose better ones, well knowing that if this were the only way of putting them down they would stay up a long while. At the primaries they are invincible, but at the polls they are becoming more and more helpless. No duty of contending in a primary with rough and ready rounders or with smooth tricksters rests upon a citizen. So long as millions a year are to be fought over as spoil, this will continue, and in the meantime it is the duty of citizens to have no bowels of compassion for parties or persons at the polls.

A new republican club, with Roger Wolcott as president, has been organized in Massachusetts. It is composed of men whose sincerity and patriotism will not be questioned, and who will have to save the republican party, if it is saved at all, from the Dudleys, Quays and Ingallses. The club demands, among other things:

That this club authorizes a committee of the members, to be selected by the president, to urge upon the President of the United States the extension of civil service reform, and increased appropriations for that purpose.

We understand that a representative of this club, together with Congressman Lodge, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Sherman S. Rogers, have called upon the President to urge him to extend the operations of the civil service law and were courteously received.

Theodore Roosevelt has "An Object Lesson in Civil Service Reform" in the February *Atlantic Monthly*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has been regularly sent for some months to the libraries of about four hundred colleges over the country. In some instances the gift has been acknowledged. It is requested that the trouble be taken to state whether the paper has been received and is on file for general reading.

SMUG MR. WANAMAKER.

[From the last report of the postmaster-general.]

1. I hope to see the civil service examinations, especially with reference to the railway mail, improved.

2. A year's experience confirms me in the judgment formed twelve months ago, that the civil service system, as applied to the rosters of the post-office department, is susceptible of improvement. The examinations for the inspector force and for the railway mail service ought to be made more difficult, so that the candidates for places will better stand the test of actual work.

3. The inspector can not be capable unless he is full of resources and alertness.

[Comments by the civil service commission.]

1. The commission has never received a hint that its examinations were not proper.

The individual commissioners have repeatedly told the general superintendent of the railway mail service that they were anxious to get any advice about these examinations, and would at once remedy any defect.

2. The commission is strongly of the opinion that in most cases this force can be best supplied by promotion of men already in the post office department, which contains in the neighborhood of 17,000 classified employees. The commission, however, is confident that it can supply a reasonable number of good post-office inspectors from its open examinations, and is surprised to learn that the postmaster-general does not regard these examinations as satisfactory. They are of the same kind as those that were used in the department itself before these employees were classified, with the exception that from being pass examinations they are now made competitive. Of the seventeen men appointed from the commission's list to these places during the year and a half that has just elapsed, sixteen are now in the service. Only one has resigned or been dismissed. Any system that produces such results can not be said to be ineffective or to work badly. In any event, the commission is convinced that it will be most detrimental to the public interests to go back to the old method of treating the appointments of these post-office inspectors as so much patronage. More effort has been made to have these post-office inspectors put back under the patronage system than has been the case in regard to any other branch of the classified service. Every member of the commission has been approached by influential politicians, asking that post-office inspectors should be excepted from examination; and in almost every instance where the request has been made it has been based upon the ground that the post-office inspectors in office when the service was classified had been appointed chiefly for political reasons. One of the commissioners has himself seen a letter in which a very prominent political leader was urging this change, and urging the appointment of a post office inspector in his district frankly for the reason that he wished to know about the political attitude of the various local postmasters. Another of the commissioners was frankly told by a political leader of great importance in a certain state, that he wished the inspectors to be excepted from examination, because from the nature of their office they were calculated to render such very important political service; and inasmuch as the previous inspectors, then in office, had rendered this service to the out-going administration, the gentleman referred to desired that their suc-

4. It is estimated by the railway mail office that the proportion of railway mail eligibles who fail to fill the requirements of that exacting employment is a quarter or a third of all those examined.

5. The railway postal clerk can not be efficient unless he has physical endurance.

6. Nor is it truth—and it will not stand the test of time—to reiterate over and over again that the railway mail service, which had been made the most effective body of civil servants in the United States under an old established merit system of its own, was basely prostituted to partisan ends when this administration of the post-office department was busying itself with putting back these trusty and tried men in the places of persons whose room was more valuable than their bungling assistance, and with waiting for the tardy certification of eligibles.

sors should render equal political assistance to the in-coming administration.

4. The records show that, of the 1,525 eligibles appointed in the railway mail service from our examinations up to June 30, 1890, about 145 have resigned or been removed. There were but thirty-one removals; and doubtless many, if not most, of those who resigned did so of their own free will, and should not by rights be included at all in these figures. In other words, instead of one-third, only one-eleventh have been separated from the service. The others (over 90 per cent. of the whole number) are still in; and the commission had assumed, not unnaturally, that they would not be retained if they did not give satisfaction, inasmuch as the commission stands ready at any time to fill the places of any dismissed, and inasmuch as it is a cardinal doctrine of the commission that any government employee should be promptly dismissed if he fails to do satisfactory work.

5. We require now a surgeon's certificate as to the applicant's good health and strength. Moreover, part of the examination is, as the postmaster-general doubtless knows, the six months' probationary test.

6. The system of examinations and tests applied after appointment, under which the postmaster-general says the railway mail service had become the most effective body of civil servants in the United States, has been preserved intact, without an iota of change under the civil service rules; and, in addition, an entrance test has been prescribed in the form of an open, competitive examination, which takes the place of the practice in vogue before the civil service rules were applied to this service—of allowing members of congress and others to nominate to the department the persons to be appointed.

This sentence refers to the changes made immediately after the present administration took office, between March 4 and May 1, 1889, the latter being the date on which the railway mail service was classified. According to the only authorities accessible to the commission, there were some 1,500 removals or over during these eight weeks, at least a third and perhaps a half of the employees appointed during the preceding four years being removed at this time. All of those employees had been appointed under the patronage system. It is clear, then, from the postmaster-general's own statement, that under the patronage system of making appointments, a very large proportion—probably a half—of those appointed are of such poor quality that even after several years' service they do their work in a manner so bungling as to render their presence in the department a drawback, not an advantage. Comparing this with the results achieved during the last year and a half under the system of

open, competitive examinations, the enormous superiority of the latter is observable at a glance from the postmaster-general's own report.

Under the law, the civil service examiners are detailed to the commission from the various departments. The post-office department until within the last two months has been very backward in thus detailing examiners. Not an examiner was detailed to the commission from the railway mail service until a year and a quarter after this service had been classified, and only then when the commission, after repeated requests for the detail, was obliged to notify the department that it would no longer be able to do the work for the railway mail service unless the detail was given it. Thus for a year and a half the entire work of the commission for this branch of the service was performed by men detailed from other departments of the government, who had to neglect the work of the departments from which they were detailed in order to perform the work of examining, marking, and certifying applicants for positions in the postal service.

Let me briefly mention one or two special causes for Thanksgiving:

1. *Civil Service Reform.* I see progress in this direction, and I will tell you why. You know that when the present administration came into office, it came in with the most distinct pledges that the civil service was to be non-partisan; it was to be more impartially managed than ever during the previous administration. The promise was clear, and they were elected and put in power upon that understanding. And what has been the result?

The great post-office department, which is so closely connected with the life of the people; which has to do with every county, every town, every village, every little hamlet in the land, which has nothing to do with politics, for it makes no difference whether the postmaster who handles your letters is democrat or republican, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, or even atheist, so that he does his work intelligently and honestly—this great department is the field above all others where reform was most needed. The service required to be made non-partisan, and the promise was given that it should be. Well, we all know that the postmaster-general violated his promises most shamefully. His first assistant postmaster—a Mr. Clarkson—has boasted that he has removed thousands and thousands of postmasters for partisan reasons, to put in members of his own party, and not to improve the service. And this was done with the hope and expectation that this would benefit the political prospects of the party that did it. And what have the people said? Why all over the country, and right in the very section which claims Mr. Clarkson as one of

its leading men, the verdict of *disapproval* has come. The people have said, "This won't do. Step down; we are masters, and we will show you what we think of men who break their solemn pledges and promises." Will anybody tell me that after this popular verdict, any party will dare to think that they can strengthen themselves by prostituting the civil service to partisan and dishonorable uses? Hence I seem to see that out of this evil progress has come in the civil service idea.—*From the Thanksgiving Sermon of Rev. Hall Harrison.*

The spoils system is a system of brutal iniquity. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.] I have chosen my words carefully, simply to describe it with scientific accuracy. [Laughter and applause.] With your permission I will give one or two instances to bear out the words I have used, although they are instances that I have quoted to certain gentlemen here present on another occasion. Of the two instances, I shall take one happening under the last and one under the present administration. One of the most painful things in connection with my duties as a civil service reformer is being brought in contact with so much wrong that I am powerless to right, to remedy, or to attempt to remedy in any way. We have a very wise rule forbidding re-instatements of people in the government service who are out more than a year; for, if we allow people to re-enter after a greater time than that, there would be apt to be in the beginning of each administration a wholesale putting in of men dismissed under the preceding administration. It is a rule generally right, though of course in individual cases it works harshly.

A poor woman came to me early in my service as commissioner, to ask if she could not be re-instated. She had been turned out some two or three years before, and had been a clerk in the government office at Washington. She was a widow, with two children. A certain senator had need of her place. It was at the time not in the classified service. He wanted it for a henchman of his own. He had notified the division chief of the department that he needed that place. The division chief summoned the lady, and told her that he was very sorry for her, but she had to go.

I wish to say here that I want to condemn the system rather than the men who did wrong under it. The senator who made the request made a request simply for a vacancy, and did not know anything about the hardship of the case or the person who had to be turned out; and the division chief who had to do the turning out acted under compulsion and with extreme reluctance. The woman came to her chief, and told him she was absolutely dependent on the salary she had—that it meant bread to herself and children and a roof to cover them; that she had been in the service some thirteen

or fourteen years, and had entirely lost all connection with any of her former friends. There was no place where she could go, and no niche that would be open for her.

She worked very much on the sympathy of the division chief, who said: "Go you back. I will keep you in." She went, and was kept about six weeks more. But down came the senator. His man was clamorous. The senator said it was no use talking, he had to have the place, that the thing must be done. The thing was done.

The woman was turned out. She did manage to pick up a little work here and there—enough to keep herself and her children insufficiently fed and insufficiently clad. She managed to just live.

The woman came to me and told me her case. I told her how keenly I appreciated the wrong she had suffered, but that, if we established a precedent in this case, it would entail our helping hundreds of other cases who would not have been worthy of help. The woman was perfectly reasonable in the matter, and saw the position in which we were placed. She said, "Of course, I understand how you are situated; but it is a little hard for me to live on one meal a day."

Now, I fail to see how any person can be brought in contact with instances of this kind and not feel that the spoils system is an outrage on American manhood; and no man of self-respect, with the least spark of manhood in him, can support such a system.—*From the Address of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt Before the Commercial Club in Boston, Dec. 20, 1890. Printed in Full in January Civil Service Record.*

"Let the man who is too good and too conceited to belong to either party go to the primaries and see that good men are chosen, instead of staying away and then kicking against the candidates."

Party Boss.

1.

If a gang of wild beasts had taken possession of Parnell Hall Saturday night, they could not have made more noise than the seventy-five delegates who assembled there to nominate two democratic candidates for aldermen in the fifth district. The mercury registered something near ninety degrees. In the hall, thirty by forty feet in dimensions, were crowded the seventy-five delegates and a hundred spectators who were present to see that there was "fair play between man and man," as they announced. There is a saloon beneath this little hall, and of course all the spectators and delegates had looked in the bottom of a glass before they went upstairs. This prosperous saloon-keeper also kept cigars which he sold for the moderate price of 2½ cents each.

There were three small windows in the room, through which there was danger of some fresh air circulating, but seven or eight thoughtful young men, who were present as ornaments only, were kind

enough to stand in these air passages, and thus make it utterly impossible for the air to get in, or the tobacco (?) smoke to get out.

Tom Mahoney elbowed his way through the crowd and mounted a platform, the base of which was on a level with the heads of the delegates. He stroked his flowing mustache once, and then announced that he was ready for business. In a twinkling a half-dozen persons had been proposed for chairman, and every time Mr. Mahoney would attempt to ask for a vote the friends of each man proposed would set up a yell that would drown out his voice. Mr. Mahoney concluded he would just let them yell, and folding his arms he posed on his high perch and calmly said: "I am at your services, gentlemen."

Pretty soon an idea struck Pat Kelley, of the twenty-fifth ward, and mounting his chair and shaking his head like an orator reaching a climax he said: "Mr. Cheerman, in the interest of harmony I nominate John Rail for cheerman of the convintion." There was a chorus of "yes's" and a chorus of "no's," and then some one raised the point that the chairman had to be taken from among the delegates. Finally Chas. Gauss, the nominee for council in the twenty-fourth ward, was elected with a whoop.

Julius Reinecke, John Reardon, John Blackwell and Peter Carson were placed in nomination. It was decided that a majority of all the votes cast would nominate. The balloting was carried on amid confusion. The vote on the first ballot was as follows: Reinecke 20, Reardon 27, Blackwell 22, and Carson 9. There was little change in the vote until the eighth ballot, when Blackwell received 41 votes and was nominated.

There was a great uproar for a few minutes, and the ballot was taken for the second candidate. As Reinecke's friends had helped to nominate Blackwell, it was supposed Blackwell's supporters would now come to Reinecke, and that they did. On this ballot but seventy-six votes were cast, and of this number Reinecke received thirty-nine, Reardon thirty-five and Carson two. Reinecke had received the majority of all the votes cast, and his friends immediately set up a gleeful yell that stirred the hot blood in the fighting Celtic sons of the twenty fifth ward. Pat Kelley gave his head an infuriated toss, and the fun began. The friends of Reardon pretended that he had been counted out. They maintained that seventy-eight votes had been cast, and that Mr. Reinecke must have forty to nominate him. Mr. Kelley, with a voice like a fog horn, was heard above everybody else.

"We will have our rights, Mr. Cheerman," said he. "We come here not to be bull-dozed, but to receive fair treatment as between man and man, and that we will have, Mr. Cheerman."

Chairman Gauss, as he stood on his elevated perch, was the picture of distress. He feared personal violence if he declared Reinecke the nominee, so he stood there and made speeches. He must have made twenty-five, and this is what he said every time: "Gentlemen, I have announced the vote as it is before me. If you can't agree it is no fault of mine." His twenty-sixth speech was a little more elaborate. He begged for mercy. "You ought to understand my position," said he. "It was unfortunate that I should have been called to preside over this meeting. I have the vote as it was cast, and yet if I announce it you will come over into my ward and knife me for council."

The wrangling was kept up for an hour and a half, and then Reinecke's followers withdrew from the hall. The followers of Reardon remained to argue with Mr. Gauss, and would probably have been there until daylight had not Reardon withdrawn from the race, and advised them to support this nominee. A little before midnight the lights were turned out, and the disappointed were forced to seek the street cars.

There appears undoubtable evidence of deep treachery in the party ranks, and it is not surprising to find Councilman Markey as the supposed conspirator. To accomplish his purpose he appears to have turned his knife upon his own relatives, or such of them as he found were not of his own way of thinking. It was given out that Markey's relatives, particularly John Reardon, candidate for alderman, were receiving all the support that Markey and the corporations could give him. Everybody turned in to help defeat the supposed corporation candidates, and in doing this helped on Markey's real candidates. John Blackwell, the nominee for alderman, is understood to have secured, through Markey, a position as engineer at the Insane Hospital. Michael Toole, a relative of Markey's, who didn't want a public place, and who, through Markey's influence, secured a position as spotter on the street railway lines, voted against Reardon. John German, a twenty-third ward delegate, says Rail—who was ostensibly Reardon's friend—advised him to vote against Reardon. The Indianapolis Gas Company's employees were present in strength doing Markey's bidding—and one of them, by the way, on Markey's renomination, presented him with a cane.

The point of it all is that Markey's supporters, who had been understood all along to be for Reardon, when it came to voting all turned to the other fellows. It was a cute trick, but it was carried too far. Markey's relatives can hardly be expected to complain, but their friends and a legion of democrats are in open rebellion. An independent candidate is almost a certainty. Reardon has declared himself for the whole democratic ticket, but the solid dem-

ocrats down that way who are not restrained by personal relations will settle all of their disaffection by voting against Markey. They say he has represented corporations instead of the people; that he brought corporation agents to the primaries from every nook and corner. Fred Hoffer, grocer, head of many benevolent societies, will probably be the independent democratic nominee for council against Markey. As a bit of good politics the democrats hope the republicans will indorse the independent. Mr. Hohlt is also being considered as a possibility.—*Indianapolis News, September 2, 1889.*

II.

Everything was "cut and dried" for the re-nomination of Thomas Markey in the twenty-third ward, and it was practically useless for the opposition to attempt to change the prearranged programme. Markey had the party machinery at his command, being himself ward committeeman, and he was shrewd enough to use it to good advantage. Yesterday afternoon the opposers of Markey saw the way the fight was going, and they persuaded all the opposition candidates to withdraw but W. H. Hohlt. Mr. Hohlt was acceptable to all those who didn't want to see Markey re-nominated, and his friends felt confident that he would be nominated.

It was an enormous crowd that blocked the street in front of the engine house for half an hour before time for the primary to begin. There must have been nearly 500 men, all of whom claimed to be democratic voters in the twenty-third ward. When the meeting was called to order by Robert Keller, one of Markey's friends moved that Con. Sullivan (said to be a relative of Markey's) be made permanent chairman. The supporters of Hohlt named another man, but the Markey crowd set up a yell that was deafening, and, while the uproar was going on, Sullivan was declared elected chairman. As Sullivan mounted the chairman's table, some one called out: "Look out; he knocked out Kilrain."

As soon as Sullivan had the meeting in hand for his principal, an effort was made to carry out a scheme of the Markey-Reardon crowd. Young Albert Lieber offered a resolution which provided that three gentlemen (naming them) should constitute a committee to select delegates to the aldermanic convention. The persons named were at once recognized as supporters of Reardon, and one hundred voices were raised in chorus against the presentation of such a resolution. Mr. Lieber saw he could not get the resolution through at that time, and he announced that he would withdraw it for the present.

Chairman Sullivan then announced that nominations for councilman were in order. August Kuhn nominated Thomas Markey, and forthwith some relatives of Markey in

the crowd moved that the nomination be made by acclamation.

"Not much you won't," yelled the crowd. "No, everybody's got to have a show," said Chairman Sullivan, as he called for more nominations.

William H. Hohlt was then placed in nomination, and so was Philip Wolf. The latter at once withdrew and requested that his friends support Hohlt. Another effort was made to have Markey declared the nominee by acclamation, but the crowd objected so strenuously that the chairman didn't dare to carry out the scheme and entertain a resolution of that kind.

The arrangements for going through the farce of voting was then made. Everybody was driven out of the engine house, and the front and rear doors locked. The tellers were then stationed at a side door, where they received the votes in a hat as the crowd pushed into the house again. No effort was made to prevent non-residents from voting, and there were charges that Markey had many supporters there from every ward, from the insane hospital to Irvington.

Markey and his gang had planned well. It was arranged that when the crowd should be turned out of the engine house, the Markey gang should take up their positions near the side door where the votes were to be taken. The plan was carried out, and the first 200 votes taken in were nearly all for Markey. When the Markey ringsters thought about all the votes for their candidate were in, some one of them burst open the front door to the engine house and the crowd surged out and around to the little side door where the ballots were being taken. There was but one thing to do, and that was to close the ballot-box (hats). More than one hundred men were still in line, waiting their turn to vote, and they all had Hohlt tickets in their hands. They protested loudly, and demanded that the entire vote be taken over again, but the protests counted for nothing. The tellers, who were, of course, Markey men, said they could not be held responsible for the doors being opened, and to avoid the confusion they went up stairs to a private seance to count the vote.

The Hohlt supporters, disgusted, went home, and then it was Reardon's (Markey's brother-in-law) chance to have his supporters chosen as delegates to the aldermanic convention. The Lieber resolution, which had been hooted down once, was adopted with a whoop and a hurrah. The committee of three retired, one of them pulled from his pocket a list of delegates Reardon had selected, it was pronounced all right, and the report was made to the meeting, which was now composed exclusively of Markey-Reardon supporters. Of course no one objected to the list of delegates.

There was a little wait, and then the

teller came down the stairway smiling and announced that Markey had received 209 votes and Hohlt 125. There was some applause, and a call for Markey, to which he replied after the stereotyped fashion.—*Indianapolis News*, August 31, 1889.

III.

The nastiness of gang politics was faithfully pictured in the twenty-second ward last night, where a most disgraceful affair took place. A dirty struggle to elect a gang committeeman has disgusted the better element of the republican party in the ward. The so-called "convention" was held in a vacant storeroom in the Bristol Block on Virginia avenue. Mike Toomey, the clerk of the board of aldermen, is the authorized agent of the Tin Horn crowd in that ward, and it was known that he would capture the convention by high-handed methods, if such a thing were possible and necessary. Early in the evening a number of business men and good citizens who have not attended a primary for years arrived, and it was sought to have decency and fair play. But they did not know the gang. At 8 o'clock one of Toomey's subalterns carried a starch box into the room. Ostensibly it was to be used as a ballot-box, but the subaltern sat with his arms about the box and no one could get near it. When John Howard, the old committeeman, called the meeting to order, Toomey and his cohorts, composed in part of a gang of potatoe peddlers, democrats, ward heelers and sluggers, arrived. Mr. Howard attempted to have a permanent chairman elected.

This started the row. Toomey sprang on a chair, and, waving a dirty piece of paper, shouted that he had been appointed temporary committeeman by the city committee, and he at once assumed to be chairman of the meeting. Pandemonium broke loose then. John A. Porter was nominated for committeeman by Howard and Charles Egger was nominated by Toomey. Porter's friends insisted that no democrats should be allowed a voice in the proceedings and should be asked to go out. To this Toomey objected.

"How can you tell who are democrats," he shouted.

"We know them, and know who has them here," yelled the other side. "Let the police come in and put them out."

"No policeman can take any one out of here," howled the Tin Horn crowd. Howard climbed on a table and attempted to speak, but he was jeered and hooted at until his voice could not be heard. Toomey clambered up beside him and screamed his orders as chairman, and he, too, was greeted with hisses and yells of derision. Once or twice a fight was imminent and several blows were passed in the crowd. Howard called for the ayes and noes and declared Porter elected committeeman. Porter attempted to speak, but was hissed

down. Toomey waived his hat to command silence.

"Shut up," yelled some one in the crowd.

"I'll come down there and climb your collar," elegantly remarked Toomey.

"Climb whose collar?"

"Yours; you know me," continued Toomey, with a yell like a Comanche Indian. "Hands off," "put 'em out," "knock 'im off the table," hisses, groans and oaths followed. Howard, Porter and his friends left the hall, fairly driven out by the gang. Toomey then organized what he called the twenty-second ward convention, and declared Egger the committeeman. Egger was boosted on a table (which, by the way, was a poker table), and Mr. Egger made a little speech. He entertained all motions in the affirmative. The negative side of a question was not thought of, particularly as Mr. Toomey made all the motions and introduced all the resolutions. The poker table and the starch box were moved up to the door, and as the gang walked out a ticket was dropped in. Everyone voted that wanted to, no matter what their age or politics, and Egger was declared elected by the Tin Horn crowd. As might be expected, a wide split among the republicans of the ward is the result. The gang's bulldozing methods were condemned by the better element. "We can not expect to beat all the potato peddlers and democrats in this end of town," said a business man. "This affair is disgraceful, and will result in a democrat's election. We are tired of Toomey and his gang, and don't propose to submit any longer." "None of Porter's friends cast a vote," said another. "Do you suppose we would vote for a man put up by a gang like that?"

The question as to who is the committeeman elected—Porter or Egger—will probable come up before the city committee. That organization is controlled by Tin Horns, and Egger blows with them. The claim that he had been appointed temporary committeeman by the city committee made by Mr. Toomey, is questionable. Mr. Howard was the old committeeman, and would hold over until his successor was elected, and the city committee had no right, it is claimed, to declare his office vacant and appoint another in his stead. "He was elected by the people," said one of Howard's friends, "and the committee could not remove him, especially as Mr. Howard has been attending to his duties. There was no vacancy. Howard was chairman of the convention, and Porter is the legally elected committeeman. Toomey was an interloper, and had no authority to act as a chairman."—*Indianapolis News*, August 28, 1890.

IV.

A Donnybrook fair isn't a circumstance to the riot that marked the democratic first ward caucus to-day, and in the midst of it was the Hon. William F.

Sheehan, leader of the democrats in the assembly and Gov. Hill's right bower. He was supported by several of his creations, among them a dairy inspector and a section superintendent of the Erie canal.

Gasman Bradley wanted a renomination for alderman, and Iceman Sullivan was after the same office. Sheehan considers Bradley a juggler, and so he was for the iceman. The chairman of the ward committee, Charles McDonough, is a Sullivanite, and during the saloon hours, when honest men were asleep, last night, it is said that Sheehan, McDonough, and a few others put up the "job," and early this morning a gang of Sullivan's men swarmed around the voting place and took entire possession of the sidewalk, the building, and the room wherein the ballot boxes were to be placed. When Bradley and his friends arrived they could not get within a gun-shot of the polls. Finally a few of the most valiant fought their way into the room with Jack O'Connell at their head. O'Connell tried to talk, but he was "fired out" immediately. Then the Bradley crowd picked up Tom Shay and pushed him through the transom over the door. Toomey just touched the floor when he was bounced out. Others went in and were put out in the same way. "Billy Sheehan is inside," shouted a man who was clinging to the awning irons in front of the place. "Put him out, he has no right there." In about an hour Bradley came out covered with perspiration. He had been ejected by the police. He was excited, and said: "They have robbed us of the organization." He then began distributing his tickets.

"Hold a caucus outside, Johnny," said one of his adherents. "Let us organize here."

Mr. Sheehan came out later. He, too, was very warm and showed the effect of the effort to organize with the struggling mass. He said: "All there is to it is that Sullivan had the ward committee and Bradley wanted to get the organization. He tried to make an independent movement and was put out." Bradley mounted a wagon and tried to make a speech. The wagon was pulled away, but it was dragged back, and Mr. Bradley managed to keep his balance long enough to say that the Irish coercion act was not a marker on the methods taken by Sheehan and his gang to coerce and beat him out of a nomination which he was justly entitled to, and that he then and there withdrew from the caucus and was a candidate of the people regardless of the gang who propose to rule or ruin the democratic party in the first ward.—*Buffalo dispatch to New York Times*, October 14, 1890.

V.

A caucus of the democratic electors of the second ward was held in the livery stable, No. 136 Carroll street, yesterday afternoon. The polls opened at 4 p. m. and the voting was done by register.

"It was rather a tame affair this year," a bystander sententiously remarked. "Nobody was arrested, and the stable is in as good repair as ever, and no furniture was destroyed with the exception of a stove."

"They had a divil of a time," said one of the three policemen on duty, at the end of the count. "When they began to elect a chairman, the divil was to pay then, and five men were standing on that little table at the same time. We had to send for the patrol wagon with more men, and we clubbed the room out twice, before we got any order."

Alderman Frank J. Trautmann and John F. Burke were the rival candidates for the aldermanic nomination. Alderman Trautmann's friends got there first and crowded into the little seven-by-nine office of the livery stable and left no room for Burke's dilatory backers. Then the fun began. Each candidate wanted his own chairman, for each knew that that meant his nomination. Trautmann's friends finally secured their chairman and the other party threw up the sponge. The caucus resulted as follows:

For alderman, Frank J. Trautmann, 108 majority; for supervisor, Thomas H. Munsell; for constable, Wm. Chandler. About 280 votes were cast.

The defeated candidate, Mr. John F. Burke, said to an *Express* reporter last evening after the smoke of the battle had cleared away: "The men attending the caucus fought for two hours like human tigers. The caucus should have been organized at four o'clock, but it was impossible to elect a chairman for two hours; there were ten policemen present, and all took a hand in the affair and clubbed everybody into line for Trautmann. I understand Police Commissioner Illig sent for one man—a Seneca-street saloon keeper—and told him that unless he came out and worked for Trautmann his license would be revoked. The saloon keeper told me so. I was clubbed and my hat was crushed in the melee. I never before witnessed such a struggle. A great many outsiders voted, and the way the proceedings were conducted was outrageous. One cause of the trouble was that a fight was made against William F. Sheehan's ward ticket, and he was knocked out. I have no thought of contesting the result of the caucus."—*Buffalo Express*, October 10, 1891.

VI.

A thirteenth-ward democratic caucus is generally a sight for gods and men. Yesterday's was no exception. Though the day passed without an actual display of fistic hostilities, the feeling ran none less high. There was a merry war all around. Three candidates were in the field for the aldermanic nomination. They were ex-Alderman Adams, Willis J. Crane, and Alderman "Tosh" Summers. And the last was first in this case. Alderman Summers

scored a genuine triumph in the caucus, and the other candidates were left so far in the rear that it was with difficulty that they realized they had been in the race.

Queer methods prevailed at the caucus. In the first place, Alderman Summers had the ward committee so well "fixed" that they directed that the caucus should be held at James Welsh's saloon, No. 1145 Seneca street. This was manifestly an unfair place to hold the caucus, as it was clear over to one end of the ward, and well nigh inaccessible to over half the inhabitants of the ward. One member of the committee, Henry Clark, refused to sign the call for the caucus in this place. Next, the hour as set by the committee for holding the caucus was from two to eight o'clock. Instead of that the time was extended until nine o'clock. And finally, it was asserted on all sides that everybody, irrespective of party lines, was allowed to vote. The etiquette in the thirteenth in regard to this little matter does not seem to be very lofty.

When the votes were about to be counted, and all the candidates were collected in the room with the caucus committee, Chairman Manning broke silence, and said: "Before we open the ballot-boxes, is there any objection to the way this caucus has been held?"

Engineer Crane and Alderman Summers said they were satisfied. Not so ex-Alderman Adams. He boldly stated that the whole thing was a fraud from beginning to end, and he was not satisfied.

"Do you charge the committee with fraud?" asked one of its members.

"No, I don't say that the committee has acted wrongfully," answered Mr. Adams, but he did not retract his assertion that the whole thing was a fraud, neither would he promise to support the caucus nominee.

"Well, as long as he doesn't charge the committee with fraud, let's open the boxes," said the chairman. Forthwith the boxes were opened and the counting began. According to the list 748 men had voted, but the committee announced 768 ballots, of which Alderman Summers had received 443, Mr. Crane 233, and William Adams 94, a total of 770. The discrepancy was not accounted for, and besides 22 ballots were thrown out.

The vote for supervisor was as follows: Thomas Fletcher 448, Mr. Weyand 180, W. S. Wiles 139. For constable, Arthur Mullen received 278 votes and Robert Hughes 481.

As soon as the result was announced ex-Alderman Adams left the room in high dudgeon. To an *Express* reporter he unbosomed himself as follows: "The whole thing was a fraud, from first to last. Look at the place they held caucus. None of my friends could get over here. This is Summers's stronghold. He lives right near here, and so, too, does Crane. It is eight miles from my part of the ward. It took me over an hour to get here, so you can see

how far it is. Republicans were allowed to vote as well as democrats. And look at the place where the voting was done. There were lights at both ends of the block, and that was all. It was as dark as a pocket there, and no one could tell who was voting. Notice, too, how the ballots came out. The whole thing was run in Summers's interest."

When asked whether he was going to run as an independent candidate, Mr. Adams would not say "yes," though it was evident that he thought seriously of so doing. Some of his friends assert that he will undoubtedly run.

After the caucus "Tosh" "set 'em up" to the boys. There was a very rum crowd collected in the saloon, and they must have run up a pretty big beer bill for the president of the common council. With his 210 majority, however, he cared not how much beer was drunk.—*Buffalo Express*, October 10, 1890.

VII.

They say experience is a teacher, but Brooklyn republicans don't seem to find it so. They fought last year over the control of the local organization and were snowed under on election day. Now they are fighting just as bitterly as before, with this difference—no actual bribery has been discovered. The fight is along the same lines, however, Woodruff against Nathan [internal revenue collector], and a great amount of bad blood has been created. Franklin Woodruff said to a *Times* reporter the other day:

"Mr. George B. Forrester can have the chairmanship of the general committee if he wants it, and he wants it bad."

"Would you take it again, Mr. Woodruff?"

"Not if a salary was tied to it," was the reply. "I didn't want it last year, but the opposition set up such a howl, and 'Al' Daggett came over here and opened headquarters and began to shout 'Anything to beat old Woodruff' until finally I had to go in and make a fight or go out of office under a cloud. I fought, but I wouldn't do it again. I've had enough of this kind of politics." Some of Mr. Woodruff's old friends and allies in this committee fight do not agree with him about the probable result of the election next Tuesday evening. Clarence A. Barrow, the secretary of the general committee, and always a consistent Woodruff man, said a day or so ago:

"I don't think Forrester has 'a snap' at all. In fact, I think Nathan will control the committee and the organization during the remainder of the year. I think he will run it to the lowest ebb and will then get kicked out, after which the party will begin to pick up."—*New York Times*, January 11.

VIII.

A last effort was made last night to harmonize the Woodruff and anti-Woodruff factions in the Brooklyn republican machine and to agree upon a candidate to be

elected chairman of the Kings county republican general committee on Tuesday night. The Woodruff people appointed *Naval Officer Willis*, William H. Leayercraft, Israel F. Fischer, Jacob Brenner, and Major E. H. Hobbs a committee to confer with a committee of Nathan adherents. This latter committee consisted of David A. Baldwin, William J. Beattie, John K. Smith, George F. Elliott, and Michael J. Dady.

The committees met in the old party headquarters, at 153 Lawrence street, went away up to the top floor, and posted guards and sentinels below. Reporters were rigidly excluded. The Woodruff people made a demand that George B. Forrester should be nominated, while Baldwin and his associates wanted W. W. Goodrich selected.

After discussing these names for over three hours the conferrees came to the conclusion that they could never agree, and so they adjourned. The Nathan men reported to a caucus then in session in Everett Hall the failure to agree on a compromise candidate. There were 180 members of the general committee in this caucus, over which William C. Bryant presided. After considerable discussion Goodrich was named for the office of chairman of the general committee as the candidate of the caucus, and by a unanimous vote he was selected. The entire Nathan faction will vote for him on Tuesday night.

In the meantime the Woodruff committee reported back to the Woodruff caucus in Waverly Hall, in Waverly avenue, and this caucus decided to support Forrester for chairman. There were 150 men in this caucus. It will require 203 votes to elect on Tuesday night.—*New York Times*, January 11.

IX.

The republican machine in Kings county was organized for 1891 last night, and *Internal Revenue Collector Ernst Nathan* was on hand to boss the job. He succeeded, too. The Athenæum, on Atlantic avenue, where the general committee met, was packed to the doors, and Nathan's lieutenants were all over. They included David A. Baldwin, George F. Elliott, W. H. N. Cadmus, James C. Fuller, ex-Assemblyman Taylor, and a number of others. The Woodruff faction, which wanted to elect George B. Forrester president, was led by *Naval Officer Willis*, *Port Warden Leayercraft*, *United States District Attorney Johnson*, and "Bob" Sedgwick.

Both sides were extremely confident, and before the committee met some heavy bets were made. One of \$100 to \$90 on Forrester was taken six times over, but later on the odds were in favor of W. W. Goodrich, the Nathan candidate. The fight was the old one of Nathan against Woodruff, and Nathan won it.

The retiring president, Franklin Woodruff, called the meeting to order as soon as the members had paid their dues for the

ensuing year. Under the new by-laws this pre-payment of dues became the most important feature of the evening, for the possession of a receipt for \$10 was the credential that each member had to have before he could vote. The first business was a call for resignations, and thirty-five were received. The only important ones were those of S. V. White, Robert J. Tilney, Col. John W. Jones and "Billy" Watson. Elijah K. Kennedy, the weak-kneed Moses of the twenty-second ward, was so disgusted at his inability to get control of the general committee that he refused to qualify or attend the meeting at all, but he did not produce his much-advertised resignation.

It was 9:30 o'clock before President Woodruff announced that the election of a president was in order, and that no nominating speeches would be made, but that each delegate, as his name was called should announce his choice. The first ward went solidly for Forrester. So did the second, but Goodrich got 9 out of the 10 votes in the third. He received the entire vote of the fourth, and all but 1 of the 6 in the fifth.

The first sensation came when Luther W. Emerson of the seventh rose to vote. He made a speech, and said: "I am sick and tired of this factionalism; *sick and tired of being counted as a sheep or a goat according to the boss that claims me.* We had lots of fun out of this factional fight, but last fall 20,000 republicans failed to appreciate the fun or to see where the joke came in. Now is the time, when the democratic hulk is water-logged, for us to come in and sink her. I can not, therefore, vote for either of the factional candidates presented, but cast my vote for Eugene D. Berri."

This produced lots of applause, and one other delegate voted for Berri. The others went on with the fight. There was loud hissing and cat-calling when "Mike" Dady voted for Goodrich, and cheering when Jonas M. Farrington, an old Woodruff man, deserted to the Nathan candidate. When the last vote was polled Goodrich was found to have received 212, while Forrester had only 166. This announcement was received with tumultuous cheers and more enthusiasm than had been seen in the committee before for over two years. Finally a committee was sent after Mr. Goodrich.

When they brought him in Mr. Woodruff made a little speech, urging a cessation of strife in the future. He thanked everybody, and then introduced his successor. Mr. Goodrich expressed pleasure that there had been no personal aspersions during the canvass. He thought that no jealousies would remain and that harmony must prevail.

"I have pledged myself," said Mr. Goodrich, "to be the chairman of no faction, but of the general committee. We have made gross mistakes, but they have been confined

to neither of the factions. Now we are all disgusted, and we must cry 'quits.'"

He then went on to deny that he had ever voted the democratic ticket in his life, *unless the Greeley ticket could be called a democratic one.* As for the charge that he had sent ex-President Cleveland a telegram beginning "Hail to the chief," Mr. Goodrich said that his friends understood it, and as for others he didn't care a cent."

Then he gave Mr. Forrester a chance to speak, and the defeated candidate pledged his support to Mr. Goodrich. The men back of Forrester were disgusted by this time, and they made no protest when George F. Elliott had the following slate elected: Vice-presidents, John R. Smith, J. S. Ogilvie, W. H. N. Cadmus, W. S. Ryan; secretary, Warren S. Treadwell; treasurer, Jas. W. Birkett.—*New York Times*, January 14.

X.

Although this is the politicians' off season, they have plenty of things about local organizations to discuss. This week will bring with it two primary elections. The republican primary will be held Tuesday and the Tammany primary on Friday. As already indicated in *The Times*, the republican primaries will develop into contests in some of the districts; perhaps the most interesting one will be in the twentieth assembly, where there is a stiff opposition to the continued leadership of Police Justice Solon B. Smith. *This fight against Smith is mainly interesting because it indicates that republicans not only in the twentieth district, but elsewhere throughout the city, are heartily sick of the Tammany influence that is exerted within their party.*

Smith has so often been accused of being friendly to Tammany that people have come to believe that his management of the twentieth district is by no means wholly in the interest of the republican party. Another thing that operates against Smith in the present fight is that he is anti-Platt, and that he is a member of the republican state committee. Platt would like very much to have him off the state committee, and, of course, Platt's friends in the district are going to do their utmost to beat him. William A. Gans, who is the leader of the opposition to him, will have an opposition ticket in the field, but it is the judgment of most of the politicians who are watching this fight with interest that Smith can not be beaten this year because he has the machinery of the district too well in hand.—*New York Times*, Jan. 11.

XI.

The republican primaries were held in all the assembly districts in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards yesterday. In three of the districts—the fifth, thirteenth and twentieth—there were lively contests, and in each case *the faction already in power won the fight.* In the fifth an effort was made to depose Stephen B. French, and in the twentieth the fight was against

Police Justice Solon B. Smith. Both Smith and French came out on top. In the thirteenth the old fight between the Fred S. Gibbs and the Cowie-Sprague factions was fought over again, and Gibbs, who has been ejected from the republican county committee, won after a sharp struggle. In the sixteenth district Richard Lush succeeds Henry Kropf as leader as a result of Mr. Kropf's retirement. The total result of the primaries leaves the executive committee of the republican county committee practically as it has been for the past year. T. C. Platt is in control, of course, and he is credited with gaining one man more in Richard Lush of the sixteenth.

There were no serious encounters in Gibbs's district, but uncomplimentary phrases were thrown back and forth very freely. The ticket headed by Henry L. Sprague was defeated by a majority of 97 in favor of the Gibbs men. At first it looked as though the result would be very close, but in the evening scouts were sent out by the Gibbs crowd to the saloons and street corners to trap such republicans as they could find, and a long line ranged up before the ballot-boxes. The contest grew bitter as the time neared for closing the polls, and efforts on the part of the Gibbs adherents to substitute their voters in the line called forth a wordy war, but a large squad of police kept all desire for fistic encounters in check.

The line reached down stairs from the republican rooms in the Grand Opera House to the sidewalk when the polls were closed. The total vote was 563, of which the ticket headed by Gibbs's men received 330 votes to 233 for that of the Cowie-Sprague faction. An incident of the day was the marching in of a large body of drivers and conductors on the Twenty-third Street Cross-Town railroad under the guidance of Mr. Cowie.

The statement was circulated in the fifth district that Stephen B. French had retired, and that the struggle for the leadership would be among four contestants. They were named as Frank J. Carroll, "The" Allen, Andley J. Mooney, and Cornelius Donovan, who waged an unsuccessful fight against Col. Fellows for congress last fall. But at 3 o'clock, when the polls opened, there were only two tickets in the field. Within the twenty-four hours preceding there had been an amalgamation of the contending forces, and the fight settled down to a question of supremacy between the French-Dodd-Mooney clan on the one side and the Donovan-Carroll clique on the other.

James T. Snedeker was chairman of the primary, with Edward Kinley, Henry Brockmeier, and Terence Radford as enrollment clerks and inspectors. Seated in the rear of the hall in which the primary was held was ex-Police Commissioner French, surrounded by a few of his work-

ers. "All I want is a vindication," he said to a *Times* reporter. "I have been maligned in this district for a long time simply because I won't submit to dictation. If I am re-elected I shall see that the district is in proper hands and will then resign."

A feature of the struggle was the hot and furious work done by "The" Allen. It had been expected that he would hold aloof or at least lend his support to Donovan and Carroll, but he appeared on the French side and watched the ballot-boxes closely.

The first skirmish occurred when a German attempted to vote on the name of Gerard. He was challenged by George Cooper on behalf of the Donovan-Carroll forces. Ten minutes later the same man appeared and said his name was Meyer. Again he was challenged, and while his case was being argued he slipped away.

A would-be voter who seemed to be in the last stages of consumption said that his name was George Keegan, and that he lived at 9 Varick Place.

"I challenge this man!" yelled Allen, and immediately the opposing factions assumed the attitude of battle.

"On what ground?" demanded the chairman.

"That his name is not Keegan."

Then the real Keegan came to the front and the French adherents demanded the arrest of the man. The consumptive said that his name was Haynes; that he had met Carroll, and that Carroll had asked him as a favor to vote on the name of Keegan. He didn't think it was wrong, and had agreed to do so. He was allowed to go.

An Italian attempted to vote twice on different names, but he was caught and hustled out of the polling place.

After 6 o'clock the battle proper occurred. Men who for weeks had been the habitués of the lodging houses of the district flocked in and attempted to vote, but the challengers of both sides were wary and exercised their functions. Scores of men came up to the polling tables with their hats off and gave names which were not on the enrollment list.

Just at 9 o'clock there were loud cries for the polls to close. The hall was densely packed, but Chairman Snedeker exercised his prerogative and, guided by his watch, closed the polls. At that time there were at least fifty men in line. The result was announced as follows: French ticket, 279; Donovan ticket, 102; scattering, 5.

The effort to put an end to Police Justice Solon B. Smith's leadership of the republicans of the twentieth assembly district was not successful. William A. Gans, who headed the opposition ticket, made a stout fight, but he was outnumbered three to one. He, however, made Smith's friends work to save him. *Mr. Gans and his followers object to Judge Smith's leadership because the district has been making so poor a showing in republican affairs lately, and be-*

cause there is a strong suspicion that Mr. Smith is a very good Tammany republican. Mr. Smith had all his workers at the polls, and several who have moved out of the district were on hand to use arguments in his favor. Henry C. Perley and *City Marshal Goode* were the leaders of the Smith contingent. Curiously enough, the main arguments in Smith's favor used by them was that if he was defeated as leader the chances that Mayor Grant would re-appoint him as a police justice would be diminished. They went on the theory that Grant would re-appoint him if he was re-elected leader. Smith succeeded in getting 169 votes for his ticket, while Mr. Gans got 61. The latter said that he did not expect to win under the circumstances, but he thought that he had made a start in the right direction. —*New York Times, January 14.*

XII.

The results in the republican primaries last night were discouraging to the *anti-Tammany republicans*. *Wherever a district leader, who had been accused of secretly aiding or favoring Tammany or Tammany schemes, sought a "vindication," he got it.* Frederick S. Gibbs triumphed over James A. Cowie in the thirteenth, and as soon as the result of the vote was announced gave utterance to a dramatic speech which teemed with defiance to ex-Senator Thomas C. Platt. Gibbs is not "out of the woods" yet, though. The Cowie people charge that the primary was carried by fraud, and will contest the election in the county committee. The Platt people still have a majority in the committee.

In the twentieth district Solon B. Smith proved himself entitled to a re-appointment as police justice by Mayor Grant by defeating his opponent, William A. Gans, by a vote of about five to one.

Henry C. Botty, the first lieutenant of ex-Alderman Thomas Rothwell of the "boodle board" of 1884, is to succeed Jacob M. Paterson in the leadership of the tenth district. Botty will be merely the nominal leader, Rothwell will really control the organization.

Stephen B. French was re-elected in the fifth district. He played a very quiet game. Yesterday his friends announced that he was willing to retire, but might run a ticket in the primary. When the primary was opened it was found that there was a full French ticket in the field, and that it was backed up by the Dodd and Allen factions. The opposition ticket was supported by Frank Carroll and Cornelius Donovan. —*New York Evening Post, January 14.*

XIII.

The ring "let itself loose" in Hudson county at the primaries for the election of new members of the county democratic committee Monday night. The boxes were all manned by the most active and offensive of Davis's gang of ballot-box stuffers. At one of the precincts Davis was a candidate himself for election. He had the assurance to offer John A.

Whelan, one of the ballot-box stuffers now on trial, as a candidate in another precinct. Whelan was beaten, but the ticket that the heelers forced was successful everywhere else.

One gang of repeaters made the round of the second district polling places and carried things with a high hand. In many precincts the polls were opened in advance of the advertised hour to let the heelers get their ballots in without challenge, and closed when it was seen that an army of opposition voters had been marshaled outside the booth. In another precinct the heelers were divided into one line, leaving the opposition crowd in another line. The police kept the opposition crowd from voting, while the heelers got in their ballots, and then the polls were suddenly closed. In the seventh district ballots were voted in bunches, and where the decent democrats succeeded in carrying the polls they were boldly counted out.

Yesterday warrants were issued for the arrest of William English, John Carroll, Luke Conniff, and John English, of the ninth precinct of the sixth district for stuffing the box. There will be no end of protests when the executive committee meets; but there is small hope of the results of the fraudulent practices being set aside.

The trial of the indicted election officers who officiated at the polling place in the second precinct of the second district in the fall of 1889 was continued before Judge Lippincott in Jersey City yesterday. The evidence submitted was that of an array of men from whose houses voters appeared on the poll-books as having voted. They all swore that no persons owning the names on the poll record resided in the buildings assigned to them.

State Committeeman James C. Young testified that he had found a young man named Waddick in a liquor saloon on election day, and that Waddick had a number of stamped and wetted "joker" ballots in his possession. He was giving them out to workers.—*New York Times*, Nov. 26.

ADDRESS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO.

To the Citizens of Buffalo:

The late decisions of the court of appeals establishing the validity of the state civil service statutes, and Mayor Bishop's recent extension of the competitive system to a large additional number of city offices seem to warrant our calling public attention to the law and your duties and privileges thereunder. This we desire to do briefly and simply.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND RULES SETTLED BY THE COURTS.

First. As a matter of fact, the constitutionality of the civil service act and the legality of the rules and regulations prescribed by the mayor for its enforcement have been declared in the most explicit manner by the highest court in the state. Hereafter, those aldermen who have for years been in rebellion against the law and the public officials who have sympathized with them and more or less openly endeavored to defeat the operation of the law will not have even the semblance of excuse for like conduct.

ALDERMEN AND OTHER OFFICIALS WILL TAKE NOTICE.

The statute (Laws 1884, section 8) provides touching such rules and regulations as follows: "*It shall be the duty of all those in the official service of such city to conform to and comply with any regulations made pursuant to this act, and to aid and facilitate in all reasonable and proper ways the enforcement of all regulations, and the holding of all examinations that may be required pursuant to this section.*"

We invite the attention of every city official to this mandate of the law.

NEARLY ALL CITY PLACES IN COMPETITIVE SCHEDULE.

Second. As a matter of fact also, the competitive system extends to nine-tenths of all the official

services of the city outside of the educational department.

No vacancies in any one of those places can be filled except *by fairly competing for the place before the examiners, and winning it upon the applicant's merit.*

There are nearly eleven hundred of these places, the compensation ranging from \$1,200 a year down to \$1.50 a day.

In the water department seven places only are excepted; in the fire department six places only; in the police department six places only; in the health department only one place; in the city poor relief department but one place, while in the other departments, except those of the comptroller and treasurer, most of the places are in the competitive schedule of the civil service regulations.

In short, the public service of this city is at last practically taken by law out of the spoils system.

A MAYOR AND COMMISSION WHO WILL ENFORCE THE LAW.

Third. We have a mayor who is heartily in favor of enforcing the law, and we have also a live and earnest civil service commission.

FAIR COMPETITION AND NOTHING ELSE WILL WIN.

Fourth. As a necessary consequence it follows that if any one wants one of these city places he must apply for it under the civil service rules and he will have a fair chance to obtain it.

Heretofore the enemies of the law have induced many people to believe that it was time and trouble thrown away to apply, under these rules, for a place the appointment to which was to be made by an official who was not of the same politics with the applicant.

In some cities there may have been foundation for such a charge. Many federal officials undoubtedly have been glad to have such an idea disseminated. It was an easy way to discredit the law and to cause none but political friends to apply for places. There have been also many officials in our own City Hall who were more than ready to sneer at the law and to decry it as "a humbug." So long as the validity of the law was in debate they were not afraid to do this.

But the day has passed for this sort of thing.

The opponents of civil service reform have been beaten everywhere.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW "HAS COME TO STAY."

Few thoughtful men now doubt that the reform system "has come to stay" and that it will be extended gradually to the great majority of subordinate administrative places both in state and nation, except such as are filled by the direct vote of the people.

Its friends do not pretend that its methods have reached perfection. On the contrary they welcome every suggestion for improvement in those methods.

But it is safe to say that the law will never be blotted from our statute books. Every day makes it stronger. Every day makes it clearer that it is necessary; that it lies at the foundation of ballot reform, of municipal reform, and of every practical movement towards a purer politics and a true government of the people by the people.

OFFICE SEEKING UNDER THIS LAW IS HONORABLE.

And now, nothing is wanted to make it irresistible and to develop its beneficence to the full, except *its practical use by the people without distinction of party.*

These public places are legitimate objects of ambition for capable and faithful men. They are open to all; no official who cares for his oath or his personal liberty dares lay a straw in the way of any applicant because of his politics.

Citizens of Buffalo, we earnestly press these considerations upon your attention.

Especially do we address the young men, many of whom are seeking places. Why should they not look for them in the service of the city? The odium that under the spoils system is incurred by "office seeking" can not attach to the manly strife for official place under the reform law.

Let them inform themselves then as to vacancies

in such places as they aspire to fill, and present themselves for examination. Let them dismiss from their minds the idea that political connections or influence must be employed by them. They need not be; *they can not be so employed.* Personal influence is of no use here. Much more than places in private service are these places to be had because of personal merit only.

Applicants have not to ask for them. They have no political work to do for them—neither they nor their families or friends. They may demand these places of their own right if they show themselves on a fair competition to be the best men.

And when they have obtained places the practical fact is that they can hold them just as long as they conduct themselves as they ought and discharge their duties faithfully.

WHEN THE BATTLE IN BUFFALO WILL BE WON.

When it is once made plain that they know and will insist upon their rights under the civil service reform law to compete for these places as they would for a situation on a railroad, or in a bank, or with an insurance company, or a manufacturing company, or with any other employer who needs service of similar character and is willing to pay for it, the battle of civil service reform in Buffalo will be won.

APPEAL TO CITIZENS.

To all citizens we say: There never was a more democratic system than that which the civil service law and rules provide. They recognize no claim to these places but the claims of manhood, honesty and ability. There was never a less democratic system than that degrading and corrupting one which so long has parceled out these places as spoils.

We invite you then not only to believe that the civil service statutes and the rules and regulations prescribed by the mayor are law and must be obeyed, but we earnestly request you to avail yourselves of their benefits and to co-operate with us for their enforcement.

SHERMAN S. ROGERS,
President.
ERIC T. HEDSTROM,
JEWETT M. RICHMOND,
GEORGE SANDROCK,
JACOB L. SCHOEELKOPF,
Vice-Presidents.
FREDERIC ALMY,
Secretary.

Dr. Chas. S. Butler, John H. Cowing, F. A. Crandall, Dr. T. M. Crowe, Fred. B. Curtis, William F. Kip, Joseph N. Larned, Frank M. Loomis, the Rev. Herbert G. Lord, John B. Olmsted, Dr. Frank H. Potter, Henry A. Richmond, Walter J. Shepard, T. Guilford Smith, Henry W. Sprague, Sheldon T. Viele, John R. Warner, John M. Welter, Charles B. Wheeler, Ansley Wilcox, Frank F. Williams, executive committee.

BUFFALO, December, 1890.

CURRENT NEWS.

The report of Theodore L. De Land, examiner in the treasury department, and a long-time advocate of the merit system, is a document of some ninety-two pages. It is an instructive and encouraging statement of the workings of the competitive system, and contains a large number of specimen examinations.

Civil Service Reform, Its Later Aspects, by William Dudley Foulke, is Economic Tract No. XXXI, and printed by the Society for Political Education, 330 Pearl street, New York City.

The annual report of the New York State Civil Service Commission states that the appointment of assistant physicians in the state hospitals will hereafter be determined by competitive examinations instead of pass examinations as heretofore. This was urged by the state commission in lunacy, and is a long step in advance. During 1890 999 persons were examined; in competitive examinations only 285; of these 62 received appointment; in the pass examinations [which are subject to about all the abuses of the purely spoils system] 714 were examined and 687 were appointed.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis. Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received. Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 24.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is able to announce that its financial matters have been satisfactorily arranged for the coming year. Its managers thoroughly appreciate the prompt and generous manner in which its interests are being cared for. It is desirable that the circulation should be increased to the greatest possible extent especially through out the west and it is hoped that every friend of civil service reform will lend a hand. If he does not care for the paper for himself, he can see that some library, or club or person gets it.

MR. FOULKE is about to enter upon his duties as president of Swarthmore college. He has for a long time filled a large place as an enemy of the spoils system and those who keep in public life or profit in private life by that system need not flatter themselves that they have heard the last of him. It is expressly stipulated that the duties of his new position shall not interfere with his efforts for a better public service. Mr. Foulke has been a formidable man in this cause and in no respect more so than in his last work at Washington. The value and the singular power of his position there can not be over-estimated. Here was the platform upon which the Administration had been chosen and here was a man who had helped to choose it. He took his stand where he could see the operations of the government and gathering together a multitude of facts to support him he pointed out acts and said "This is not as you agreed. This is contrary to the platform upon which you were chosen, and it is also intrinsically wrong." In no case has he been refuted. The moral effect of such a work as has been done by Mr. Foulke is irresistible. No administration can withstand its silent leavening process among the people.

SINCE last month, a new movement against the spoilsmen in Indiana has attained unexpected prominence and has come to a present conclusion. Elsewhere is printed Senate Bill Number 272, introduced by Senator Magee, who was President Cleveland's minister at Stockholm. A glance at the bill shows that it had but a single intention, which was to take the eight charitable institutions of the state out of politics. The matter thus narrowed to a single issue, concerning which the

people at large do not have two opinions, became a crucial test of individual humanity and political wisdom. The first noticeable feature of the movement was the enormous advance of public opinion. The Marion County Medical Society, without a dissenting voice, indorsed the competitive feature as applied to that profession. The Social Turn-Verein of Indianapolis, at a large meeting, after a full expression of opinion indorsed the whole bill unanimously. The Indianapolis *Sentinel*, the leading democratic paper of the state, earnestly advocated the adoption of the measure. All this happened within a few days, and there is no manner of doubt but that in a short time the public opinion of the whole state, in all the ways in which that opinion is expressed, would have been practically unanimous in favor of this bill. A section of small politicians in the general assembly are the only ones who have made no progress and who have not recognized the signs of the times. Senator Magee urged the bill with ability and great earnestness, in which he was supported by all the leading and the best men of the senate irrespective of party. When the vote was taken upon the passage of the bill it stood as follows:

YEAS—22.
DEMOCRATS.
Akin.
Holland.
Howard.
Kennedy.
Kopelke.
Magee.
Smith.

REPUBLICANS.

Boyd.
Carver.
Caster.
Clemans.
Gilman.
Gross.
Hanley.
Harlan.
Hays.
Hobson.
Hubbell.
Loveland.
Mount.
Shockney.
Varyan.

NAYS—26.
DEMOCRATS.

Burke.
Byrd.
Chandler.
Ellison.
Ewing.
Foley.
Francis.
French.

Fulk.

Griffith.
Grimes.
Hayden.
Holcombe.

Hudson.
Jones.

Keith.
Lynn.

McHugh.
Morgan.

Moore.
Shanks.

Sweeny.
Thompson [Marion].

Thompson [Hunt'gt'n].
Thompson [Pulaski].

Wiggs.

UNDER the system which these twenty-six senators say shall be continued these charitable institutions have been for years and on a large scale the scenes of inhuman and devilish cruelty. With the rarest exceptions this cruelty is due to the system of place-filling controlled by party and personal favoritism. And to this system Senators Burke and Sweeney and Hudson and their followers turn as a dog turns to

his vomit. Doctor Thompson of this county stands with them against the unanimous opinion of his county medical society. He is too old to learn anything and happily he will soon be too old to occupy public positions and obstruct progress. When the bill establishing the board of state charities was under consideration two years ago Senator Burke opposed it on the ground that he was opposed to anything which was not partisan. And he made it an objection to the present bill that the board of state charities had appointed as secretary a gentleman from Chicago and that a matron from the same city had been employed in the home for feeble-minded youth. He is a nice man for a law maker. Fellows like Burke have made Indiana public affairs a bye word through the country. Senator Thompson, of Pulaski, has a twelve year old son whom he has jumped about from one place to another at five dollars a day. At last accounts he was carrying the senate mail. This seems a small price, but it is evidently enough to smother in this Thompson feelings of pity for the insane.

SENATORS Hudson and Foley, of this city, voted stolidly against the bill. They pose as the representatives of working men, and the former is chairman of the committee on labor. They do not represent workingmen. When by their votes they say to the people of this state that working men are in favor of continuing the charitable institutions under the present infamous system, they insult workingmen and lie to the people. All the instincts of workingmen are for the betterment of the condition of those whose lot is harder. And their public expressions are in the same direction. We call the attention of these two bogus representatives of labor to the words of the *Labor Signal* in another column, and to the following resolution adopted at the annual session of the Indiana Federation of Trade and Labor Unions at Indianapolis, September 23, 1890:

WHEREAS We have witnessed the evil results of partisan control of state institutions, wherein all public interests are subordinated to the interests of party; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, that we demand such legislation as place all state institutions under non-partisan control.

If the twenty-six democrats who voted in the negative had planned to put their party in the deepest hole with the narrowest mouth they could count the result as the greatest triumph of their political lives. The multitude who compose the democratic party are not in favor of the inhumanity to which these petty senators have committed them; but their party organization is irrecoverably bound by the result, and however undeservedly, the multitude must stand silent when the charge is made against the party. There is absolutely no escape; the republicans, to a man, with a wisdom which comes to republicans in a crisis, having voted on the right side. The gravity of the situation is fully shown by the following editorial from the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of February 21:

The democratic state senate on Thursday dealt the democratic party of Indiana a severe blow when it defeated Senator Magee's bill to regulate the selection of employes of the benevolent institutions. It is not in the power of the republicans of Indiana to do the democratic party of the state so grievous an injury as the twenty-six democratic senators inflicted upon it when they voted down this eminently just, wise and righteous measure. It is amazing that men who profess to be sagacious politicians, who are familiar with the recent political history of the state, who are acquainted with the wrongs which have been perpetrated in our benevolent institutions under shelter of the barbarous and infamous system of "patronage," which has converted them into asylums for cross-roads bummers and ward heelers, who know how much odium the democratic party has had to carry, much of it unjustly, because of the abuses growing out of the existing system—it is amazing, we say, that men priding themselves upon their sagacity as politicians should, when the opportunity was offered them, decline to relieve their party of a burden so oppressive.

The democratic senators who voted against Senator Magee's excellent bill committed an act of political folly so gross as to be almost criminal. The defeat of this measure will cost the democratic party thousands of votes at future elections. No party can hope to hold its own in this state which deliberately sets itself against the moral sentiment of the people; which plants itself across the pathway of progress and reform; which obstructs measures in whose behalf every consideration of humanity, decency and common justice demands.

We say to the twenty-six democratic senators who voted down Senator Magee's bill that they have placed the democratic party in a false position before the people; that the great democratic masses of Indiana do not approve their action and will not sustain them in it; that the representative democratic newspapers of Indiana will not apologize for it or defend it in any way. There is, in point of fact, no defense to be made for it. It is a manifestation of "peanut politics" in its most cruel and offensive form. That sort of politics is, thank God, pretty well played out in Indiana, and the politicians who practice it, and the party which tolerates it, will, sooner or later—and more likely sooner than later—come to grief.

We have no doubt that many of the democratic senators who voted to kill the Magee bill did so thoughtlessly; because of some prejudice against civil service reform, or some exaggerated idea of the political value of the patronage of the benevolent institutions. But

whatever motive actuated them, they have shouldered an unnecessary burden upon the democratic party. Let no one doubt that such a measure as the Magee bill will, in due time, be placed upon the statute books of Indiana. This legislature refuses to do this righteous thing, but the next legislature, whatever its political complexion, will do it. Mark the prediction. The people of Indiana, without regard to party, are determined that the insane, the idiotic and the other helpless wards of the state shall not continue to be the victims of the barbarism which is now practiced under the shelter of the spoils system in our public institutions. Democratic senators may not realize the condition of public sentiment on this question, but the *Sentinel* does, and as a democratic journal which believes that it serves its party best when it serves its state best, it warns the legislature against a repetition of such serious mistakes as the senate made when it defeated the Magee bill.

INDIAN Commissioner Morgan appears to have been sent about the country to make speeches of general apology for the management of the Indians by the Administration. General Morgan apparently lacks the moral courage to stand by the facts. The sacrifice he thus makes to officialism is too great.

The Indians were starved, the treaties were not kept with them, they were put into the hands of politicians, and some of the leading agents were so incompetent that President Harrison had to remove them. No man has had as much to do with this or is so much to blame for it as Secretary Noble. He and President Harrison have repeatedly dismissed without cause experienced employes. They have established the "home rule" policy, by which the places in the Indian service were given to henchmen of congressmen in the vicinity like Royer. Secretary Noble has treated with supercilious contempt protests of people much more competent to judge than himself. It is not worth while for Commissioner Morgan to gloss over a record of incompetency and corruption which finally led to the loss of five hundred lives, men, women and children, and to an expense of two millions.

UPON the question of how the Indians have been treated, such witnesses as Bishop Hare and Herbert Welsh will hardly be discredited even by the statement of the President in his somewhat ungracious letter to the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, printed elsewhere. An additional witness also appears in Mrs. Cook, the wife of the Episcopal missionary to the Yanktons. Under date of January 22 she writes to Commissioner Morgan from Greenwood, South Dakota:

We have been suffering a season of unusual sickness, a mild form of la grippe having been epidemic, aggravated by the well-known tendency of our Indians to pulmonary troubles. Men, women, and particularly children, are lying sick everywhere. Though such is the state of things, we have been altogether without medical attendance for the past three weeks, except such as has been rendered un-

professionally by missionaries and others. At special request the physician from Fort Randall was called down for twenty-four hours. During this time the medical man sent here by the department has been in Pierre, engaged in political work. During the past three months he has on two other occasions been absent for a week at a time, we are told, for the same purpose. Is it the intention of the department that 1800 persons should frequently be left for longer or shorter periods without the services of a physician who has been sent out for the express purpose of caring for them? If the services of any one man are indispensable to the successful management of Dakota politics, it would seem to the disinterested that that man should not assume the duties of physician on an Indian agency.

In the recent debate upon the attempt to strangle the civil service commission. Congressmen Cannon and Grosvenor repeatedly whined that no one could suggest any improvement upon the merit system without bringing down upon himself the charge of being a spoilsman. Probably this whining was partly hypocritical and partly the smart which came from the sound drubbing which these men and their likes have received of late. The improvements which they have in mind are such as Wanamaker's move in rushing into the railway mail service, a horde of congressmen's henchmen to get the start of the civil service law. Another improvement to the mind of these men was Raum's attempt to get the law set aside in order that a crowd of favorites might be chosen for the pension office. Still another improvement is the move fathered by Senator Plumb to transfer the employes of the census bureau into the other departments without competition. The bulk of the appointments in the census department was the riff-raff of political heelers and bummers. Having taken a census which will always be discredited, they are now fit, in the minds of the Grosvenors and the Cannons, for other public employment. If these employes have any experience that is worth anything it will avail them in open competition. To put them in as proposed would sap the foundations of the civil service law and that is what these congressmen are after. As long as they come forward with such suggestions, they may expect their hypocrisy and malice and greed, to be denounced.

LOCAL FREEBOOTING.

In another part of this paper are gathered together some random facts to illustrate how spoils ramify in a fine net work through every branch of the public business centering in Indianapolis. They extend only over the last two years. Indianapolis is the better object lesson because it is not a great city, nor is it by comparison especially corrupt. If a mass of such facts were to be examined by a barbarian his impression would be that a community where they exist must be terrorized by a majority steeped in corruption and hardened to evil. But the truth is that the great

majority of this community are untouched by corruption or sympathy with corruption. These things go on because the Better Element is inclined to be lazy and is in fact selfish. Sin Coy affords an exact test of how his sort work for spoil and of how the Better Element work to protect the public and themselves. Coy is a disreputable and mercenary politician who was finally convicted and imprisoned for altering tally sheets. There was an outbreak of righteous indignation among the Better Element and for a little time they forsook private matters and became citizens in the true meaning of the word and they triumphed as they always do in like cases. Then they sat down apparently exhausted. But Coy came out of prison and resumed his business of getting spoil out of the public as if there had been no lapse. His work has been patient and unremitting and at the present moment like a busy bee he is flitting about the legislature actively in pursuit of sweets; and the Better Element looks on tranquilly.

When the Coy element fails, it is never discouraged. It gathers itself up for a fresh assault on some exposed position. When it fails and has to face the jeers that always go along with any failure, it is not sensitive; it does not bury itself and refuse again to expose itself. It shows a fine imperturbability; but the Better Element can not stand failure. Take these scandals, one by one, and consider the fact that an intelligent community has learned no lesson in the two years, and that every cause for every scandal is still left to produce a fresh crop.

In the fire department a capable man was displaced after years of conscientious service by a cabal as insignificant as it was malicious. Public opinion went far enough to see him restored after a time to his old place. But in the selection of his subordinates he is still left to be hounded by the Hicklins. His disposition is to have a department of the highest efficiency, but no one supposes for a moment that his time and strength will not be drawn upon to a large degree, to the detriment of the public service, to consider political and personal favorites for positions. It is asking little of this community to say that it should force Mr. Webster to throw the vacant places open to competition ascertained by practical tests; and that the politics of the applicants should be considered no more than their religion. And so in every other department the spoilsmen are pursuing their business unflaggingly, and the dilettante citizens observe the process curiously and helplessly.

THE END OF A SPOILS INVESTIGATION.

One of the odious features of a government run by spoils is its assassination of the character of the men it can not otherwise dispose of. It clings to the oriental practice of stabbing its victim in the dark. In the last administration, Dr. Sherer at the head of the sugar laboratory of the appraiser's office in New York was a shining mark. To any open

attack he was impregnable, and his place could not be got for a henchman. Therefore secret charges of sugar frauds began to be whispered about, until a consent to an investigation was obtained. That investigation will always be a disgrace to those who allowed it. It was conducted by an irresponsible and unqualified newspaper reporter, secretly and with no opportunity to Dr. Sherer to meet the charges or the accusers. The peculiar baseness of such methods is that few honest people take the trouble and the time necessary to weigh the matter and very soon there was a wide spread impression that Dr. Sherer's official character was smirched. He was removed on the adverse report of this reporter, and, as the impression was conveyed, because his reading of the polariscope in testing sugar was lower than the Boston reading and must be corrupt. After a time and a vigorous protest he was reinstated; but the lower rating continued, and some special agents made an investigation and reported that they knew nothing about the rules of reading, but that Dr. Sherer was lower and was probably wrong and ought to be removed. He was removed, but under his successor the polariscope would not read high. Finally the government concluded to tackle the polariscopes of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and Professor Tittman of the coast survey was set to work. The result is the complete vindication of Dr. Sherer, the Boston polariscope deviating forty-eight one-hundredths; the Philadelphia fifty-one one-hundredths and the New York only fifteen one-hundredths from the true standard.

The road to the vindication of an honest and capable man has been long and trying.

GROSVENOR-CANNON MALICE.

Another outbreak of boyish spite against the civil-service law has taken place in the House. In the committee of the whole, where the roll is not called Mr. Grosvenor, doubtless smarting under the recollection of the poor figure he has cut, made the point of order that no appropriation could be made for additional clerks for the civil service commission because it would change existing law. This would cut the commission down to what the original civil service law of 1883 gave them, that is, a secretary, a stenographer and a messenger. Payson of Illinois, being in the chair, sustained the point, and on appeal the decision was sustained by 109 to 36. This action was meant to cripple the commission, and if not reversed would effectually do so. A three hours' debate followed, in which Grosvenor and Cannon let out all their pent up malice. Against them were Butterworth, Greenhalge, Dockery, Boatner, Lodge, McComas and others. One of Grosvenor's statements will make New England smile. This was that the republicans have "carried the banner of civil service reform to the extent" that they have driven John F. Andrew, Sherman Hoar, George Fred Williams, and other young men of distinguished New England families, out of the party "because among other reasons they

are excluded from all participation in the government." The debate covers twenty-four pages of the Record of February 14, and in our limited space it seems that an extract from the speech of Mr. Lodge is, on the whole, the most satisfactory:

"Now, I have listened to my friend from Ohio [Mr. Grosvenor] with a great deal of attention. I was anxious to find out exactly what the matter was; and also what system he proposed to substitute for the existing system. I think I have found out what the matter is. The present commission, we are told, is too aggressive. It has been a familiar sport in this house to make these speeches in regard to civil service reform, and to assail the commission; but it has never been part of the game to have the commission or any one of the commissioners answer back and make defense against these assaults.

One of the present commissioners did that when he was attacked here. I think he was very sensible to do it; but it was inconsiderate of the feelings of the gentlemen engaged in the annual practice of assailing civil service reform. He was not put there, according to the idea of the gentlemen who attacked him, to resent attack. He was put there simply to be made a text for speeches in regard to the "humbug of civil service reform," and to receive attacks in silence. * * *

Now, I will just quote from the printed Record to show some of the difficulties which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Grosvenor] has found in the civil service. He stated in his speech last year—

I will vote not only to strike out this appropriation, but I will vote to repeal the whole law.

He then went before the committee; and in his testimony of August 23, 1890, page 97, he said:

I do not want to repeal the civil service law; and I never said so.

[Laughter.]

In his testimony at the same time he said:

Rufus P. Putnam, fraudulently credited to Washington county, Ohio, never lived in Washington county, Ohio, nor in my congressional district; nor in Ohio, so far as I know.

Then an inconsiderate person goes to work and digs up out of the files of Commissioner Morgan's office a letter from the gentleman from Ohio, dated February 5, 1890, which says:

Mr. Rufus P. Putnam is a legal resident of my district, and has relatives living there now.

The gentleman from Ohio in his speech said:

I have not been informed of one applicant who has found a place in the classified service from my district.

And in his testimony on August 23, found on page 98 of the report, he says:

That the eight men [whose names were furnished him as being appointed from his district] all live in my district as now constituted.

So, I say the gentleman from Ohio was disturbed by the aggressions of the civil service commission.

He says he has only seen one of them, and has not seen him frequently. But on one occasion, at least, it was by his own invitation, for he wrote to Mr. Roosevelt the following letter. He said:

I have for some weeks sought an opportunity to appear before the committee to refer briefly to a statement made by you in which you impugned the character of the statement made by me in the house of representatives in regard to the administration of the civil service law. I respectfully request that you will be present.

In accordance with that request, Mr. Roosevelt was present. They had a discussion which went on for a little while and then Mr. Grosvenor said, as appears from the record of the testimony:

A congressman making a speech on the floor of the house of representatives is perhaps in a little different position from a witness testifying under examination.

[Laughter.]

There I had the right to give my judgment about this matter under the constitution of the United States and not have it called in question for that reason. * * *

I must go up to the house now.

[Laughter.]

And, Mr. Chairman, he went up to the house and left Mr. Roosevelt, and was not pleased with the interview, as he said there. But he returned to the committee after Mr. Roosevelt had gone to North Dakota, and was two thousand miles away, and then said:

My statement in the house of representatives has been shamefully and criminally misrepresented by Mr. Roosevelt, who says I said there had been no clerical appointments in my district. I never said any such thing, and he knew it.

Here is what Mr. Roosevelt did say:

General Grosvenor says he does not know of one applicant who has found a place in the classified service from his congressional district.

And here is what the gentleman from Ohio actually said in the House:

[Mr. Grosvenor's speech April 22—Record, 3897.]

I have not been informed of one (applicant) who has found a place in the classified service from my congressional district. * * * So far as I know not one clerical position has been assigned to my congressional district."

When Mr. Lodge had concluded, Cannon let Grosvenor have five minutes of his time, but the latter's remarks are not printed and are withheld for revision. Very likely they needed it. As Grosvenor sat by and saw Mr. Lodge strew by the way the Grosvenor malice, the Grosvenor cowardice, the Grosvenor hypocrisy, the Grosvenor mendacity, and all the other unhappy qualities which make up the Grosvenor character, Grosvenor himself must have passed into a state of ungovernable incoherency and probably his ravings would not look well in print. At the end of the debate, Mr. Dingley, of Maine, offered an amendment that the commission be given an additional sum of \$36,400, to carry out the law. No point of order would lie to this, and after the chair had twice declared it lost, tellers were appointed and the amendment was adopted by 95 to 76. This gives the commission some \$1,500 more than it asked.

Mr. George William Curtis will address the state superintendents of common schools in Philadelphia the last week in February, on the public school and civil service reform.

The *Civil Service Reformer* in its January and February numbers prints some specimen applications for office from people whose unfitness caused them to fail in the examinations. They are worth examining.

Several cases have been reported where the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is not regularly received at colleges and libraries. It will be a favor if every case is at once made known; also, the CHRONICLE repeats its request of last month that such libraries as have not already done so will acknowledge the donation of the paper and state if it is placed on file.

If there is any reader of the CHRONICLE who does not read the other two civil service reform papers, let him send for the *Civil Service Reformer* for February, and have the pleasure of seeing Census Superintendent Porter thoroughly routed by Mr. Roosevelt before the civil service committee of the house of representatives, January 29, 1891.

The *Civil Service Record* prints in its February issue an editorial based on the recent speech of Congressman Roswell P. Flower, a democrat from New York. Mr. Flower's congressional experience makes him an authority, and the viciousness of the present system of making about 60,000 post-offices a part of a great political machine has never been more completely exposed. There is space but for a single quotation:

The present system has too much that attribute of monarchy which centers in the power of one man the appointment of thousands, which makes official position the reward for partisan intrigue, engenders a lack of responsibility on the part of public officials, and consumes too much of the time of executive and legislative officers in securing appointments which should be given to the consideration of affairs of state.

But there are two results which arise from our system which seem more deplorable than those I have already enumerated. These have only to be stated to be conceded. *The present system of federal appointments exercises an undue influence on elections, and tends to subvert and render impossible the true expressions of the will of the people as expressed in those elections.* This system has already murdered one President. Is there a member of the house who does not feel in his congressional district the influence of the post-office, the custom-house, or the internal revenue bureau?

The seventh report of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission has been printed. It is not too much to say that nowhere else has the law been uniformly administered with such good faith and intelligence, and the yearly reports are indispensable to any one who desires to know how the merit system really works.

The report states:

"The number of public employes in the first division of the classified service is about 4,700. Of the public offices in the first division, 2,133 have been appointed under civil service rules since 1885; and, with the lapse of time, the proportion steadily increases. *Of these appointments, only a very small fraction of one per cent. has been removed for cause.*

"In the labor service of Boston 152 requisitions were received during the year, and 2,029 men were certified, of whom 1,550 were required to be under fifty

years of age. This shows the increasing tendency of the departments to call for the strongest and most able-bodied men. Of those certified, 874 were employed, of whom 90 were veterans. The number of certifications compared with the number employed was owing to the declination of some to accept employment, especially upon Basin V in Ashland. The comparatively small number of veterans employed was owing to the age limit fixed in the requisitions. Of the men employed under certification, *only one-half of one percent. were discharged for cause.* There have been 2,360 men registered, including restorations to the list during the year. The total number at present on the department rolls in this office is 3,466."

The Pennsylvania Civil Service Reform Association has introduced a civil service reform bill into both houses of the state legislature. This bill, like the Massachusetts law, brings the service of the cities and of the state under the control of one commission. It also, like the Massachusetts law, seems to include laborers.

We notice that the law is to apply only to "such office of employment" where the number of "officers, clerks, or employes amounts to six or more." In the twenty-five cities of Massachusetts there are several offices where the law is applied with the best results, and with very little trouble or expense where there are in each only one, two, three, or more employes. Taken altogether, the total number is quite large. Indeed, in an ordinary-sized city, where there is considerable subdivision of the city work into different departments, there may not be a single department besides the police and fire department, which has as many as six clerks in one office. The object of this limitation seems to be to save a large number of small examinations; but in actual practice this difficulty is found to be rather imaginary than real.—*Civil Service Record, February, 1891.*

To the President of the United States:

SIR—The undersigned, the officers of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, beg leave, in the name of the association, respectfully to request you to extend the limits of the classified civil service so as to include all persons employed in custom-houses and post-offices where there number is not less than twenty-five (as recommended in the sixth report of the civil service commission) and also the clerical force at navy yards and arsenals.

Further, the undersigned believing that the recent troubles with the Indians afford convincing evidence that a change in the manner of appointment of the officials of the Indian bureau is imperatively demanded, respectfully urge that the civil service rules may be extended, with proper modifications, to include all officers employed under this bureau.

They desire, finally, to urge that the rules be extended, with due regard to the interest of the public, to all departments of the civil service.

Vice-Presidents—Charles W. Eliot, Chauncey Smith, James Russell Lowell, Charles Theodore Russell.

Executive Committee—Philip Stanley Abbot, James Barr Ames, William F. Bradbury, Josiah M. Brooks, Sanford H. Dudley, Edward H. Hall, William O. Henshaw, William R. Howland, Francis V. B. Kern, George V. Leverett, James J. Myers, Albert S. Par-

sons, Ezra R. Thayer, Joseph G. Thorp, Jr., Robert N. Toppan, William W. Vanghan, George G. Wright, Charles F. Wyman, Morrill Wyman, Jr., Sec'y.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, President.
Cambridge, Mass., 31st January, 1891.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, }
February 4, 1891. }

Gentlemen: I have received by the hands of Senator Hoar the communication addressed to me by you as officers of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, and in reply beg to say that your suggestions will have my respectful attention.

Your reference to the recent outbreak among the Sioux as affording convincing evidence of the necessity of a change in the manner of appointing the officials of the Indian bureau, leads me to say that I have not found in a very full examination of all the facts from all sources evidence of any deterioration in the Indian service. On the other hand, the board of Indian commissioners, through Merrill E. Gates, their chairman, have as the result of close observation declared to me under date of January 10th last, "that upon the whole the Indian service is now in better condition than ever before." The object of their communication was to urge the extension of civil service rules to the Indian service, but they were careful to recognize that the argument was not to be found in any special or recent incidents, but in the broader fact that the work among the Indians is educational and philanthropic and should, therefore, be separated from party politics.

I may add that before any special appeal had been made to me from any source, the subject of including Indian agency clerks and employes in the classified service had been under consideration.

Very respectfully yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

To CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Esq., and others,
Cambridge, Mass.

LOCAL FREEBOOTING.

The rise and fall of the democratic gang of which Simeon Coy was for years the leader forms an interesting chapter in the history of Marion county. The beginning of the end came when the tally-sheets were forged two years ago last November, and the departure of John E. Sullivan for Canada marked the final downfall of the corruptionists. The formation of this corrupt gang of democratic politicians dates back several years, when Sim Coy gathered around him a few unscrupulous men, some of them possessed of means, who were anxious to be able to control the elections in this county. In a measure successful in managing campaigns, the little gang began to grow, and its corrupt influences began to permeate the entire democratic part of the county. Emboldened by their success in carrying elections by corrupt methods, the leaders of the gang in 1886 decided to take a step far in advance of any they had before dared take—to change the tally-sheets so as to elect a criminal judge and a coroner, and officers who the face of the returns showed had been elected by the republicans. It is needless to repeat the story of that infamous crime. It is familiar to the people, not only of Indiana, but of other states. How many men were connected, directly and remotely, with that conspiracy will, perhaps, never be known, but there was evidence brought out in court that a great many were in some manner connected with it. All the evidence showed that John E. Sullivan was one of the prominent figures in the conspiracy, but the influence which he

and other members of the gang wielded prevented the courts from ever convicting him.

The story of how justice struggled to get a hold upon the ring-leaders in the conspiracy is interesting at this time. The effort was made first to secure indictment by the county grand jury, but after three months of failures it was decided to call upon the United States grand jury, through which partial justice at least was finally meted out. The refusal of the county grand jury, in the face of positive evidence, to return indictments against the forgers, was condemned by every honest man in the state. That refusal showed the power and influences Sullivan and the members of the gang exerted. Sullivan, as clerk, controlled the drawing of the grand jury, and he succeeded in securing a jury composed entirely of democrats. The jury was of his own selection, and was drawn with special reference to preventing any indictments being returned. It is somewhat remarkable that among the members of that jury who turned a deaf ear to the public's demand, and refused to indict Sullivan or any of the forgers, were J. B. Conaty and James Renihan, two of Sullivan's official bondsmen, and the principal losers by the clerk's dishonesty. These men were on Sullivan's bond at the time they were serving the county as grand jurors, sworn to do their duty, and when that is recalled it goes a long way toward explaining why that grand jury constantly ignored Judge Irvin's instructions in regard to the tally-sheet forgeries. "Can it be retribution these men are now receiving?" queried a gentleman yesterday who recalled the facts. "I suspect these gentlemen feel that it is," continued he. "I judge they now wish they had followed the oft-repeated instructions of Judge Irvin, and indicted all the tally-sheet forgers. How much better off they would be if they had done their duty?" With the conviction of Coy and Bernhamer and their removal to the penitentiary, the gang began to disintegrate. Sullivan still attempted to use its waning power to his advantage, but there could be no concert of action like when the little boss was here. With the departure of Sullivan it is to be hoped that the county has witnessed the last of the acts of the gang. In his departure Sullivan has involved and turned against him those who kept him from going behind the prison bars two years ago, and it seems impossible that the remnants of the gang can again be able to muster their forces.—*Indianapolis Journal*.

* * *

That noble patriot, Simeon Coy, who was pardoned out of the state's prison because, foresooth, he was too poor to pay the fine and costs assessed against him, has evidently struck it rich somewhere or somehow. He seems to have plenty of money that he is spending freely as he plays his great role as a public benefactor. It is well to remember that a councilman's salary is \$150 a year.

Simeon, it will be remembered, has been playing street commissioner down in ward eighteen. He proposes to have fine streets, and for twelve days has had three teams and a man at work. He has already placed three car loads of cracked stone on Delaware, Alabama, New Jersey and South streets. Saturday he placed fifteen loads of gravel on the streets, and thus far this week he has placed twelve loads, making twenty-seven loads of gravel spread on the streets. One of the teams belongs to Lee Fulmer and two to Mr. Myers.

Emanuel Green, an old colored man, was poking cracked stone about South street this morning when a *News* reporter happened along. "The city is doing a good deal of work here?" suggested the reporter.

"The city ain't doing this. Mr. Coy is having the work done," was the answer.

"But the city pays for it?"

"No, indeed. Mr. Coy pays for it all. He hires the teams, pays for the gravel, bought the stone and he pays me. I know when he paid me Saturday he gave me half a dollar more than was coming to me, and he had a great big roll of money, for I saw it."

"How much will this work cost, do you suppose?"

"There's a man down there says it will cost Mr. Coy a \$1,000, but that ain't so. The three teams and me cost about \$10 a day. We have been at work about twelve days, and there is lots to do yet."

For a man who was pardoned because he wasn't

able to pay his fine, Statesman Coy is under very large expense. The three car-loads of stone will cost about \$35. The gravel will cost sixty cents per load, or \$16.20. It will require at least twenty-five days to "fix things" as Simeon wants them "fixed." That is \$250, making a total of \$301.20. The pay of a councilman is \$150 a year. Thus Mr. Coy is spending more than two years' salary on the public streets. This is only one "budget" of campaign expenses. This is an investment. What is the return!

The stone used on the streets by Coy is broken at the work-house, and Emanuel Green said Mr. Coy had purchased the stone at the works. Colonel Boone, superintendent of the work-house, says Coy bought no stone out there; that it is all shipped to the street commissioner. Mr. De Ruiter says that he has sold no stone to Coy, and that Coy is getting neither stone nor any help whatever from the city. Green says that one day the city wagon and Coy's wagons were being loaded from the same ear, and that Coy objected because there was no more stone than he needed himself.

If Coy could not pay his fine and costs because he was too poor, how does it happen that he can pay \$10 per day to improve the public streets of his ward and carry around a big roll of money? Who is backing him and furnishing this money? What return will he make for it?—*Indianapolis News*, September, 1889.

* * *

Street Commissioner De Facto Sim Coy was holding down a chair in the court-house and resting a pair of prominent feet on a table this morning, when a *News* reporter accosted him: "Do you propose to pay for that stone you hauled away from the city yards?"

"Pay for it?" retorted the statesman from ward eighteenth. "Well, I guess I won't. I put that stone on the streets for the benefit of the tax payers, and I don't propose to pay for it out of my own pocket by a jug full. I will settle with them fellows in open council."

"How do you propose to settle with them?"

"Well, you will see how. I have had some experience in street making, and I know if I had had the \$42,000 that the street commissioner claims to have spent this year I could have had every street in Indianapolis in first-class condition."

Here's a state of things! When Coy's little scheme was discovered he claimed to be paying for everything and flashed up plenty of money to do it with. Now he declares the stone belonged to the city, he used it and won't pay for it. He says he "don't think De Ruiter knew he intended taking the stone," and the street commissioner has demanded pay for the material used.

"You fellows talk about twenty-seven loads of sand and gravel," said Coy, waving a chubby hand in the air, "why, twenty-seven loads ain't a patching to what I used. You couldn't get all the gravel in this room that I put on the streets."

"And that belonged to the city, too?"

"Why, of course it did."

The room to which Coy referred was the sheriff's office, which is large enough to hold a hundred and fifty loads of gravel, and still the street commissioner did not know that Coy was carting this stuff away! *Indianapolis News*, September, 1889.

* * *

Street Commissioner DeRuiter was interviewed by a *Journal* reporter yesterday, concerning Sim Coy's alleged appropriation of city property for the purpose of strengthening his councilmanic canvass in the eighteenth ward. "I heard Monday afternoon," said the street commissioner, "that Coy had taken a car-load of stone belonging to the city, which had been broken at the work house, and set out on the tracks to be hauled down to the yard. I immediately started to find Coy, went to his town residence, to Joe Wagner's and other places, without finding him, and finally drove out to his road house east of the city. He was not there, but I left word that I wanted to see him, and this morning he came to my office. I told him what I had heard, and he said it was true, that he had taken the car load of stone, and that he proposed to take any of the city's property that he chose that was lying around loose.

told him I did not think he would, and suggested to him that if he kept on he would get himself into serious trouble, and after some further talk, in which we both got pretty thoroughly heated, he went out."

"How did he happen to get the car-load of stone referred to?"

"He took it as any one else would have taken it without authority. The car was set out on the switch, and was, I suppose, in the possession of the railroad people. We were notified of the presence there of two other car-loads of stone, which we got, but had no notice whatever that this one was there, and of course did not send after it. I have notified Superintendent Boone not to deliver any more stone at the railroad without notifying me."

"What do you propose to do about the city material already taken by Coy?"

"I propose to be guided by the advice of the city attorney. In any event, I will ask that Coy be indicted by the next grand jury, and if there is any way of bringing him up sooner, I will take advantage of it. I do not consider that he has any more right to carry off property belonging to the city than you have. As for the stories that he did it with my consent, express or implied, they are simply lies. Setting apart my republicanism, and my desire on that account to see Coy beaten in his race for council, I would be a fool to help elect a man whose earliest vote would be cast for my removal."—*Indianapolis Journal*, September 2, 1889.

* * *

"We have been examining the street commissioner's pay-rolls and find on every one of them the name of H. S. Post, who is Mr. De Ruiter's father-in-law. He is credited with \$2 a day for himself and a one-horse wagon. According to the pay-roll, Mr. Post has not been idle a day; at least he has been receiving his \$2 per day right along. On the night of the first Saturday after January 1, Mr. Post went to Cincinnati, and was there for ten days. During the time he has been back he has been idle a number of days, yet he is accredited on his son-in-law's pay-roll with working all the time.

"There are two one-horse wagons employed by the street commissioner. One of these wagons has been standing in the city yard until the tires on the wheels are thick with rust, and it is apparent to any one that the wagon has not been used for a long time; yet the city has been paying for it just the same. Mr. De Ruiter told me that one horse and wagon is owned by George Yanthes, a colored man, and the other horse and wagon by Mr. Post, his father-in-law. The records in the assessor's office show that Yanthes pays a poll-tax and is the owner of a \$3 watch. According to the books, he owns no horse and wagon. I sent a man to him under pretense of buying a horse. Yanthes said he owned no horse or wagon. Mr. Post's name does not appear on the assessor's books at all, and he does not even pay a poll-tax."—*Indianapolis News*, February 26, 1890, *Interview with Councilman Martin Murphy*.

* * *

The suburbs of Indianapolis are a unit in seeking legislation that will enable them to build street-car lines into the city. Senate bill 179 is the embodiment of their request. It has passed the senate and is reposing in the hands of the judiciary committee. The suburbs see great prosperity ahead if they are not walled out. At present they can not construct lines to the city because the Citizens' Company will not permit them to enter with tracks after they have brought them to the corporation limit. What they demand as reasonable is that if the Citizens' Company jumps in ahead and pre-empt a street to prevent suburban companies from entering, the suburban lines by paying a fair rental may use the Citizens' tracks, or that the suburban companies, in a word, be enabled to deliver passengers into the city. The Citizens' Company will not build to Greenwood nor Broad Ripple. Its West Indianapolis, Irvington and Brightwood lines are, without an exception, wholly unsatisfactory. Greenwood has \$130,000 subscribed for a suburban line; Broad Ripple has a company signed to put down a rapid transit line so soon as this legislation is enacted. Shall the two towns be shut out of Indianapolis? This is virtually the question they ask.

Meantime the Citizens' Company is fighting the bill with tremendous vigor. Lobbyists of every degree, from Sim Coy up to ex-state officers and congressmen, are lobbying for the company. Sim has taken up a temporary office in the state house, and is often in consultation with Steele and other representatives of the company.—*Indianapolis News*, February 17, 1891.

* * *

Mr. Coy has still another year of service in the Indianapolis City Council, and will therefore not sever his connections with Hoosier politics entirely until he has done all the good that can possibly be accomplished at the Indiana capital. Thus far his stays in this city have been brief. After the adjournment of the Indiana Legislature, which will occur in about a month, he says he will be here "right along." He will then be ready to introduce to the attention of the Chicago political fine-workers that peculiar brand of politics that made his name famous at home, and which is produced in no other state in the Union.

"I carried Indianapolis for Cleveland, Gray and the rest of the ticket in 1884," he modestly suggested, "and it was the first time we ever showed our full strength. Until that time the republicans had defeated us because of their superior party organization. The eighteenth ward was always republican by more than two hundred, but I have made it democratic by nearly that figure. I reckon there are democrats there now who would vote for me for President if I should ask it."

"To what do you ascribe your wonderful political success?" Mr. Coy was asked, and he outlined the following code: "I never had a quarrel with a man in my life. I never lost my temper in my life. Life is too short to dispute with those who dispute with you. I haven't the time. Then, again, I don't stand on the street corner and proclaim my policy. Secret organization is the only road to political success. The day for brass-band campaigns is past. We have the Australian voting system in Indiana, minus, of course, the registration clause. The registration clause would have defeated us, and it will defeat the democrats in Illinois. Laboring men can't take the time to go and register. At the last election in Chicago I find that only four votes were registered from this house. That shows lack of organization. There should have been twenty-five, at least.

"I am not ready to say what I will or will not do in Chicago," said he, "nor do I care to be quoted as criticising your politics. The great trouble with politicians that I have found is that it isn't one in a hundred who knows politics when he sees it. Down in Indiana we have the advantage of a political education not to be obtained anywhere outside of that state. This is because it has always been a hand-to-hand fight. First one party was on top, then the other. We are familiar with every subterfuge known to modern politics. We take a back seat for nobody"—*Chicago News*, February 9, 1891.

* * *

Some days ago the *News* mentioned the fact that the South Side Foundry Company had a bill of \$50 against the city for supplies furnished. Councilman Markey is a large stockholder in that concern; in fact, "Markey's foundry" is a common name for the establishment.

A glance over the city books reveals the fact that the foundry has been selling considerable amounts of goods to the city, and Councilman Markey has been voting to allow the payment of the bills from the city treasury. On May 24 and 28 his foundry sold the city \$19.20 worth of castings; May 21, \$9.60; on April 25, \$3.15. The bills, however, are not made out in Thomas Markey's name, but in the name of Peter Zeirn, treasurer of the South Side Foundry Company.

The records show also that on May 30 Councilman William Long sold the city three yards of gravel for \$1.80.—*Indianapolis News*, Aug. 3, 1889.

* * *

Hospital Trustee Markey has gnawed off more of a political cud than he can masticate. He has tried to keep his grip on all that he has held to and embrace new fields. He is like many another politician who "did well from a precinct, but was too thin to spread over a state." The two or three scores of democrats

down in Markey's ward who are said to have been encouraged to hope for appointments at the hospital, spend their time in devising means to defeat Markey for re-election to council. "We got him the place as trustee in the hope that he would give up the council and give us help at the asylum," said one of them, "out he wants to hold both places. He wants to get his father into the capitol as deputy custodian—and, by the way, this is the same person whom Markey, a democrat, had councilman Pearson, a republican, retain two years as janitor at Tomlinson Hall. Some of us were promised the place of watchmen at the hospital, but Markey appointed Mike Kelley (who is clever with a pen, which Markey isn't), and has him do duty as assistant secretary of the hospital board."—*Indianapolis News*.

* * *

Dr. Thomas H. Harrisou, late president of the state benevolent boards, has issued a pamphlet in defense of the management of the insane hospital under his administration. The statements it contains are those that have long ago been urged by the ex-trustees and the democratic party, and are based altogether upon the claim that the Harrison trustees have been vindicated by an examination of the books of the institution by their successors. In the beginning of his defense the doctor states: "The hospital was not governed by civil service. It was absolutely a partisan management, as was evidenced by the fact that Wayne township, in which the hospital is located, was changed from a republican majority to nearly 400 Democratic within a period of six years."—*Indianapolis Journal*, June, 1889.

* * *

The publication in the *News* last evening of the business dealings between Phil Gapen, treasurer of the insane hospital board, and John E. Sullivan, embezzler, forger, fugitive from justice, and high muck-a-muck of the corruptest gang that ever ruled in Marion county, has caused the people to be more clamorous than ever to have the books opened.

The money loaned to Sullivan was state funds, and if Sullivan has paid it back dollar for dollar he has been "guilty" of something that his most intimate friend has never accused him with. Complaint is made, too, that firms having claims against the hospital for supplies furnished have had to wait from month to month for their pay, and there are some claims of ancient date still unpaid. Governor Hovey believes that no investigation can properly be made by the general assembly, but the work must be done by experts, and the governor might have added, by experts who would not be "influenced."

The report of the trustees for the year ending October 31, 1888, shows that food, fruit and ice cost \$110,000; coal, \$25,619.93; wood, \$1,682; sweet milk, \$5,724.70; butter, \$2,185, making the milk and butter cost \$8,009.70. Last year potatoes cost \$10,000. The total expenditure for 1888 amounts to the modest sum of \$260,000. These figures alone should urge every honest man with a desire to see the inside of "them" books.

State Treasurer Lemcke says that at different times he has loaned Sullivan small sums of money, but always had it well secured and got it back within a few days. Sullivan, he says, was a most persistent beggar, but he had been warned against the late county clerk and at last shut down on the beggar, and he didn't get his sticky fingers into the state vaults.

Since December, 1883, up to date, Gapen has drawn from the state treasurer, as treasurer of the hospital board, the immense sum of \$1,477,268.82. If Sullivan borrowed nearly \$14,000 in so short a time as four months, how much did he borrow from this immense fund in so many years?

It is not much of a wonder that Gapen and his friends do not appear to want the books opened, at least they are not making any frantic efforts to have the backs of the books torn off in order to get them open.

These figures show the amount of checks placed in the Meridian National bank by Gapen, from August 21 to January 23, inclusive. Each of the checks was signed by John E. Sullivan, made payable to the order of Philip M. Gapen. They were on Sullivan's New York bank, and Gapen asked that they be

placed to his credit on his account, as treasurer of the hospital board.

August 21.....	\$1,000
August 31.....	250
September 18.....	1,000
September 29.....	300
December 18.....	2,000
December 18.....	1,000
December 20.....	800
December 21.....	700
January 21.....	4,700
January 23.....	2,000

Total.....\$13,750

Thus, in the very short time of about three months John E. Sullivan had, by permission of Phillip M. Gopen, his clutches on \$13,750 of the state's funds, and Sullivan's fingers are sticky ones. The *News* showed yesterday that unless Gopen can hold the bank responsible for \$3,043.66, that he has lost that much of the state's money by lending it to Sullivan. Wonder what is in "them" books that is being guarded so zealously?—*Indianapolis News*, 1889.

* * *

West Market Master Wells is still languishing behind iron bars. He can not be liberated on bail until the grand jury meets next Monday. Now that he is in jail, all the little and big tin horns are beginning to say, "I told you so." They accuse him of all sorts of misconduct, and blame Councilman "Bill" Davis in having him appointed. Davis and Wells were old cronies. One of Derk De Ruiter's deputies claims that there was a big kick when Wells was appointed, as he was known to be the proprietor of a low den and "oontz" headquarters. The murder of George Thomas was the result of a fight in Wells's dive. It was the duty of the city clerk to see that Wells turned in the money when he made the affidavit before him. Last Saturday night Wells took a 'possum in payment of stall rent. Does the 'possum belong to the city?—*Indianapolis News*, 1890.

* * *

Noah Rounds, who drives one of Councilman Sweetland's teams, walked into the city clerk's office and asked for his order. Deputy Bushong informed him that the warrants would not be ready until later in the day, and then said:

"Noah, why don't Sweetland come after the order himself?"

"'Cause he told me to come and get it, and he wants it now."

John Dunn was standing by and laughed at Rounds for giving the snap away that Sweetland has his team in the city service.

"Oh, he knows all about it," replied Rounds.

Deputy Bushong, in relating the incident this morning, laughed and continued, "but I guess Mr. Sweetland's team don't work for the city now. I understand both of them are in the street railroad company's service."

Let's see. Is it lawful for a member of the city council to hire to the city his team and assist in allowing his own claim against the city?—*Indianapolis News*, October 1, 1890.

* * *

The history of that peculiar transaction whereby the republican county central committee was to be enriched as the price of favorable street railway legislation in the council, is coming slowly into the light.

The councilmen whose names were used in connection with charges to which Mayor Denny referred on Monday night, are restive under the imputations that grow out of Mr. Darnell's disclosures. They say that the whole truth will make them free, and will at the same time give Mr. Darnell something to think about. One of them makes this statement:

"Mr. C. F. Darnell came to me and asked me to meet certain republicans at the county committee rooms (republican), on a matter of importance. I went there and found Darnell, Newt. Harding, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Fulmer and John Clinton. Mr. Darnell said that it rested with me whether we should carry the county or lose it; that if I would change my vote and vote against the granting of the MacNeal charter that Mr. Shaffer would donate \$500 to the county committee and would compel every man in his employ to vote the republican ticket on election day. I have never regarded this as more than one of Mr. Darnell's day dreams, and did not think Mr. Shaffer made any such impossible proposition. I make this

statement for the reason that Mr. Darnell has seen fit to charge the mayor and certain councilmen with having done something illegitimate in this matter, when, so far as I know, he is the only one who advocated or proposed anything that was wrong."

It appears that this statement is the key that unlocks much of the secret business which swayed councilmen in their street car legislation. When Mr. Darnell let drop the statement that the Citizens' Street Car Company would give \$500 or more toward the campaign fund, if the ordinance granting a competitive franchise to the MacNeal Company was defeated, the friends of the MacNeal ordinance carried the word to the MacNeal authorities. These no doubt recognized the importance of action and prepared to meet it. The opportunity was not to be lost. A check for \$500 was made out, and Councilman Cummings, who was a friend to the MacNeal ordinance, was entrusted with it. He, in due course of time, endorsed it over to the chairman of the county republican central committee. Either by chance, or by pre-arrangement, it was carried for several days before it was presented at Fletcher's bank for payment. Payment had been stopped in the meantime, but the existence of the check had become known to the select few, and it had done its perfect work. It had saved the day. The MacNeal ordinance was passed. The supporter of that company's ordinance who had been appealed to so tenderly to save the county ticket by voting against the MacNeal franchise, was not persuaded to do so. As to whether the Citizens' Company paid \$500 and voted its men "straight" will be matter for further inquiry. Also as what became of the canceled MacNeal check.—*Indianapolis News*.

* * *

A correspondent writes the *News* that Otto Williams, while drawing pay as steward at the county poor-house, is attending school in this city. Commissioner Reveal states that the duties of steward are such that young Mr. Williams can easily perform them and still have plenty of time to pursue his studies at the Indiana Medical College.—*Indianapolis News*, 1890.

* * *

Chief Webster entered the fire department as a substitute in March, 1860. He showed adaptability for the business, care in his work, energy, obedience to discipline and was steadily advanced through the various branches of the service until eight years ago, when he was made chief. From the moment Webster took charge the efficiency and morals of the department began to improve. Discipline was maintained, new methods and improvements were adopted as soon as they were found to be of utility, and the members were given to understand that their retention in place depended wholly upon their merits as firemen. For years this high degree of efficiency was maintained and the people slept soundly of nights, feeling that their houses and places of business were reasonably safe from the ravages of fire.

But the greedy gang which has controlled the republican organization in this city for years was dissatisfied. It saw in the fire department a machine which, if put on a political basis, could be made of great service. P. C. Trusler, a councilman from the twenty-first ward, was selected by the gang to reconstruct the department on a machine basis. He approached Webster cautiously and, as chairman of the fire committee, demanded the removal of a certain member of the department. The man whose head was asked was a thoroughly competent man, against whom no charge had been made, and Chief Webster refused to dismiss him. Trusler vowed vengeance on Webster and threatened him with dismissal.

For a time Trusler's plans failed of fruition. He was defeated for re-election and for two years Webster was left in comparative peace, though whenever his name was mentioned the members of the gang ground their teeth and indulged in expletives more forcible than polite. When Trusler returned to the council plans for revenge were immediately formulated. Trusler told Webster: "I have come back into the council for the express purpose of downing you, and I'm going to do it." Trusler brought even those members who felt disinclined to such a plan to his way of thinking, urging that Webster had been

appointed as a republican and owed his first allegiance to that party rather than to the city. But a presidential campaign was on, votes were highly important things to have, and the cooler heads saw that it wouldn't do to remove Webster just then. So a compromise was attempted. The chief was approached by Trusler and informed that if he would drop one democrat a month he would be permitted to retain his place. Mr. Webster replied that his business was putting out fires, not democrats, and that he didn't propose to discharge competent men because of their politics. He was then told that he might expect to be discharged.

After the interview a new course was adopted—that of hampering the movements of the chief. The fire committee reported adversely on every suggestion by Chief Webster looking to an improvement of the department, subordinates were encouraged to mutiny, and everything possible was done to disorganize the force. The men were encouraged to make the engine-houses headquarters for the distribution of republican documents, and every obstacle was thrown in Webster's way. It didn't matter to the members of the gang that public and private property was endangered. That didn't concern them. They had none to lose. If the whole business portion of the town was destroyed it wouldn't injure them a cent. Their business consisted wholly in devising schemes to get their hands into the city treasury.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

* * *

A *Journal* editorial makes the stunning assertion that of "eighty odd members of the fire department thirty are democrats." The editorial concludes with the amusing observation "that one by one the campaign falsehoods of the democratic organs are exploded." Will the *Journal* please "explode" by naming the thirty democrats?

There are only nine democrats in the department. They are Tom Quinn, at No. 1 Engine House; John Fox, at No. 1; Tom Barrett and Fred Clump, at No. 6; Tony Voltz and Gus Ernst, at No. 2 truck; John Klug and William Tobin, on the tower, and Matt Rodgers, at headquarters. While these nine have been classed as democrats, some of them vote the republican ticket about as often as any other.

It is the height of Trusler's ambition to see every democrat out of the department and the force then used as a political machine.—*Indianapolis News*, 1889.

* * *

The election returns were not all in before the machinery was put into motion for the removal of Webster. On the 8th of November, a caucus was held for the nomination of city officers and Trusler began to work for the election of Dougherty as chief. Protests against a change were filed by insurance men and property-owners, but they were given no heed. In the second caucus Trusler promised Joe Gasper that the latter's brother-in-law, Jim Davis, should be given a fair place, and that councilman, who had hitherto opposed Webster's removal, fell into line. On the 12th of November, in joint session, the councilmen and aldermen chose Frank Dougherty chief to succeed Webster, the vote standing: For Dougherty—Aldermen Connett, Reynolds, Smith, Tousey and Wright; Councilmen Cummings, Darnell, Davis, Dunn, Elliott, Finch, Gasper, Long McClelland, Pearson, Smith, Swain, Thalman, Trusler and Wilson—20. For Webster—Aldermen Clark, Rail and Reinecke; Councilman Burns, Ganl, Hicklin, Johnston, Kelley, Markey, O'Connor and Parkinson—11.

Not a republican there had the nerve to stand out against the demands of the gang and demand that the fire department be kept efficient. They voted as the gang told them to, and the department was made an adjunct to the republican machine.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, 1889.

* * *

The Trusler syndicate still has its fangs fastened in the fire department and continues to make and unmake, as it pleases. Jack Robinson, who was selected by Dougherty as foreman of the No. 3's, fell into disfavor with the Trusler gang and through its influence has been made driver of the No. 3's reel. Mr. Frank Harvey has taken his place as captain of the 3's. Mayor Denny showed the most sickening ser-

vility in the matter, advising Robinson that he had better not kick against Trusler. The Trusler gang wanted to get Mr. R. H. Brown into Robinson's place, but did not succeed, and accordingly Brown has been transferred to the 13's, Louis Rafert to the 3's, vice Huffman to the 10's, vice Mountain to the 4's, vice John Keating to headquarters to fill the vacancy caused by Harvey's removal. — *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 1, 1889.

Instead of giving heed to the political shysters who are now clamoring to get into the fire department, some attention should be paid to those already on the "sub" list. Men like Kiley and Loucks, who have served long and faithfully in hope of promotion, are deserving of recognition. In his "subbing" Loucks has had a serious time, being twice injured. It can be said for Dougherty that he favors these trained "subs," and in consequence the umbilical cord between himself and the "Tin Horns" has been badly ruptured. — *Indianapolis News*, 1889.

Among the changes which Chief Dougherty made for betterment of the fire department was detailing "Jack" Robinson, a trained and valuable fireman, as foreman of the No. "3's." Mr. Robinson was a Webster man in the recent trouble, but he is noted for his fidelity to duty. His selection displeased the Trusler syndicate, and for two weeks and more there has been constant friction in the effort to displace him and substitute R. H. Brown, a Trusler man. The mayor advised Robinson to retire, "promising to stand by him," and he talked as if fearful of antagonizing the Trusler syndicate in any way. Robinson objected to being displaced at the dictation of the syndicate, but eventually he placed himself in Dougherty's hands, and the latter has compromised by making him driver of the "3's" reel. — *Indianapolis News*, May 2, 1890.

Engine House No. 13 has been used during the city campaign as a Trusler headquarters. For some time past circulars have been thrown broadcast in the twenty-first ward. They relate how "everybody knows Mr. Trusler is a candidate for re-election as councilman; how for two years he has looked after their interests; how he has endeavored to open up new territory by building the Willow street bridge, and how by the change in the fire department (for which he has no apology to offer) better discipline has been obtained."

There are many other plaintive wails which Mr. Trusler makes in his circular, too numerous to be mentioned, as Mr. Trusler received many wounds to which to apply circular balm while he was a councilman. Mr. Trusler thought explanation a great healer, and used lots of it in his circular balm. When he wrote his circular about the fire department, the Bates House fire had not occurred. To Mr. Trusler undoubtedly the department service had been bettered, but certainly not in extinguishing fires, as was shown yesterday. It was bettered for him, as he had by the change in the service more men to work for his re-election. They worked and worked well to that end. They peddled the circulars at No. 13 which related what a good councilman he had been. Since the campaign opened Foreman Tallentire has not attended a fire, but has devoted his entire time to Trusler's re-election.

When the alarm sounded, announcing the fire at the Bates house, members of the department at No. 13 were out electioneering. One of them, named Partie, was talking to J. C. Treeter, brick-layer and boiler-setter, urging him to vote for Trusler. Only three men turned out with that chemical engine, whose services were worthless, unless while the fire was in embryo. One of those was a sub. Verily, the services of the fire department have been bettered, so far as Mr. Trusler's interests are concerned. When the alarm was turned in Tallentire was seen electioneering for Trusler. He was dressed in citizen's clothes; and was in the company of Trusler; Barrows, the inspector of that ward, and Despo, the candidate for alderman in the fourth ward. This is something that Dougherty permits, but would never have occurred under Webster.

Another incident shows Trusler's desperation. A well-known citizen on Hoyt avenue had occasion to

fill his back yard with dirt. He went to the street gang working on Virginia avenue, and asked them if they would give him a load of the street scrapings. They told him that a few good cigars would act with a magician's skill. The cigars were forthcoming, but the dirt never reached its destination. The citizen then met Rubens, the disabled fireman, who is doing yeoman service for Trusler, and was promised a load the next day. The next day a fine load of soil rolled up to the citizen's door, but it never came from the streets. It was soil that Trusler had probably paid for. — *Indianapolis Sentinel*, October 7, 1889.

Councilman Hicklin, as president of the committee on fire department, was completely knocked out last night. Hicklin had prepared a list of statesmen to be appointed firemen, and didn't consult with Messrs. Cooper and Olsen, members of the committee. Last night at the meeting of the fire board Olsen asked to see the list.

"Ah, never mind," said Hicklin, waving the list grandly, "we will just put it through."

"Well, we won't put it through until we know something about it," exclaimed the mild-mannered Cooper.

"Now, ain't this thing all right—?"

"Haven't we got our chief here who is responsible for the men, and who should have something to say?" interrupted Olsen.

"Well, yes, but—"

"I move," said Cooper, "that the chief of the fire department be instructed to make his own appointments, and select the men who are competent firemen and who will best serve the city's interests."

"Those are my sentiments exactly," said Olsen, "and I am with you, Mr. Cooper."

The result was that Mr. Hicklin's list was ignored. Chief Webster will make out his own list and the council will approve it. Hicklin was very anxious that the little affair of last night be kept out of the papers, and the *Indianapolis News* has it that he informed one gentleman by telephone this morning that no meeting had been held. Mr. Cooper has advised Chief Webster to take his time and make appointments that will be creditable to his judgment, if not satisfactory to the bummers who want to make a political machine out of the fire department. — *Indianapolis News*, January 30, 1891.

SENATE BILL NO. 275.

A BILL FOR AN ACT TO REGULATE THE EMPLOYMENT OF OFFICERS AND PERSONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE IN THE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana*, That the Board of State Charities shall prepare rules for the selection of officers and persons to be employed in the service of the State in the Hospital for the Insane at Indianapolis, the Northern Indiana Hospital for the Insane at Logansport, the Southern Indiana Hospital for the Insane at Evansville, the Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane at Richmond, the Institution for the Education of the Blind, the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, the Indiana School for Feeble-Minded Youth, and the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home. Said Board of State Charities shall supervise the administration of the rules so established.

SEC. 2. The rules mentioned in Section 1 of this act may be made from time to time and they shall among other things provide:

First. For the classification of the positions and employments to be filled.

Second. For open and competitive examinations by which to test applicants touching

their practical fitness to discharge the duties of the positions which they desire to fill.

Third. For the selection of officers and persons for positions in said institutions in accordance with the results of such examinations.

Fourth. For promotion on the basis of merit ascertained by competition.

Fifth. For a period of probation before permanent appointment or employment.

Sixth. For reports to be given in writing by the appointing power to said Board of State Charities of the persons selected for appointment or employment among those examined; of rejections after probation; of resignations, suspensions, and removals, and the dates thereof; and in case of rejection after probation, suspensions, or removal of the cause therefor.

Seventh. For the transfer of officers or employees from any of said institutions to positions of the same grade in any other of said institutions.

Eighth. For determining the moral fitness of applicants for examination.

SEC. 3. The Board of State Charities shall appoint local examining boards in localities where examinations are to be held, each consisting of three persons, not more than one of whom shall be in the employ of the State, and not more than two of whom shall belong to the same political party. The Board of State Charities may appoint one member of each local board to act as secretary thereof. Said boards shall be composed of persons of known impartiality and integrity. Said boards shall act under the rules provided for in Section 1 of this act. Members of said boards shall each be paid five dollars for each day actually employed.

SEC. 4. The secretary of the Board of State Charities shall, under the rules of said board, have supervision of all examinations under this act. Every examination held shall be attended in person by the secretary, or, in case of his inability, by at least one member of the Board of State Charities. If the Board of State Charities at any time fail to appoint a secretary, the Governor shall appoint a secretary of said board.

SEC. 5. The Board of State Charities shall grade the competitors in the various examinations in the respective classes for which they are examined, and make lists of the same accordingly, ranging from the highest downward, and shall re-arrange such lists after each examination. No name shall be retained in said lists longer than one year from the time of examination. No name shall be retained in said lists after the same has been certified three times for appointment.

SEC. 6. Within three months after this act takes effect the Board of State Charities shall, for the purpose of the examination herein provided for, arrange in one or more classes the offices and places of employment within the scope of this act. And at the end of said three months no person shall be appointed or admitted to or promoted to any office or place so classified until he has passed an examination in conformity herewith. The superin-

tendents of said institutions respectively and laborers shall not be classified hereunder.

SEC. 7. Wherever an appointment is to be made in said classified service, the appointing power shall give notice of the same under the rules of the Board of State Charities, and thereupon under said rules the highest three names from the corresponding list of examined persons, with the rating of each, shall be certified to said appointing power, and one of the three persons whose names are thus certified shall receive said appointment. In any and all cases where a person is appointed of lower rating than one or both of those whose names are certified with his, the appointing power shall, under said rules, report in writing in each case the reasons for not appointing such person or persons of higher rating. Each examined person shall be entitled to three consecutive certifications for appointment.

SEC. 8. No question in any examination under the aforesaid rules shall relate to political opinions, and no appointment or dismissal shall be affected by political reasons, influence or affiliations. Examinations shall be practical and shall relate to matters which will fairly test the relative fitness of the applicants. The Board of State Charities shall openly publish in all notices of examinations to be held that the competition is impartial to all, without regard to political opinions or affiliation.

SEC. 9. No recommendation or statement concerning any person applying for office or place under this act, except as to the character of the applicant, shall be received or considered by any person concerned in holding any examination or making any appointment under this act; and said recommendations or statements as to character shall be in writing.

SEC. 10. The Board of State Charities shall make a separate classification of the labor service of said institutions, and shall keep registers of deserving applicants for places in said labor service and shall make rules for determining what applicants are entitled to have their names entered upon such registers. Such rules shall guard against political or other favoritism in securing entry of names upon said registers, but for meritorious reasons, such as having families to support, or where special qualifications are required, they may provide for preference for employment among those registered; otherwise laborers shall be employed in the order in which they stand on the respective registers. No laborer shall be discharged from said labor service for political reasons nor except for cause stated in writing under the rules of the State Board of Charities. A registration shall be good for one year.

SEC. 11. All notices and reports required herein, all recommendations concerning character, all lists of persons examined, with their respective ratings, all records of examinations, all examination papers, with the rating given to each answer marked thereon, and all records of every kind of said respective institu-

tions and of said Board of State Charities shall be open to public inspection.

SEC. 12. The duties herein assigned to the Secretary of the Board of State Charities are in addition to such other duties as may be assigned to him by said board, and said board may, if necessary, appoint a clerk to said secretary at a compensation to be fixed by said board. All expenses necessary to carry out this act shall be certified as the Board of State Charities shall direct, and shall be paid by the Treasurer of State upon an order from the Auditor of State.

SEC. 13. The county commissioners of any county where any examination under this act is to be held, shall provide a suitable place for holding the same, properly furnished, heated and lighted, and shall furnish the necessary stationery for said examination.

SEC. 14. The Board of State Charities shall annually prepare and print a report of all proceedings and expenses under this act.

SEC. 15. The sum of three thousand dollars is hereby annually appropriated out of any funds not otherwise appropriated for the payment of all expenses made necessary by this act.

SEC. 16. Whoever refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this act, or violates any of its provisions, or knowingly makes an appointment to office, or selects a person for employment contrary to any rules duly established according to the provisions of this act, shall be liable to a penalty of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars for such offense.

THE MAGEE BILL.

Resolutions adopted by the Social Turn Verein at its meeting February 14th inst.:

The Social Turn Verein of Indianapolis has been informed that Senate Bill No. 275, will be introduced to the legislature. This bill has the object of the employment of officers and persons for our benevolent institutions according to their fitness and merits instead of their party faiths, and,

WHEREAS, the Social Turn Verein is heartily in favor of taking our benevolent institutions out of politics, therefore, be it

Resolved, We regard this as a timely reform, fully in the interest of our unfortunates under the care of the state, as well as for the public good in general.

THE STATE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

—There is no measure before the legislature which, from a strictly partisan point of view, is entitled to more hearty support from the democrats than the Magee bill to regulate the appointment of subordinate employes in the state benevolent institutions. The arguments for the bill are so obvious that it seems unnecessary to recapitulate them. The bill provides for the examination of all applicants for positions in these institutions, the tests to be applied being those only of character and capacity. If it becomes a law, it will insure the selection of honest and capable men only for positions in these institutions, and will put a stop forever to the scandal and disgrace of the rise as asylums for party workers. Every practical democratic politician in the state knows that for every vote which the possession of the "patronage" of these institutions makes for the party it loses five votes. For every person who is pacified with an appointment there are half a dozen disappointed and disgruntled applicants, and for the actions of every employe the party becomes responsible, and is fre-

quently obliged to bear odium which does not belong to it. The attendant in the eastern hospital who was recently convicted of manslaughter, is and always has been a republican, yet his offense is charged to the account of the democratic party. Considerations of party expediency, not to speak of the higher considerations of justice, humanity and christianity, demand the enactment of the Magee bill, which, leaving the general management of the benevolent institutions still in the hands of the dominant party, will take the subordinate appointments out of politics, thus relieving the state of an acknowledged and serious evil and the democratic party of a heavy burden. There should be no doubt of the passage of the Magee bill.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 19.

—Senator Magee has done one thing for which *The Signal* can heartily commend him. He is ably championing senate bill No. 275, to regulate the employment of officers and persons in the service of the state in the benevolent institutions. The bill may not be perfect in all its parts, but any law which will remove the state benevolent institutions from the control of political bosses is a move in the right direction. The state federation of labor put itself on record as favoring such a reform at its last annual meeting.—*Labor Signal*, February 20.

—The Linton Call says: "The present legislature may well heed the timely warning and place themselves in line with the demand for this needed reform. The control of these institutions is the source of party weakness, and the sooner the democratic party unloads this responsibility the better it will be, from a party stand-point. The people yet have a few antiquated notions that parties should not be held together for the spoils, and their love of justice will correct these growing evils. Party fealty will not condone a wrong or excuse those in control."—*Indianapolis News*, February 3.

—The Seymour Democrat says: "The control of all benevolent institutions should be non-partisan. Every time politics is found in contact with state charities mischief is found. Men can not stifle partisanship once it is aroused. Wherever party interests are presumed to be in peril partisans will instinctively spring to their defense. There ought to be no party interests for any party in public charities. Party and politics should be wholly eliminated from them."—*Indianapolis Journal*, February 2.

—Speaking of the bill to place benevolent institutions under non-partisan management, the *Covington Friend* says: "By all means let this bill be passed, and put these institutions into the hands of thoroughly competent officials, and stop this trading on the woes and misfortunes of the poor unfortunates."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 17.

—The Logansport Pharos says: "Senator Magee's bill providing for the non-partisan management of the benevolent institutions of the state is a good one. The benevolent boards should be wholly non-partisan. Men of unquestionable fitness should be placed in control of these institutions and they should be managed as a man of affairs manages his business. The partisan management of the benevolent institutions is a detriment rather than a benefit to the party in power."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 17.

—During the past years the citizens of Indiana, without regard to party distinctions, have concluded that the officers of our benevolent institution, together with the entire management and administration, should be regulated independently of all party connection, and purely with a view to fitness and merit. The masses, taught by the innumerable scandals, demand it in the interests of the general welfare, and even discerning party chiefs of both sides unite in the same demands for party sake. The latter are aware that the "right" of distributing patronage, weakens the party instead of giving it strength; that with each appointment a considerable number of "unnoticed" candidates became dissatisfied if not rebellious, while the fortunate one, who takes away the prize, recognizes in it only the well-deserved reward for party service (a soft warm bed and the opportunity of making money), not the acceptance

of onerous duties and responsibilities which he ordinarily neglects to the shame and disgrace of his party. The far-seeing and more resolute politicians attribute the re-action, which so often appears in the general elections after a presidential election, to the distribution of spoils, which never ends without a veritable dog-fight. But with indisputable right the citizen says, in relation to our benevolent institutions, that, as we do not inquire into the political faith of the patient, so also should this faith not determine the choice of his officers, physician, nurse, etc.

From such reflections as these, which in the first instance bears with it the general welfare and in the second party advantages, senate bill No. 275 finds its source.—*Indianapolis Täglicher Telegraph* [dem.], February 16.

Resolutions adopted by the Marion County Medical Society, at its meeting February 10:

The Marion County Medical Society having been informed that a bill has been presented to the Indiana state legislature having for its object the placing of the state charitable institutions upon a non-partisan basis, and making the positions of assistant physicians competitive, therefore

Resolved, That the Marion County Medical Society heartily indorses the principles involved in this bill.

REFORM IN THE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

The editor of *The Sentinel* has received congratulations, both in person and by letter, from many leading democrats of Indiana upon the article published in last Saturday's issue regarding the defeat of the Magee bill in the senate. Among the letters received is one from a prominent democrat of Frankfort—a man who has always been active in the service of his party, spending his time and money freely in its behalf. This letter was not intended for publication, but we take the liberty of printing the main portions of it:

I want to take you by both hands as an expression of the cordiality with which I indorsed your editorial expressions in to-day's *Sentinel*, especially on the Magee bill. Your advice to the legislature has been timely, and had it been followed would have saved the democratic party the chagrin and humiliation of future explanations and apologies. Can't something be done to have the Magee bill reconsidered? For the good of the party, for the good of the state, let something be done next week by the legislature to save it from shame. I don't deal in flattery, but I mean all I say when I write that you have proven yourself a patriot, and therefore, in the broadest sense, a good democrat by your courageous course in *The Sentinel*. I may not have approved of all your editorial sentiments, but you have proven my ideal of what a file leader in the democratic party should be. A good many members of the legislature act as though they thought the people did not *read* and *think*. In this they deceive themselves. This is a progressive age, and if the democratic party expects to absorb the votes of the young men of push, it must in action as well as name be democratic. The curse of the party has always been its political barnacles. We must cleanse the hull of our gallant old vessel of them, else we surely will be distanced in the race for popular favor. The actions of our legislature may have a potent effect on the national campaign of '92, and it is exasperating in the extreme that it should thus put in jeopardy the democratic party of

the whole country. Commending you again for your courage, as well as your sound judgment, I remain yours sincerely.

Another Indiana democrat of eminence—a man who has voted the democratic ticket and worked for the democratic party more than fifty years—writes the *Sentinel* lamenting the defeat of the Magee bill. He declares that a continuance of the existing system, with all its evils and abuses, "ought to be enough to bring down the vengeance of God upon the state and people, who suffer it." He adds that if this legislature "does not do something in the line of the Magee bill it must not claim to be honest in its professions of reform." He continues:

"Merely pretending to do a great reform work by cutting down the salaries of public officers will not satisfy the demands of humanity and christian charity. The *Sentinel* has shown its willingness to do a good work in this direction heretofore, and I hope it will not quit now."

Our venerable democratic friend need have no apprehensions on this score. The *Sentinel* is not a quitter. It is not "built that way." One swallow does not make a summer, and the defeat of the Magee bill is merely an incident in the struggle for reform in the benevolent institutions. We believe, as we have frequently said, that these institutions, with one exception, are to-day as well managed as it is possible for them to be under the existing system. Whatever abuses exist in them are the fault of the system and not of the men who are in charge of the institutions. That system will have to go sooner or later. The reform contemplated by the Magee bill has been postponed; it has not been defeated. It has been established in all the eastern and middle states and in several of the western states. Two years hence it will be introduced in Indiana, and by the democratic party—the only party which has ever given the people of this state any valuable reform in legislation or administration.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 24.

VICTIMS STILL FOR CRUELTY AND CRIME.

Victor Hugo says that America in the nineteenth century after she had awakened to her condition looked upon herself and said: "What! I had slaves!" And that Europe would awake in the twentieth century and exclaim: "What! I had kings!" We believe that this goodly state of Indiana will reach the condition in which with equal disgust and horror she will look at herself and say of her helpless insane and other wards: "What! I once turned these defenseless beings over as the spoils of politics, the victims of the cruelty and ignorance of political heelers and ruffians!" Indiana's good name was again detracted from yesterday when the state senate defeated the bill to remove the benevolent institutions from politics. There was no mistaking the issue. Senator Magee and those

who voted with him offered the incontestable demonstrations of business principles, common sense, fair play and every consideration of humanity in support of the measure. From these grounds the opposition fled, and took its stand squarely in the mire and filth of spoils politics. It smeared everything in reach with the exudations of appetite as a snake covers with saliva the victim of its fangs before it begins to gorge. And the comparison is exact at other points. The seizure of a public trust is as clearly an outrageous attack as a snake's is, and its gluttonizing for the appetite of a few bummers and heelers as much of an infamy.

The care of the state's wards is the people's concern. They pay for it. The objects of this care are the unfortunate and afflicted from households all over the state. This legislature began by denying the common rights of the public mails to the most helpless class of these unfortunates; absolutely forbid them from communication with the hearts and homes of those to whom nature has primarily tied them by blood and affection. They are immured in asylums beyond the reach of such appeal. And now these places of confinement are denied the administration of business fitness, of honest, of common right and humanity, the helpless subjects there to be held as so much spoils to be "worked" for the benefit of party bummers, though it may mean neglect, starvation, cruelty, murder. Those things have been done in the past. They are inherent in the system. They are liable to be repeated in the future, and the majority of the state senate of Indiana, deliberately taking its stand in the blood and the mire of this infamy, declares that no change shall be made that will prevent this. O shame! O cruelty and infamy! But a change will be made! The people of Indiana will not forever submit to this inhumanity. They will remove this curse and crime and stain, and visit with their righteous indignation and pity the vile cruelty that partisan corruption works in man.—*Indianapolis News*, February 20.

The *Courier* regrets to see that the Magee bill, to place the benevolent institutions of the state on a non partisan basis, in which merit alone will win a position, failed to pass the senate Thursday. The democratic party is always the sufferer under the spoils system. We lost the presidential election in 1888 because of the soreheads who failed to get office under Cleveland. So from a party point of view alone, the patronage of the benevolent institutions of the state ought to be taken out of the hands of politicians. But from a humane point of view every consideration that leads to sympathy for the unfortunate pleads that their management be entirely eliminated from politics. The *Courier* is certain that this view is concurred in by nine-tenths of the people outside of the partisans who are politicians for revenue only.—*Evansville Courier*, February 23.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

I am, as you know, opposed to removals to make places for our friends.—*Abraham Lincoln, December 17, 1846.*

VOL. I, No. 25.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1891.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

For sale at Wylie's News Store, 13 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana, where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE repeats its request that all libraries that have not already done so will acknowledge the receipt of the paper, it having been sent for the last six months to over four hundred libraries.

Harper's Weekly of March 24 says:

The actual service of the last two years to reform is really summed up in the fidelity of the commission. But there is no allegation that under the Cleveland administration the commission was not equally faithful.

In justice to the present civil service commission, it must be said that in the latter part of the preceding administration the commission was not only unfaithful but was in a state of helpless inefficiency. This is a mild statement of the actual situation. It is not made in contradiction, but to supply the missing allegation which the *Weekly* or any one else can now support by abundance of facts.

THE President has removed the democratic district attorney in Washington who had charge of not prosecuting Mahone's blackmailers. There is a decided appearance that he thought masterly inactivity was his best guaranty of continuance in office. Will his successor break the spell? If he secures conviction followed by a fine will the administration then dispense with the services of the convicts?

OF the 2,899 presidential post-offices in existence March 4, 1891, changes had then been made in all but 290 since March 4, 1889. Aside from a small proportion caused by death or other legitimate causes, these changes were made for reasons that had no reference to the good transaction of the public business or to the public welfare. The acts were done to help persons or to satisfy the demand of a party machine. They were, therefore, without qualification, corrupt acts. The constitution does not contemplate that a President shall reward his friends and his partisans as a king rewards his courtiers and his followers.

THE civil service commission after all got no allowance for additional clerks. The senate changed the house appropriation of a lump sum to specific items, which made a conference committee necessary, and

Cannon was put upon that committee. He overawed Dawes, Butterworth, and other civil service reform republicans, and got the conference agreement shaped to omit the additional allowance. Long ago defeated and repudiated by an overwhelmingly republican community, in his anger and spite he thus runs amuck among matters of good administration and public welfare. The merit system is marching irresistibly on, and in a little while "Joe" Cannon will be known simply as one of the men who undertook to stop its progress and was brushed aside. The Indianapolis *Journal* reports that he is very "near" to the President, and that the latter will soon make use of Cannon's services. This would certainly appear like a recompense for success in hampering the operations of the commission and in breaking republican promises.

ROYER is in Washington trying to get back the Pine Ridge agency, and is telegraphing that his prospects are good. If, under the circumstances, his prospects are really good with the President, it is useless to attempt to add any facts with a view to prevent the re-instatement. Voters, however, should read the letter of Mr. Cleveland, in another column, so that in this, as in many other like matters, they may be informed.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS addressed the meeting of the department of superintendence of the national educational association February 25, upon "The Public School and Civil Service Reform." A resolution was passed commending the application of the merit system to the public schools. The *Civil Service Reformer* in its current issue gives an idea of how patronage taints the public school system of Baltimore.

ELSEWHERE are a few items to illustrate current spoil. The time concerned is only a month and a half, and the range is wide. Ingalls fitly makes his exit with a brazen and brutal spoils act. How spoilsmen know no party and are bound together for mutual interest is indicated by the connection of the republican assemblyman, Hendricks, with Governor Hill's man Pierce, of unsavory Tweed association. The fights about the post-office troughs in several states continue. Vandervoort, whose scan-

dalous appointment was not revoked in the face of his disgraceful record, evidently feels secure with the President and the postmaster-general, and is up to his eyes in private snaps of divers sorts.

It would seem that a casual survey would impress any one that the spoils question is a question of morals, and that to tolerate these scenes over the country is to tolerate the lowest and most sordid acts in public affairs.

IN the general assembly, just adjourned, the senate appointed nineteen door-keepers, although the law allows but seven, and although there are but seven doors, including the doors to the cloak-rooms, and from these into the senate chamber, which have any possible communication with the senate chamber. These door-keepers were paid five dollars a day, although it was urged and admitted that dozens of good men could be had for two dollars and a half. "But, no!" say our buccaneering senators, "that would give all the patronage to Marion county. A man can not afford to come to Indianapolis from South Bend or Evansville and be a door-keeper for less than five dollars a day." And for this freely expressed reason the people who do not care where a door-keeper lives pay double wages.

THE spoils system in our insane hospitals goes merrily on. A patient died at the central hospital, and Dr. Curtis, an assistant physician, furnished the relatives with the necessary certificate of death, for which he charged and pocketed the neat sum of ten dollars. This, says the doctor, is not a service for which the state hired me. True, no one else can render it, for in the service of the state, I alone, as the patient's doctor, obtained the peculiar knowledge that enables me to make the certificate. But there was no agreement that I was to put this knowledge into writing. What political or personal "pull" enables this buccaneer to continue to live off from the state?

AT THE eastern hospital, recently, a patient suddenly dies. The doctors examine the body and report that the man's ribs broke of themselves. Later, three attendants, ignorant of this finding, are examined, and carefully state that another patient kicked the dead man. The three attendants

are discharged for lying. How do the people like the sneaking, and thieving, and murderous system of Hudson, and Foley, and Old Dr. Thompson, and Thompson of Pulaski, and Burke, and Sweeney, and all the rest of the twenty-six senators who voted that it was good and wholesome.

DURING the month the general assembly has passed a new charter for this city. A bitter and desperate opposition to it was made under the leadership of Sim Coy, Jim Rice, Sterling R. Holt, and Leon O. Bailey, the last named being at the same time city attorney and deputy attorney-general of the state. The ground of opposition is indicated by the names mentioned. It was feared that the new charter might make more difficult the exploitation of city affairs for personal or party benefit. It was enough for this opposition that there appeared the least cloud of uncertainty in the matter. They very nearly succeeded. Dr. Thompson, old and superannuated, and those two counterfeit representatives of working men, these being the three senators from this county, were mere puppets in the hands of Coy and his co-workers. It was only by the greatest effort that the opposition was overcome, and yet of the 125,000 people concerned, it is within the facts to say that 124,000 were earnestly in favor of the enactment of the measure.

IN considering the new city charter it must be remembered that under the old system of a mayor without power and a council and board of aldermen which passed ordinances and superintended their execution by boards of their own members, city government had practically broken down. The new charter is a vast concentration of power in the mayor and under him in heads of different departments whom he appoints and may remove. The city legislature consists of twenty-one councilmen acting as one body. Fifteen of these are elected by wards and six by the city at large. This is an undoubted improvement as the one body permits of prompt action, and the choice of six by the whole city added to those chosen from wards apt to choose good councilmen will give the city a majority made up of honest and capable men, if the voters who want such will take the trouble to elect them. Such fellows as Coy only get into the council by going to wards largely made up of their stripe and where the city as a whole has no chance to get at them. The council has large legislative powers, the most important of which is the appropriation of money.

As a foundation which makes the best city government possible, the charter must appeal to every one, and those who secured its passage may feel that they have ren-

dered a public service. There is, however, too great an inclination to rest upon the assumption that the best city government must follow the enactment of this law. No greater mistake can be made. The charter may become a two-edged sword, with the sharp edge cutting into the public welfare. In the hands of faithful and competent officers, the best hopes will be realized. But with an able, shrewd, partisan, and unprincipled mayor, backed by a council of his kind, or with a respectable, weak mayor and council handled by outsiders like Coy, we shall have, on a smaller scale, a Tweed regime, and any department falling into such hands will just so far be the worst kind of government. Only by eternal vigilance will good results be obtained. The charter will not run itself, and those citizens who stand back and let others criticize public affairs will have to lay aside their reserve and hold themselves in readiness to denounce the first appearance of official venality, or, sooner or later, now this department, now that, will be controlled by political buccaneers, whose small numbers and concentrated powers will enable them to enjoy to the full the political paradise described by Coy in the words, "The fewer men you have in this politics, the better." When Governor Hill, of New York, appoints Paddy Divver to a judgeship at \$8,000 a year, and a member of the Tweed ring insurance commissioner of his state, the same kind of a man with the same motives, may, as mayor of this city, give us a similar dose.

THERE is a tendency, also, to over-estimate what has been done. One of the principal framers and advocates of the charter remarked in an interview the day after its passage: "If there is a modern improvement to be found in municipal government in this country which we have not secured it must have been invented within the last three months." This shows a provincial limitation of view. Perhaps the greatest reform in city government during the last fifty years has been in the system of employing labor, which has been followed in many cities in Massachusetts for several years, and in Boston still longer. Yet our charter makes no provision for it. A second great reform in city government has been in the application of the merit system to the police and fire departments and other skilled employment in many cities of New York and Massachusetts for seven or eight years; and in some of them, notably in Buffalo and Boston, the perfection of the system, the thorough working out of its methods, its unqualified success, and the ease with which knowledge of it and its workings might have been obtained, leave the framers of this charter still far behind the times.

Their chief action in this direction consisted in incorporating the silly and vicious expedient that appointments in the police and fire divisions "shall be as nearly as possible equally divided politically." This city is not concerned in the politics of its firemen and policemen. It is vitally concerned in their fitness, and the best way to determine that fitness, now proved beyond all cavil by the experience of many cities, is by competition, physical and otherwise, open to all.

SOME good lessons may even now be drawn from the department of public safety which includes the police and fire forces. This department is managed by three commissioners appointed by the mayor, and he has already appointed Sterling R. Holt and Messrs. Catterson and Sullivan. They have power to make all appointments and removals. Removals may be "for any cause other than politics" and written reasons must be entered of record for any removals. Section 97 seems to contemplate a trial, for it says, "On conviction of a member of said fire and police force" of a number of named offenses, he may be punished in various ways, including dismissal. This is at best an unfortunate arrangement. Having unlimited power of appointment, a board of partisans will appoint according to the "pull" or "influence" of personal or party considerations. That such a board will retain worthless employes, the practice of thousands of similar boards fully proves. Over against this may be fearlessly set the plan of appointment by the superintendent of the police or of the firemen, according to merit, determined by competition, and of removal by him with the single limitation that he make a public written record of his reasons. Under this system we should have the highest discipline and efficiency.

IF it should happen that the commissioners of public safety should consist of one strong partisan and two weak men, we shall see this department in the hands of a boss. If, in all the city, a boss had been looked for, Sterling R. Holt, the president of the board, would have filled the requirement. Of the other two members of the board, enough is not yet known to say positively how they would act if Mr. Holt assumed the functions of a boss. It is not yet to be said that he will. The board intends to dismiss every man in the fire and police forces, or rather to take the ground that they have not yet been appointed, and will make, in every case, a new appointment upon application. This seems an uncalled for act of cruelty. Both divisions contain many men of the highest efficiency, who have been years in the service. The superintendents of both divisions have had

a like service, and each could inform the board in five minutes of the comparatively small number of men unfit for appointment. Instead, here are some two hundred men, nearly every one with a family, put upon the rack for no cause whatever, and compelled to besiege the board in a most humiliating manner to keep from being deprived of employment by outsiders who have greater influence but no experience. The *Indianapolis News*, of March 11, thus describes the situation:

If there are three men for whom life is rapidly losing its charms, who are growing wan and haggard, who are haunted day and night, button-holed and pulled into corners, who a thousand times a day respond to "Say, let me see you a minit," those three men are the commissioners of public safety. "If I don't become on freezing terms with truth I think I deserve to be congratulated," moaned Commissioner Catterson. Persons who try to get into Sterling R. Holt's office find there such a crowd of would-be policemen and firemen around the door that admittance is next to impossible at times. The applicants will not budge an inch for fear some other applicant would gain some advantage. One of Mr. Holt's agents stood out in the hallway for an hour. He had \$600 he desired to pay his principal. A cannon ball might have been forced through the crowd, and the agent with the \$600 was not a cannon ball. Commissioner Sullivan looked himself up, and wouldn't let his own brother see him. But when going to his meals he was waylaid.

"Now, I tell you," said the youngest commissioner, "I would like to see you get something, but to tell you the truth I ain't in it. Holt and Catterson make all the appointments, but if you think it will do you any good you can tell them I sent you."

This accounts for the unusual rush after the other commissioners. But at public headquarters the crowds are immense, and one needn't be surprised to hear of Superintendent Colbert managing the force from the court-house tower by telephone if this mad rush does not stop soon. In one hour over two hundred called at the superintendent's office for applications. Big men and little men, young men and old men, some drunk and some sober, ward politicians, heelers and bootlers, all came, and the majority of them insisted on talking with the superintendent. It was a sight calculated to shake one's faith in the city charter. One man said he was too old to do active work, and he wanted to act on the force. Another applied for a place in either department, he didn't care whether he was a policeman or a fireman. A man with one arm wanted to be janitor, and a man without legs asked to be appointed turnkey. A colored citizen dragged Superintendent Colbert out into the hall-way, and on behalf of the colored voters of the city demanded for himself a policeman's job.

"Why, you are drunk," exclaimed the superintendent.

"Well, boss, I'll be sober when I go on de foree," was the reply.

This was the last straw that broke the camel's back. Chief of Detectives Splann was appointed sergeant-at-arms, and he rushed the crowd out as fast as he could supply them with blank applications. At 6 o'clock last night about seven hundred applications had been filed, and to-day they are still rolling in. The most persistent are the cheap politicians, who want places for "the gang." They haven't any idea of the requirements of a policeman or a fireman. All they want is a job for some striker or tough. There is no use in worrying the life out of the commissioners. Every candidate must file an application, and this application is the basis on which the commissioners procure their information.

It must be apparent that the opportunities for yielding to temptation in the management of these two divisions of the city

government are wide. The only prevention is public opinion, and if public opinion goes to sleep there will, sooner or later, be no prevention. City officers must be given to understand at the start that the people expect them to be guided in their acts by business principles, and not by politics. This understanding can only be brought about by constant public criticism. There is another important matter for public agitation. Under the charter the different boards could introduce the merit system and the Boston labor-service system. The mayor appoints and may remove the boards. Will he require these systems to be introduced? If not, what will the candidates for mayor who will seek the office next October say about it?

EDITOR RICKETTS, of the *Delphi Journal*, left for his home this afternoon. Mr. Ricketts has been clerk to the house committee on immigration and naturalization, and had many friends here.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 4.

The *Delphi Journal* is the sheet that accused the *Indianapolis Journal* some weeks since of suffering from hysterics because it rebuked Lawyer Brush, of Crawfordsville, for stating that Indiana could not be carried in 1892 without the use of money. The *Delphi Journal's* views will bear repeating:

"The *Journal* [Indianapolis] then goes on and attributes the victories won by the republicans in this state to the 'resistless tide of public opinion,' 'boundless enthusiasm and the Lord,' and attempts to make itself and the dear people believe that the two-dollar bill has not been 'in it' at all. All of which has a tendency to make any one but a hypocrite and a pharisaical political psalm singer very tired."

This seemed to the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE at the time an impudent gibe at the President and Mr. Wanamaker for being religious men. And it seemed gross insubordination in the view that one of its owners and editors was postmaster. And coming from a subsidized sheet, it seemed to savor of treachery. But this is doubly bad, now that it comes to light that the other owner, Ricketts, was provided for.

GENERAL CORSE.

The President has removed General Corse as postmaster of Boston because he is not a republican. That he is a patriot in every sense of the word no American will deny. That he was the best postmaster that Boston ever had, and was wholly non-partisan in the management of his office, the President and the postmaster-general freely admit. The business men of Boston were a unit for his retention, and six Massachusetts congressmen, including both senators, urged the President to keep him. But, at last, the stolid, stupid negative came, based upon the corrupt reason that General Corse was not a republican. Now, the retention of a single officer, even in every way so admirably efficient as General Corse, cuts but

a small figure for or against the progress of civil service reform. That progress is made by gathering in the great multitude below the rank of postmaster. Nor would such a retention in any manner clear the skirts of an administration engaged in removing a hundred thousand other officers for spoils purposes, any more than one swallow makes a summer in January. But, under the circumstances, the removal of General Corse is an irritating, laughable, humiliating proof of the contemptibly small size of the President's public mind.

Of this removal Mr. John J. Henry, at a dinner of the Brookline Republican Club, said in disgust: "For whom? An honest man? A business man? No! But a republican!" Of himself the new postmaster says, in the *Boston Post* of March 2: "I know nothing about the post-office business, and I shall have to begin by learning my trade." Of General Corse he had a short time before written to Senator Hoar: "If the interest of the public service is to decide, Gen. Corse will be renominated." The Massachusetts Civil Service Reform League composed of republicans and democrats, has passed a resolution of censure, wherein they quote from the President's letter of acceptance, "that in appointments to every grade and department fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office."

ALL OTHER REFORMS SHOULD BE SUBORDINATED TO CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS.

The bosses know, first, that they live by the offices, and second, that if the people once realize the evils of patronage they will take away the offices. The skill of the machine is therefore directed to diverting the attention of the people from this division and enjoyment of spoils. To this end, issues true or false are urged forward. For many years southern outrages, an issue which never did and never was intended to lead to any practicable measure, blinded the majority, and enabled the republican machine to keep the offices. In Pennsylvania, to-day, Quay raises jeopardized protection like a wall close to the eyes of republicans to blind them to the criminal evil of himself as a man and of his literally feudal rulership of his state. For years the people of the state of Maryland, in a manner disgraceful to themselves, have permitted Gorman to keep his heel on their necks, solely by his control of the offices; and in every campaign when they might have overthrown him, he has blinded them by the cry that such a result would lead to national party disaster. * * *

Again, Senator Gorman, the overlord of overlords, two years ago was a protectionist. To-day he is a tariff reformer. No one will ask us to believe that the merits of the tariff question had anything to do with this change of heart. Mr. Gorman read in the signs of the times that his party machine was against him, and that he must bring about this change if he would continue as the absolute party controller of offices in Maryland. * *

Our boss system of office-holders, with its paramount boss and a graded line of under-bosses, has thus become a quasi-feudal system, without the romance or the courtesy or the honor of feudalism. It is the footpad in armor. It uses various interests for its own ends and lets itself for hire to various interests. Destroy it and leave every reform and every interest standing alone, and spontaneous discussion, followed by the untrammelled action of the people,

will reward every agitation with that result to which the civilization of the country entitles it.

Therefore, I say that the destruction of the spoils system ought to regulate individual political effort. Not that other reforms may not have sympathy and support. But in every case there comes a time when the roads part. Then there can be no compromise, no hesitation. The pursuit of these bloodsuckers upon all our civil governments should be relentless. To cease this attack at any point and unite with this common enemy with the hope of benefiting some other object is to strengthen the common enemy and fill him with joy. Such deviation prolongs the unequal struggle on our hands and does not accomplish its object.—*From a paper read by Lucius B. Swift before the National Civil Service Reform League in Boston, October, 1890.*

The opinion expressed in this extract is the opinion guiding the course of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, and the career of Mr. Gorman seems always to afford new and diverting illustrations of these principles. To keep clearly in mind what Gorman, as a boss, really is, it is well to quote from the report of an address adopted at a great public meeting in Baltimore, September 30, 1887, the object of which was his overthrow:

"Time would fail to tell all the outrages that have been committed openly, publicly, and systematically by this [Gorman's] association. It has appointed to public office thieves, burglars, express robbers, murderers, and men stained with every crime. It has burned the ballots when in the custody of the clerk of the court, and the perpetrators of the act have publicly boasted of it. Indeed, every one connected with that act has been rewarded from the public treasury. It has secured places in the government employ for the two most notorious election thieves in the city. It has garrisoned a ward with ruffians and kept them in the city's pay. Of twenty-three city, state and federal employes in that ward, we have found nineteen whose names appear on the criminal records of the city.

But it has been curious and depressing to note how, after Gorman became a tariff reformer, great numbers of respectable and intelligent men in his own party in Maryland began to forget how dangerous a man they had not long before considered him. There have been traces even of a pride that Gorman's adroitness as a politician would be successfully used in his new rôles. In the midst of his growing popularity as a tariff reformer he gave a slight shock to the Better Element Democrats of his state by going down to New York last November and speaking for Grant and Tammany against the citizens' movement. But this, too, was judiciously forgotten when he used all his astuteness to lead his party in the election bill fight in the senate. Then he reached the top wave and almost won a "dinner" in honor of his efforts.

The movement to give Senator Gorman a big banquet in recognition of his work in the elections bill fight, like the one tendered to him after the election of Cleveland, is still being boomed by his admirers. The News, one of the two democratic papers of the city, continues its interviews with citizens. The general expression is that when the banquet is held the eight republican senators who voted with the democrats should be invited. This sentiment is echoed by Capt. John Hall, president of the first national bank, who said to-day:

"I think that Senator Gorman ought to receive public recognition, but I also think that the invitations to any banquet tendered to him ought also to include every democratic and every republican senator who helped him to achieve his glorious vic-

tory."—*Baltimore Dispatch to New York Times, February 3.*

That this particular animal can not change his spots is shown by the following from the *Civil Service Reformer* for March:

A singular instance of the solidarity of spoilsmen was seen in the senate during the debate on the proposal to open the supervising architect's office to plunder, when Senator Gorman arose to defend Mr. John Wanamaker from the attacks of Mr. Roosevelt. It would require the tongue of John Randolph, of Roanoke, to fitly describe the alliance thus first avowed, though Mr. Gorman's success in providing for his friends under this administration has heretofore given the strongest presumptive proof of its existence. The combination effected by Mr. Gorman was successful, and the draughtsmen's places on the new public buildings will hereafter be distributed among the retainers of Messrs. Gorman and Plumb.

PERMANENCE OF ISSUES.

The ebb and flow of a large class of public questions is well illustrated by Ex-Senator McDonald who says in an interview in the *Indianapolis News* of February 14:

"This tariff question," continued Senator McDonald, "is an evidence how history repeats itself. The first political speech that I ever made was at my old home in Crawfordsville, in Indiana. It was forty-four years ago, and President Polk was the candidate upon a tariff-for-revenue platform substantially the same as that of the democratic party during the last presidential campaign. During the Cleveland-Harrison campaign I made my last speech at Crawfordsville, and the chairman introducing me said that he did not believe an instance could be shown in our history of a man making two speeches for a presidential candidate forty-four years apart and advocating substantially the same issues. The first message of President Polk was substantially the same as the tariff reform message of President Cleveland, and it brought about the enactment of the tariff of 1846."

This has an important bearing upon the tendency of those interested in tariff reform to regard the question as new and their movement as original, and to claim for it paramount attention. In fact, as Mr. McDonald shows, they are but traveling the road traveled in 1844 and later, and which was then well beaten. Such questions as taxation and currency always have been and always will be living questions. They are questions which must be dealt with as we go along, just as the navy must be supported and the mails must be carried. The passage, however, of a currency bill or of a bill raising or lowering the tariff does not mark an epoch in the country's history. They are comparatively but temporary matters. Mr. McDonald is now doing over again the work he did in 1844. If he had then declared that the abolition of slavery was the most important public object to work for, he would have been told that the American people were opposed to it and that the tariff question was the one question of paramount importance. Yet how small the successful efforts which secured the tariff act of 1846 now seem. The spoils system, which is now such a curse to our cities, counties, states and the nation, once broken up will be like slavery, forever broken up. Its destruction will mark an epoch in our history. It is the great step now to be urged upon the people.

It must be urged in season and out of season—and especially out of season. No other question must be allowed to supersede it.

If the republican party lives only to secure * * * employment at public cost for place hunters, it will die because it ought to die, provided, of course, that there is something better to replace it, and sooner or later this will be forthcoming.

But will this something be the democratic party? Only the future will show, but there is some room for doubt. Thanks to the methods of republican politicians, the state senate of Indiana is now democratic by more than a two-thirds vote. Thanks to the conduct of this democratic majority, there will be little cause for wonder if in 1892, as in 1888, the electoral vote of Indiana is cast for a republican. A bill was recently introduced in that body to take the eight charitable institutions of the state out of politics. Of these four are refuges for the insane, one for feeble-minded youth, one for the blind, one for the deaf and dumb, and one for orphans of soldiers and sailors. An investigation, set on foot and in great measure carried on by the Civil Service Reform Association of Indiana some four years since, brought to light shameful abuses in the management of some among these institutions, and a narrative of the cruel and revolting outrages perpetrated on their helpless inmates by the political bummers and workers employed among their officers and attendants, excited a wide-spread indignation through the state, and caused some temporary improvement in their administration. The bill in question proposed to safeguard the state's responsibility for similar horrors in future by committing their control to a non-partisan board of state charities and recruiting their employes on the merit system. Its author, a Mr. Magee, is a democrat, and was minister to Sweden under the late administration. It received the cordial approval of the medical profession, of various public bodies and of all the best newspapers of the state regardless of party. Yet twenty-six out of thirty-three democratic senators voted against it on avowedly partisan grounds, and it was defeated by four votes. Within a few days a Connecticut forger has gone unwhipt of justice because Governor Hill, of New York, considered it was, in his own words, "good democratic politics" to refuse a requisition from the *de facto* governor of that state. In Indiana it is thought "good democratic politics" to turn over miserable lunatics and deaf mutes and friendless children of both sexes as prey for hangers-on of the local machine, many of them habitual criminals, whose brutal passions are known to have been indulged in the past with an utter disregard of decency or pity. It avails nothing to say that respectable democrats are disgusted with all this; respectable republicans are disgusted with Quay, and Dudley, and Clarkson, but they can not thus escape the disgrace and the danger of their fellowship. In either case the tree will

be judged by its fruits. A party which commits power to such men as Hill and the Indiana senators must suffer and suffer rightfully for its abuse.—*Civil Service Reformer*, March, 1891.

THE defeat in the senate of Mr. Magee's bill for the government of the state benevolent institutions was as crushing as it was unexpected. The intelligence of the democratic party throughout the state was arrayed on Mr. Magee's side, and only the party bosses and parasites who draw sustenance from the public treasury opposed it. But the present legislature is thoroughly bourbon; it is literally covered with moss; it is as impervious to reform ideas as a duck's back to rain. Many expressions of regret at the failure of the Magee bill have been heard, and none are given more forcibly than by Hon. I. D. G. Nelson, of Fort Wayne, who writes to the editor as follows:

I have read, or at least have had the opportunity of reading, the *Labor Signal* since its establishment. By inheritance, education and instinct I have always been a democrat and a free-trader. But I have, also, if I have known myself, been a friend of the laborer. Hence, I became a subscriber to *The Signal*, and interested in its success, although not always approving of its policy. I am now too old to read much, or take much interest in the current politics of the day. But I do, nevertheless, even at the advanced age of over four score years, try to keep posted in regard to what is done at Washington and Indianapolis in regard to legislation, and I am compelled to say that I have never witnessed a more humiliating act of my party than the voting down of the Magee bill, that was so eminently calculated to vindicate the party, if not in the wrong, or, at least, to show that we are not opposed to the civil service experiments being tested in the great battle of reform in behalf of our common humanity.—*Labor Signal*, February 27.

THE *Sentinel* is right in rapping the democratic senators over the knuckles for their failure to support the Magee bill, which proposes to apply the principle of non-partisan appointments in our state benevolent institutions. Humanity demands that the state's wards should be placed in the hands of competent persons. The salaries of the attendants in the several benevolent institutions are limited, and it is impossible to get the proper help if it feels it must be kicked out at each election. Nor can the proper discipline be maintained where subordinates feel they owe their position to a political boss, and not on good behavior. The state is more interested in the efficiency of administration of our state institutions than in the politics of the subordinates. The Magee bill is right in principle, and must eventually be adopted. The democrats would have found considerable advantage in adopting it, now that the benevolent institutions are principally in the hands of the democrats.—*Jeffersonville News*, February, 1891.

SHAME upon a party that desires to continue as a sewer to the democratic party institu-

tions provided for the helpless orphans, deaf and dumb and insane of the state.—*Shelbyville Republican*, February, 1891.

As to the efficiency, fidelity, and non-partisanship of General Corse as postmaster, every one admits that. Ex-Mayor Thomas N. Hart will in time probably become an efficient postmaster; but he is far from being non-partisan, and his appointment was made in preference to that of General Corse on party grounds alone. Of all the republican party candidates likely to get the post-office, perhaps Mr. Hart is the most capable and business-like. There is some difference of opinion among his own party as to his having exhibited any remarkable or unusual executive powers while mayor. As to civil service reform, Mr. Hart has always declared himself in favor of the reform; and he has never refused to obey the civil service law. In the only instance where he had an opportunity to prevent an invasion of the law by those under him he conspicuously failed to do anything, and yet at the same time he kept himself within the letter of the law and rules. As far as carrying out the spirit of the law to the offices to which the law does not apply, it is notorious that Mayor Hart appointed a street commissioner who would take in Meehan, the democratic politician and former street commissioner, who had thrown his influence over to Hart. There were other appointments to which we have made objection from time to time, as having all the appearances of consummations of trades and little or none of being for fitness only. Indeed, Mayor Hart has admitted their badness, and pleaded "pressure." There are one hundred and thirty-six positions in the Boston post-office exempted from the civil service rules.—*Civil Service Record*, March, 1891.

CURRENT SPOIL.

—A disturbance is threatened in the assembly. It is the old story, a quarrel over patronage. The speaker and clerk of the lower house are allowed by law the appointment of sixty officers. Contrary to precedent, when the announcements of appointments were read from the desk two months ago, the residences of the fortunate officers were not given. A good reason existed for this, as developments have shown. It was the deliberate purpose of Speaker Sheehan and Clerk DeFrest to prevent the assembly and the democratic bosses throughout the state from knowing that the debatable county of Erie and the iron-bound county of New York, the extreme counties in the state, had gobbled not only the best but 50 per cent of the appointments in the gift of the assembly. Erie ought to have been satisfied with the selection of speaker, but the speaker was not satisfied with the privilege of making personal appointments, but reached out and brought to Albany eleven of his constituents, who are now drawing salary from the state.

New York's share in the distribution of spoils is eleven also. Mayor Ed. Murphy, Jr., of Troy, chairman of the state committee, has corralled five of his heelers; while Boss McLaughlin made a demand for two places, which was promptly granted, one of the appointees emphasizing his feeling of security from interference by taking a two weeks' absence without leave, marked by a protracted drunk, during which the clerk of the assembly has had to shift to find a man to do the work assigned to McLaughlin's appointee.

The charge of nepotism has been raised against Col. George P. Webster, of the twenty-third New York district, who obtained the appointment of his son as clerk of the committee on privileges and elections and of his nephew as stenographer.—*Albany, N. Y., Dispatch to the New York Times*, March 8.

—As chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia, Mr. Ingalls has had at his disposal the position of clerk of the committee. Last night Mr. Ingalls removed the gentleman who has filled that office for several years, and is spoken of as a very capable and faithful clerk, and appointed in his place the senator's son. By this means young Mr. Ingalls will draw the salary of clerk to the committee from now until December, as his father's retirement leaves the committee without any chairman to make another change before the next congress meets.—*New York Times*, March 5.

—Every democrat on the floor of the assembly has pursued Sergeant-at-Arms Harrigan with wolfish greed to demand that his son or his nephew or the son or nephew of his friend be given one of the two-hundred-dollar sinecures. Harrigan was unable to discriminate between them, and he has been guilty of the folly of appointing a page for each. There are forty democratic assemblymen and, of course, forty pages.—*Trenton, N. J., Dispatch to New York Times* March 1.

—The state legislature is torn up over a scandal which throws the senatorial struggle into the background. Elgood Brunner, one of the leaders of the assembly, was charged to-day by the *San Francisco Examiner* with selling police positions in San Francisco for \$400 each.

Brunner accused the correspondent of blackmail. He attempted to show that he knew of the correspondent's scheme to entrap him into recommending a man to the police commissioners for money, and that he accepted the offer so as to expose the correspondent.—*Sacramento, Cal., Dispatch to New York Times*, March 6.

—The administration, and especially the post-office department, is being scandalized in this city and state by the conduct of a man whom ex-Postmaster General Gresham once summarily discharged from the postal service, and who has done more to corrupt the politics of Nebraska than any other one man. State politicians declare that his pernicious influence must be shaken off, or the powers at Washington must take the consequence. Reference is made to Paul Vandervoort, ex-commander in chief of the grand army, ex-railroad lobbyist, and professional war veteran.

Upon request of the railway officials at Omaha the Nebraska delegation in congress a year or two ago put Vandervoort into a sinecure in the Omaha post-office. The title of the position is superintendent of local mails. Since the appointment of postmaster Clarkson of Omaha Vandervoort is said to have done absolutely nothing in the line of official duty. It is asserted that there is nothing for him to do; that he is drawing \$1,500 a year as a reward for past services to the railroad managers, who must see that he gets a living lest he make damaging disclosures.

The legislature has been in session here for two months. Most of that time Vandervoort has been lobbying here for the telephone company and the telegraph company, to ward off a threatened reduction of tolls. He has also been working on a scheme to increase the liquor license, so that, if necessary, he might explain to the postmaster general that he had been really working for prohibition at Lincoln. Vandervoort has been incidentally looking after the interests of the railways and has not given an hour's time to the office he holds. This scandal is assuming such proportions that the postmaster general will be unable to explain the ease away. He created this soft berth for Vandervoort soon after taking the post-office portfolio, in the face of the fact that Vandervoort was dishonorably dismissed from the service, and for that reason was debarred from an appointment.

During the administration of President Arthur, and when Gen. Gresham was postmaster-general, Vandervoort's defiant neglect of duty and his pernicious interference in local and state politics became

a state-wide scandal. He was dismissed from the service for neglect of duty and insubordination. He retaliated, and threatened Gresham with the thunderbolts of the grand army, and subjected him to vindictive abuse in the columns of the claim agents' paper, the *National Tribune*, for which Vandervoort had also played capper by reason of his temporary prominence in the grand army organization. Gresham was as firm as a rock, and would not recede.

From the railway mail service Vandervoort fell back upon his friends, the Union Pacific Railroad, and was kept upon the pay roll of that road for a year or two. During the legislature here four years ago he was in charge of the most venal and disreputable railroad lobby that has ever infested this city. The investigation into the conduct of the Pacific railroads, by the commission of which Gov. Pattison was the head, brought out the history of what is here called "the oil rooms" in strong relief. This testimony showed that the oil rooms were places where members of the legislature had been debauched with drink and were corruptly manipulated to defeat or carry measures as the railroad managers saw fit to decree. It was also brought out that Vandervoort maintained room 15 in a prominent hotel in this city during that session of the legislature; that every night, almost, cases of beer bottles, wine, and demijohns of whisky were carried there and consumed by Vandervoort and his special friends, and it has since been proved beyond question that the railroads paid not only the room rent but also the bar bill incurred by Vandervoort.—*Lincoln, Neb., Dispatch to New York Times, February 22.*

—The first important change in the treasury department under Secretary Foster was made to-day. Acting Secretary Nettleton accepted the resignation of Captain John G. MacGregor, the chief of the customs division of the secretary's office. Assistant Secretary Spalding, who is in charge of customs matters, said in reply to a question that there was nothing on the face of the resignation which showed that it was not voluntary. He refused to commit himself, however, to the statement that it was voluntary, and he and General Nettleton smiled significantly when the question was persisted in. General Nettleton said that Captain MacGregor had been appointed inspector of immigration at \$6 per day. His salary as chief of the customs division was \$2,750 per annum.

General Nettleton said there was no politics in the change, and if there had been Captain MacGregor would have been removed from the service altogether. It is rather significant, however, that Captain MacGregor is one of the few democrats left in the treasury department, and that he should be the first person to go so soon after the advent of Secretary Foster, whose skill as a politician is well-known. Captain MacGregor was in the customs service prior to the democratic administration, but he was promoted to the position he has just resigned by Secretary Manning when a vacancy occurred there.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post, March 9.*

—Joy is going to reign in the camp of the faithful in this town. News has come that the great men in Washington have heeded the prayer of the envoys who journeyed down from New York to tell them how badly good republicans needed that which a democrat was in a fair way to secure, just because he underbid the righteous. But, mingled with the rejoicings, there will be needless wasting of breath. The scramble for the plums will be too lively to allow that.

Two weeks ago gloom reigned among the republican workers. A terrible thing had come to pass. The bids for the custom-house cartage contract had been forwarded to Washington. Experts had spent days in figuring out the schedules and Thomas A. Briggs, the old contractor, who secured the job under a democratic administration, appeared to be the lowest bidder. Anywhere from \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year was what the contract was worth, and that was a great deal of money to be allowed to go out of the political family. Now, however, the treasury department has sent out a ruling that the cartage need not be let by contract, and the harps will be taken down from the willows.

Advertisements for bids for the contract brought

eight answers. Briggs sent a bid; so did Bernard Biglin; so did six others. Of all of them Biglin was the ablest professional republican. Briggs was the lowest bidder, and then Col. Erhardt sent on the proposals to Washington. B. Biglin, patriot, was understood to be the second man in the race.

When news of this got out, there was a precious howdy-do. Statesmen rushed to the custom-house to see what kind of arithmetic was practiced there. The republican county committee was in a state of mind. It wanted to become popular with the truckmen's association for one thing, and the contract would have been a help—a great help.

There was just one hope left, and that lay in an appeal to the powers at Washington. Down to that city traveled a delegation full of persuasive eloquence and arguments touching the proper disposition of patronage where it would "do the most good." Apparently the party succeeded in making out a case; at least, the contract is not going to be awarded to Mr. Briggs.

The decision of the attorney general and the treasury department is just what the pilgrims to Washington wanted. They went there to get a change in the method of letting out the contract, and they got it. From now on they have merely to fight among themselves for the good things they expect to secure.—*New York Times, March 3.*

—The political atmosphere in the republican camp is just now pretty close and murky. A fight is in progress over the appointment of a postmaster never before equaled in the party. The office is the only one of importance in this part of the state held by a democrat.

The candidates for the position are many, but the fight has narrowed down to Joseph A. Ward, one of proprietors of the *Lockport Journal*, and John A. Merritt, ex-chairman of the county committee. The friends of the *Journal*, which paper has been the republican organ here for forty years and always supported the ticket, feel that the administration can ill afford to ignore their demands. Merritt is backed by a lot of politicians, and previously wanted the custom-house at the Bridge. It is understood that Senator Hiscock promised him his support for the post-office.

A large number of politicians have gone to Washington to-night.—*Lockport, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, February 22.*

—President Harrison has waited until the last night of the session to make a nomination that will disgust every decent citizen of Pennsylvania in general and of Philadelphia in particular. Late this afternoon he sent to the senate the nomination of the notorious William R. Leeds, of Philadelphia, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Pennsylvania.

As sheriff of the county, a few years ago, and as leader of the ring which made the municipal government of Philadelphia a by-word and a reproach, Leeds made such a record that when he tried to be re-elected his own party defeated him, while carrying all the other offices by very large majorities. Leeds was the man Senator Quay picked out for postmaster of Philadelphia, but his record was so bad that even Mr. Wanamaker could not then indorse him. All the decent men in the republican party joined in sending protest after protest to Washington, and delegations of leading citizens visited the President and laid before him the exposures of his corruption, made by the citizens' committee, which undertook to save Philadelphia from the gang which, under Leeds's leadership, had taken her by the throat.

When it became known, a few weeks ago, that Quay was pushing Leeds for the marshalship, there was another deluge of protests from the respectable citizens, and the President was again fully informed of the character of Quay's candidate. But a change had come over the President and the postmaster-general, Mr. Wanamaker, who could not stomach Leeds a few months ago, now indorse him for marshal, and, in spite of assurances given to the Philadelphians that the President would not make such an utterly indefensible appointment, the nomination has been made.—*Washington Dispatch in New York Times, March 3.*

—The appointment of A. T. Anderson to the Cleve-

land postmastership to-day ends a bitter party fight, but will only make local dissatisfaction with the Harrison administration more extended, permanent and pronounced.

Anderson has been county recorder five years, and has still one year to serve. The annual fees of the office amount to \$11,000. He has had a large share of public "pap," and for him to secure the postmastership besides is very galling to old party workers who have done far more than he for the party and received nothing for it.—*Cleveland Dispatch to New York Times, March 3.*

—There have been some racy developments to-day in connection with the senatorial canvass. The information comes from reliable sources that Hansbrough was compelled to make written pledges of the most extraordinary character to secure his election.

By the first agreement made Alexander McKenzie is to be consulted with reference to the distribution of the patronage throughout the state and no appointments unsatisfactory to him are to be made. Col. Ball and one or two others, trusted leaders in Fargo, are to control the patronage in that district, with McKenzie's consent. This power is to be used for the upbuilding of the element which started the war on Pierce, and is now supposed to be dominant in the state.—*Bismarck, N. D., Dispatch to New York Times, January 28.*

—Chief of police H. C. Austin and police captain Brant, republicans, both of whom were deposed by the democrats when the latter took hold of the reins of local government here January 1, will not remain long out in the cold, as comfortable berths have been obtained for them by ex-congressman Kean, the republican dispenser of government patronage in Union county. He has got both officers places as government weighers of the mails at Jersey City, at \$3 per day. The retired republican city clerk Coleman will also be taken care of, as the sinking fund commissioners here will, it is said, appoint him to a position in the controller's department.—*Elizabeth, N. J., Dispatch to New York Times, January 5.*

—In the opinion of the best posted politicians in Syracuse, Gov. Hill has begun very promptly to get on good terms with the man who is to be his colleague in the United States Senate for the next two years. Nobody but Senator Hiscock, they believe, could have induced Mr. Hendricks to give his support to such a nomination as that of Pierce for insurance superintendent. It is perfectly well known here that Hiscock is extremely anxious to secure the re-nomination of Hendricks, who, if re-elected next fall, will have a vote for Hiscock's successor at Washington. The senator has made a thorough search of the district, and has found no man so available as Hendricks.

Recent events in political history here have been far from encouraging to Hiscock, whose anxiety to be his own successor is very great. Hendricks is the only strong man the senator can feel sure of controlling. His friends, indeed, will regard themselves as lost if Hendricks fails to be renominated. The office of superintendent of the Onondaga salt springs is the best bit of state patronage here. It carries with it a lot of minor appointments, such as inspectors and weighers, which are made absolutely by the superintendent, untrammelled by any civil service restrictions. This patronage can be made very useful in securing Mr. Hendricks' renomination if it can only be put into friendly hands. The anti-Cleveland democrats have long been greedy for the superintendency, and, as everybody knows, the Hiscock-Hendricks-Smith-Cowie faction of the Republicans is in hearty sympathy with the Hill men. These people have given evidence enough of this fact in the open alliance with the Hill crowd in the pending row between Mayor Cowie and some of the aldermen.

Nobody believes that Hendricks voted for Pierce without a consideration, or that Hiscock let him vote that way without an object of interest to the senator. Everybody believes that Hendricks has been promised the office of salt superintendent for either an out-and-out Hiscock republican or for a Hill democrat satisfactory to him who will live up to a bargain by which the superintendent's heelers shall aid in re-nominating Hendricks. With Hendricks in the state senate for one other term Hiscock

would be certain of one very much needed vote when he asks the legislature to send him to Washington for another six years. Mr. Hendricks was likely to have a hard enough row to hoe as Hancock's candidate before this latest disgraceful deal. His vote for Pierce to-day will go a good way toward offsetting any benefit he may get out of the patronage of the salt superintendent's office.—*Syracuse N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, February 11.*

—Congressman-elect Henry U. Johnson spent several days in the city last week, with headquarters at the Kirby, where he kept open house. His visit ostensibly was for the purpose of finding the proper person to recommend for the appointment.

There were no less than ten applicants for the place, viz.: Major John F. Wildman, of the *Muncie Times*, a pioneer Harrison boomer, and a stayer for "Little Ben" in the Chicago convention; Charles F. W. Neely, of the *Muncie News*, a hustler for Johnson and an anti-Gregory delegate to the New Castle congressional convention; Robert I. Patterson, better known as "corporal Bob," campaign poet and ex-postmaster, who served the last two years of his term under the Cleveland administration; N. N. Spence, an attorney at law; Jerre Gerrard, secretary of the county central committee; James L. Streeter, a well-known business man; S. W. Hntler, an insurance and real estate agent; J. W. Ream, ex-chairman of the county central committee; Mrs. Kate Wilson, wife of S. A. Wilson, also an ex-chairman of the county central committee, and later cashier of the Burson banking company, but now an invalid; the Rev. Jacob W. Heath, father of Col. P. S. Heath, the well-known and talented Washington newspaper correspondent; and last, but by no means least, the Hon. Frank Ellis, mayor.—*Muncie Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, February 2.*

—The President sent to the senate this afternoon the nomination of Captain Frank Ellis to be postmaster at Muncie. In this he followed the recommendation of Congressman-elect Johnson and the wishes of a majority of the patrons of the office. Mr. Johnson went to Muncie a fortnight since, and remained three days, looking over the field and investigating the claims of the various aspirants, of whom there were more than a dozen. There was a spirited contest between the various factions, but at the last moment several of the aspirants requested Captain Ellis to consent to the use of his name as a compromise candidate. This he finally did, reluctantly, for he had never applied for an appointive office.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journals February 5.*

—The bitterest political contest ever witnessed in this county came to an abrupt termination this morning by the announcement of the appointment of Mayor Frank Ellis as postmaster. In the congressional fight last spring, Delaware county had a candidate in the Hon. Ralph Gregory. The delegates from this county went to the convention instructed to vote for him as long as there was a chance for his nomination. When the delegates went to the convention at New Castle it soon developed that there was treachery in the Delaware delegation. Later developments proved that there was a bargain and sale of some of the delegates who were promised control of the political appointments in the county in the event that Henry U. Johnson was nominated. The conspiracy resulted in the demoralization of the Delaware county delegation and the election of Johnson.

Frank Ellis, who was yesterday appointed postmaster, defeated Gregory for the nomination. The matter created bad blood, and since that time there has been merry war here.—*Muncie Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, February 6.*

—John Blair is the sole survivor of Mr. Cleveland's appointments among the Indian agents. There are fifty-eight of these places, but they are now all filled with loyal republicans except the one where Mr. Blair serves and two which are in the care of army officers. This condition of affairs is not so very different from what it was after Mr. Atkins had been Indian commissioner awhile under President Cleve-

land. President Harrison found three men in the agencies whom President Cleveland found there. The showing was bad enough in either event, and the practical workings of the spoils system have shown how fatal it is to good administration. The men whom Mr. Cleveland appointed were beginning to become of some use to the department when the political wheel took another turn and a fresh lot of novices came into the service. President Harrison restored to the service three Indian agents who had been displaced by Mr. Cleveland, and there are now seven of the fifty-eight, including the two army officers, whose experience dates back of the 14th of March, 1889. Indian Commissioner Morgan has had nothing to do with the appointments except to make complaint where the new agents were conspicuously inefficient. This he has done in a number of cases, and President Harrison has removed five of his own appointees. This ratio of removals is a commentary upon the character of the appointments.—*Boston Post, March 14.*

—It is said that there are fifty-two ex-representatives and ex-senators in the city who expect to get appointments at one time in the office of Secretary Foster. This morning there were over a dozen representatives seeking official influence in procuring places for themselves. Many men elected to the congress which meets next December are already on the ground prowling around the departments for appointments. It will take the alliance and some of the democratic members a month, it seems, to learn that partisan patronage is not given out under this administration to persons who are plotting to break down the republican party.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, March 5.*

—The triple loss of the Galena, the Nina, and the Triana, at Gay Head and Cuttyhunk, may prove to be not only a national but a political disaster.

The Galena was about the only ship available for repairs at Portsmouth. She was worth a good deal of money and she was to have been thoroughly overhauled at the hands of those persons in Maine and New Hampshire whose republicanism is stalwart enough to entitle them to employment under Uncle Sam. The wreck of the Galena will take bread out of the mouths of these employes and, of course, will make them irritable. Unless some other vessel can be found upon which to make political repairs, the uselessness of a navy yard at Portsmouth will be apparent, and a powerful political magnet will be destroyed.

At Portsmouth, the bureau of construction and repair was to spend \$34,000 upon her, and the bureau of steam engineering about \$45,000 for new boilers and other machinery. These boilers had been made at the New York navy yard, and the Galena had them on board. When the order was issued sending the Galena around to the Portsmouth navy yard for repairs, it was stated at the navy department that she was sent there because the New York yard was full of work, while the completion of the repairs on the Lancaster would leave the Portsmouth yard with no work on hand. This would have made necessary a reduction in force.

The Portsmouth yard is not supplied with the necessary machinery for repairing steel vessels, and, as the Galena was the only wooden vessel at the time awaiting repairs, she was sent around to keep the yard force in operation. Her old boilers were entirely useless, and she could not steam around, so she was taken in tow by the little 357-ton tug Nina, and carried on her deck the new boilers that were to be put in her at Portsmouth.

It looks now as if there was no way to avert the dreadful discharge of workmen at Portsmouth, unless the wrecked Galena can be floated up there and rebuilt, for there is only one other wooden vessel left in the North Atlantic—the Kearsarge—and though she is cruising around the West Indies in pretty fair condition, she can be called in by cable and sent up to keep the Portsmouth yard busy.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, March 16.*

—A well-grounded opinion appears to have arisen that the Galena was in no condition to put to sea, and that her fate is what might have been expected,

nothing more and nothing less. Even had the vessel been sound in the hull, going to sea in March without boilers or engines, loaded with a full battery and with ammunition for the Lancaster, and all this in tow of a single tug of limited strength, strikes the average sea-going man as extremely foolhardy.

Inquiry at the navy yard fails to show that the Galena's repairs were absolutely needed at this time, and even if they were, they could have been made at the Brooklyn navy yard as well as at Portsmouth. In the former yard there are three times the men and facilities of the Portsmouth yard, and as the docks were quite empty there was abundant room for the repairs to go on uninterruptedly. She was going to Portsmouth, say the officers at the navy yard, to get her new boilers. Three of these were stored on her spar deck at the time of the accident, and might have been fitted here as easily as at Portsmouth, if not more easily. The Brooklyn navy yard is engaged at present in shipping a lot of material to Philadelphia for the equipment of the Newark, and the question naturally arises, why could not the Portsmouth material have been shipped to New York?

The Portsmouth navy yard is not at Portsmouth, but at Kittery, Me., a small town just below Portsmouth and across the river. It was suggested to an officer yesterday that possibly Maine workmen needed employment by the government at this time; that the \$100,000 expenditure promised for the Galena was a rich morsel for them, and that this offered a reasonable explanation of the hazardous attempt to give them the Galena. The proposition was not indorsed, but it plainly suggested something that naval officers have thought of many times before.—*New York Times, March 17.*

Your reference to the recent outbreak among the Sioux as affording convincing evidence of the necessity of a change in the manner of appointing the officials of the Indian bureau, leads me to say that I have not found in a very full examination of all the facts from all sources evidence of any deterioration in the Indian service.—*The President to the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, February, 1891.*

PINE RIDGE AGENCY, S. D., Mar. 4, '91.

My Dear Mr. Welsh—It is evident that, sooner or later, under any agent, there would have been trouble at this agency. Dissatisfaction and disappointments, with actual hunger amounting almost to starvation with some, added to strong jealousy of the progressive party on the part of the old chiefs and heathen element, had prepared the people for the ghost-dance craze.

Dr. Royer took charge when the people were at the worst as regards hunger. Nearly all supplies were exhausted. Instead of three and one-half pounds gross per day, the individual ration provided by treaty, they were getting less than one pound. The issue got as low as one two-year old steer to sixty persons for eighteen days, instead of one good sized steer to thirty persons for fourteen days, which had been the practice, though itself less than the treaty gave.

Flour, sugar and coffee were exhausted. The traders supplied them sometimes; whole corn was issued in place of them sometimes. Indians were living on wild turnips and buying food if they could. Several instances are given (Miss Goodale gives one) in which Indians begged for the corn being fed to the horses, and on its being given them they parched and ate it eagerly. They said frequently, "our Great Father had better kill us outright, than in this slow manner." There can be no doubt of much actual suffering from,

if not deaths hastened by, hunger. Yet the people do not appear to have entertained hostile intentions at that time toward the government or the whites, and I meet occasionally Indians and half-breeds who insist that hunger had nothing to do with the trouble, which came after the troops appeared here.

Major Gallagher had made several ineffectual efforts to stop the ghost-dance, and with his police had been defeated in the attempt, arousing to some extent the hostility of the ghost-dancers toward the police. There was still no sign of their having hostile feelings toward the whites. Had that been the case, they had abundant opportunity to show it against whites continually passing back and forth. Or as Dr. Gillycuddy said: "If they had been on the war-path, they would have had half a dozen cow boys for breakfast each morning."

Things had gone so far, however, that they were in a very critical condition, and needed very wise and careful handling, when Dr. Royer was sent as agent. He knew nothing about Indians or about handling men generally. He came with the expectation of soon needing to call for troops, which he did at once and secretly when the first little trouble arose over the arrest of an Indian for killing a cow which did not belong to him. He fled with his family to Rushville without warning any one else, and meeting one of the agency traders there, tried to persuade him to remove his family at once, as he said the Indians were "on the war-path" and about to burn the agency and kill all the whites. There were a large number of Indians in Rushville at that very time (the day the troops reached there) after freight for the agency. He returned with about 1,000 soldiers by a forced night march, constantly cautioning Gen. Brooke, in command, to keep scouts out ahead as he was sure they would meet one or more parties of "hostiles" in ambush before they got to the agency. Not an Indian was discovered, nor were there any Indians in or near the agency when they arrived. The greatest astonishment, curiosity and indignation prevailed among all, even the quietest Indians, when they heard that soldiers had been sent to their agency. They could put no interpretation on it except the intention was to disarm and dismount them all as had sometimes happened to portions of their people before, and as they had been frequently told by some would some day happen to them all. Especially the ghost-dancers thought this.

When General Brooke arrived he requested Dr. Royer to send his police out and ask all the Indians to come in that he might have a talk and understanding with them. Royer, of his own accord, instructed the police to tell the people that *only those who had taken no part in the ghost-dance* would be allowed to come in—the rest must stay away. The police seem to have gone beyond Royer's instructions, and told them also that this separation was in order that the soldiers might disarm the ghost-dancers and take all their horses. The coun-

try was thus left in possession of the ghost-dancers—no one being at home to protect the property of those who had been invited and gone to the agency. The ghost-dancers were convinced that there was probably no way out of it for them but by fighting. The Brules came along just then in very large numbers, filled with the same alarm, and a growing hostility toward the police and such men as American Horse, who had urged the agent to send for soldiers, sprung up, and altogether they concluded to take refuge in the Bad Lands.

Louis Shangreau and Little Bat volunteered to go and persuade the ghost-dancers along White Clay to come in. General Brooke told them to get horses from the agent and go, if they were not afraid. They replied that there was no more danger then than there ever had been; that the Indians had no hostile intent, but were only frightened. They went to Agent Royer and he refused the horses, saying those Indians were all "hostile," and were going to kill everybody, and *he did not want them to go and try to bring them in.* They went, however, and got Little Wound, who at that time was there, and some others, to come in. On reaching the agency they found the gate guarded by police, with orders from the agent not to let any Indian pass. Little Wound and the rest were very indignant, and "ashamed," and went back saying, they would not go in now even if the agent gave them permission.

The first blood shed in the late Sioux war was by ranchmen on the Cheyenne, who killed a Carlisle boy who, with several other Indians, had gone from the camp in the bad lands to buy tobacco, sugar, etc., at a store near by. They were fired on and he was shot before they reached Dailey's ranch. Still the Indians did not even attempt to avenge this, and no hostile act was committed by them off the reservation and no depredations, though they had abundant opportunity. They did commit very serious depredations on the property of those Indians who had gone into the agency, and for this it would appear, as well as for the troubles which then began to multiply, Dr. Royer more than any other person is responsible, and that through his want of tact and his cowardice.

Had he called the supposed "hostiles" in and left the "friendlies" out to protect their homes, it is likely the trouble would have been sooner over and the loss of life and property much less.

As for his management of the agency, most of those here speak of him as pleasant, gentlemanly in bearing, and full of schemes for the betterment of the Indians, etc., but very nervous and cowardly. He brought a number of new employes with him and offended quite generally by some of the changes made, chiefly at the blacksmith shop. The former blacksmith being a good man and good smith and the new man unable through lameness to do the work. Meanwhile Edgar Firethunder, a Carlisle graduate, who from six or more years experience as apprentice was fully competent to take charge of the shop and did, in fact, do

about all the work—the blacksmith not being able to shoe a horse—had his wages cut down from \$30 to \$25 per month, and the white smith got \$75. Young Frank Conroy, who had learned the machinists trade at and near Carlisle, had earned \$3.25 per day at the east, and came with highest testimonials from his employers at York, Pa., as blacksmith, etc., was refused employment because the place was to be filled by a white man.

When Miss Goodale recommended a teacher whom she knew to be competent, for Royer's endorsement, he replied that he was sorry but he intended giving that place to a woman whose "husband had been of great service to him." She asked if the person had ever taught or was well qualified, and he replied she had never taught but was intelligent, and he thought she could fill the place well enough, and repeated, "her husband has been of great service to me and I intend she shall have it." She got it. The fact as near as I can get at it is that Royer and Gleason were both political strikers for Pettigrew and Moody. They were both candidates for this agency. It was finally decided that Royer should have the agency and Gleason be the clerk. After a few days' instruction under the then clerk, it was evident to Mr. Gleason and the rest that he had not the ability to fill the clerk's place, and he took the place of farmer, which he still holds, though with hopes of getting the Rosebud agency or some other, as agent.

It is said by Dr. McGillycuddy, on the authority of some official in Washington, that Royer's letters and dispatches to the interior department are the best kind of evidence against himself as to fitness for his place.

* * * * *

I expect to reach Rosebud Saturday, the 7th. The country is full of snow and it is now very difficult to get about much. Will go from there to see Dr. McChesney and thence to Santee and Yankton agencies.

In order to see Gen. Miles and the leaders of the hostile party, with some important scout, I ought to go to Chicago and Camp Sheridan near there. Please write me on receipt of this if you wish me to do so.

I shall not stay long at Rosebud, probably, and think you better address me care Rev. Mr. Wicks, Hope School, Springfield, S. D.

Cordially yours, WM. J. CLEVELAND.

At the examination for clerks and carriers for the Indianapolis post-office held here February 3, of the nine eligibles for clerkship four were from the city and five were from other parts of the state as follows: Eck, Lebanon, Anderson, Zionsville, and Brightwood. This is the competitive system—open to all and the test is fitness and nothing else. Contrast this with the scramble and pressure for places in the police and fire departments where a thousand applicants besiege the office of one member of the board of public safety upon whose favor they believe the appointments depend.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 26.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

IN the death of Postmaster Wallace, the public service has suffered a loss. When he first became postmaster, there was a serious misunderstanding as to his powers and duties. After that was settled, he took up his duties with the single purpose of performing them in accordance with the law and with his oath of office. His execution of the civil service law has been a model of fairness and justice. Following this execution his office reached a degree of accuracy and capability of accomplishing work far beyond what had ever been known in this city before. His course enhanced the general respect in which he was held.

THE Fassett report says:

"The effect of the law is generally to exclude the absolutely unfit. More than this can not be said. We always come back to the elective officers and the heads of the departments. If the people err in their choice of elective officers, or if the mayor errs in the appointment of heads of departments, the civil service laws are powerless to counteract the error. They are easily circumvented, and wherever a motive exists so to do, they are disregarded in the spirit if not in the letter. In New York City the offices are still, almost without exception, from the highest to the lowest, the prizes of political life and the rewards of party service. The remedy for this, however, lies not with the legislature, but with the people themselves."

There is no excuse for such powerful civil service reform associations as those of New York and Brooklyn permitting such a state of affairs to exist. There is no reason why the civil service statutes should not be enforced in New York as thoroughly as in Indianapolis. That they are thoroughly enforced in this city is due to the repeated and detailed exposure of violations. Why does not the New York association grapple with Tammany Hall? A series of reports showing the facts connected with special cases would in two or three years tire out even Tammany Hall.

THE talk of the young men's republican club, of Massachusetts, has an exceedingly refreshing sound. At its meeting Secretary Tracy found a congenial audience to hear his statement of the greatest measure of reform under this administration. In putting forward its president, Roger Wolcott, to speak its sentiments, the club declared itself opposed to vague and shadowy generalities, and it recognized the fact that public progress is made by bold and outspoken honesty in relation to public affairs. It is a new thing for a great republican club to declare against

Dudleyism and Quayism and to recognize civil service reform as the leading issue.

THE league of republican clubs in session in Cincinnati heard a speech from its retiring president, John M. Thurston, in favor of civil service reform. Then it proceeded to ignore this former republican doctrine and put the seal of its condemnation upon it by unanimously electing Headsman Clarkson as its president. Nothing could be more specific, and there is no opportunity for misunderstanding. President Harrison's office-holders from this city, District Attorney Chambers and his assistant, Cockrum, went over to help in this convention of buccaneers, and, meanwhile, the United States court here stopped business and waited for them.

It seems by the *Civil Service Reformer* that instead of a "dinner" to show appreciation of Gorman, money for a silver service is being raised and that the thirty-five hundred dollars necessary are coming in with painful slowness. This is the most encouraging sign for reform in Maryland apparent in many a day. We give this tribute with the more pleasure from having held the private opinion that Maryland totally eclipsed Indiana in total political depravity; that it was more boss ridden, had a bigger and lower-down band of political henchmen; and a Better Element even more hide bound in party bigotry. And yet it is fair to say that the bulk of civil service reformers regard Indiana as a state given over to spoils, with its population as a class entirely indifferent to any other form of government.

OF the death of Dr. Howard Crosby, the Society for the Prevention of Crime truthfully says:

"Our president counted himself a debtor to every citizen of New York. This he did because he respected every man as his brother committed to his care by the common Father. He met his death in part as preacher, educator, author, honest taxpayer, and voter. Still he counted himself debtor to aid specially the magistrates in two ways; first, encouraging, assisting, and constraining them to execute existing laws; second, in securing better laws.

His life and practice were a steady condemnation of that large class of clergymen who think that to do anything or say anything specific for political improvement is "preaching politics," and therefore unbecoming.

AT a dinner recently given by the Massachusetts Reform Club, Mr. Herbert Welsh, speaking of the Indian service, said:

Under the last administration, out of fifty-eight Indian agents fifty-three were removed from office during the four years. Under this administration, after its two years of power, but one Indian agent appointed by President Cleveland remains. There was, virtually, a clean sweep among the minor positions under the democratic administration; under the republican administration, though I can not speak confidently of all, of many places the same may be said. Under the democratic administration the fact that Mississippi and Tennessee supplied the appointees was the jest of the Indian country; under this administration by the "Home Rule" policy the senators and representatives of the states and territories in which the reservations are situated control appointments. Recently, at one reservation the agent, physician and virtually all the employes were away at one time electioneering for the senator who had given them their places. The affairs of this agency have been in a deplorable condition. At this point, writes a reliable correspondent, from personal observation, "the boys' school is a disgrace to the service."

To this, Mr. S. B. Capen, answered that "President Cleveland was determined to make improvements but he was betrayed by his subordinates." It would seem that sometime we ought to hear the end of such excuses. No president is deceived by his subordinates. President Cleveland had before him the fullest information given by Mr. Welsh, just as it has been given to President Harrison. The way to help on reform is to face the facts and not make excuses where there is no excuse. Mr. Moorfield Storey stated the whole case when he said in the closing speech, "The men who handle the throttle are to be held responsible."

THE executive committee of the National Civil Service Reform League have passed resolutions asking the civil service reform association of Maryland to investigate and report the recent charges of the unwarrantable interference of federal office holders in the primary elections of the republican party lately held in Baltimore.

THE steady persistence of the *Civil Service Record* has at last goaded Mr. Porter, United States census commissioner, into furnishing specimens of his examination questions, which he stated to be superior to the civil service examinations. These are printed in the April number of the *Record* side by side with those used by the state of Massachusetts for census clerks for the state census. Since Mr. Porter simply tested such political favorites as were al-

ready designated for appointment, his "examination" falls within a class which long ago was proved worthless.

THIS city may, in time, own and operate a gas fuel plant, a water plant, a light plant, a street car plant, and other property of great general necessity and importance. But not one such ownership and management is to be thought of for a moment while places in the city service are filled by the mere arbitrary choice of appointing officers. It is the universal experience that such choice runs along the lines of personal and party favoritism. Every new place that is added only adds to the power of some boss.

PAUL VANDERVOORT, ex-commander of the grand army, professional office holder and political hanger-on, has apparently left the republican party and thus writes about it:

"I saw a party, born amid peril in the nation's hour of agony and baptized with the red blood of heroes who perished for liberty, go back on the golden words of Abraham Lincoln, who said: 'We will care for him who bore the burden of battle, his widow and orphan.' I am going to leave a party which in this state simply represents a streak of rust exuding from the iron bands of 5,000 miles of railway, and has for its foundation the rotten, ravenous, robbing, blackmailing band of cormorants and vultures of the penitentiary ring. I am going to join a party where pious frauds like John Wanamaker can not buy a cabinet office with the largest contribution to the campaign fund."

Vandervoort is the man who was a chief clerk in the railway mail service in 1883, and who was then dismissed by Postmaster-General Gresham for having been absent from his post 265 out of 310 working days. Under Postmaster-General Wanamaker Vandervoort was appointed superintendent of mails at Omaha. While drawing \$1,500 a year in that position he has been in Lincoln, some seventy miles away, lobbying in the legislature for various corporations. Wanamaker has certainly been liberal with him, at the public expense, and must now be pondering upon the baseness of ingratitude. He can not say that he was not informed. He was fully informed at the start, and that he should keep Vandervoort in face of the facts made him seem to the public as he now seems to Vandervoort, a "pious fraud."

A New York correspondent writes:

I wish to express to you my hearty concurrence in your opinion that "all other reforms should be subordinated to civil service reform," and my sympathy with your article under that heading in the last number of the CHRONICLE. The politicians will always fight with or for the machine; and after our experience under all administrations, republican and democratic alike, we may as well give up hope of real aid to the civil service reform movement from that quarter. But the citizen and voter is not bound to the machine, and, in proportion to his intelligence, is more or less free from party shackles. If, among the people, we can induce those who believe in civil service reform to subordinate all others to it,

our victory will be near, and I hope you will iterate that opinion in each issue of the CHRONICLE.

The question is one between permanent issues and shifting issues. An issue like slavery lasts until slavery is overthrown. In the scale of human progress and good government nothing outweighs it. The spoils system is its twin. There is no doubt that in the latter case, as in the former, parties watch for and seize upon shifting or temporary issues, like taxation or currency, and run campaigns upon them, when all the time the main object of their struggle is to get hold of the offices as spoil. We have examples of this in the silence of the Cleveland democrats as to what will be done with the offices if he is elected in 1892, and in Mr. Cleveland's own silence upon the subject of civil service reform, although he writes much for the public, and in President Harrison, who, after dividing 100,000 offices among his friends in two years, which is more booty than the czar of Russia divides in ten years, is now traveling over the country and never mentioning the management of the federal service, although, under the constitution, this is his greatest and almost his only duty. Civil service reformers will not allow this question to be evaded or tabled by partisan talk that some other issue is the great issue.

"EQUALLY DIVIDED POLITICALLY."

The board of public safety, composed of three commissioners, and having control of the police and fire divisions of the city, is busy making appointments and putting in force its interpretation of the silly provision of the new charter, which says of the police and fire forces, "Provided, That said forces shall be, as nearly as possible, equally divided politically." The result is that in both divisions experienced and efficient men have been dropped to the inevitable detriment of the city service, with the accompanying misfortune to them of being, without cause, deprived of an opportunity of earning support for their families. Of one of these the Indianapolis News, of April 17, said:

The board of public safety saw fit to relieve police officer G. W. McCain of his position. McCain has been a member of the force for years and has made many friends among business men, for he is a man of irreproachable character, and has been of great value in his work, particularly in trying to make something better than they promised out of the newsboys and bootblacks whom he had to look after. In every respect he has been a model police officer.

That "pulls" and "influence" are having their way is shown by the fact that, while such men as McCain are dropped "to equalize the force between parties," fifteen new republicans have been appointed. Turning to the fire department, Commissioner Holt says:

The law says the department must be divided equally as to politics. There are no ifs about it. It is obligatory. When this board took charge of the fire department there were forty-eight more republi-

cans than democrats, and we set about to make them even. We dropped out six republicans and put in six democrats. But still there were thirty-six more republicans than democrats, and that is the shape it is in now. The board determined that it would not cripple the department by making wholesale removals. The finances of the city bothered us a good deal, and we had several meetings on the subject, and, at last, decided that we had better strain the financial question a little, rather than put green firemen in to endanger the property and lives of the citizens. We talked with business men and property-owners, and with one accord they agreed to our plan—increase the fire department by putting on fourteen democrats, that fourteen experienced firemen, who are republicans, might remain—and this we have done. There are yet eleven republicans to be removed, and this will be done as soon as the circumstances will permit.

This is a fine exhibition of municipal government. Out of the devotion of the board to what it has picked out as its first duty, we are paying fourteen green democratic firemen of whom apparently we have not the least business need. If the board can leave for a moment its work of giving places in the fire and police divisions to republicans and democrats, we should like to ask it what "equally" means. If an estate is to be divided equally among heirs it goes in equal parts to all whether they are two or twenty. Now by what right does the board give places only to republicans and democrats? If you ask Commissioner Holt what his politics are, he will say he is a democrat and belongs to the democratic party. Commissioner Catterson will answer in like manner that he is a republican. But to this question Eli Ritter will say "I am a prohibitionist and belong to the prohibition party." Now here is a third political division of the people, to say nothing of other like divisions; and it is such a division as is contemplated by statutes when speaking of political parties. By what right does the board ignore the prohibitionists? By what right does it ignore the national labor party? Will the board say that, politically, men are only divided into republicans and democrats? The supreme court would not say so and the statutes have repeatedly recognized other parties. The supreme court very likely would say that this clause of the law is impossible of execution and unconstitutional and void. It is time for the mayor to interfere and put an end to this humbug. These places should be thrown open to competition and not left to be filled by the favoritism of any board. If the mayor will investigate the manner of choosing firemen and policemen, say in Boston, Buffalo and Brooklyn, and will prepare a set of rules providing for open competition and require this board to put them in force, he will be supported by the people.

STREET CLEANING.

The hand of the great and rich city of New York has for years become paralyzed whenever raised to clean the filth off its streets. Finally, in January last, Mayor Grant wrote to Morris K. Jessup, Thatcher M. Adams, Charles Chandler, David H. King, Jr., and F. V. Green, all prominent citizens of the city, and asked them

to find out what was the matter. They gave the subject the greater part of their time for eight weeks, and made a report covering 153 printed pages. They say a large increase in the working force of the street cleaning department is necessary, but they also say, "We recommend this increase *provided the entire force of the department is brought within the control of the civil service regulations, as suggested in previous portions of this report, but not otherwise.*" After setting out the Boston labor system in full, the committee says: "It has been in use in Boston several years, and has effectually abolished the patronage abuse."

Speaking of the present method of hiring men to work upon the streets, the committee says: "They are appointed and removed principally at the whim of persons unconnected with the department, making requests to that effect. They are selected without reference to their ability to do the given work for which they are employed and are liable to be discharged without good business reasons therefor." They quote from a banker who had watched the work on Fifth avenue daily for seven years, and who said: "I don't hesitate to say that, as a general rule, four able bodied men could in the same time, without extra exertion, accomplish the work of any ten men that I watched."

This is Indianapolis over again. Ever since anybody can remember the street cleaning force of this city has been made up of hangers-on of councilmen and other politicians. No one can be found who will say that this force ever pretended to do a day's work. We spend about one thousand dollars a week in this department and have nothing but filthy streets to show for it. If the mayor and board of public works want to render this city a service, let them see that able-bodied men are employed upon the streets and that when there they do a day's work in a day. The only way that this can be done is by the abolition of favoritism and partyism in the selection and to this end the Boston system is the only means. This is simply a system of registration on the plan of first come first served, without regard to politics or color. The requirements are such that unworthy men can not get upon the registers. In taking men from the registers for employment those who have families have a preference and in a few other cases there is a preference. Thus a few simple rules would shut scalawags and dead beats out of the city employ and give the work to honest and industrious men.

THE MONTH'S REFORM.

Civil service reform has taken a great leap forward during the month. The President has closed a very wide back door by revoking the rule which permitted promotion into the classified service without competition after serving two years in the unclassified service.

A beginning has at last been made toward taking the Indian service away from the spoilsmen. The Indian School Service and the agency physicians have been, by order of

the President, embraced within the civil service law. The list includes about 700 places, and the move will effectually stop the quartering of all manner of broken down politicians upon the Indians as teachers and doctors. It was a mistake not to follow out the first intention and include the farmers. There is no class of employes where severe tests would give better results, and in no case have the Indians been worse swindled than in the men who have been sent to them as "farmers." That these were left out seems to be due to Secretary Noble. This order does not affect the great mischief making power among the Indians. That lies in the agents and in those officers who attend to the pecuniary affairs of the Indian. So long as these are men holding by a precarious tenure and in the meantime "on the make," just so long we shall hear of wars and rumors of wars. Nevertheless, when we add the new regulations for the navy yard, mentioned elsewhere, the whole makes a very gratifying month's progress.

SECRETARY TRACY AND THE NAVY YARDS.

The thanks of the country are due to Secretary Tracy for having inaugurated a reform of such great importance in the navy yards that it almost marks an epoch in the reform movement. The navy yards have been for many decades the most vicious development of our vicious system of managing the federal service. From Norfolk to San Francisco they have been rendezvous for men whom the Sim Coys of local politics want to quarter upon the government to pay them for past and future services. Secretary Tracy first announced his scheme at a recent meeting of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, and in every line of his announcement he displays a thorough understanding of the evil and a thorough mastery of the way to destroy it. He says:

One last point in naval affairs remains to be considered, the question of the employment of labor at the navy yards. For fifty years this has been the one weak spot in naval administration. Whatever the party in control of the government, it seems hitherto to have been powerless to exclude political influence in the employment of navy yard labor. It is not enough, apparently, that the mechanics and workmen in the government shops should be republicans or democrats; they must wear the collar of the ward bosses who run the local political machine. The practice is a source of demoralization to any party that attempts to use it, destructive to the government service, and debauching to local and national politics. It is an ulcer on the naval administrative system, and I propose to cut it out. My attention has been directed for some time past to the system adopted here in the city of Boston for the selection of laborers employed upon the city work. I have caused an exhaustive study to be made of that system by which you have largely succeeded in eliminating politics from municipal labor, and I believe that, by an extension and modification of it, the same result can be made reasonably certain in the government navy yards.

The details of the system which I propose to adopt are now being prepared, and in a short time will be in full operation. Its essential features, as applied to the navy yards, are: First, the appointment, at each yard, of a registration board to register all ap-

plicants for employment in the department of unskilled labor, to be selected as required on the principle of "first come, first served," preference only given to those who have had experience in the class of work for which they apply; to those who have served in the army or navy; to those who have families to support, and where all other considerations are equal, to those possessing superior physical qualifications. Second, the registration of all applicants for positions of skilled labor who can give evidence of experience at their trade, to be certified in the order of their application under the same rules of preference, and their employment on trial for a period of probation after the necessary test of proficiency, to be ultimately graded or discharged according to their merits; and third, the selection of foremen upon competitive examination, so conducted as to bring out their fitness and qualifications for the positions they seek, open to all comers who can show the requisite experience. The boards will consist of officers of the navy engaged in conducting the work of the yard.

I propose, in carrying out this new system, so to regulate it that three ends shall be secured: First, free and open competition; second employment upon grounds of merit, to be determined by non-partisan experts engaged in and responsible for the work, and third, absolute publicity of every detail. And having begun in the way I have indicated, I do not propose to stop until the principle of efficiency and worth is the only test of navy yard employment. I am satisfied that such a system will be in the interest, not only of the work, but of the workingmen; that it can be carried out so that it will remove not only all machine politics from the navy yards, but all suspicion of machine politics; that the economy and efficiency of the work will be promoted, while the community will be sure that a navy yard in its midst, instead of being a focus of local political intrigues, is the place of employment of a body of independent and self-respecting workmen, whose only road to promotion lies in good work, and in whom slackness, indolence or bad habits will surely lead to discharge. [Cheers.]

Whether the present civil service law is the best that could be devised to improve the civil service of the country, I do not know. But this I do know from personal observation in my own department, that the persons appointed under this system are unquestionably more efficient as a whole than those selected under any system of pure patronage; and I know further that no republican charged with the responsibility of administering one of the great executive departments of the government can be true to himself, to the faith of the republican party, or to the people of this great nation, whose servant he is if he fails to employ any and all means within his power to elevate, purify and render more efficient the civil service of the country. [Great applause.]

He has followed this talk with an order vacating the positions of foreman and master mechanic in the Brooklyn navy yard and appointing a board of naval officers to hold a competitive examination, open to all comers throughout the United States, for candidates to fill the vacancies. Of this, the exceptionally well informed Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, says:

Capt. F. M. Bunce is commandant of the station at New London. He was the first officer put in command of a ship in the new navy—barring the *Dolphin*. He was chairman of the second board appointed to report a site for a naval station on the Gulf of Mexico, and his whole record is that of a progressive, thorough wide-awake man.

Chief-Engineer David Smith ranks very high in the mechanical and scientific branches of the service. He is an expert on metals generally, and is regarded as the first authority in the United States Navy on the subject of steel.

Commander Charles O'Neill is the present superintendent of the gun-shops at the navy-yard here, having succeeded Folger when the latter was promoted to be chief of the ordinance bureau. He has had ex-

actly the kind of experience which will enable him to judge of the men employed in the yards elsewhere as well as in this city, and the state of mind to which the political hclers here have reduced him by their importunities and threats has made him an enthusiastic reformer.

Commander F. E. Chadwick is in command of the *Yorktown*. He was for some time naval attaché of the American Legation in London. During that period the information which he furnished the bureau of naval intelligence at the department here gave the bureau its first dignity, and is thought to have done more than any other one thing to establish its success.

Naval Constructor Francis T. Bowles, now in charge of the construction work at the Norfolk yard, is one of the ablest and brightest young officers in the service. He has been in hot water with the bosses ever since he took hold at Norfolk, all because he would not submit to their dictation, but he is a hard fighter, and has come out ahead, as the secretary's present evidence of appreciation shows. Mr. Bowles is a relative of the late Samuel Bowles, of Springfield. He was graduated at the head of his class at Annapolis, and took high honors at Greenwich, Eng., whither he was sent by the government to complete his education.

Lieut. William B. Caberton, the recorder of the examining board, has been for four years past a member of the steel inspection board. He is likely to receive the command of the *Miantonomoh* as soon as she is put in commission again.

When we compare this board of officers with the Mikes and the Jakes and the Barneys who have for generations named the employes of the Brooklyn navy yard, we begin to get a faint glimmering of how the country has been robbed and swindled, and of how Brooklyn citizenship has been degraded. Other navy yards are to be taken in order. Secretary Whitney once issued a fine sounding order with regard to navy yard employment and then privately sent a messenger to say that it might be disregarded. Secretary Tracy will not do this, and having the authority and knowing the way to overcome this abuse, it is proper that he should pursue his own course. We must urge him, however, in the light of all past reform experience, not to go out of office leaving the continued execution of this reform to the discretion of his successor. To be of any permanent value it must be put beyond the reach of future secretaries with friends to reward, and this can only be done by inducing the President to put the navy yards under the civil service law. No change from Secretary Tracy's plan will be necessary. The boards of naval officers would remain and the system of registering laborers, which is the Boston system, would be the same. These, with open competition, constitute the reform, and by taking measures to perpetuate it, Secretary Tracy would erect an enduring monument to his great service to the country.

ANECDOTES OF A CHRONIC OFFICE HOLDER.

Chester R. Faulkner was a member of the lower house of the late general assembly. He attracted attention on account of his opposition to appropriations which seemed to average people necessary to the ordinary efficiency of the state government. For instance, to the proposition to relieve the supreme court by additional judges or by a new court, Faulkner said:

"Let them judges take down them spring beds and go to work." This referred to certain beds which the out-of-town judges have in their chambers at the capitol. It is not to be inferred that rope beds and feather ticks were to be substituted, but that the judges were to be cut off from all chance of sleeping in their chambers. When the question of salary for the state librarian came up it was proposed to make it \$1,500, but Faulkner stood stubbornly for \$1,000. Such Spartan virtue led wicked and envious people to look into Faulkner's past to see what meat he had fed on to produce such a development. It seems that under the late administration, Senator Voorhees kept Faulkner steadily under government pay. His first position was that of clerk of the committee on additional appropriations to the library of congress at six dollars a day. This committee had one bill referred to it in seven years. Then he became chief of the records division of the pension office at \$2,000 a year. While in this position he asked the superintendent of the railway mail service to transfer a clerk so that he could work and vote in Indiana at an approaching election. Being refused, he wrote an impertinent letter derogatory of the administration, for which Secretary Vilas demanded his resignation. Faulkner refused to resign until he had seen Congressman Voorhees, who appointed him, and the latter forthwith bullied Vilas into backing down.

It is claimed that Faulkner's sole performance of duty in this last position consisted in tapping his bell three times at noon and again at night. The first tap was for the clerks to put away pens, the second, to rise, and the third, to march out. One other duty performed, however, is related of Faulkner. His young men and women clerks were apt to converse in the corridors at noon, and to meet this emergency he prepared and hung up a large placard having upon it the notice, "No Lofeing in the Corduroys." Harrison's administration dispensed with his services and then Voorhees seems to have quartered him upon the senate again, as until some months ago he was on the congressional pay-roll as folder in the senate document room.

THE INDIANAPOLIS SYSTEM.

The system by which the board of public safety gets at the merits of applicants for police appointments is instructive. The men are called in one by one and are solemnly told that they are not compelled to answer the questions, but that it would be best to do so; and further, that any false answer would cause dismissal if found out after appointment. Commissioner Holt has prepared the questions, which are as follows:

- 1. Have you ever had any trouble with any one in the city?
- 2. Were you ever arrested?
- 3. Do you drink whisky?
- 4. Do you get drunk?
- 5. Do you ever do anything that you think would be unbecoming to a policeman?

This test is followed by selection for ap-

pointment, and then the appointee goes through some sort of a medical pass examination. There is no athletic examination.

Now against this ridiculous and farcical "examination" we set some actual examination tests which have been used in Boston and Brooklyn for selecting patrolmen. It must be remembered that these examinations are competitive. The board can not make a public show of "examinations" and then in making appointments secretly give rein to favoritism and "pulls." The names are listed according to success in the competition, and the board must take the men accordingly. The information afforded by these examples is commended to the board of public safety and to those framers of the charter who claimed that if there was a modern improvement to be found in municipal government in this country which they had not secured "it must have been discovered within the last three months."

BROOKLYN.

Examination for Patrolmen, March 1, 1889.

SCHEME OF MARKING.

Marking.—Perfect, 100:	Required Minimum.
Physique.....	30. 70 per cent. or 21
Athletics.....	20. 70 " " 14*
Testimonials.....	20. 70 " " 14
Experience as stated by candidate.....	5.
Pennmanship, spelling and dictation.....	5. 50 " " 2½
Arithmetic.....	10. 50 " " 5
Intelligence.....	10. 50 " " 5

Required minimum generally, 70 per cent. *This minimum is reduced to some extent for candidates receiving 80 per cent., and upwards, in physique.

[The experts upon the physical examination were Dr. Stewart Church and Police Surgeon O'Connell, from both of whom a certificate was required in the same form required, as above, in the case of park policemen.]

Athletic Examination. (Rating, 20 out of 100.) [The experts were Dr. Wm. G. Anderson and Inspector McLaughlin of the police department, from both of whom a certificate in the following form was required, a rating being assigned to each test and a general average being given.]

Name,
Height,
1. Strength of biceps,
2. " triceps,
3. " back,
4. " legs,
5. " right hand,
6. " left hand,
7. " chest,
8. " back. (Traction)
Total strength,
1. Test with spirometer,
2. " ladder,
3. " vault and jump,
4. " putting shot,
5. " one-eighth mile run,
Rating as to athletic examination by Inspector McLaughlin,
Rating as to athletic examination by Dr. Anderson,
Dated, Brooklyn, 1889.

Signature of applicant,
Address of applicant,
Intelligence. (Rating, 10 out of 100.)
1. What do you understand to be the reasons for your present examination, and your previous physical examination?
2. State the difference between the present and the former mode of appointment to the police force of the city of Brooklyn?

3. If you discovered persons making an excavation on property located on your beat, as a policeman, what would you do?

4. In case there were a fire in a building located on your beat, and property, such as furniture, etc., were brought out and placed upon the street, what would you, as a policeman, understand to be your duty as to such property?

5. How would you go from the Wallabout to Go-wanus?

6. What is the name given to the water supply of Brooklyn, and why?

7. (a.) Where is the Brooklyn Savings Bank?
(b.) Where is the Sprague National Bank?
(c.) Where is the Dime Savings Bank?

8. What is the object of the Ambulance Service of this city?

9. Give the route of the Brooklyn Elevated Rail-road.

10. When was the Brooklyn Bridge opened to the public?

Arithmetic. (Rating, 10 out of 100.)

Notice.—Show each operation at length, with all the calculations. The Commission will not accept the mere final result.

1. Add the following amounts: Seven hundred and nineteen dollars and sixty-seven cents; Thirty-three dollars and eighty-four cents; Eighteen hundred and ninety dollars and two cents; Three hundred dollars; Two thousand four hundred and forty-nine dollars and thirty-three cents.

2. Add the following:

42,993
304
6,789
119,244
4,633,297
784,388
2,666

3. From eighty-seven thousand three hundred and twenty dollars, subtract sixteen thousand two hundred and thirty-eight dollars and forty-nine cents.

4. Multiply 236 by 84.

5. Multiply 29,823 by 798.

6. Divide 35,026 by 83.

7. Divide 946,368 by 496.

8. (a.) How many pints in a quart?
(b.) How many quarts in a peck?
(c.) How many pecks in a bushel?

9. (a.) How many gallons in a barrel?
(b.) How many square feet in a square yard?

10. (a.) Write in words this sum of money: \$362,-810.06.
(b.) Write in words this number: 40,699.

BOSTON POLICE.

FIRST SUBJECT.

Copying a printed statement.

SECOND SUBJECT.

1. State, in general terms, your occupation since you became of age, and any experience you may possess which will be of use, if you should receive an appointment in the police service.

2. If you have ever served in the police department in any capacity, or in any public office, state when, where, how long, whether you were ever discharged for cause, or requested to resign; and whether, while in office, you were ever complained of for violation of the rules of the office, or for any conduct unbecoming an officer; and, if such complaint was made, what action was taken thereon.

3. Have you ever been convicted of any offence against the laws of this or any other state or nation?

4. Have you ever been a dealer in intoxicating liquors, or a bar-tender? If so, when, where and for how long?

5. If you drink distilled or fermented liquors of any kind, state fully and definitely what your habits are in such use of them. If you are a total abstainer, state how long you have abstained.

6. Have you served in the army or navy of the United States, either in time of peace or war;

- aud, if so, how long did you serve, and in what capacity, and did you receive an honorable discharge therefrom?

7. If you have ever served in the volunteer militia, name the regiment and company, and state how long and in what capacity you served, and whether you have been honorably discharged, been dismissed, have resigned or been asked to resign.

8. Have you ever had the handling of men, either in public office or private employment?

THIRD SUBJECT.

1. Write in figures the following numbers:
One hundred eleven thousand three hundred six.
Write in words the numbers expressed by the following figures: 49,852.

2. Add the following column of figures:
27,896
35,427
12,397
75,556
29,872
12,387

3. An army of 10,000 men lost 4,809 men in battle; how many men were left? Give the work in full.

4. How much will 72 barrels of flour weigh if each barrel weighs 196 pounds? Give the work in full.

5. How many horses worth \$125 apiece must be given for a farm worth \$11,000? Give the work in full.

6. What will be the cost of 32 pounds of coffee at $28\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound? Give the work in full.

FOURTH SUBJECT.

1. What is an officer's duty upon discovering a defect in the street?

2. When the body of a person supposed to have died from violence is found in the street, what is the officer's duty?

3. How fast can a vehicle be driven around the corner of a street?

4. How near can a vehicle approach another at a street crossing?

5. What rate of speed are horse-cars allowed in turning corners?

6. At what hour may itinerant musicians begin to perform, and at what hour must they cease?

7. What is an officer's duty when he sees an old thief or suspicious person enter a horse-car?

8. When the ringing of bells disturbs sick people, how can they be stopped?

9. What is the lawful rate of speed at which horses may be driven in the public streets?

10. In what way may coasting be allowed in the public streets?

11. What, if any, restrictions are there against people walking, standing, or lying on the grass on the Common or Public Garden?

12. From whom should an officer in charge of a detail at a ward caucus receive his orders?

13. Who has the power to license theatrical exhibitions in the city?

14. How may the police examine books and articles in possession of a collateral loan company?

15. Can a person who has committed a misdemeanor, for whose arrest a warrant has been issued, be arrested by an officer who has not the warrant in his possession?

16. Have constables in Boston the same criminal power as police officers?

17. Have licensed private detectives the power to make arrests?

18. Have police officers the right to serve a bastardy warrant? If so, when?

19. How can a Boston officer legally serve a warrant in Boston issued by a court in Worcester or Springfield?

20. Name the offenses that the members of the board of police can make arrests for personally without a warrant?

21. What is a writ of "habeas corpus?"

22. What is the meaning of "nol. pros?"

Physical Examination.

(Blank to be filled out by the applicant.)

I [write your full name] —, hereby declare that the answers to the following inquiries touching my personal and family health, history, habits and antecedents, are true, to the best of my knowledge and

belief, and that I am the person described in the following record of examination:

- What is your occupation?

Do you use tobacco? If so, in what manner, and how much do you use in a week?

Do you drink intoxicating liquors? If so, how frequently?

Have you any disease now?

What diseases have you had during the last seven years?

Do you know of any hereditary disease in your family?

If your parents, brothers, or sisters, or any of them, are dead, of what disease did they die?

Have you ever had fits?

Have you ever had any fracture or dislocation?

Have you ever received any injury to the head or spine?

Are you subject to piles?

Have you been vaccinated?

Have you ever had rheumatism?

CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINING SURGEON.

1. Is the respiring murmur clear and distinct over both the lungs?

2. Is the character of the respiration full, easy and regular?

3. Are there any indications of disease of the organs of respiration or their appendages?

4. Is the character of the heart's action uniform, free and steady?

5. Are its sounds and rhythm regular and normal?

6. Are there any indications of disease of this organ or of the blood vessels?

7. Is the sight good?

8. Is the applicant color blind?

9. Is the hearing good?

10. Is the applicant subject to cough, expectoration, difficulty of breathing or palpitation?

11. Are the functions of the brain and nervous system in a healthy state?

12. Has the brain or spinal cord ever been diseased?

13. If the applicant has had any serious illness or injury, state expressly what effect, if any, is perceptible in the heart, lungs, kidneys or other abdominal organs, or the skin, eyes, ears, limbs, etc.

14. Has the applicant any predisposition, either hereditary or acquired, to any constitutional disease, as phthisis, serofula, rheumatism?

15. Has the applicant varicose veins or hernia?

16. Does the applicant display any evidence of having or having had syphilis?

NOTE.—Syphilitic taint or obesity must be regarded as a good cause for rejection.

Remarks.

I hereby certify that I have this day carefully and thoroughly examined the above named — and find that he is — sound in limb and body, — is able-bodied, — of robust constitution, has — good eyesight and — good hearing, aud, in my opinion, is — physically qualified to sustain the labors and exposures, and perform the duties of a policeman in the city of Boston, and that the above is a truthful record of the examination.

—, 188-. —, City Physician.

ATHLETIC EXAMINATION, WITH THE WEIGHT GIVEN TO EACH ITEM.

Age.....	—
Weight.....	—
Height.....	—
Girth of waist.....	—
Depth of abdomen.....	—
Girth of chest.....	2
Girth of chest, full.....	2
Girth 9th rib.....	2
Girth 9th rib, full.....	2
Girth of thigh, r.....	1
Girth of thigh, l.....	1
Girth of calf, r.....	1
Girth of calf, l.....	1
Girth of upper arm, r.....	2
Girth of upper arm, l.....	2
Girth of forearm, r.....	2
Girth of forearm, l.....	2
Depth of chest.....	2

Development.

Capacity of lungs.....	3
Strength of lungs.....	2
Strength of back.....	4
Strength of legs.....	3
Strength of upper arm, h. p.....	3
Strength of forearm, r. l.....	5
Traction pull.....	5
Abdominal muscles.....	3
Back pull.....	3
Dumb-bell.....	3
Running $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.....	2

36

Strength, —.

I hereby certify that I have this — day of —, 188—, carefully and thoroughly examined the above-named applicant, and that the above is a truthful record of such examination.

—, Physical Examiner.

THE April number of the *Civil Service Record* contains two interesting letters regarding the practical effects in Washington of the merit system.

IN the current number of *Scribner's Magazine* Herbert Welsh has an article on the Indian outbreak in Dakota in which he shows the disastrous results of using the Indian trust for political purposes.

PROGRESS.

—There crops up, once in a while, a modern instance which plays such havoc with the wise saws of the spoilsmen in high places that one can scarcely forbear wondering at their temerity in renewing their attacks on civil service reform.

It will be remembered that, of a whole cabinet of eight members, Postmaster-General John Wanamaker was the only one who, at the very outset of the present administration, began making complaint of the obstacles which the merit system put in the way of the selection of the best sort of subordinates in the executive departments.

It was he whose private secretary sent out to public men and reformers that memorable circular letter inquiring whether the sham had not better cease, and all hands return to the good old custom of free selection.

It was he who raised a storm over the fact that President Cleveland had set a date for extending the civil service rules to the railway mail service, one of the most valuable strongholds of the spoils system, and who declared, through his understrappers and by his own lips, that that was not the way to get the best class of railway mail clerks, and that he was receiving poor material under it.

In the light of all these recollections, it is interesting to observe that, when the postmaster-general bestowed the gold medal and the general prize he had offered as a reward for the highest proficiency attained in this branch of his service, he should have been forced to select for the honor Mr. Charles H. Oler, formerly of Economy, Ind.

Mr. Oler was by calling a district school-teacher and a farm-hand. When the farming season was at its height he worked in the field and took his hire like the other hands. When

the season ended and the schools were opened he mounted the pedagogue's desk. He had no powerful relatives or friends to help him to a "fat thing." He had no time for or interest in political work, beyond what belongs to every good citizen. He did not even have the benefit of the aid of a member of congress; for the representative from his district, General Thomas M. Brown, has been physically unable to attend to his duties in Washington for the last two years. But the young man went before the civil service examiners and passed the ordeal on his own merits. His rating was 91 per cent., and he stood twelfth on a list of eighty-four eligibles who passed in the same series of examinations. There was not an iota of political influence used in procuring his appointment; the few who had passed with better averages than he were taken in their order, as vacancies occurred. Finally, in September, 1889, his turn came. When he handed in his papers, he found no more prominent citizens to certify to his character and personal antecedents than a fellow teacher, employed in the public schools of Williamsburg, and a notary public in Economy.

Mr. Oler stands at the head of 7,000 clerks with no second near him. He has broken every record ever known in the department for brilliant work. He has acquired his proficiency, like his office, without assistance from anybody or anything but his own brain and hands. And the postmaster-general who does not believe the merit system "practical" and is quite sure he could do better by appointing the sons and nephews and cousins and brothers of public men, or the "workers" at caucuses and polls, has been compelled to give this unknown, unaided young man every prize within reach, and finally to promote him to a first-class berth in the new ocean mail service. What a commentary on the abuse of the word "practical" in politics!—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, March 27.

—When the sundry civil appropriation bill was considered by the senate last month a provision was inserted authorizing the appointment of architects, draughtsmen, and civil engineers in the office of the supervising architect of the treasury department without regard to the civil service rules and regulations. It was asserted that the supervising architect could not get such men as he wanted through the civil service commission, and the provision was agreed to by both houses.

It does not appear to have been entirely satisfactory to the supervising architect, for since congress adjourned he has appointed three draughtsmen under the certification of the civil service commission, and the latter expects to continue holding examinations for such places.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 27.

—A good many persons appear to have the idea that in some way more republicans than democrats are getting into the classified service under the civil service rules and regulations. The civil service commission has no means of knowing the politics of the persons who pass its examinations, but it has recently received a letter from a resident of a southern state which throws a little light on the subject.

The writer says that of the ten clerks last appointed from his state eight are democrats

to his personal knowledge. One little fact of this sort offsets a long string of such assertions concerning favoritism in the appointment of classified clerks as have been made by the opponents of the merit system.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, April 2.

—Congressman Randall was pleased to learn from the list of nominations sent to the senate that his recommendation for postmaster at Sandwich had been approved by the President. He obeyed the popular voice in recommending the reappointment of Postmaster James Shevlin, the popular democratic veteran. The appointment is a violation of Postmaster-General Wanamaker's rule to put none but republicans on guard, but nine-tenths of the patrons of the office were for Mr. Shevlin, the grand army and all the veterans were for him, and the republican town committee endorsed him.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, Jan. 30.

—The republicans of Newton are much elated over the reappointment of Mr. George H. Morgan as postmaster. Mr. Morgan was appointed by President Cleveland and has managed the office to the satisfaction of all of its patrons. Owing to his faithful services the republicans of the city were unanimous for his retention, and would not consider any other candidate. R. H. Gardiner, president of the republican ward and city committee, and Mr. C. Bowditch Coffin, a former president, worked faithfully for Mr. Morgan's reappointment, even writing to the postmaster-general that it would be for the interest of the republican party to reappoint Mr. Morgan. Mr. Coffin gives much credit to ex-Congressman Candler for the reappointment.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, April 9.

CURRENT SPOIL.

—An interesting and instructive object lesson in the methods employed by the Tammany machine to equip the forces of the park police is furnished by the case of Thomas Cole, whose experiences as a candidate for appointment were brought to light yesterday for the first time. Cole is a poor man, earning \$2 a day as a car driver on the Fourth Avenue Railroad. His home is at 158 East Eighty-Eighth street. He was promised a position as a park policeman if he would pay for it. This he did, paying \$300—all the money he had in the world—to John J. Shelley, a foreman on the park board, living at 176 East Eighty-Eighth street. Shelley's failure to secure the place for his victim led Cole to sue him for the recovery of his money, and the initiatory proceedings in this suit were begun yesterday.

Cole, whose appearance indicates that he is an honest man, was seen by a *Times* reporter yesterday, and told the following story: "Early in March, 1889, while driving a car on the Fourth Avenue Road, I met John Pursell of 130 East One Hundred and Twenty-third street, who is a mounted policeman stationed in Central Park. He rode with me frequently, and we became more or less confidential. One day he told me that if I had any money he could fix things so that I could get on the force. I told him that I had a little money and would consider any proposition he would make.

"A few days later—I think it was March 3—I met Pursell by appointment at the One Hundred and Tenth street entrance to the park, and was introduced to John J. Shelley, who,

Pursell said, was superintendent of the park. 'He can put you on the force for the price,' said Pursell. I then asked Shelley what his price was and he replied, 'Four hundred dollars.' I demurred, on the ground that it was too high, and, after some talk, he agreed to give me an appointment for \$350, of which I was to pay \$300 in cash and \$50 when I got the place. I have since learned that Shelley is not park superintendent, but merely foreman of a gang of workmen in the park. He was very well dressed at the time, and this fact, added to the loss of my job, owing to the strike on the Fourth Avenue Road, and the serious illness of my wife, led me to accept his offer without suspicion."

The afternoon of the day on which this proposition was made saw the unsuspecting Cole at Shelley's house, in East Eighty-Eighth street, money in hand. He asked Shelley to have some witnesses present, but the "superintendent" declined, satisfying Cole's anxieties with a receipt, of which the following is an exact copy:

Rec'd from Thomas Cole the sum of 300 dollars.
JOHN SHELLEY,
per
George Roe.

Cole says that he immediately asked Shelley who George Roe was, and that Shelly replied: "He is the man who acts for Harry Hart in this transaction. Hart is the alderman from this district, and he is the man to 'fix' this thing. Hart thinks that you are paying me only \$200, so when he speaks to you about it, tell him that \$200 was all you paid me." This explanation seems to have satisfied Cole, and he handed the \$300 to Shelley without further argument.

That very afternoon Shelley indulged in a grand drunk, and Cole, who chanced to meet him in this condition, observed that the one and two dollar bills that he had given him were the bills that he now spent with so lavish a hand. This fact served to arouse his suspicions, and they have been aroused ever since. Cole went to Pursell the next day and confided his fears, but Pursell persuaded him that they were groundless, and the car driver continued to hope against hope.

The records of the civil service board at Cooper Union show that in November, 1889, Cole successfully passed his examination, attaining an average of 83.70. His name was placed on the eligible list and there it remained, the "influence" that he had so dearly purchased having failed to get him the desired appointment. Day after day Cole called at Alderman Hart's cigar store, in Leggett's Hotel, to know whether the alderman had "fixed" matters, but his calls were all in vain.

Pursell, the go-between policeman, appears to have been desirous of fleecing Cole on his own responsibility, for he sent for the car driver one day and announced, "on the quiet," that if Cole would pay him \$30 he (Pursell) would hurry the matter up with the civil service board. "I'll touch those people in Cooper Union," said he to Cole, "for I'm very thick with Lee Phillips, the secretary." But Cole declined the bait. His wife had just died,

the strike was on, he had no money, and he was generally discouraged.

"You'll have to go to Shelley," he said, "and get some of my money from him. I haven't another cent." John Callaghan, a workman in the park department, was a witness to this conversation, which took place at the One Hundred and Tenth street entrance to the park.

"Having given up hope of getting either the appointment or my money," continued Cole, "I laid off a week recently to threaten Shelley. I called on him nearly every day, threatening to sue him if he did not refund. At first he said he had no money, but finally he got \$225 from his wife which he paid back to me. He still owes me \$75, however, and for this amount I have determined to sue."

Henry I. Meinhard, of 115 Broadway, is Cole's attorney. A *Times* reporter called there yesterday and inquired if Cole's story was correct, and if steps had been taken to sue. Mr. Meinhard said that the above story was just as Cole had told it to him, and that he had written to Shelley to demand a return of the \$75 to his client.

John J. Shelley was found at his home, in East Eighty-Eighth street. He was too much intoxicated to understand the gravity of the charge against him, but he admitted, incoherently but emphatically, that it was true. He said that Cole gave him some money, but that he had paid it all back.

The conversation that passed between Shelley and Cole led the car driver to think that Alderman Hart was the head and front of the whole transaction, and that Shelley merely acted as his agent. Shelley, in fact, so stated to Cole. But when a *Times* reporter confronted the alderman with this story last night, Hart's surprise knew no bounds. He denied vigorously that he had received any money or that he was aware of Shelley's having received any. "Cole came to me several times," he said, "to know if I could help him get a place on the park police force, and Shelley also asked me to do what I could for him. Further than this I know nothing whatever about the man. Candidly, I am not surprised at Cole's deal with Shelley, for I know Shelley very well, but if he drags my name into his transaction I'll have him arrested."

The irate alderman insisted that the reporter should accompany him to Shelley's house, where the bogus superintendent, after much shaking, was aroused sufficiently to say that he had kept all the money himself; that Hart had gotten none of it, and knew nothing about it.

The fact remains, however, that a poor man, earning \$2 a day, has been fleeced by a responsible employe of the park department, who admits the transaction. This sort of thing has been hinted at several times in connection with the appointment of policemen, and here are the facts which prove that it is done. Doubtless there are many men on and off the force to-day who have been through the same experience, with more or less satis-

factory results. Cole's case may lead to the uncovering of others. Shelley probably has backers; the openness and fearlessness of his rascally dealings indicate that he thought he had nothing to fear.—*New York Times*, April 17.

—A lively battle was fought out last night in Baltimore between the supporters of the Harrison administration and its opponents in the republican ranks. Primary meetings were held to choose delegates to district conventions which elect delegates to the state convention, on April 8. The state convention will choose the delegates to the national convention, which will nominate Mr. Harrison's successor. The importance of the contest roused all the blood of the republican factions. The Harrison faction was led by Postmaster Johnson and other federal office-holders. The anti-Harrison faction was made up mainly of those who wanted federal places and failed to get them. The outs controlled the election officers, appointed by a majority of the judges in each precinct, and thought they had "fixed things." The ins, however, made a splendid fight and carried eleven of the twenty-two wards, and claimed four more.

All sorts of charges of ballot-box stuffing were handed about last evening, and to day the police and the municipal courts had their hands full in arresting and punishing the brawlers. Two of the judges were arrested in one ward on a charge of fighting. Two colored men were fined for fighting in another, and six men were taken into custody for assault and disturbing the peace in still another. One of Mr. Harrison's United States marshals got into a quarrel in another ward and tore the buttons off of the coat and vest of one of the judges. One of the judges in another ward claimed, at the opening of the polls, that there were 200 ballots already in the box, and the judges, in another ward, refused to have the box opened to show whether it was stuffed or not. In ward two a big colored man got into a fight with one of Postmaster Johnson's letter carriers. The carrier told his fellow republican "you negroes are no good." In the fight which followed, the negro bit the carrier on the cheek and mashed his nose.

Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt was in the city, and, with Mr. John C. Rose, of the local civil service examining board, visited several wards in the eastern section, and noted the government employes who were actively engaged in the contest.

Mr. D. Pinkney West says he saw these gentlemen at the polls in the Fifth ward, where two post-office employes and one custom-house employe, who were around the polls, were pointed out as displaying offensive partisanship.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, March 31.

—The removal of Theodore Roosevelt from the civil service commission is among the possibilities of the near future. His presence at the republican primary meetings in Baltimore, Monday evening, to note the activity of the federal officials in securing Harrison delegates, has roused a perfect tempest among the republican politicians. The friends of the administration say that he was there to intimidate office holders and prevent their doing the work they wanted to in the President's behalf. Mr. Roosevelt went to New York to-day, but he was at the quarters of the civil service commission before leaving, and alluded, in a jocular manner, to some of his experiences with the Baltimore toughs. His presence in the primaries was noted, and he received some cheers from those who sympathized with him and a good many hoots from those who did not. His object in visiting the primaries was to observe the conduct of federal officials, and, under the circumstances, there is a degree of force in the suggestion that he was aiding the enemies of the Harrison administration by insisting on

the observance of the regulations prohibiting offensive partisanship by office holders. All the office holders were for Harrison, and interference with them, or "intimidation," as Mr. Roosevelt's enemies call it, would subtract just so much from the administration strength.

Mr. Roosevelt is entirely disinterested in the matter, and merely wishes to prevent the prostitution of the public service, but his efforts happen to strike at the friends of the President, just as they did in the prosecution of the Virginia assessment cases when the President was so disgusted because Mr. Roosevelt could find nobody but republicans to complain of for violating the civil service law.

The President appears to favor civil service reform when it works the right way, but he does not believe in carrying it far enough to wound one's friends. It would not be surprising if he listened with considerable sympathy to the angry protests of his supporters in Baltimore.

Ex-Congressman Sydney E. Mudd, who was seated by Mr. Reed's Congress, but was beaten last November by 1,618 majority, was at the White House yesterday, and used some pretty strong language regarding Mr. Roosevelt. It is currently reported that he demanded his removal, and that the President promised to give the matter careful consideration. Meanwhile, Mr. Roosevelt will go right on as though the ax were not suspended above his official head. He will make a report on the condition of things in the civil service at Baltimore, and it will not be very pleasant reading for Mr. Harrison's friends.

The delegate conventions in Baltimore last night were almost as noisy and disgraceful as the primary meeting of Monday. There were bolts in two of the three districts, and the foundation was laid for a split in the state convention.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post, April 1.*

—The manner in which the Indian service has been used as party spoils by Secretary Noble can be shown in no clearer light than by the presentation of the record of William D. Ryder of this city, whom the secretary, on October 19, 1887, appointed to be chief herder and butcher at the Mescalero Agency in Arizona.

This appointment is the only position of trust that "Billy" Ryder, as he is always known here, has held. Few persons who know him have any knowledge of his source of supplies. Though for years he has kept within the limits of the law in his personal conduct, it has not given him a title to respectability even in the minds of those charitable enough to overlook the fact that he is an ex-convict, whose career up to the period of his enforced regularity of habits was in keeping with his views and conduct to-day. Though he has been active in politics, and enlisted in a variety of local political movements, no party manager has ever had the hardihood even to suggest placing him in any public position here, where he is known.

William D. Ryder has a record in the St. Louis criminal court. At various times a total of four indictments, charging felonious assaults, have been found against him by regularly empaneled grand juries. His most aggravated offences were two attacks upon John Smith. The men fell out on account of some bar-room brawl. On October 1, 1874, they met in the rotunda of the Southern Hotel. In

the fight which ensued Ryder used a dirk knife seven inches long, with which he stabbed his opponent in the groin, left side and left arm. Smith emptied his revolver at Ryder without effect. Their second meeting was on February 22, 1875, on Fourth street. Ryder this time slashed open Smith's clothing with a knife. For this offence a warrant charging him with assault with intent to kill was sworn out. The case went before the grand jury of March, 1875, which returned against Ryder two indictments, and against Smith one. The record of the first action against Ryder, as found in the office of the clerk of the criminal court, is as follows:

Case No. 25—March Term—St. Louis Criminal Court—The State of Missouri v. Gen. William D. Ryder, for assault to kill. R. S. McDonald, attorney for defendant.

The back of the folder giving the record of the court proceedings in the action is as follows:

Recognizance in court—\$1,500—R. S. McDonald as security—first day—March 11, 1875.

Continued for defendant on affidavit—May 13, 1875.

Continued for defendant because of absence of witnesses—July 8, 1875.

Recognizance forfeited—*capias scire facias* issued and continued—September 15, 1875.

Forfeiture set aside—recognizance in court—\$1,500. R. S. McDonald as security—September 15, 1875.

Waives reading of indictment—pleads not guilty—September 16, 1875.

Trial proceeds—convicted and punishment assessed at two years in penitentiary—September 18, 1875.

Motion for new trial filed—September 18, 1875.

Motion continued for defendant—October 23, 1875.

Motion taken under advisement—December 4, 1875.

Motion overruled and sentenced according to verdict to two years in the penitentiary—December 7, 1875.

Appeal granted—December 7, 1875.

Supersedeas refused—execution of sentence suspended until 18th day of December, 1875—December 8, 1875.

On this action Ryder was imprisoned in the Missouri penitentiary. Good-behavior allowance secured his release from the institution after serving eighteen months of his two-year term. Upon his conviction on the first charge the second action against Ryder in connection with his troubles with Smith was continued generally, and his indictment is No. 52, March term, 1875. The case against Smith was also dismissed.

The record also shows two other indictments for assault with intent to kill which have been found against him. Both of these were for the same assault, one being found defective and withdrawn in order that the second might be properly returned. These charge that on December 31, 1875, "William D. Ryder did make a felonious assault upon John Brown, using a chair, with which he inflicted on Brown's head several severe wounds." These indictments are numbered 6 and 31 of the January term, 1876. When the defendant was committed to the penitentiary for the Smith assault, action No. 31 was continued generally.

During the term of September, 1871, Ryder was charged with a petit violation of a city ordinance. Indictment 87, of that term, fails to record any disposition whatever of the action.

Ryder's character as a government officer was not changed. In a little over two months he was removed, because, as is stated on the department books in Washington, he was a turbulent mischief-maker, with whom nobody at the agency could get along. This was the kind of a man sent by the government to set an example to half-civilized Indians. The significance of the case consists in the fact that the appointment was made from Noble's own city, and that the man's character had long been notorious there.—*St. Louis Correspondence to New York Evening Post, April 13.*

—It is understood at the navy department that Secretary Tracy will hold Naval Constructor Feaster responsible for poor workmanship on the Alert, at the Mare Island Navy Yard. There is good reason to believe that the naval constructor is being held responsible for the work of incompetent subordinates, who owe their places to the ward bosses of San Francisco rather than to their qualifications as workmen.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, April 7.*

—Henry Ehlert, prominent in local political circles, has been reported mysteriously missing, and many people are whistling for money he owes them, ranging in sums from \$10 to \$500, and aggregating several thousands. Inquiries for him have developed that he is now, or was a few days ago, in Washington, D. C., and is the central figure in a movement to have Postmaster Harlow, of this city, removed from his position.

Ehlert is a sharp politician, has long been recognized as a man with a "pull," and for a long time has held positions, generally in the United States marshal's office or similar places where detective talent was required. About six weeks ago complaints began to be made against Harlow, and they continued and assumed quite a serious character, but they were disproved. *It now develops that Harlow's course in running his office on business principles has displeased the politicians, and a regular plot, involving well known politicians, and several clerks in the post-office, was formed. The clerks furnished information from inside the office, and Ehlert did the outside work, politicians of more prominence directing the game, but remaining in the background.*—*St. Louis Dispatch to New York Times, April 16.*

—"Boss" Filley is coming to be a political quantity that even Harrison must consider. Missouri people fancy they see a purpose manifest to send him to Japan. Filley was asked to go abroad as far as that once before, but he thrust his tongue in his cheek and said: "No, thank you."

Now he is occasionally tickled. To-day Eugene F. Weigel of St. Louis, a worker in Filley's political vineyard, was appointed a special land inspector by Secretary Noble, who had some time ago secured for him a place under Census Commissioner Porter. As this business had stopped, Mr. Filley has sought something more for him, and this is the result.

The interest to Missourians in this is not as to whether Weigel is a fit man or not. It is that it indicates the intention of the President to use Filley as his agent to capture the Missouri delegation for Harrison in 1892. Noble must, of course, be let in, or he would not willingly let Filley get any patronage. Filley seems to have forgotten the Schuarte contest, and willing to "let bygones be bygones."—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, March 20.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 27.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1891.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

THE annual business meeting of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association will be held at the Denison Hotel, Indianapolis, June 6, 1891, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

THERE are some people quite near the President, who are in the habit of saying to him, and to others, that those in Indiana who have for some years been earnestly working to advance the adoption of the merit system, do not have the sympathy of the people. They say in effect that the people want the offices used to pay for personal and party service, and that they like to see the recipients of the offices bend every energy to help the fortunes of the leaders to whom they are indebted; and they even go so far as to say that it would be a popular thing to repeal the civil service law. The demonstration in this city at the Roosevelt dinner was a crushing blow to these assertions. Mr. Roosevelt is the uncompromising and outspoken enemy of the use of public office in any manner as spoil. Indiana has some strong advocates of the merit system, but none in any manner more so than he is. We call the attention of the President to the names of those, many of them his neighbors, who joined in this demonstration of approval of Mr. Roosevelt and of the cause of civil service reform.

THE dinner ought also to silence the quite general talk that the state of Indiana in the matter of spoils is worse than the rest of the country, and that its people are almost hopelessly besotted. In order to dispel this illusion, not only in the mind of the President, but of others not familiar with Indiana, we mention with considerable particularity, some of those who took part:

John H. Holliday, editor of the *Indianapolis News*; Morris Ross, Hilton U. Brown, Wm. Fortune and Meredith Nicholson, of the *News* staff; Samuel E. Morss, editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*; Wm. A. Woods, judge of the United States court; Byron K. Elliott, judge of the supreme court; James B. Black, chief justice of the appellate court; Edgar A. Brown, judge of the circuit court; W. E. Niblack, ex-judge of the supreme court; Livingston Howland, ex-judge of the circuit court; Rufus Magee, President Cleveland's minister to Sweden; William P. Fishback, mas-

ter in chancery, United States court; Noble C. Butler, clerk of the United States courts; John L. Griffiths, supreme court reporter; Jacob P. Dunn, state librarian; George T. Porter, son of the present minister to Italy; John R. Wilson, clerk of Marion county; E. B. Martindale, world's fair commissioner; Oliver T. Morton, son of Indiana's war governor; J. E. McCullough, member of the general assembly; V. T. Mallott, president of the Indiana national bank; H. H. Hanna, president of the Atlas engine works; C. W. Fairbanks, general solicitor Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton railway company; Otto Gresham, son of Judge Walter Q. Gresham, Wm. Henderson, a life-long democrat and a leading citizen in the prosecution of the Coy tally-sheet forgers, John A. Butler, teller of the Capital National Bank, and E. P. Thompson, acting postmaster at Indianapolis.

THE Scholar in Politics was represented by John M. Coulter, president-elect of the State University; J. J. Mills, president of Earlham College; A. L. Mason, dean of the De Pauw University law school; T. L. Sewall, principal of the Girls' Classical school, and W. W. Grant, principal of the Indianapolis high school.

The church was represented by Rev. N. A. Hyde, Rev. H. A. Cleveland, Rev. Joseph A. Milburn, Rev. George E. Swan, Rev. R. V. Hunter, and Rev. Joseph S. Jenckes.

The medical profession was represented by Doctors E. F. Hodges, W. B. Fletcher, J. N. Hurty, J. L. Thompson, Theodore S. Potter, W. N. Wishard and O. S. Runnells.

The legal profession was represented by John T. Dye, William A. Ketcham, Addison C. Harris, John Coburn, Edward Daniels, Albert Baker, Alpheus H. Snow, Harry J. Milligan, Chester Bradford, Nathan Morris, Alfred F. Potts, J. M. Winters, W. F. Elliott, M. G. McLain, W. A. Van Buren, Charles Martindale, Frank H. Blackledge, Allan W. Hendricks, Albert J. Beveridge, Evans Woollen, William H. Dye, H. D. Pierce and R. B. Oglesbee.

THERE were also Herman Lieber and William Haueisen, representative and leading Germans; Theodore E. Griffith, I. S. Gordon, H. W. Bennett, D. C. Griffith, W. J. Holliday, wholesale merchants; John C.

Dean, George Merritt and William L. Elder, manufacturers, and others of equal standing in the community.

CAN the President look at these names in connection with the occasion and be in doubt as to their significance? Their significance, Mr. President, is that the people like Theodore Roosevelt and they like the cause he represents. They like him because he fights a manly battle against the pirates and buccaneers of his own party. They like him because he believes in keeping promises, and they like him because he knows how to strike a hard and telling blow on the right side and is not afraid to do it. They like his cause—the cause of civil service reform—because it means fair play and economy and a higher tone of public morals, and because it means the disappearance of the Quays and the Dudleys and of all those like Mahone and Headsman Clarkson.

THE soberness and pertinacity with which spoilsmen urge exploded arguments is one of the daily amusements. For some time now we have been hearing of a man who says he was once a civil service reformer, but, in simple ignorance of the way the world is passing him, has for years been steadily citing Trollope, as the one all-sufficient argument in opposition to the merit system. Anthony Trollope was opposed to the merit system of his own country because he had made a valuable public official, and yet he could never have got into the service by an examination; therefore the system of examinations was bad. This argument is a shade less foolish than Boss Quay's and Boss Gorman's dread of an office holding aristocracy, and it is about as easily disposed of. Young Trollope, who had been zealously sowing wild oats, was put by favoritism into the public service because that was the least expensive field for his operations for his family and because of the hope that the responsibility of public office might sober him. It was a toss-up whether his opportunity would turn him into an officer like young Raum or reform him. Under these circumstances, Trollope was hardly a disinterested critic of a system which destroyed the practice of giving places in the English service to the younger sons of the aristocracy and opened them to competition, in which the sons of working men

stood an equal chance. It would seem that the opinions of the long line of English statesmen from Macaulay to Gladstone, backed by the entire body of the English people, should weigh something.

THE CHRONICLE mentioned last month the removal of McCain, an excellent policeman with years of efficient service and a good character back of him, to make room for new republicans. Since then the board has had to dismiss one of the new republicans for going into the residence of a prominent citizen and insulting the inmates. The board had better adopt the competitive system and avoid the constant charge of exercising the worst kind of favoritism.

THE tax situation here is becoming somewhat strained and it will become more so. It is beyond doubt that this city will have to pay higher taxes, and no one can reasonably complain of some increase. But the temper of the people is mistaken if it is thought that for every dollar of their money they will not demand value received. The memory of man does not run to the contrary when the city has not had a crowd of nominal laborers whiling away the time upon the streets. The street-cleaning department has been a place where the street commissioner's relatives and friends hired out their one-horse wagons, and the henchmen of councilmen and political bosses rendered nominal services for real pay. If the new city government is worth anything, it will put an end to this species of piracy. There is only one final and effectual method, and that is the Boston labor system, which excludes politics from the choice of laborers. Street-cleaning by contract is a temporary expedient which, like a stone-yard for tramps, the Boys will constantly clamor to have done away with. It may here be remarked that the board of public safety is deliberately wasting money in its unlawful division of the places in the fire department. It has hired fourteen democrats without the slightest pretense that the city needed the men; or as the president, Sterling R. Holt, puts it, it decided to "increase the fire department by putting on fourteen democrats that fourteen experienced firemen, who are republicans, might remain."

PERHAPS the most striking reason why all other reforms should be subordinated to civil service reform is the solidarity of spoilsmen. When it comes to any attack to prevent their plunder of the public, they know no party. Some instances of this are given in another part of this paper. A further illustration is the following from the April *Civil Service Reformer*:

Whatever party name spoilsmen may find it advantageous to assume, they are always ready to come together for parcelling out offices when a good trade is

more profitable than a fight, as we saw in the recent debate in the senate, when Mr. Gorman defended Mr. Wanamaker in his evasions of the civil service law, and united with his republican opponent, Mr. Plumb, in looting the office of the supervising architect. And whatever set of spoilsmen happen to be in power in any given state will always resist any measure tending toward a just and fair expression of the people's will at the elections. Thus we find Mr. Boutelle, and if the Bangor correspondent of the *New York Times* is to be believed, Mr. Blaine and Mr. Reed also, in Maine, in 1891, like Mr. Gorman, in Maryland, in 1890, vigorously opposing the Australian ballot system. Mr. Boutelle fought the law in his Bangor *Whig*, because it would injure republican supremacy, just as Mr. Gorman denounced it as "a scheme to send the democratic party to the rear." And the Maine "ring influence," quite in the tone of the Gorman orators and papers, *mutatis mutandis*, sought to influence the republican majority to vote against the bill by pointing out that the democratic minority was going to vote solidly for it.

THE republicans in the city council joined in with Sim Coy and his gang and elected a Coy democrat president of the council, under the new charter, over the regular democratic candidate who is sufficiently vouched for by saying that he is an anti-Coy democrat. The republican machine here secured the pardon of Coy out of prison on the ground that he was too poor to pay his fine, and he at once put upon the market notes amounting to hundreds of dollars secured by mortgage. The *Indianapolis Journal* has taken to eulogizing him in its columns. Why did not the republicans elect Coy president of the council and be open and above-board? To choose one of his naming is the same as choosing him. The democratic party is doing its best to get rid of Coy, and possibly the republican party is going to take him up. The majority of the democrats are trying to give the city a good government, and if they do not succeed it will be because the republicans prevent it by uniting with the Coy gang.

THE Civil Service Commission has unearthed another Raum peccadillo. This particular Raum is the son of the pension commissioner for whom his father created the place of appointment clerk in the pension department, and who is charged with having sold a place and with stealing \$72. The commission called the case to the attention of the secretary of the interior, the secretary of the treasury and the attorney general. Young Raum was found so guilty that he was allowed to resign with thirty days' pay. Attorney-General Miller, although requested by the commission to give an opinion whether this Raum's offenses were punishable by law, with a zeal akin to his zeal in the case of the Mahone blackmailers, declined to do so unless requested by the President. He has referred the papers laid before him by the commission to the government prosecutor for the District of Columbia, and, judging again by the Mahone-blackmail standard,

this prosecutor will put the papers where they will never trouble any Raum.

How much more Raumism can the President stand?

THE various labor organizations are the staunchest supporters of the merit system in Buffalo. The *Buffalo Sunday Truth*, March 29, contains the resolutions of Carpenters Union, No. 9, over the recent appointment by the civil service board of one of their members to a place in the city fire department. The resolutions say:

Qualified carpenters will find their aspirations for positions on the various city offices sooner or later realized by applying through the medium of the civil service than through politics.

Politics has a nod and a shake for the workingman during the season of incubation, but the delusion and deception leaves the seeker after political offices in a weak and helpless condition after he has spent his time for empty and sterile promises.

It is not so with the civil service: it is slow but quality and merit win without loss of time or money. It is the only sure way that the workingman can obtain a position on any of the city departments.

MORE QUAYISM.

The people of Pennsylvania want a ballot reform law like that of Indiana, and with that view a bill has been introduced into Quay's legislature. That body made the bill over until if passed it will be an effective agent of ballot thieves. One of the most active men in thus ruining a great reform measure is President Harrison's collector of internal revenue, Martin. In order that the make-up of this federal office holder may be known, a good deal of space is given elsewhere to an account of him from the *New York World*, which was published over six months ago and has never been denied. Making all the allowances necessary for a somewhat dramatic style, Martin is, under the circumstances, left with a very black character. The people of Pennsylvania have once shown that they can throw Quayism, even when backed by the Administration, headed by Wanamaker. Apparently they will have to do it again, and throw it hard enough to break its bones. What it is to be in the grip of Quay is shown by the fact that apparently no Philadelphia paper dares to tell the truth about him or any of his Men. We quote from the private letter of a correspondent whose information and veracity are beyond question:

I ask your kind attention to the enclosed clipping from the *New York World* of October 20th, which gives what I believe, in the main, to be a perfectly reliable sketch of the career of one of our prominent and most influential politicians, David Martin; and also the circumstances attending his appointment to the position of collector of internal revenue. The citizens' municipal association was about to protest against David Martin's appointment to his present post, when the news came that his appointment was an accomplished fact. I regret that the gentlemen who had this matter in charge were deterred from at least making his career known to the public. David Martin and Charles Porter are very near to Mr. Quay, and have been instrumental in procuring the amendments to our Baker ballot reform bill, now pending in the senate, which changed it from a measure in the interest of an honest ballot to one calculated to aid the ballot thieves. That a man of Martin's record

and past associations could have come to the position of political influence which he now occupies is a sad commentary upon the moral standards of American political life; but this is a fact which we have to confront. These men are now doing all in their power to prevent ballot reform, and I now feel convinced that so long as they remain in power the politics of Pennsylvania can not be brought into a healthy state. The condition of things is exasperating to the highest degree. A number of our newspapers are fighting hard to push the bill through, but I have never known any of them to expose Martin's career or attack him personally on the grounds of his public record, nor do they attack Quay.

THE ROOSEVELT DINNER.

A surprising and sure indication of public feeling in Indiana was shown on the evening of May 16. Early that week it was learned that Theodore Roosevelt would pass through Indianapolis on the 16th, and the suggestion that he be given some indication of the esteem in which both himself and the cause which he represents are held was responded to, not only from this city, but from all parts of the state, with a spontaneity that ought to settle the question how the leading men of Indiana stand upon the matters involved. The following joined in tendering a dinner to Mr. Roosevelt at the Propylaeum. Nearly one hundred were present:

Noble C. Butler.	Frank H. Blackledge.
Wm. D. Foulke.	W. E. Niblack.
Lucius B. Swift.	Harry J. Milligan.
Oliver T. Morton.	Arthur B. Grover.
John L. Griffiths.	A. L. Mason.
William Fortune.	James B. Black.
Alfred F. Potts.	John C. Dean.
John E. Bradshaw.	W. W. Grant.
Geo. T. Porter.	Livingston Howland.
E. F. Hodges.	John Coburn.
John A. Butler.	W. R. Holloway.
W. P. Fishback.	Charles Martindale.
A. C. Harris.	Hilton U. Brown.
W. A. Woods.	J. N. Hurty.
E. B. Martindale.	H. A. Cleveland.
N. A. Hyde.	Edward Daniels.
Meredith Nicholson.	Albert Baker.
John H. Holliday.	Allan W. Hendricks.
Otto Gresham.	John Lawrie.
M. G. McLain.	W. B. Roberts.
Morris Ross.	Joseph A. Milburn.
Byron K. Elliott.	Lee Travers.
John T. Dye.	J. L. Thompson.
Evans Woollen.	J. M. Winters.
Wm. H. Dye.	W. H. Griffith.
W. A. Van Buren.	H. W. Bennett.
W. F. Ellett.	T. E. Griffith.
Chas. R. Lane.	C. W. Fairbanks.
Hewitt Howland.	J. K. Sharpe, Jr.
I. S. Gordon.	D. C. Griffith.
Albert J. Beveridge.	William Hauelsen.
W. B. Fletcher.	Herman Lieber.
Nathan Morris.	Jacob P. Dunn.
Chester Bradford.	W. H. Hobbs.
Edgar A. Brown.	W. J. Holliday.
William C. Bobbs.	James W. Hull.
Claude Griffith.	R. V. Hunter.
John M. Coulter.	Joseph S. Jenckes.
William L. Elder.	William A. Ketcham.
William Henderson.	S. E. Morss.
W. S. Kirk.	V. T. Malott.
H. J. Kimble.	R. B. Oglesbee.
J. K. Lily.	Theodore S. Potter.
J. E. McCullough.	H. D. Pierce.
George Merritt.	N. S. Rosenau.
J. J. Mills.	O. S. Runnels.
William L. Meredith.	T. L. Sewall.
Rufus Magee.	Geo. E. Swan.
A. H. Snow.	D. B. Shideler.
E. P. Thompson.	M. N. Wishard.
John R. Wilson.	H. H. Hanna.

J. S. Holliday.

Among the regrets were the following:

[From George I. Reed, Kansas City.]

I join my Indiana friends in honoring their guest, the distinguished advocate of civil service reform.

[From Rev. E. C. Bogemann, of St. Charles Borromeo's, Bloomington.]

I regret very much to be compelled to forego the pleasure of honoring one of the foremost leaders of so worthy a cause—civil service reform.

[From D. N. Foster, Fort Wayne.]

Mr. Roosevelt has proven a signal success in the very difficult position he fills, and I should be greatly pleased to show my appreciation of the manner in which he has discharged his official duties by my presence with you at the coming banquet.

[From George B. Cardwill, New Albany.]

It goes without saying, that I have very great admiration for Mr. Roosevelt, and I envy the gentlemen who will have the pleasure of dining with him.

[From Charles H. Aldrich, Chicago.]

It would afford me deep pleasure to unite with you and your associates in this tribute to Mr. Roosevelt, whose splendid services to the cause of civil service and municipal reform entitle him to the gratitude of every true American citizen.

[From Calvin Fletcher, Spencer.]

Mr. Roosevelt is one of the few men whom I would go far to honor.

[From John H. Jacobs, Fort Wayne.]

I very much regret that the condition of my health is such as to prevent the acceptance of the invitation you so kindly send me. That the dinner may be a very enjoyable one, and that it may greatly encourage all the participants to renewed efforts toward the consummation of our hopes is my earnest desire.

[From C. R. Boyer, Williamsport.]

I am in receipt of an invitation to join in a dinner to be given to the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt at the Propylaeum, in your city, on Saturday evening. My advanced years make it inexpedient for me to roost from home, while the night train does not stop at our place; but I do not wish to be remiss, when measures in support of the good cause are in course of prosecution. I would like, therefore, to tax your courtesy to put the enclosed five dollars where it will do the most good.

[From Henry M. Williams, Ft. Wayne.]

I shall hope for the success of the entertainment in honor of Mr. Roosevelt, a most valiant fighter in the cause. Please use this draft for five dollars, enclosed, for a plate for some one who will help on the cause, or otherwise as you see fit.

THE SPEECHES.

Mr. Noble C. Butler presided, and at the close of the dinner introduced Mr. Roosevelt as follows:

GENTLEMEN: We have not met here as members of the republican and democratic parties to wrangle over the political issues which divide us. If there is any one thing on which the two parties are thoroughly

agreed it is on the importance and necessity of reform in the civil service. Any wholly unprejudiced person, exempt from local and temporary prepossessions, like Macaulay's itinerant New Zealander or Goldsmith's philosophic Chinaman, for instance, who might naturally seek in the platforms of our parties for a disclosure of their sentiments and reject other testimony as secondary and impertinent, would find in them the most ample and indisputable proof of my statement. An examination of their platforms for the last decade or two shows how deeply they have been impressed. They have actually vied with one another in an emphatic condemnation of the practices which ought to be reformed, and they have repeatedly, with zeal and enthusiasm, pledged themselves to the particular reformation of them which has been slowly but successfully installed in the governments of some of our cities and states, and in the national government. It is true that some of our statesmen of one party or the other, in executive sessions or committee of the whole, have teased the civil service commission of the United States with playful threats of withholding the appropriations on which its existence depends, but on being called before the country, in a vote of the yeas and nays, they have pulled themselves together with commendable alacrity, and resolutely voted for a continuance of the appropriations; and, at the very next state or national convention of their party, have pointed with pride at the record and result of their votes.

As all of us here belong to one or the other of the two parties, and our confessions of faith are in their platforms, it plainly and inevitably follows that we are all civil service reformers. Any impeachment of that syllogism must be at the expense of our sincerity or partisan fealty. A denial of its conclusion would amount to a charge that we are all hypocrites, or it might fasten upon us the dreadful stigma of being "weak-kneed" or "invertebrate," or something else that is quite short of a "good democrat," or a "good republican," and which is simply too horrible to contemplate.

If my argument is so broad that it takes in the whole country, and by so doing fails to recognize the existence of any difference of opinion, here or elsewhere, it may require some modification, even at the loss of a beautiful vision of political harmony. But whether we are all technically civil service reformers or not, we ought, as good citizens, to sympathize with purposes which have as their end the selection for minor posts under the national, state and municipal governments, of persons who are qualified to fill them. There should be no difference of opinion about the end we seek, whatever may be thought of the means. And, so far as the means are concerned, we are trying to do just what our brethren over the way are doing in the administration of their charities and corrections; we are endeavoring to substitute a scientific method for political empiricism. As good citizens we are

all agreed that only those who are qualified for official position should hold them, but we ought further to agree that there should be some precise and definite method for ascertaining and testing the qualifications of those who seek them.

Among those whose intentions are good and unselfish the differences concerning methods will disappear with the progress of enlightenment, although they may be given up slowly and even reluctantly. The wife of Martin Luther looked back with regret upon old beliefs after the Reformation had made them impossible for her; and on the verge of Canaan the Israelites yearned for the flesh-pots of Egypt. Men may yet think for awhile that the old way is the best simply on account of its age; that correct views of the tariff are a better equipment for a letter carrier than a knowledge of reading and writing or the geography of his city and state; or that an Indianapolis policeman ought to be examined with reference to the state of his mind concerning what is known as the southern question instead of the municipal ordinances which he is to conserve and enforce. But these are notions which properly belong to the palaeozoic age of politics—they are survivals of it. Notwithstanding these notions, and in spite of them, the spirit of civil service reform is abroad in the land, and, like that of old John Brown, is marching on. It is but a little while since it invaded the Indian service, it is breaking into the navy yards, and it prevails in the Indianapolis post-office. And it is not done yet.

We have heard a good deal about the scholar in politics, and the phrase like that of the christian statesman, has been a little soiled with misuse. As Doll Tearsheet says, they are all most excellent good words, but they have been ill-sorted. At times I have my doubts whether scholarship has much to do with politics or much influence upon it. Nevertheless we admire and respect genuine scholarship, and we know that if politics does not heed what scholarship has to say about social, political and economic truths, it will be so much the worse for politics. But there is something I like even better in politics than scholarship, and that is manliness. And when we have a combination of the two qualities in any man or set of men, it seems to me that all of us, who wish well for politics, and for the country whose most vital interests are described by that term, ought to grapple him and them to our souls with hooks of steel.

I have in my mind some men of that sort in both hemispheres, and among them, easily the first, the grand old man of England, rises before it. And it should be a cause of patriotic pride that we have men of that sort in our own country and the number of them is increasing; that we have men who discuss public questions in the reviews as well as on the rostrum, intelligently and instructively, with fairness and candor; who have written thoughtful and discriminating biographies of our public men; whose contributions to our

historical literature are worthy of a place by the side of those of Francis Parkman; and who take with them into the primaries and political conventions the courage of their opinions and teaching, and actively and effectively maintain them.

It is my privilege to know at least one of these rare men, whose "Winning of the West" has not ended with the delightful volumes which bear that title. He is not one of those writers who are content to sit in their studies, or their sanctums, and survey the political arena with a field glass, graciously bestowing their valuable opinions upon the actors in it at long range; but he has gone down into it and fought with beasts at Ephesus—and other places. He is as practical a politician as any, with the important qualification of the term which is given it by the fact that he stands for an idea and not for spoils. For aught I know, and I speak now after the manner of the unregenerate, he has as many and as distinguished scalpils at his belt as any warrior of Tammany or member of the Slick Six, for he does not fight as one who beateth the air. The gentleman of whom I have been speaking, and for whom you have been impatiently waiting, I now have the honor and the pleasure of introducing to you in the person of the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, of the United States civil service commission.

MR. ROOSEVELT

began by a discussion of the merit system in the federal service and of the character of the examinations, and took occasion to answer the mountain-in-the-moon critics. After passing around specimen examination questions and answers, he then said:

"Hitherto I have spoken from a non-partisan stand-point; now, I intend to say a few words as a republican in a response to a recent attack on the reform system by one who also claims to be a republican. Ex-assistent Postmaster-General Clarkson, in a recent article in the *North American Review*, has obligingly furnished an instance of that species of attack on the law which consists in a loose diatribe, equally compounded of rambling declamation and misstatement, and, as he therein throws down the gauntlet to the civil service commission, it gives me much pleasure to take it up.

"Mr. Clarkson says that the 'civil service commission is more unfriendly and more opposed to the republican party under Harrison than it was under Cleveland.' Being interpreted, this Bunsby-like utterance is merely Mr. Clarkson's way of saying that the commission is rigidly enforcing the law. Mr. Clarkson is laboring under a confusion of ideas. He mistakes himself and those who sympathize with his views for the republican party; a mistake akin to that chronicled by Æsop in his little fable of the frog and the ox. Now, the civil service commission most undoubtedly is hostile to the individuals who share the theories expressed in Mr. Clarkson's article; the commission can not both do its duty and retain their good will any more than

a policeman can do his duty and retain the good will of the law-breakers. But the commission is not hostile to the republican party. On the contrary, it is busily engaged in keeping one of the promises which the republican party made in the convention of 1888, a promise which Mr. Clarkson and his friends now wish to break.

"Mr. Clarkson might just as well say that Secretary Tracy is hostile to the republican party because he has introduced the principle of civil service reform into the navy yards, or he might go farther yet and say that President Harrison is more hostile to the republicans than ex-President Cleveland was because he has extended the classified service to include the Indian department.

"There are some points in Mr. Clarkson's article with which I agree, and there are certain of his objects with which I sympathize. But he is not setting to work in the right way to attain these objects. He is against mugwumpery. Very good; but does he not see that to have a responsible republican politician advocate such views as appear in his article is playing right into the mugwump's hands, and is justifying his existence? Moreover, it is just as foolish for Mr. Clarkson to say that the democratic party has 'purchased' the mugwump newspapers, as it would be to say that the democratic party has 'purchased' Mr. Clarkson to write his article, which is much better fitted to damage the republican party than any conceivable mugwump editorial. Mr. Clarkson says he wishes to get the young men of courage and conviction to join the republican party; does he not realize that in writing such (stuff) he is doing his best to keep them out of the party? Mr. Clarkson believes in the practical politician. So do I; but when, as he has recently done, Mr. Clarkson comes into Massachusetts of all places in the world to advocate the spoils system and an inflated currency, he is acting as if he were an impractical politician of the most comic variety. He is doing his best to help the democrats keep control of the state. Nor, be it remembered, did he succeed, in spite of the patronage at his command, in keeping Iowa in line.

"Much of Mr. Clarkson's article consists of the solemn statement of truisms which nobody denies and of assaults upon positions which no sane being holds; much of the remainder, whatever relevance it may have to some not very clearly defined idea of his own, certainly has none whatever to civil service reform. When he does deal with this subject he fails to advance one new fact or put forward a single theory which has not been a hundred times refuted; he merely parades the usual dreary Falstaffian army of exploded and foolish untruths. He represents civil service reformers as maintaining 'that office-holding does not concern the people.' On the contrary, we maintain that it does concern the people; whereas Mr. Clarkson and his friends insist that it only concerns the oligarchy of political place-hunters. He apparently thinks that the

founders of the government believed in the spoils system; whereas a glance at any good school history would have taught him that it was forty years after the adoption of the constitution before this brutal and degrading practice was openly avowed and defended in our national politics. He expresses a desire for 'practical' examinations; but of course, if he knows anything of our examinations at all, he must know that they are eminently practical already, and admirably fitted to test the qualifications of the candidates; whereas, nothing could be more impractical than to examine a would-be clerk or letter carrier as to the strength of his political backing, or the extent of his influence with prominent party leaders. He advocates 'pass' examinations, which, as every one who has looked into the subject knows, are simple shams, serving no useful purpose whatever, especially if conducted by the heads of departments, as Mr. Clarkson advises.

"He speaks of the commission as 'absolutely unknown to the constitution.' What he means by this is obscure—probably he himself is not quite certain about it. If he will read through the constitution he will find that it does not contain a catalogue of offices; and, of course, it no more mentions the civil service commission than it does the first assistant postmaster-general. If he means that the law providing for the commission is unconstitutional, why does he not test the matter in the court? He says he would retain faithful public servants, but he knows perfectly well that this can only be done under the civil service law which he condemns, and that he himself, while assistant postmaster-general, administered and was obliged to administer the patronage of the fourth-class offices—as all his predecessors did before him—on a purely spoils basis, turning out the faithful and unfaithful alike, if their places were sought by influential politicians. He also expresses a desire that there should be a separation of the appointing power from the legislative power. This is exactly what the civil service law provides and what Mr. Clarkson and his friends strenuously oppose. Surely he can not keep a serious face and deny that during his own term of office he treated the fourth-class offices as simply the property of the congressman, good or bad, in whose district they were situated. If this is not mingling the appointing and legislative power nothing can be. Mr. Clarkson is certainly not happy in his arguments. Mr. Clarkson loudly proclaims that he is a straightout republican. He says: 'I believe that when Benjamin Harrison was elected President of the United States, on a platform of republican principles, he was elected to carry out those principles.' Exactly; and one of those principles was the continuation and the extension of the reform of the civil service, begun under republican auspices. President Harrison's civil service commission is actively carrying out this principle, this pledge of the party platform, while Mr. Clarkson and his followers are striving—with entire

lack of success, by the way—to prevent its being done.

"The fact that the majority of the people want one president elected rather than another no more means that all the clerks and letter carriers should be turned out than having Grant instead of McClellan at the head of the army of the Potomac implied the dismissal of all the privates who served under the latter.

"Finally Mr. Clarkson makes an astounding confession, though it is a confession which logically follows from his principles and practices. He says that he and his friends 'believe in republican officers under a republican administration. * * * If this conclusion is not true * * * all political parties in America ought to disband.' In other words these gentlemen, who so loudly vaunt their republicanism, in reality care nothing for republicanism at all save in so far as it means offices for themselves and their friends. They wish the republican party to disband unless they are to be paid for supporting it. This seems a harsh way of putting their views, but it is perfectly just.

"There is a certain difference between being bribed with an office and being bribed with money—exactly as there is a difference between the savagery of an Ashantee and the savagery of a Hottentot—but the difference is one of degree only.

"I think there is no need of a more biting commentary on the spoils system than that furnished by Mr. Clarkson himself when he avows such a doctrine as this."

MR. MORTON'S REMARKS:

It can not be repeated too often that the application of the merit system to the civil service of this country is much more than a mere administrative reform. Whether a letter is expeditiously carried, or whether the civil service generally is efficient, is a matter indeed of large convenience and even of importance, but it is not vital. It does not affect the character of the people, nor threaten the stability of our institutions. The evil is political and lies much deeper. The merit system substitutes open and manly competition for beggary and sycophancy. It takes a man from his knees and bids him stand erect. It teaches him independence. If he obtains an appointment at an examination, or a promotion, it is by virtue of his merit and his record, and not because he has done some shady political work.

But this is not all. The spoils system is bribery organized upon a gigantic scale. I once heard a candidate upon a presidential ticket promise his supporters, in the event of his election, at least one-half the offices under the government, which, I protest, is the greatest bribe ever offered to the voters of this country. But you will say that bribery is multiform—that this is only one of a set of corrupt influences which endanger the national life. Unfortunately this is true. Jobbery in federal office is but a part of a system of bribery which has its roots deep in the past, and which has spread like a destroying vine over

the whole country. The senate of the United States is fast becoming a rich man's club. Agents of corporations swarm the national and state capitols. Moneyed combinations contribute large sums to debase elections, and employers coerce the votes of the employees. Everywhere the special interest is arrayed against the common weal.

To many—to me at any rate—civil service reform means much more than a technical and verbal definition of it will allow. It declares war against this whole iniquity—against jobbery in all office, whether federal, state or municipal—whether legislative or administrative. It stands for an unfettered, uncorrupted and independent public opinion.

But all things can not be done at once. To take 200,000 offices out of politics is a good beginning and is a great gain. To offer office as a reward is a most insidious form of bribery. It not only influences the man who obtains it, but it affects a score of others who do not. Many of these men who will work to obtain an office will not accept money in lieu thereof. They have not reached that point of degradation. By abolishing the patronage system you will not only remove the temptation which perverts their energies, but you will also strike down the one man power. A system which gives to the president of the United States control of 200,000 offices whose income is equal to that of 200,000 farms is a foe to democratic government. It belongs to a dead and bygone age. It is a relic of feudalism, of the days of the over-lord and of king-craft. The president holding this power is an uncrowned king. It is true that you may dethrone him at the end of four years, if you can, but you may depend upon it that if he is a spoilsman he will wield the great army of the civil service in his defense. His office-holders will pack the primaries and convention, and if possible secure his renomination, and a part of the eighty millions of dollars which are paid by the government every year to its employees will, in the presidential year, be diverted to influencing the will of the people.

Now, sir, this is a government of, by and for the people, and they have the right to pass judgment upon an administration free from official coercion. The president of the United States is no more justified in using the civil service as a personal engine than he is in using the army of the United States, which is but another branch of the executive department. There is no difference in principle. The spoils system is an anomaly, a monstrosity and an anachronism. It belongs to the oriental despotisms of the old world. It has no proper place in the republics of the Western Hemisphere.

MR. ROSS'S REMARKS:

Until this moment I had been confirmed in the truth of the old belief that to assure a well-ordered affair of this kind, both in perfection of detail and completeness altogether, there should be a "Butler" at the head.

At this point I had made a mental note that there was to be "laughter" and "applause,"

and then on the waves of merriment, I should ride in with the "thoughts that breathe" and the "words that burn." I had also made a mental note that in case the laugh did not come in—although I labored very hard on that pun and supposed it would go at this time of night—I should call it "Balbec," as Mark Twain did his horse, because it was such a magnificent ruin, and on the *debris* take my stand and proceed to say that it seemed to me peculiarly fitting that these friends should give this testimonial of their personal regard to this guest, because in him, springing from his influence, has been realized more fully than ever that cause which they have loved so long and so well. It is because Theodore Roosevelt has been at the head of the civil service commission, that civil service reform is to-day a fact, as it never has been before. The name "civil service reform" is one that I have never liked. It has seemed to me always inadequate. At best it is the name of a proposition or a proposal. There should be instead a name that defines a thing, a name with a positive instead of a negative meaning to it. As for example, the "merit system." And I believe that those who have this cause at heart can give special aid to it by beginning to speak of it as the "merit system."

They who have been in the thick of the fight, perhaps do not realize how much every little aid is needed to strengthen this cause. Names have been held to mean too little, but back of the man whose blood is up and who is fighting well this battle is a large host of friends who yet are in an apologetic stage. They all have belief in this cause, yet they stand by old parties and approach them as to this subject in a way as much as to say, "this is a little fad of mine, a little weakness in which you must indulge me. I am a good party man—good this, that and the other, but I have this little idiosyncrasy of civil service reform, and you must not take exception to it."

There is that apologetic state of mind, whether felt or fully realized or not, among a great mass of earnest and honest friends of this cause. Anything that would aid the better requirements of their conviction, or would tend to give them the courage of their opinions, would be a vast help to the cause. And to this end, though it might not appear to some, taking pains to call civil service reform the merit system would be a great positive strength. There is always attached to the word "reform" an assumption of superiority that not infrequently offends good people, and to drop it, and in its stead substitute not merely a proposal but the fact as in the "merit system," would add greatly to general effectiveness.

* * * Indiana herself is going to give account for herself. In her new city government the principle of the merit system is already lodged; the principle of business administration, and its results are to be far-reaching. In the state, while there is nothing done that can be called a harvest, there is to the experi-

enced eye well-tilled and carefully planted fields which promise surely a most abundant harvest, and at no long time in the future Indiana will show herself in deed as well as in sympathy with this cause.

AMONG other speakers was Mr. Jacob P. Dunn, who said: "Civil service reform will win because it is right." Mr. W. P. Fishback said: "I admire Mr. Roosevelt for two things, his sand and his sense." Mr. Rufus Magee said: "I favor civil service reform and the absence and divorce of the spoils system from politics. Merit is always entitled to recognition regardless of the party label it wears. The country wants the best talent to be had, and it can only be secured through the civil service law. During my eight years' service in the general assembly of Indiana two things give me the greatest satisfaction—my efforts in behalf of the new charter of this city and my attempt to secure the passage of the bill introduced by me to put the benevolent institutions of the state under the merit system."

In speaking of the dinner, the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of the next day says that it "closed after having proved one of the most brilliant ever held in this city, and one at which the wit and strong points of the speakers were received with the utmost appreciation and enthusiastic applause."

The Indianapolis *Journal* of May 18 says:

The banquet to Hon. Theodore Roosevelt on Saturday night was a deserved compliment to a very bright man and one of the ablest advocates of civil service reform in the country. Mr. Roosevelt has won distinction in other ways, but at present he is best known as chairman of the civil service commission. His selection for that position was a happy thought of the President's, and has been fully vindicated by the faithfulness, intelligence and impartiality with which he has stood for the enforcement of the civil service law. He is a life long republican, and has proved his devotion to the party in many ways. He is doing it now by his zealous advocacy of a principle which was embodied in the platform on which President Harrison was elected, and to the support of which the party is fully committed. There are still opponents of civil service reform to be found in both parties, but their number is decreasing, and it is to be hoped the time is not far distant when there will be found no advocates of a return to the spoils system.

ANNALS OF QUAYISM.

Three men sat in the Cabinet room in the White House one bright morning in the year of our Lord 1889. One was the President of the United States. The second was Matthew Stanley Quay, senator from Pennsylvania and chairman of the republican national committee. The third was James McManes, the sturdy and wealthy Scotch-Irishman, whose sterling qualities had won for him the respect and confidence of all the residents of the Quaker City.

The President raised his eyes inquiringly to Senator Quay. Obviously he did not know the object of the consultation. Neither did the silent senator. He had been requested by his companion to introduce him to President Harrison and had fulfilled his part. In turn he looked towards Mr. McManes.

Meanwhile the old Scotsman's eyes had been fastened upon the impassive countenance of Benjamin

Harrison. When the time came for him to speak he leaned forward in his chair and spoke the few words which he deemed it his solemn duty to utter with all the earnestness at his command.

"I have come here, Mr. President," he said, slowly, "to protest against the appointment of David Martin to one of the most important federal offices in this country. He is a disreputable rascal, and his appointment as collector of internal revenue would be an insult to every respectable citizen of Pennsylvania."

The old man half rose from his chair as he continued. His language took on the tinge of the rich North Country accent of his youth and the muscles of his fine face quivered from the indignation burning within his breast. Hastily he sketched Martin's early career. He denounced him as a ruffian at the polls and a manipulator of ballot-boxes. He declared that he was a dispenser of corruption funds contributed by the liquor interests. He held him up, with all the scorn born of contempt, as a willing tool of that element in the social life of Philadelphia which defies law, order and decency. He closed with the remark that no President could afford to appoint such a man to a position of honor and trust.

When he had done the President moved uneasily in his chair and then glanced appealingly at Senator Quay, whose astonishment, though apparent, was not sufficient to loose his silent tongue. The silence was broken by Benjamin Harrison.

"They say," he observed in measured tones, "that the charges against Mr. Martin are not true."

This was more than the honest Scotsman could bear. With all the fierce impetuosity of Roderick Dhu he burst forth in resentment of what seemed to him a reflection upon his veracity.

"Mr. President," he cried, "I have lived long in Philadelphia. I am well known there. You can not find in that whole city a single responsible person who will say that I ever uttered an untruth. There sits Senator Quay. He knows me. I ask you, Senator Quay, if I am not respected in Philadelphia as a man of my word."

"Mr. McManes's word is above question," quietly observed the one addressed.

"Then, Mr. President," continued Mr. McManes, "I reiterate all I have said concerning David Martin. Senator Quay informs you that my veracity is above question. I say to you again, sir, that the appointment of David Martin would be a disgrace to your administration and an insult to every honest citizen of Pennsylvania. That is all I have to say."

Again Benjamin Harrison turned to Matthew S. Quay. This time he secured a response.

"The two senators from Pennsylvania desire this appointment, Mr. President," was all he said.

Mr. McManes made no rejoinder. He bowed to the President of the United States and left the room.

It had already been noised about in this city that there was a possibility of Martin's appointment. Great was the excitement. The ward heelers and the old time disorderly gangs who followed Martin and did his bidding were overjoyed. So the "growler" was worked deeply in the slums to the success of "our Dave." But respectable Philadelphia was shocked. The Citizens' Municipal League, which is the survival of the old Committee of One Hundred, which cleaned out the thieves and rascals connected with the city government, was concerned, but could not act directly. A memorial to the President was drawn, however, and signed by Joel J. Bailey, the chairman of the league, and by other leading members. The statement set forth that David Martin was a wholly unfit person to be placed in the collector's office, and that the appointment of one of the criminal class as collector of revenue was an insult to respectability and decency. The President was given authorities for the charges made, and legal evidence in support of them was presented. The protestants declared that they had no candidate for the position. All they asked was that a respectable man be appointed.

The messenger bearing this protest was on his way to the postoffice when he read on a bulletin board the statement that David Martin had been appointed collector of internal revenue.

Now, who is David Martin?

In his boyhood he lived in the northeastern part of Philadelphia, near a locality known as "Louse Harbor." He was a sloop and garbage gatherer and an active member of Taylor Hose Company prior to the abolishment of the volunteer fire department.

Those who knew Martin at that time say he was a characteristic tough. Taylor Hose Company was a disorderly organization and Martin acquired an influence as a leader early in life. He soon became a director of repeaters in the old nineteenth ward. His gang of immediate followers was employed by corrupt and disreputable politicians to intimidate voters and procure the nomination of men who were a disgrace to the republican party. At general elections Martin directed operations and drove citizens from the polls in order that repeaters might vote. It was not unusual for him to personally assault voters without provocation.

At the Gray senatorial election, Martin had charge of the thugs and repeaters in the portion of the district where it was afterwards proven that gigantic frauds were perpetrated. In June of the same year he took the ballot-box of the fourth division nineteenth ward to the station-house of that ward, and there the return was changed and the election officers' names were forged. As he could not read or write he did not personally forge the names, but he aided and abetted the criminal act. This fact was sworn to and published in Philadelphia newspapers at the time.

At the election for the adoption of the new constitution of Pennsylvania, the corrupt office-holders opposed the change because a portion of the opportunities for committing fraud and forgery were cut off thereby. Martin was employed as usual and had charge of the repeaters of his district. He was one of the managers that made up the false returns, whereby the nineteenth ward was to give 6,000 majority against the new constitution. The conspiracy to perpetrate the fraud was cooked in a room on Cumberland street. The returns were taken by a policeman to a house on Trenton avenue, above York. There they were falsified to suit the purpose of Martin and his fellow criminals and sent to the station-house.

The news from the state indicated that the new constitution had received an overwhelming majority. Mayor Stokely refused to receive the false returns, and used the language published in the papers at the time, that he "would not be put in a hole." The nineteenth ward really gave about three thousand majority in favor of the adoption.

In all the frauds perpetrated at elections during the past twenty years in North Philadelphia, Martin has been one of the prime movers. The committee of one hundred convicted some of his men, and sent them to prison. Martin appeared in court to sympathize with and cheer them.

One of Martin's cronies was John Ruhl. The twain got up a prize fight in the nineteenth ward, which some of the politicians of the city government attended. During the fight a raid was made by the police. Martin and Ruhl were taken to the station-house. The former's influence set him free and he returned with his gang to the scene of the fight, and the subsequent debauchery is still a theme of discussion in the neighborhood. Ruhl was afterwards sent to the Eastern penitentiary for swindling. Martin stood by him until he was taken.

Among the repeaters convicted by the committee of one hundred were William Maneely and William Guldey. Their sworn statements are interesting. Here they are:

"William Maneely makes affidavit and swears he lived in the seventeenth ward last February [1882], that he was arrested and convicted after the spring election and went to prison for six months for repeater at said election. He said that he was then and had been for some time in the employ of parties of the nineteenth and thirty-first wards to head a gang of repeaters whose business it was to get in as many fraudulent votes as they could, by voting on other people's names, going from poll to poll and putting in fraudulent votes in any way we could get them in. That last February he was so employed by Alex. Crawford, Porter Rittenhouse, 503 Diamond

street; that Rittenhouse gave him a due bill for work done on election day as aforesaid; that said Rittenhouse signed said due bill, which was drawn on David Martin, who was to pay the same, and said Martin is the man who has heretofore paid witness for work of this character at elections. The practice was that for every fraudulent vote we put in we got a bluecheck which was to represent \$1, and after the election, or as soon as the votes were in we could go and get \$1 apiece for so many blue checks as we held; that said checks were cashed by Dave Martin.

"Witness says that there is every probability that the same game will be played at the coming election and that the same parties will be wanting to employ him in work of a like character, or in some new dodge to get their work in, and he says he is willing to give this committee aid and assistance in exposing such business; that he has been a soldier and wants to lead a straight life, and that he will do all he can to expose the fraud at the coming election.

"WILLIAM MANEELY.

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1882."

"William Guldey, alias Golden, swears that he resides at No. 1420 Frankford road, seventeenth ward; says that he was tried and convicted, together with William Maneely for fraud on the ballot at the election of February, 1882, and that he served his time in prison, from which he has lately been released; says that Porter Rittenhouse employed him last spring to act as a repeater, and he agreed that witness should be paid \$2.50 for each and every fraudulent vote that he put in; that on election day, as soon as the work was done, witness received from Rittenhouse an order on David Martin for payment for said work in the shape of the following order:

" 'Mr. David Martin, please pay to bearer for four votes.

(Signed) P. R.

"And witness said Rittenhouse wrote said order in his presence, and that he has never received any money or other consideration on said order; that he presented said order to David Martin, who said that Rittenhouse should have paid it, and he (Martin) refused to pay it. Witness says his understanding was he was to receive from Rittenhouse the names of persons that he was to personate or repeat on, and that on election day Rittenhouse, who was working in his own division, would hand witness a scrap of paper containing the name of the person he was to personate or repeat on, and then witness would go to the poll and put in the vote accordingly, and that he and Maneely each cast two fraudulent votes in this way, and under the agreement were entitled to pay for the same at the rate of \$2.50 per vote; that this business has been followed by witness for five or six years, and that during that time he has received payment for such work from David Martin; that he received money for casting fraudulent votes from David Martin at the spring election two years ago, 1880; that he received money from A. Albright for like work about five years ago; that David Martin has paid witness on several occasions for this kind of work."

James McManes says that a member of congress in Pennsylvania informed him that Martin approached a city member of congress and demanded \$1,000 or he would incite a revolt against him at the polls. The member gave a check for the amount and it was returned from the bank afterwards, cancelled and bearing Martin's name on the back.

As a specimen of Martin's methods the story of James Rems, of Norris, near Third street, is of interest. Rems, who is a respectable shoemaker, was engaged in putting up posters for a candidate objectionable to Martin. The latter approached and told him that he did not permit any one to place advertisements of other candidates than his own in the ward. Rems persisted and Martin fell upon him and brutally beat him. A bill of indictment for criminal assault was found by the grand jury, but Martin's "pull" sufficed to bury the case in the district attorney's office.

A prominent citizen of this city informed the correspondent of the *World* that he witnessed one of the typical assaults for which Martin was distinguished. At an election a group of men, including several butchers, were collected near the corner of Amber and Drear streets. Martin was out with a gang of

toughs at his heels intimidating voters. One of the favorite tricks of Martin was to arm heelers with short, sharp awls, so that they might prod a voter until he would abandon the attempt to vote his ballot. Martin approached the group and ascertained that those composing it were going to vote against his candidate. He gave a signal, and one of the gang pushed a young butcher towards Martin. The latter uttered a fearful oath and struck out from the shoulder. The man rolled in the gutter. Then the gang of thugs rushed on the remainder and forced some of them through a fence, which was demolished. The recalcitrant voters did not cast their ballots that day.

John M. Carson, the well-known correspondent of the *Public Ledger* at Washington, wrote an article for the *Morning Post* concerning Martin, of which the following is an extract, describing the frauds perpetrated at an election of common councilmen in the nineteenth ward:

"John B. Curtis, who is a telegraph operator at the nineteenth ward police station, tells under oath the story of the fourth division. 'I am an operator at the eighteenth district station-house. I was there on the night of the election. I saw David Martin bring the ballot box of the fourth division there. I saw the box was open and the returns lying upon the table; they (Lieut. Crawford and Martin) were writing upon the returns. Lieut. Crawford told me the box contained the returns of the fourth division. He said the change was made to beat Theodore Walton, as it would look bad for Ferreira to run behind. I went into the room to get the returns to telegraph to the central station. A number of other divisions were fixed up in the same way. In the twenty-first division the original papers were not taken into account. Papers were manufactured fixing such majorities as were required by the ring, and the names of the election officers were forged thereto.'"

The headquarters of Martin, when not in the collector's office of the custom-house, are in a building located at the corner of Sixth street and Germantown avenue. It is four stories high and was formerly used as a carriage manufactory by Boyer Bros. Martin thought that he might be able to raise money from manufacturers the easier by calling this place the "Home of the Anti-Cobden club."

The nominal membership of the Anti-Cobden Club is very large, 1,500 or more. In addition to the "heelers" and repeaters of its boss, there are many respectable mechanics and small tradesmen among the members, who were attracted by the bait of political recognition held out to them. The commingling of the good and the bad in the Anti-Cobden Club has made that club unique in some respects.

On the second floor there is a long bar, and on Sundays three bartenders are busily employed dispensing "hard stuff" and beer to the gang. In a private room Martin presides in an autocratic manner, and here he perfects his plans and plots to carry out the mandates of Statesman Quay. Already the story comes that a great scheme has been concocted to bribe a heavy contingent of democratic voters on the 4th of November. Since, by virtue of the indorsement of John Wanamaker and the two senators, and the refusal of President Harrison to heed the protest of James McManes and other citizens of high standing, Martin became collector, he has abandoned the executive work of directing repeaters and leading his gang of toughs, but he still furnishes the brains for the guidance of his henchmen. They will be ready for business on election day.

Money will be a great factor in the Quay-Delamater canvass on November 4. But who, after reading this plain, straightforward story of the acts of David Martin with the knowledge that one of the best federal offices in the state has been his reward, can say that fraud will not be a greater.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York World*, October 20, 1890.

SOLIDARITY OF SPOILSMEN.

—Census Superintendent Porter seems to be preparing for the investigation into his administration, which, it is taken for granted, will be ordered by the house of representatives

next winter. This, at least, is the opinion of some of the republican employes of the census office, who are grumbling a good deal over the favors shown to democrats. *They assert that democratic representatives find it easier now to secure appointments and promotions for their henchmen than do republican congressmen.*

They attribute this to Mr. Porter's desire to have friends on the majority side of the next house, who will have a proper sense of favors received when they get ready to investigate the census office.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, April 4.*

—Congress having adjourned, and the necessary appropriations for the maintenance of a large number of employes in the government printing office having ceased at the same time, the public printer has found it necessary to discharge a large proportion of the people who have found employment there. It is assumed that in making the discharges the public printer has been controlled by the influences that have been at work under this administration, and has, as a good political printer, made the discharges according to some carefully conceived political plan.

But whatever it was, it was not satisfactory to a number of politicians, among whom are named Attorney-General Miller, Private Secretary Halford, Marshal Ransdell, and First Controller Matthews. The Ohio Republican Association, of which Secretary Foster has been elected a member, is noisy in expressing its dissatisfaction at the way the discharges have been made. That society had a meeting last week, and besides electing Mr. Foster and Solicitor-General Taft to membership, it elected Sixth Auditor T. B. Coulter as president and several other office-holders to other offices in the society.

Then the association had a hot time over a proposition to name a committee of five to investigate the cause of the dismissal of Ohio republicans from the printing office. Mr. T. A. Child, president of the association, and also chief clerk of the census office, appointed to act with him in finding out why republicans from Ohio were put out, while Ohio democrats were kept in, Messrs. Coulter, Hart, McGrew, and Lowry, all government employes, who are straightway to undertake to find out why Ohio may not be permitted to regulate all the appointments and discharges in the service.

Soon Census Superintendent Porter, having finished up the work which he is now crowding forward with increased force, will find it necessary to cut down. It will go hard with the employes from other states if Mr. Childs undertakes to do his duty as a member of the Ohio state association. It will be a nice business to make the discharges from the census office. *A great many democrats have been accommodated with appointments there, as Mr. Cockrell and Mr. Gorman and others on the under side could tell if they were called upon to do so.* While Mr. Porter desires to have republican friends, he must have democratic friends, too, and in order to get them he has sometimes intimated to democrats that he could find places for good people if they would recommend them.

Mr. Childs ought to have a list of the proteges of democratic senators and members of the house.—Washington Dispatch to New York Times, April 17.

—There was a very sad meeting of the Business Men's Republican Association held last evening. Their president resigned because he could not stand the strain upon his nervous system caused by the constant appeals of the boys for "places" and "plums." He begged them to put a "practical politician" in his place, a man who could go around and hunt up the "plums" which the boys want. "I'm not fit for it," he said, "and I can't do it because it's repulsive to me. I'd rather try to dig dollars out of cobble-stones than ask favors of politicians." Then one of the boys laid bare the facts of the situation by saying:

"The government has spent \$170,000,000 extra, and there ain't a man here who got a cent of it. If the democrats spend thousands to our hundreds, why, that's the party for us to belong to. Our president says he's going to leave us. If that's so, and we are going to adjourn sine die, let somebody say so right out, so that we can look for shelter elsewhere."—*New York Evening Post, March 20.*

—For several years more or less earnest efforts have been made to get new quarters for the government printing office. The present building is not large enough. It is so old and rickety as to be in an almost dangerous condition, and its interior arrangements are such as constantly to menace the health of the employes.

It looked last year as if there would really be a change for the better some time, for congress authorized a commission to select a site for a new building. This commission picked out a large lot of ground near the present printing office, and steps were taken to secure it for the government. No sooner, however, had the selection been made known than a great hue and cry against the site was raised by certain persons, *who found a champion in Senator Gorman. That senator was so persistent in his attack upon the site selected that he succeeded in having the whole matter suspended until the next congress meets, so that another year is lost.*

Some of the persons interested in government printing office affairs think they have found the secret of the opposition to the site selected by the commission. *They have discovered that ex-Senator Mahone, the discredited boss of the republican party in Virginia, is the owner of a one-half interest in a lot of ground near the city limits, at North Capitol street, in about the most inaccessible part of Washington. This property has been offered to the government for a printing office site for \$250,000, and its owners have been making very earnest efforts to induce the commission to report in its favor. If they can kill off the site now selected and force their land upon the government, it will put \$125,000 into Mahone's pocket.—Washington Dispatch to New York Times, April 3.*

—Supervising Architect R. B. Eastman, of Brooklyn, who has been mixed up in some of the scandals growing out of the maladministration of affairs at the St. Johnland county farm, is said to be slated for removal. He

owed his appointment, about five years ago, to a deal between the democrats and republicans in the Kings county board of supervisors.—New York Times, May 11.

—A few days ago John E. Brodsky, the republican assemblyman from the eighth district, who was elected last fall by the aid of Tammany votes, introduced in the legislature a bill whose evident object is to further embarrass the administration of public affairs in the annexed district by Louis J. Heintz, the commissioner of street improvements, who was elected to that office over the Tammany candidate put forward by Fire Commissioner Purroy. *Mr. Brodsky says he introduced the bill by request, but when asked by whose request, he answers smilingly, "That's telling," and he tells no more.*

John H. V. Ronner, deputy-commissioner of street improvements in the annexed district, when questioned last night regarding the bill, said it was one of the bills introduced lately at the instigation of Tammany Hall to annoy Mr. Heintz, and to oppose which Mr. Heintz had gone to Albany last week. It was introduced without the knowledge of Mr. Heintz. Its purpose, said Mr. Ronner, was apparent. Tammany had lost in the annexed district the control of patronage which the election of its candidate for commissioner of street improvements would have given it, and it was now determined to destroy Mr. Heintz's power if possible, and to lose no chance of casting unfavorable reflection upon him. The bill, Mr. Ronner continued, was entirely uncalled for. It was and would continue to be the practice of the commissioner to award contracts to the lowest responsible bidder. "But," he asked, "why should that official be denied a discretion which other heads of departments possessed, the exercise of which is often necessary in the interests of the city?"

The animus of the bill is still more plainly seen in the clause which would give the Tammany board of estimate and apportionment the right which Mr. Heintz should have, to designate the paper in which bids should be advertised for. Some people who are well acquainted with municipal politics are surprised that Tammany Hall should so openly reveal its hand in attempting to steal so petty a bit of patronage as the advertising of contracts to be awarded by Mr. Heintz may afford.—*New York Evening Post, March 24.*

"AN EFFECTIVE DELEGATE."

Marine D. Tackett, of Greensburgh, Ind., was to-day appointed a special agent to allot lands in severalty to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. He is an ex-Union soldier, who carries an armless sleeve as evidence of his bravery and military service. *He was an effective delegate to the republican convention at Chicago in 1888.* His official duties will be performed in Arizona, and his pay will be \$15 a day. The work will last probably two or three months.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, April 11.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 28.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

"For my own part I could heartily wish that all honest men would enter into an association for the support of one another against the endeavors of those whom they ought to look upon as their common enemies, whatever side they may belong to. Were there such an honest body of neutral forces, we should never see the worst of men in great figures of life, because they are useful to a party; nor the best unregarded, because they are above practicing those methods which would be grateful to their faction. We should then single every criminal out of the herd and hunt him down, however formidable and overgrown he might appear.

** * * In short, we should not any longer regard our fellow-citizens as whigs or Tories, but should make the man of merit our friend and the villain our enemy."—Addison's Spectator.*

The Boston Advertiser of April 28, says:

A paper called the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is published at Indianapolis, Ind. It is a somewhat curious circumstance that the current number has copious extracts from but three papers in the United States, and each of these is notoriously bitter and unfair in its opposition to the republican party. As these excerpts fill a large part of the CHRONICLE the claim of the editors to any real independence in the cause of civil service reform must rest entirely on the editorials, which appear to have been written in an impartial vein.

The CHRONICLE takes the facts bearing upon its object wherever it can find them. It does not care which side is hurt. A few papers have of late years learned that the true way to improve the transaction of the public business is to carefully investigate cases of the use of public offices as mere plunder and publish the facts. There is nothing that worries a boss more than to bring home to him in public print that he appointed a lot of Jakes and Mikes to be weighers and gaugers and clerks because they hustled and tricked for him at a certain primary. There is no doubt a remunerative field for such investigation, even in Boston, and if the Advertiser will make it, and will tell its interesting discoveries to the public, it shall have a liberal space in this paper.

THE fire-alarm telegraph of the city has a superintendent in George Halderman, a republican, who had an assistant named George White, and a sub-assistant named Findling. The new board dismissed White and Findling, and their combined monthly salaries, less twenty dollars, were given to ex-alderman James Riley, a democrat, who

was appointed as Halderman's assistant. Riley's friends claimed that he was sooner or later to have Halderman's place. Now if President Holt's board intended to seize this place as party spoil, this is the exact course it would have pursued. So far as the duties of his position are concerned Riley is an ignoramus, and it is ridiculous to say that the fire service is benefited by turning out a trained assistant and putting in an ignoramus at an increased salary. Halderman thinks he sees the point and refuses to accept Riley as an assistant, or to teach him the business, and at the last accounts Riley was sitting around the fire headquarters doing nothing and drawing sixty dollars a month. Open competition for the places in the fire department would destroy the board's usefulness in humbugging the people in this manner. Why does not the mayor require it?

MR. CHARLES B. WILBY, of Cincinnati, recently delivered an address before the Unity Church Club of that city upon the transaction of city business. He referred to the efforts of many good citizens of Cincinnati to secure the passage of a new charter which they expected would remedy all of the existing evils. Mr. Wilby has a clear sight in this respect and boldly takes the ground that no form of a city charter which leaves the spoils system in operation will give a satisfactory city government. This will prove true of the City of Indianapolis under its new charter.

President Harrison has promoted the assistant postmaster, Mr. E. P. Thompson, to be postmaster of this city. The new postmaster in his turn has filled the assistant's place by promoting the head of the money-order department, and the latter place by promoting the head of the registry department, and the latter place by promoting the assistant in that department, and the latter place by promoting a clerk from the classified service, whose place is filled from the top of the eligible list. Truly, merit and business principles have come to their own, and the President should take note that on every hand there is nothing but approbation expressed. So generally is it understood that this office is given over to the merit system that there was no "pressure" nor even an application for one of these vacancies.

THE President is under suspicion of making terms with Quay on the supposition that Quay can control the Pennsylvania delegation in the presidential nominating convention. This is a very humiliating position for the President of the United States to occupy. But aside from the immorality of such a prostitution of a public trust, the President should be very wary. Quay in most respects is not unlike Gorman and Voorhees to whose vicious tastes President Cleveland pretty steadily catered. Yet ingratitude comes easy to them. Here is Senator Voorhees:

"Where do you expect to find a Presidential candidate, senator?"

"He ought to be developed here in the West. If we must go East, I favor Senator Gorman, a man of superb sense and equipment. If Palmer were younger we could go to Illinois. Then there is A. E. Stevenson, of Illinois, ex-congressman, ex-assistant postmaster-general, whom, were he better known, would be of avail. Right here in Indiana we have Gray, a man of availability and aptitude."

Headsman Clarkson writes from Paris, France, to the chairman of the young men's republican club of Des Moines offering some suggestions for a plan of campaign. After the important admission that "the country is evenly balanced between political parties just now," he finally says:

We should utilize also the friendship of republican women in these clubs. Young men can carry on the discussions or debates; young women can aid in the entertainments with songs or recitals.

We would respectfully urge this modification. Instead of the "songs and recitals," let the young women, imitating another time of the work of the guillotine, come and knit, and listen to stories of Clarkson's guillotine. Let them knit on in dry-eyed mercilessness as they hear how competent and faithful public servants, young and old, with families dependent upon them, in the nineteenth century, have been driven from work for opinion's sake. Let these republican maidens learn how the Christian President of a great country has allowed senators to farm out the Indian service to henchmen in the face of protests that the men were unfit. Let it be explained with candor what manner of man Quay is, and why he still grows fat and impudent on the patronage of his state. Let it be carefully impressed on these young women that the modern plan in this country of getting a re-nomination and re-election to the presidency by the seizure of the civil service is safe, democratic, and patriotic,

while the method occasionally tried in France and elsewhere of retaining power by means of the military service is a menace to liberty.

THE board of naval officers designated by Secretary Tracy have held examinations for the places of foremen and master mechanics in the Brooklyn navy yard. There were ninety three applicants, and fifty-nine appeared for examination. The result of the examination was that with three exceptions the present incumbent stood the highest on the list. John O'Rourke, as master boilermaker, supersedes the present incumbent. He held the place under the Cleveland administration, and was turned out by a partisan foreman under this administration to make a place for the man that he now, by virtue of a competitive examination, supplants. The board states that,

"It has in its judgment specified the candidates 'best qualified' for the positions, it is of the opinion that the men named for master shipwright, master joiner, master shipfitter, (outside work), master boilermaker, and master sparmaker do not reach that standard of excellence which is desirable or which the best interests of the government demand. This unsatisfactory state of affairs may be largely due to the want of a more general knowledge on the part of the public as to the requirements of the positions or to the inadequate rate of pay for some of the more important"

A part of the examination was oral, and a part written. A sample of the technical questions asked candidates for the position of foreman in the constructive department is:

Sketch a reverberatory furnace.
Describe the making and fitting of a spar hand.
How do you test the quality of a bar of iron?
Describe the tools used in dressing and tempering.
How would you make a manacle shackle for a large ship?
Describe the arrangement of what you consider an efficient smithy for general work—angle and beam work.

The *Civil Service Record* puts it well:

These are not hard questions. The men who can not write intelligibly and correct answers are not fit to be intrusted with the work. Many applicants came forward, and apparently were men of good qualities. The questions cited might prove difficult to the old-fashioned style of navy-yard striker, who could answer the following with perfect readiness:

Do you know your congressmen?
Do you know him well enough to have a pull on him?
Describe the manner of stuffing a caucus.
Should a ship be repaired in such a manner as to keep her at sea at election time?
Is a ship that can keep at sea at election time really seaworthy?

COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT is a member of the twenty-first district republican association of the city of New York. The association threatened to pass resolutions charging evils and abuses in the civil service system of the New York custom-house. Thereupon Mr. Roosevelt invited the association to appoint a committee to

go into into the custom-house to investigate the enforcement of the civil service law and rules, and this was done, and Mr. Roosevelt met the committee in the custom-house and proceeded with great earnestness to teach them what the merit system is — a system of which they knew very little. He started out as follows:

"I wish to state that I courted this investigation, because I wish every act of the civil service commission to be as public as it can possibly be made. We want publicity. We fear nobody but the contemptible, specious slanderer, who makes charges without producing the slightest scintilla of evidence to substantiate them. I also wish to state publicly now that no member of this committee is as much interested as I am in finding out if this local civil service board or any member of it has done anything crooked or displayed any favoritism on one hand or antagonism on the other.

Following this in several sessions he took the investigating committee over the old and familiar objections that the examinations are not practical; that they were unfair, and further that certain persons, favorites of this district association, could not pass, or having passed failed to get appointments, and so on. The committee labored industriously to make good the theory of its association, but if it is fair, it will have to report that it failed. The charges probably originated in a blind anger because 'the boys' found difficulty in quartering themselves upon the people, and they hoped to put the merit system to rout. The prompt opportunity given them to make their charges good, and the publicity which they were called upon to endure in trying to do it seriously embarrassed them. Their failure was only equalled by their astonishment when they were told by Mr. Roosevelt, whom they had hoped to scare, that so far as he was concerned politics would cut no figure in the competitive system.

THE student of the tendencies of the times has reason for discouragement in Indiana on one point. Let him look over the dispatches stating the commencement subjects of the high schools of the state and if they are an indication, as they are, there is a serious want of interest in all living questions connected with our government. The currency, the tariff, immigration, the lives and works of prominent men, and above all, in the opinion of this paper, the many phases of the spoils system should have been seen on these programmes. Boys and girls from fifteen upwards should have a vivid interest in these and similar questions. They should be entitled to the utmost freedom of opinion only curtailed by the requirement of courtesy of expression, and they should be taught that candor and honesty, and a desire for all the facts are essentials for every man or woman who desires intellectual and moral growth. What is the reason that all such questions are shunned?

We think there is no doubt but that the answer will have to be because teachers fear that any freedom of expression will endanger their positions because of the bigotry and savagery of party spirit. There is just now in this city an enthusiasm among the school children for the American flag, and it floats from many school-houses. That is very well, but if we are to have a spirit of patriotism inculcated, the flag alone is not enough. The young and the old in Indiana and elsewhere must permit freedom of opinion and freedom of its expression. Washington's words on the baneful effects of the spirit of party might well be inscribed on every flag:

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in government of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in government purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warning, it should consume.

Mr. Gorman seems to be still in the saddle. Senator Voorhees has nominated him for the presidency, and the money has been raised, the silver service bought and presented amidst the wildest enthusiasm of Mr. Gorman's clubs. Mr. Gorman apparently listened with gravity to the mayor's address for which, unfortunately, there is space only for the following specimen:

"The pleasing duty has been imposed upon me," said the mayor, "of being the instrument of a very large number of your fellow-citizens to present to you a token of their grateful appreciation of the great services you have rendered to the nation and to your state. In doing so, I feel, sir, that I am taking an humble part upon an occasion which will be, and which is worthy of being historical.

"In the tented field, in the forum, in the senate, it has always happened that when the essential rights of man have been assailed and have been in peril, providence has raised up a champion for their defense and maintenance."

The report also states that a feature of the testimonial, which was not ready to be presented with the service, is the book containing the names of the subscribers. This is being prepared under the direct supervision of Mr. Douglas H. Thomas. It is estimated that the book will cost about \$500, and it will be a high model of the book-binders' art. The names will be inscribed alphabetically in English illuminated script letters. The whole silver service will be illustrated in one large picture, which will probably be made the frontispiece. Each separate piece will also be illustrated. The whole will be bound in crimson and gold, with a suitable inscription on the outer cover. It will take several months to finish this book, and on its completion it will be presented to Senator Gorman without ceremony.

The Maryland civil service reform asso-

ciation should be allowed to "edit" this memorial volume. Surely the names of Eugene Higgins, I. Freeman Raisin and Wallace Owings, with a handsome subscription from each, will be among the first. A biographical sketch will always be of interest. Something like this:

"He appointed Eugene Higgins patronage clerk of the treasury. Higgins altered election poll and registration books, in 1879, and he reversed an election in 1875, by getting possession of the ballot boxes after the polls were closed, burning ballots of one party and substituting those of the other. He is skilled in every phase of political manipulation. Gorman kept him in the treasury nearly three years, and then transferred him to other fields of usefulness. He appointed Morris A. Thomas, Indian agent. Thomas was a dishonest business man, a fraudulent bankrupt, a ballot-box stuffer, and, as an election judge, had received illegal votes. But the plainest proof of these facts by eye witnesses weighed nothing against Congressman Gorman's indication that the appointment be made, and Thomas is now employing his leisure between campaigns as a care taker of Indians.

I. Freeman Raisin was appointed naval officer. Raisin was, before the war, an officer of a political club of Baltimore "thugs and outlaws" and is now a leader of the criminal classes, a notorious lobbyist, a skilled ballot-stuffer and ballot-burner. At one period it was his custom to send for any one who had a measure before the city council, and notify him of the price at which it could get through. If paid, it went through; otherwise, not. One man was put into the government printing office when under indictment for a brutal assault. He had during his career been indicted four times and arrested nine times. Another was put into the Baltimore custom-house when under indictment, for which he may be brought to trial any day, for fraudently striking 223 names from the registration list.

Wallace Owings was made a ganger. In 1886 he was in court as a prosecuting witness against a man charged with having assaulted him. The prisoner was brought in and stood with his back to Owings, and the latter, in this safe position, attempted to murder him by shooting; the wound was not fatal. For this he was indicted, but never tried. George Trust was made a clerk in the office of the collector of internal revenue. In 1879, a negro named Robinson had just come to Baltimore with his wife and child. While walking along the street a man asked him his politics. Before he could reply, the questioner shot him dead. The murderer was the present clerk, George Trust. He had never seen the man before, and was absolutely without provocation. An indictment, trial, and sentence to prison for four years and seven months followed; the defense being insanity, produced by intemperate habits. His appointment caused a storm, which he watched awhile, and then, in a mock-innocent letter, in which he alludes to his murder as an 'unfortunate occurrence,' resigned.

And by all means let the simple statement be added from John K. Cowen's history of the Gorman regime in Maryland, that "murder, pure and simple, is recognized as a political service to be rewarded in state, national and municipal affairs."

THE *Civil Service Record*, with the June number, completes its tenth year. It states that—

These ten years cover the most critical and important part of the history of civil service reform; and, in order to give a complete view of its history, the management has had a full index prepared, covering the whole ten volumes.

The work has been done by Mr. Evarts B. Greene, a Harvard graduate of 1890, and now pursuing a post-graduate course at Cambridge

in history and political economy. He has had some suggestions as to preparing this from Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph. D., assistant professor in history. The work has been thoroughly done, not by compiling the old indices, but by going over every number of the *Record* afresh.

This index, with the title page, will be printed with the July number.

Any college that attempts to teach history in the modern spirit can find nothing to take the place of the volume covering these years. Any person who wants to keep informed of the current and ever changing phases of spoils politics can not afford to be without the *Civil Service Record*, and we make free to add the *Civil Service Reformer* and the *CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE*; and yet it is a constant experience to meet friends of the merit system more than ordinarily enthusiastic who regret "the want of the facts put in a plain way" that have been illustrated in all of these papers more than a hundred times each year.

HARRISON'S RENOMINATION.

The Indianapolis *News* of June 22 has performed a public service in securing an interview from "a well-known resident of this city" who was present at a recent meeting held here of opponents of the renomination of President Harrison. The interview, most of which is printed elsewhere, is a curious illustration of the hold the feudal idea has upon a large class of politicians. This man occupied a column of the *News* and is evidently a representative of the gathering in question. He is earnestly opposed to the renomination of Harrison, but his reasons are not grounded upon the least desire to elevate the tone of public affairs or to improve the management of public business. On the other hand his reasons are of the baser sort. The sum of it is that the right workers have not been paid with offices. There are good reasons why President Harrison should not be renominated but these opponents evidently do not care to lay hold of them or to have them made prominent; nor would they care to see any other President carry out the principles upon which these objections are founded.

Just grounds for opposition to the renomination of the President are such as giving offices largely to his relatives, which is comparatively a minor but an inexcusable offense. He has refused to dismiss unworthy public officers like Raum. He is responsible for the failure to prosecute the Mahone blackmailers to conviction. He has combined with Mahone and Quay. He has removed officers like Corse, Pearson, Graves and Burt to the detriment of the public service and with a view to helping his party machine. He re-debauched the Indian service. He has used and has permitted to be used the public service to the extent of more than 100,000 places to pay personal or party debts, beginning with the appointment of Wanamaker. He has done some things in the way of permitting the

enforcement of the civil service law and extending the merit system which ought to be put into the other side of the scale, notwithstanding the fact that he has rewarded fellows like Grosvenor who did all they could to break down the law. His merits do not meet what the country had a right to expect. It is not a question whether he has done as well as or better than President Cleveland. Upon that point we think he need not fear comparison. But the standard of criticism is and ought to be higher. President Harrison is to be judged by what his party and himself promised when he was elected and by what he could reasonably have accomplished. These promises have been as a whole flagrantly disregarded. The question in a nut-shell is whether the people ought to be asked to sanction by re-election the acts of a President who has confessedly used more than 100,000 places in the public service with salaries attached which are paid by the whole people and with duties to be performed which are owed to the whole people, to pay for personal or party services, or in other words to feed an insatiable partisan machine. Is not this exercise of autocratic power so unparalleled in the governments of the world and so stupendous and dangerous that it overshadows and dwarfs all other acts?

RAUM.

It is not at all likely that Pension Commissioner Raum will be asked to resign, or that he will tender his resignation voluntarily. Enough inquiry has been made by the secretary of the interior, and others directly interested in the administration of the pension office, to ascertain that Commissioner Raum was in no way responsible for any of the shortcomings of his son, and that he made no effort whatever to shield him when he was finally charged with peculation in office. No one has found anything in the official work of Commissioner Raum to include him in any way in the charges which have been made against any employe of the pension office. It has not been found that a single penny has been ever turned in a dishonest direction by Commissioner Raum, or that anything done or left undone by him can be distorted into a connection with the shortcoming of any employe of the bureau. He has been diligent, honest and capable. The highest possible confidence has been placed in Gen. Raum's integrity, and the recent vicious and ferocious outcry made against the commissioner is regarded in official circles, as well as by private citizens who have been watching the management of the office from the outside, as due directly to a growing prejudice in democratic and mugwump quarters against pensions. It may be that much of this talk comes from the fact that the pension laws have been liberally construed and the payments for pensions largely increased, but no one has yet charged General Raum with anything done which was dishonest. Neither have his private business affairs been connected by any one, in point of fact, with any of his official connections. Undoubtedly the same fight would be continued against any other man who could become commissioner of pensions, and it has been concluded that as we are entering upon a period of general assault against pension business it can be resisted as well under the present administration of the office as it could be under the direction of any other man. In other words the attack upon General Raum is regarded as an attack upon the pension system, since investigation has convinced the President that General Raum is guilty of no misconduct in his official position.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 4.

Such a dispatch as the above will under all

the circumstances be taken as an official statement. It means that the President has determined to pursue the plan followed by President Grant with officials "under fire" and that the attempt is to be made to direct attention from Raum by the bogus alarm of an attack on the pension system. It is well then to review some facts connected with the Raum family, and thus determine what the President's idea of a public officer is.

Raum created a new division known as the appointment division, and put his son Green B. Raum, Jr., at the head of it, with the title of assistant chief clerk. How the President should have been affected by this has been stated by Thomas Jefferson. "The public will never be made to believe that the appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone, uninfluenced by family views; nor can they ever see with approbation offices, the disposal of which they entrust to their Presidents for public purposes, divided out as family property." After Raum had created a place for his son, he removed from the room a woman clerk who had been making some fifteen dollars a month in notary fees, and the *Journal* correspondent showed how the flow of fees was turned to Raum, Jr. "When visitors to the office have inquired for a notary they have usually been sent to him, and he is doing a considerable portion of the business that the woman did formerly." Another son, after his father became commissioner of pensions, went into partnership in the pension claim business, and the firm circulars, scattered to attract business, stated the fact that one partner was the son of the commissioner of pensions. The President and every one else knows that this would give the impression, and was intended to give the impression, that claims presented by John Raum would have 'advantages.' The most powerful claim agent in Washington, employing hundreds of clerks, and controlling the most widely circulated pension paper, indorsed a note for the commissioner of pensions a few days before the commissioner made an important ruling of advantage to this attorney. The *New York Times* justly said of the President's responsibility:

He is bound to see that the work of the pension bureau is trusted only to clean hands, and that there shall be no taint of suspicion upon the integrity, the purity, the fidelity and disinterestedness of the officials in charge of it. He knows by his own personal observation what any one can readily infer, that this work demands peculiarly scrupulous agents, that it is liable to great abuse, that abuses have in the past been rank in the bureau, and that anything short of the most thorough reform is an outrage upon the soldiers and a disgraceful betrayal of trust.

He knows especially that the body of pension agents and attorneys that have grown up about the bureau, and, for that matter, in the bureau itself, are as greedy and corrupt as any body of men in the country except the tariff lobby. He knows their power, their wealth, their elaborate organization, their system skillfully developed by years of experience and study, by which they rob the soldier-pensioners on the one hand and the tax-payers on the other. He knows that the law intended that their services, or those of any intermediary whatever, should be unnecessary, and that it was meant that any deserving

claimant for a pension in any part of the country should get all the information necessary and all the aid required to file his claim and get it proved and promptly and regularly paid without expense to himself. And yet it has come about that this is practically impossible, that the pensioners are obliged to employ outside agents at their own cost, and that very frequently these agents connive at fraud on the government, while in other cases they bleed the veterans.

Raum has been under investigation on another serious charge, and upon which the report of the committee can not be taken as conclusive. It is not necessary to rely upon any disputed facts. Raum was months ago so enveloped in suspicious acts that to retain him in office was an act of impropriety. So long ago as last winter it was shown that young Green Raum kept two horses and that a messenger in the pension office cared for them. When asked on the witness stand what compensation he gave he declined, saying it was none of Mr. Cooper's business, and according to Congressman Cooper

"The evidence disclosed that he had an old soldier removed from the force of laborers and secured the appointment in his place of a colored man who was the keeper of a gambling house, under indictment at the time of his appointment for keeping an unlicensed and disorderly house."

Young Raum still kept his place, and the other day was allowed to resign with thirty days' pay, because he had sold an office and stolen \$72. It is stated that "a regular bureau for the auctioning off of appointments has been maintained in the pension office for months. People would be appointed to place outside the civil service rules, usually paying \$600 a year, provided they made the appointment profitable to Mr. Raum's ring. It has been no uncommon thing of late to see advertisements in the daily papers here offering definite sums to any one who would obtain places for the advertisers—usually the sum of \$100 or \$200. Outsiders have wondered if such advertisements ever produced any results. Young Green B. Raum might shed some light on the subject. It is said that the investigation has disclosed that he and his confederates sold original appointments, that they sold promotions to those in the office and that they even sold the privilege of selection under the civil service rules. Selling promotions was comparatively easy, for that matter was largely under control of the thrifty appointment clerk, Raum. One of young Raum's confederates was getting \$1,000 a year when Raum entered the pension bureau. He is now getting \$1,800 and two of his sisters have been promoted twice. One of the methods pursued was having clerks who had entered the service for pay take the examinations for promotions by proxy."

The particular case requiring Raum's resignation with thirty days' pay was the case of a South Carolinian named Smith advertised to pay \$200 for a place in Washington paying \$50 a month. He was soon approached by a negro who offered to obtain it for him. The negro, who was formerly a servant in the Raum family, introduced the South Carolinian to Green B. Raum, Jr., and it was not long before he received his commission and paid the negro the \$200. Later on the new clerk desired promotion into the classified service, but he doubted his capacity to pass the civil service examinations. Another clerk, J. L. Johnson, took the examination under the name of the South Carolinian and the promotion was soon accomplished under these fraudulent papers.

The climax to this career of the Raum family is that the administration evidently intends that young Raum shall not be punished. Attorney General Miller declined the request of the civil service commission for an opinion whether Raum's offenses were punishable by law unless "requested" by the President. The President apparently has not "requested" the opinion, and at last the public is given this *Journal* dispatch.

RECENT MEETINGS OF ASSOCIATIONS.

The civil service reform association, of Buffalo, held its annual meeting June 12. It met in a community converted to the merit system. The life of this association puts to shame the helplessness of crowds of good people who shake their heads and say, "Things always have been so, and always will be." There was no more unpromising ground than Buffalo when this association began its work ten years ago. It knew what the spoils system was and it proceeded to give practical effect to its conviction that there was a remedy. After the national and state civil service laws were passed this association knew when those laws were being enforced and when they were being tricked, and it did not hesitate to contend with the enemy in public meetings, in the public prints, in the courts and elsewhere. The lasting and final triumph came in repeated decisions of the court of appeals of New York. At last completely defeated, the city government of Buffalo took up the civil service law and outdid itself in zeal of execution. The committee reported to the meeting that "there is scarcely an office in the city, except those which are exempt by statute from the civil service law, to which appointment is not made by competitive examination only." As is always the case, the only ones who had to be defeated were the machine politicians who made a living out of politics. The people of Buffalo were in favor of the merit system as soon as they understood it, and the fight with the party machines accomplished the schooling process.

Fifty-three new members were admitted. The association thanked Secretary Tracy for his proposed application of the merit system to the navy-yards. We quote two resolutions:

1. That in the judgment of this association, the caution which at first limited the operation of the law for the reform of the civil service to federal offices having not less than fifty employees, is no longer justifiable. The reform has passed the season of experiment, and stands fully approved before the people. Its success justifies and demands its extension to the great body of the official places in the gift of the federal government.

2. That this association cordially approves and earnestly urges the passage of the bill introduced by Congressman H. C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, for the selection of fourth-class postmasters on the basis of merit.

The civil service reform association of Pennsylvania held its tenth annual meeting in Philadelphia April 8. The report of the executive committee submitted to the meeting

shows a decided disposition in the association to "tackle" the lion in the den—the head of an office who puts himself above the law. Controller Thompson of Philadelphia, having been reported to have taken such a stand, a committee of the association asked him about it, but he declined to state his intentions. He then began dismissing employes without cause, and when the committee again addressed him, he declined to give reasons for his actions, and denied the right of citizens to interrogate him. This is a fortunate answer; it will not lessen the pugnacity of the association. Similar remarks in Indiana have caused the remarker and his party a great deal of trouble.

The executive committee says that the merit system does not stir the mass of the community as did slavery and seamen's rights. It should be remembered that, particularly in the case of slavery, it took many years to rouse the conscience of the people. It may take a higher civilization to justly abhor the spoils system, but the time is not far off when, if the civil service reformers do their duty, the appointment of a political freebooter like Martin to be a public officer over the citizens of Philadelphia will rouse the people of that city more than Garrison ever roused the city of Boston upon the subject of slavery.

The committee reported a more faithful observance of the federal law, and as we remember the late Postmaster Harrity, there was room for it. At a dinner in the evening Herbert Welsh delivered an address, in which he said:

During the past democratic administration, out of a force of fifty-eight Indian agents, fifty three were removed, and there was virtually a clean sweep of the whole Indian service, including the school force, with the consequent failure of Mr. Cleveland's earnest desire to promote the welfare of the Indian. Under the present administration, the carnival of spoils in the Indian service has been as riotous as under the last, and owing to a combination of circumstances far more calamitous, for a serious outbreak has occurred which, it is true, had its origin in other causes, but which undoubtedly was precipitated by the spoils system.

The report of the executive committee to the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, which met recently, speaking of the *Civil Service Record*, of which it is with the Boston Association a joint publisher, says:

The average number of pages during the year has been $10\frac{1}{2}$ and the average monthly edition 4350.

The *Record* is sent as follows:—

2621 copies to the following civil service reform associations:

Boston.....	439
Philadelphia.....	350
New York.....	333
Buffalo, N. Y.....	195
Milwaukee, Wis.....	109
Missouri.....	220
Brookline.....	115
Cambridge.....	164
Newton.....	314
Malden.....	53
Geneva, N. Y.....	36
New Haven, Ct.....	40
Lawrence, Kansas.....	12
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	250

To 1117 young men's christian association throughout the country, these being distributed in every state in the union and the District of Columbia.

A monthly average of 170 copies has been sent to paying individual subscribers in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and Utah Territory and the District of Columbia.

Eighty-nine copies to sundry persons, libraries, societies, etc., in Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

Ninety-five copies to newspapers (exchange list) in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia.

Ninety-eight are sent to the leaders of the reform movement in Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Copies of the *Record* are also sent to the President of the United States and to each member of his cabinet.

The New York Civil Service Reform Association held its annual meeting May 20. The report of its executive committee commends the Brooklyn civil service commission, but speaks with a more than doubtful tone of the state commission, and the New York city commission. The last two commissions are Delphian, and under them the law shows those curious results which we used to witness in Indiana. Why does not the New York association take up the gauntlet thus impudently thrown down? Why does it not measure strength with Hill and the commissions? There could be but one result to such a struggle, and that would be a victory for the association. Such a movement was proposed at the meeting but it seemed to be discouraged by the chairman of the executive committee, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler. The chairman of the new committee on civil service examinations, Mr. C. W. Watson, is a good man to step into the breach, or to make one and then step into it.

The Missouri Civil Service Reform Association held its tenth annual meeting at St. Louis May 28. It heard a report of its executive committee and elected officers. The late Judge Breckenridge was formerly president of the association.

The Indiana Civil Service Reform Association held a meeting in this city June 6 for the purpose of electing officers. William D. Foulke, of Richmond, was elected president. The appointment of the executive committee has not yet been completed. The association has several times doubled its membership in the last two years, and is composed of several hundred influential men from all parts of the

state. It has no annual dues, and each work undertaken is cared for by a special subscription. It is time that a large number of people throughout the state who have never taken any interest or made any sacrifices in the war against the spoils system should begin to do both.

THE MINISTER AS A CITIZEN.

We wish some earnest enemy of the spoils system would cause to be printed and sent to every clergymen of every denomination in Indiana the recent address of of Congressmen George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts to the clergy. It is all so apt and spirited that it is hard to determine what to take and what to leave:

"What is it which deadens the priestly function when the immoralities of public life are exposed to view?" Our public business and its moral standards and methods belong to every citizen; nay, more, as they take the stamp of public approval they pass current among men as our authorized coin. Yet while public men are striving upward, seeking to bring more honesty, more decency, some touch of Godliness into the affairs of the republic, it can not be denied that to the pulpit they look, generally in vain, for protection or encouragement.

It is true there have been notable exceptions; and ministers of this faith have furnished many of them; they make it easy for me now to thank them for their work, and to beg that it be honored and emulated.

It has been given to the church to keep the spiritual interests of men, and the field of moral instruction has been yielded to it quite as fully as that of religious teaching. I ask you by what right you abandon the great field of public morals; why are you silent in the face of public wrongs and scandals? Where are your words for the champions of political honesty?

What wonder that the power of the church wanes, if it stands silent and listless as the devil takes possession of the public business. Let me suggest that the ministry owes it intervention in the moral struggles of politics, first to the politician, second to the cause of morality itself, and third to his country.

You owe it to the politician who is making any effort to hold up the standards of political honesty. He needs your help even for himself; because there is no calling in life which so discourages ideals and makes high motives so dangerous as politics.

Men risk their reputations when they enter politics; therefore men with reputations are apt to keep out of it. I fear clergymen avoid it less because it threatens their reputations than because their pulpits are in danger. I agree that there is common consent among the political sinners, that they should not be referred to from the pulpit, but that consent should not settle your duty.

But surely the church has jurisdiction, sin is its peculiar business, and the ministers are pure men who can not be frightened with recriminations. I ask in all earnestness "if public wrong, immorality, dishonesty is not the business of the clergy, whose business is it?"

The politician is the thing to be reformed; he will reform as public opinion demands, and you are responsible for the moral sentiment of the community. Indeed, ministers of the gospel should stand in the front ranks of attack upon public wrongs. You need not mix in politics; but politics is not wrong and wrong is not politics. It is because public sins are most powerful that it is your first duty to attack them. In private sin men shrink and are ashamed, because they are alone; public sin becomes bold and defiant because many are joined in it. The offenders stand together, they defend together; they may be enough to call themselves of the public; they may even constitute the public; they may sit in your front pews and menace you.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord.

—Editor O. E. Mohler, of the *Fort Wayne Gazette*, is in the city. The *Gazette* is the most outspoken anti-Harrison republican organ in the state. Mr. Mohler says that there are no Harrison republicans in Allen county outside of the federal office-holding ring. Gresham would get 99 per cent. of the republican vote if the nomination was decided by popular election.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 3.

"No candidate who can not carry his state undivided can expect to be nominated. It is an established fact that Harrison can never again carry our whole delegation. If the Bruce Carrs and Sam Kerchevals and other administration imps come here again to influence our district convention, they will be uncontestedly kicked out. Hereafter, if the first district of Indiana prefers Blaine, or Gresham, or Alger, or anybody else to Harrison, its choice must be respected.

"There are a few—and very few—newspapers in this state that care much for Harrison. Some of them have post-offices and things tied to their tails to hold them steady in the harness; one has a consulship at Palermo, the headquarters of the Mafia. The 'court organ' draws \$35,000 or \$40,000 a year from the treasury, and therefore can afford to ignore the anti-Harrison meeting of last Thursday. But the independent republican papers that have no favors to ask will get their work in, you bet."—*Evansville Journal*, June, 1891.

—The following Columbus telegram to the *Cincinnati Post*, an independent newspaper with republican sympathies, will be of interest:

"Supporters of the national administration, including scores of the fourth-class postmasters throughout the state, have received hints, which, although coming indirectly, are none the less regarded as authoritative, to the effect that the civil service rules prohibiting their active participation in political preliminaries will not be rigidly enforced if they are delegates to the convention."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 21.

—No political conference held in this city for years has attracted so much attention or excited the same interest as the "anti-Harrison movement" recently inaugurated in this city. Since it adjourned the men who composed it have talked comparatively little: but tongues are wagging everywhere over the affair. There has been more talk abroad than here in Indiana, where the President's friends are alert. The *News* called upon a well-known resident of this city, who was present, for an interview. It will be seen that he represents the hostile element that betrays Harrison a poor politician, and unpopular in his contact with republicans who are not his personal friends.

"What objection is urged against the President?"

"Well, I will name a few. General Harrison was no sooner elected than he seemed to feel that he elected himself—and that he was under obligations to no one, with the possible exception of Mr. Wanamaker, who raised \$400,000 to assist in footing the bills. Before his cabinet was formed he snubbed

Mr. Blaine, who offered to visit this city to consult about the cabinet. Before he had been President a month he offended every member of the national republican committee.

"During the canvass he said to a delegation of republicans from La Fayette, that he recognized the fact that most of the republicans in their county had another convention preference; that he had always believed convention preferences should be free in the republican party, and that no prejudice should follow any republican on account of that preference. As party men we will judge men by his past convention conduct. Now, did he follow that course? Not much. Where is a republican who favored the nomination of General Gresham at Chicago that has received an appointment at his hands?"

"Were not Major Calkins and General Shackelford given appointments?"

"I am glad you mentioned those men. The President always apologizes for Calkins's appointment as judge of the district court of Washington territory by saying he did not know that Major Calkins was a resident of Washington territory until he received an almost unanimous request from the bar of that territory asking for Calkins' appointment, and that he could do nothing else, but when the territory was admitted as a state a few months later, and it became necessary to make a new appointment, and when the appointment would have been of some value, the President refused to appoint him. If it was a proper appointment in the first instance it was infinitely more so when the territory became a state. The little judgeship he gave General Shackelford in the Indian territory is too insignificant to mention. These are the only Gresham men who have received recognition from the President. He seems to have changed his mind after he made that little speech to the La Fayette delegation. He is known to have interfered and prevented his cabinet and even bureau officers from appointing men whom they desired to appoint, who favored General Gresham at Chicago. No, sir; the President has shown himself to be selfish and vindictive.

"The republicans of the Evansville and La Fayette districts were known to prefer the nomination of General Gresham at Chicago, and for that reason they have been ignored, and neither district has received recognition, while Mr. Cheadle, congressman from the latter district, was snubbed and almost insulted by the President when he insisted upon being allowed to control the patronage in his district. While President Harrison was a member of the senate he was a staunch advocate of what is known as senatorial etiquette, viz.: allowing the senators to name all appointments in the state at large, as well as in districts represented by democrats. This he denied to Mr. Cheadle, while according it to representatives Steele, Owen and Brown.

"In Illinois he denied the senators and representatives the right to control anything, but made many important appointments over their protest—all because the republicans of that state were for Gresham at Chicago. The President did not recollect that Chicago contributed \$94,000 to aid in his election, and that much of that amount was solicited by his son Russell and his law partner, the present attorney-general of the United States. He was determined to get even. In Ohio he permitted Senator Sherman to control all the patronage he claimed.

"The gentlemen who attended that meeting will call another at no distant day, and will not apply to any one for permission to do so. They are the slaves of no man, or clique of office holders.

"We do not underestimate the influence of public patronage in the hands of men who are now and have been using the same since March 4, 1890, to perpetuate themselves in power. For instance, note the appoint-

ment of Charley Foster, of Ohio, as secretary of the treasury. That state is red hot for Blaine. Charley Foster was given the most powerful department in the government, so far as patronage is concerned to enable him to capture the state for Harrison in the next national convention.

"What was the character of Colonel Conger's speech?"

"Well, some portions were semi-confidential and therefore will not be repeated; but it related to the President's want of experience as a political leader, knowledge and judgment of politics as well as of men; the use he is now making of public patronage to perpetuate himself and associates in power; his efforts to give one faction in Ohio an advantage over another. He thought the President did much to bring about the defeat of the republicans in Ohio at the last gubernatorial election. He doubted seriously whether Harrison could carry Ohio if renominated.

"General McNulta attributed the recent and present demoralization in Illinois politics to President Harrison's treatment of the leading republicans of that state, including its senators and members of congress. He has ignored their wishes and appointed men to office whom no one wanted, or men who did little or nothing for the party, because that state and its newspaper men almost unanimously supported Gresham at Chicago. He firmly believed that should Harrison be renominated he will fail to carry Illinois. The recent victory for the democrats in that state has greatly weakened the republican party and the mass of the party is so indifferent to Harrison that they would not work as they would for another candidate. A resolution was adopted by a rising vote declaring that all present were opposed to the renomination of President Harrison, and moving for the appointment of a committee to call another meeting, at which a permanent organization will be effected. It will be an open movement, with nothing to conceal. We propose to see whether public office is a public trust or a private snap."—*Indianapolis News*, June 22.

—The republican state central committee of Iowa has begun to assess the office-holders in that state at an earlier date than usual. A circular issued by Chairman Mack and addressed to a railway postal clerk, says: "Last fall our committee called upon you as a republican for a contribution to our campaign fund. As our books show you either responded only in part or not at all to our request. These contributions were expected to carry the party through the whole year. Owing to the failure of our friends to respond, we are in need of some funds now to straighten up some matters left from the fall's work, and to do some very necessary work before our state convention meets."—*New York Evening Post*, May 25.

—The reconciliation between Mahone and ex-Congressman Langston, whom the former has fought so bitterly, has caused a little flutter in republican circles. This reconciliation is accepted to mean that Mahone has returned to politics and is harmonizing the working factions for the Presidential contest.

Mahone is preparing to secure a delegation from this state to the national republican convention which will favor his candidate. The reconciliation between Mahone and Langston was no doubt effected for practical purposes. The chairman of the republican committee, who votes as vigorously as he fights, has made relentless war upon the colored ex-congressman, and, it is believed, has spent money lib-

FEUDALISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—[Blackstone.]

erally to defeat him in his congressional fight in the fourth district. Langston passed through here on his way to Petersburg this afternoon. Here is what he said to a reporter about Mahone:

"I have no doubt that Mr. Mahone would now do anything to advance my personal or official interests which he and my friends might deem advisable and judicious in connection with the advancement of the republican party, the general interest of colored Americans, and the highest welfare of our citizens generally. In Mr. Mahone's integrity as a republican, in his intelligence as a Virginia gentleman of high character, and in his sagacity as an American statesman, interested in both sections of our country and our common welfare, I have full confidence."—*Richmond Dispatch to New York Times*, March 26.

—The Young Republican Club, of Philadelphia, celebrated its tenth anniversary last night with a dinner. Among the speakers was Collector Cooper. In the course of his remarks he said:

"The recent results in revolutionized Rhode Island, in ever doubtful New York, in gerrymandered Michigan, and even in the Kansas and Nebraska alliance, all go to show a bright Presidential promise which has not been shaken by the declaration of some club man in Boston, whose name I have forgotten, that the chairman of the republican national committee was responsible for the loss of Massachusetts. It was lost last fall, partially, upon a purely personal issue, as was Pennsylvania, partially, upon a like issue; but for any club man, however obscure, to attribute the loss of Massachusetts to the republican national chairman at a time when he exercised no control, whereas the state was carried handsomely for Harrison in 1888 when he had control, passes the standard of logic." * * *

The members of the club were so disorderly during the speeches that City Solicitor Warwick, the last speaker, said to them that "the insolence, not to say the inebrity," of some of the disturbers might be pardoned but could not be forgotten.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to the New York Evening Post*, April 11.

—United States Senator Quay arrived in the city early yesterday afternoon en route from Washington to his home in Beaver. Among his visitors at the Continental Hotel was Congressman Harmer, whose district comprises Germantown. He called on the senator in the interest of Mr. Brooks. Col. Quay, it is understood, in his conference with President Harrison on Monday, when he handed in Collector Martin's resignation, not only discussed the question in connection with the appointment of a successor, but also pressed the candidacy of Second Comptroller of the Treasury Col. B. Frank Gilkeson, of Bucks county, for appointment to the bench of the court of claims, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Judge Schofield.

The local politicians who called on Senator Quay at the hotel yesterday afternoon and last evening, afterwards expressed themselves satisfied that Brooks would get the internal revenue collectorship and Gilkeson the judgeship of the court of claims. One of them, an up-town leader, said:

"There has been a great deal published about reported differences between Senator Quay and President Harrison. There is not a word of truth in any of the stories. Senator Quay's interview with the President on Monday was one of the most satisfactory he ever had."

"Will Col. Gilkeson be appointed to the bench of the court of claims?"

"It looks that way," said the politician guardedly.

"And Representative Brooks to the internal revenue collectorship?"

"It looks that way; I guess it's about settled that Brooks will be the new collector."

The question which is giving some slight uneasiness to the minds of the party workers closely identified with the revenue office at the present time, is whether or not there will be any changes in the subordinate places in the department. The gaugers and deputies are all at sea as to what is in store for them after Collector Martin goes out on the 1st of July, although if William H. Brooks is to be his successor, it is not believed there will be any changes, unless for cause. Mr. Brooks is conservative, and he is besides on good terms with some of the party leaders who were opposed to Mr. Martin's appointment to the collectorship originally, notably James McManes. The latter, who has never had much to do with helping elect republican tickets since the present collector of internal revenue was put into office, it is said may feel prompted by the change in officials to come out and once more take an active hand in the party campaigns.—*Philadelphia Press*, June 9.

—The President has appointed William H. Brooks, of Pennsylvania, to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Pennsylvania, vice David Martin, resigned.—*Washington Dispatch*, June 18.

—"Boss" Quay is on a familiar footing again at the White House. If the President shares any of Mr. Roger Wolcott's scruples about the prominence of Quay in the party management, he evidently feels compelled to stifle them in view of the necessity of getting a Harrison delegation from Pennsylvania. Quay had quite a slate of federal appointments to present to-day, and he was with the President for a long time. He wants his creature, Second Comptroller Gilkeson, made a judge in the court of claims in place of Judge Schofield, who is about to retire. This will leave a vacancy in the second comptroller's office which Mr. Quay also expects to fill. He was accompanied to the White House by collector Martin of Philadelphia, who handed in his resignation. Quay had a candidate for this place also. The resignation was only made known to-day, so that Quay was easily able to forestall other claimants.

Speaking of general politics, he laughs at the other Pennsylvania republicans who are seeking his place in the senate, and intimates that he has little fear of them. He feels that with the federal patronage at his back he can snap his fingers in the faces of his enemies in the republican party. The power he wields at the White House is well explained by a fellow republican who remarked to-day: "If the President knows which side his bread is buttered on he won't turn down Senator Quay. If he does, he won't get one of the sixty-two delegates of Pennsylvania in the next national convention."—*Boston Post*, June 9.

—Senator Sherman has been recently mortified by one of the appointments made by President Harrison in the south. Just before Mr. Harrison started on his "swing around" trip he indorsed on the back of an application for the appointment of Emil A. Weber to be postmaster at Donaldsonville, La., the words, "Let this commission be made out." Postmaster General Wanamaker's assistant, Mr. Whitfield, of Ohio, had the appointment made out, and Mr. Weber is in office awaiting the confirmation of the senate.

It seems that the appointment was made by the President upon the request of Collector Warmoth, to meet the emergency created by the transfer of the Donaldsonville postmaster to the office of melter in the mint. One day recently Mr. Sherman visited Mr. Whitfield, and expressed astonishment that Weber should have been appointed to any office by the administration.

But Mr. Whitfield, it appeared, had forgotten the history of Weber. He did not remem-

ber that it was Weber who had been a witness in 1877 in the Louisiana election controversy, and that he had been brought to Washington to testify that his brother had received a letter from Sherman promising that he should be paid \$500 for counting certain election returns in a certain way, and after he had reached Washington his chief complaint was that he had received \$300 instead of \$500. The letter referred to by the witness had been found by him in a trunk belonging to his brother, who had been killed, and he had destroyed it.

Mr. Sherman had a very poor opinion of his truthfulness, and he had a lively remembrance of the annoyance that Weber's testimony had given him at the time it was brought out. What Mr. Warmoth's idea was in bringing forward this discredited politician is not yet known, but it is known that Weber has the office, and it is assumed that when the delegates to the national convention come to be selected, Sherman's annoyer, Weber, will be somewhere in the crowd, prepared to shout for Harrison until the Blaine men are ready to take possession of the Louisiana delegation along with all the other delegations that have been set up carefully for the man who is seeking popularity at the expense of his secretary of state.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, April 22.

—The appointment of an inspector in charge of mails, to succeed E. G. Rathbone, who resigned to accept the appointment of fourth assistant postmaster-general, will probably go to New York. Inspector Wheeler, of that state, has been strongly indorsed by Hon. Thomas C. Platt, and Senator Hiscock, and it is believed he will be appointed in a few days.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 14.

—The notorious Frederick S. Gibbs, by following his usual methods, managed to win in the special republican primary in the thirteenth assembly district last night. The total number of votes cast was 836, and of these the Gibbs ticket obtained 468 and the Cowie-Sprague ticket 360, giving the Gibbs crowd 100 majority. Charles T. Polhemus announced that the Cowie faction would make another protest. Gibbs made a speech inviting the Cowie people to join with him, but they know too much about him.

It was the hottest fought primary ever held in that hotbed of republican dissension, and it was held on the hottest night of the year. This mid-June primary was made necessary by the same old row between the Gibbs and Cowie-Sprague factions. At the last regular primary, held in January, Gibbs' dishonest tactics carried his ticket through, but the county committee rejected his delegation, ordered a purging of the roll, a re-enrollment and a new primary. This latter was held yesterday in Grand Opera House Hall, the old battle ground. The special committee, of which ex-Alderman James W. Hawes is chairman, had the matter in charge. The polls and the wrangling both opened at 3 o'clock and closed at 9 o'clock. When the latter hour was reached about 500 people were still in line anxious to deposit their ballots. The scene at the close was one of intense excitement.

Many characteristic incidents occurred. Thomas Larkin, a republican of a dozen years standing in the district, was challenged by William H. Reed, of the Cowie forces. His only answer was to reach over and pull Mr. Reed's nose.

Mr. Charles T. Polhemus, a Cowie man, was mak-

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his fief or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the fief connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster.—[Blackstone.

ing an objection when Chairman Howes said: "Well, why didn't you have the primary called for all day? We wanted it so."

"It wouldn't have made any difference," said Mr. Polhemus, "they are all democrats here."

Soon after this a Gibbs man threw a billet of wood at Mr. Polhemus. It struck him behind the ear, but he was not badly injured.—*New York Times*, June 16.

—The republicans of the thirteenth assembly district who support James A. Cowie will attack the faction led by ex-Senator Gibbs at to-night's meeting of the republican county committee, by impugning the validity of the nominal Gibbs triumph at the recent primary election. The following memorial will be submitted on behalf of the Cowie men:

We charge that said frauds and irregularities consisted in:

(1.) *Filling the lines of voters approaching the polls at said primary election with large numbers of well-known democrats in affiliation with democratic organizations, who presented Gibbs tickets, and, when challenged, openly and flagrantly swore themselves in, and were permitted to vote as republicans, to the exclusion of at least a hundred well known republicans who were kept waiting in the line from two to three hours, and were finally excluded from the privilege of voting by reason of the lapse of time and closing of the polls; that upwards of one hundred republicans desirous of voting the Henry L. Sprague ticket were thus excluded from the privilege of exercising their rights as republicans.*

(2.) *That large numbers of persons were improperly forced into the lines of voters, displacing those already in line, who were thereby deprived of their rights and privileges of voting.*

(3.) *That a large number of improper persons were injected into the room through the side doors and windows of rooms adjoining the room in which the primary was being held, and were shoved into the line and improperly allowed to vote.*

(4.) *That many persons, well-known democrats, were improperly allowed to vote by the committee against the challenge and protest of the watchers representing the Henry L. Sprague ticket, by the committee claiming that they must accept the votes of any and all persons who would take the required oath as republican electors.*

(5.) *That out of upwards of eight hundred names of non-residents, democrats, deceased persons, and dummies, removed from the roll by your committee as a preliminary step to said primary, nearly two thirds of said parties' names were subsequently allowed to be re-enrolled upon the list of enrolled republican voters for the thirteenth assembly district; and that a request that written affidavits should be required from said persons, signed by them at the time of presentation of their ballots for voting, in order to subsequently identify the fraudulent democratic voters who were allowed to participate in said primary, was denied, and your committee disclaimed any right so to do, and no such precaution was allowed to be taken.*

(6.) *That the side doors leading out of Grand Opera-house Hall into the Gibbs headquarters were, against the protest of the undersigned, allowed to be opened and remained open, and access to and*

from said side rooms to be had, during the entire time of holding said primary election.

(7) The undersigned respectfully call your attention to the fact that the object of sending a committee into the thirteenth assembly district, to correct the vile practices and flagrant abuses that have disrupted and divided the organization of the republican party, has entirely failed to accomplish the purpose intended; and that instead of healing the existing differences, *that portion of the republican organization whose candidates are sustained by a large majority of the republican electors at the polls on election day are entirely excluded from any participation in the management of their own local political affairs*—*New York Evening Post*, June 18.

—Curious things developed at last night's meeting of the republican county committee held in Grand Opera House Hall. To all intents and purposes the notorious political charlatan, Frederick S. Gibbs, was taken back into full fellowship in the county committee. Nominally, Gibbs has no standing in the republican party, but last night he sat with his new delegation to the county committee when it was welcomed back.—*N. Y. Times*, June 19.

—Neither political party has been fortunate in its selection of subordinate officers of the House of Representatives. The new postmaster, a man named Hathaway, is now in trouble in his turn. He is charged with putting a man on the roll to do nothing at \$100 per month, and discharging a hard-working man from Wisconsin to make room for him. He explains the matter in what he seems to think a wholly innocent way, but the explanation throws a rather ghastly light on the way the offices are dealt out in the two houses of Congress. He says, according to an interview in the *Sunday Gazette*:

The facts are these: After I had been elected postmaster of the House a number of the members came to me and said that Wisconsin had too many men in the post-office, and that I ought to make some changes. Representative Quackenbush of New York urged the appointment of Mr. O'Brien. I told Mr. Quackenbush that I would like to oblige him and that I would see what I could do for O'Brien. Toward the latter part of March I informed the Wisconsin man that I was going to appoint O'Brien, and as there were five men charged to the state of Wisconsin I would have to let one of them go and that they could fix the matter up among themselves. It was then suggested that the man to go should receive \$200 in lieu of the vacation which I had learned the men are entitled to during the summer.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, June 22.

—The custom-house at Portland, Maine, is likely to receive the early attention of the treasury officials in their efforts to keep the

force within the scanty appropriations, and several inspectors and examiners are likely to receive notice that their services are no longer required. The Portland custom-house is one of the most expensive in the country in proportion to the amount of business done. *The remarkable expenditures at the Portland custom-house are due to the great influence which the Maine delegation has wielded in congress.* The surveyor and deputy, the assistant appraiser and one of the deputy collectors might well be abolished, and treasury agents have often recommended it, *but the friends of "Tom" Reed or of Senators Hale and Fry have never cared to be legislated out of office in that way.* While the salaries of other custom-houses are fixed at the pleasure of the secretary of the treasury, in proportion to the work done, the Portland officials have intrenched themselves behind the statute requirements, which their friends in congress have been shrewd enough to work into the appropriation bills.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, May 20.

—This evening's *Star* says: "Mr. S. D. Miller, the son of the attorney-general, has been appointed to the position lately vacated by Mr. Tolman, chief of the division of requisitions and accounts of the war department, and has been designated as private secretary by Secretary Proctor, to fill the position which has remained vacant since Mr. Partridge was appointed solicitor of the state department, in June, 1890.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 27.

—George Vest, son of United States Senator George G. Vest, escaped from St. Vincent's Insane Asylum, and the police were called upon to find him, which they did this evening. The notification given the police of his escape was the first information anybody except his relatives had that the young man had been sent to an asylum.

Young Vest is thirty years old, and has lived a life that has caused his father a great deal of trouble. He has been dissipated and reckless, but not criminal, in financial matters. *During the Cleveland administration his father secured him a position in the diplomatic service, but he had to resign it.* He was placed in St. Vincent's Asylum about three weeks ago, and it was given out that he had gone to his brother's ranch in Montana.

Friday evening he escaped from the attendants, scaled the walls, and came to the city. He roamed about for three days, but did no damage to himself or anybody else. He is not insane but in a sad condition from dissipation.—*St. Louis Dispatch to New York Times*, April 19.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 29.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

ELSEWHERE is reproduced from the Boston *Herald* an article on physical examinations of firemen and policemen, as conducted in Boston. The article is copied in the hope that our new city government may compare this business method of testing applicants with our own ridiculous practice.

THE next examination of those desiring places in the Indianapolis post-office will be held in this city in August. The territory from which applicants may come is not limited. The character of the local examining board insures impartial treatment. The practice here is to take the highest on the list for a vacancy. It is to be hoped that competitors will come forward without thought of their politics.

THE tax situation in this city is more strained than ever, and it is not likely to "ease up" of itself as the months go by and tax-paying time approaches next year. Those who hold out that, by reason of a lower rate, only about the same amount of taxes will have to be paid, are mistaken. Taxes will be heavily increased. We pay about a thousand dollars a week for cleaning and repairing streets. Political managers may think that this department can be run as spoil and that the people will be contented. This also is a mistake. So long as this system continues the people will believe that they pay for something they do not get. Higher taxes will intensify this belief and will deepen the feeling against the piratical practice. A street-cleaning department run on the spoils system is one of the many ways in which Tammany Hall plunders New York, and furnishes a warning to all cities. Now and then a street commissioner may be better than the average, and may temporarily secure efficiency; but the system remains and is a constant menace to honest government, and, as a rule, it amply justifies its bad character by its works. There is only one way to deal with this higher-taxed people. Every dollar of the money must be expended so as to bring its full value. And it will not be sufficient for the people to be told that it is bringing its full value; the expenditures must be under such a system that they can see it for themselves. In the street department the only such system is the Boston labor system.

THE *Indianapolis Journal* of July 15, says of the new city charter:

"Section 45 provides that the mayor shall call together the heads of the departments at least once a month. 'Records shall be kept of such meetings, and rules and regulations shall be adopted thereat for the administration of the affairs of the city departments, which regulations shall prescribe a common and systematic method of ascertaining the comparative fitness of applicants for office, position and promotion, and of selecting, appointing and promoting those found to be best fitted, without regard to political opinions or services.' This places the whole city government on a civil service basis, and prohibits any appointments to subordinate positions to be made except after an examination as to fitness, 'without regard to political opinions or services.'"

As the *Journal* remarks, the board of public safety, including the police and fire divisions, is excepted from the above provisions. But with regard to the balance of the city service it is difficult to see how the new city government can escape this plain requirement of the law. This includes the labor service, and we heartily commend to the mayor and the heads of the departments, assembled as above required, the Boston labor system as being "a common and systematic method * * * of selecting, appointing and promoting" laborers in the city service. And the police and fire divisions, at the will of the mayor, can be put under the merit system. He has but to notify the board of public safety to do it or make way for those who will. Does the new city government intend to continue the rule of favoritism in appointments?

THE CHRONICLE last month gave the facts of the curious action of the board of public safety regarding the superintendency of the fire alarm telegraph system. It dismissed two competent assistants of the superintendent, and gave nearly their united salaries to ex-Alderman James Riley. Then Riley's friends gave out that when he learned the business he was to succeed the superintendent, Holderman. The board is reported to have disclaimed any purpose of relieving Holderman, but he was to coach Riley, and then they were to alternate in the superintendency every other month, a queer looking innovation. Holderman firmly declined this method of relief. The publicity given to the matter possibly suggested to somebody the political inexpediency of the arrangement, for Mr. Riley later resigned, and stated to a reporter of the *Indianapolis*

News, June 30th: "I accepted this place with the understanding that after the end of my first month's service, or as soon as I should become familiar with the telegraphic circuits, I would be installed as superintendent of that service, and that I would be assisted to reach that position by Mr. Holderman, who at present is superintendent." This explanation differs from the one given out by the board of public works but it squares with appearances.

ACCORDING to the *Delphi Journal*, the democrats of Carroll county in this state are outstripping the republicans in the competitive examinations for the federal service. And from the tone of the *Brookville American* it would seem that the democrats are showing the same superiority in Franklin county. This not only goes to show that the law is impartially administered, but it is a staggering blow at the time-honored supposition that the stupidity and ignorance of the country is to be found among the democrats, and especially among Indiana democrats. Of these two republican papers, perhaps the *Delphi Journal* takes it most to heart. It says:

"Yet this is the situation here in Delphi. And it is galling. It is an outrage on the republicans who work in the trenches, and would it be remarkable if it led to disaster? Politics is largely a personal matter, and the politician who does not know this to be true knows nothing."

The times are getting to be bad for "personal" politics. With our new ballot law, vote selling at from five to fifty dollars each, and boodle-handling, with from fifty to one hundred per cent. commission sticking to the pocket of the handler, seem to be pretty effectually dead industries. And, in time, the whole crowd now living by "personal" buccaneering upon the public will find their streams of profit dried up, to their great discomfort but to the abounding augmentation of the common weal.

THE *Indianapolis News* has been questioning negroes here as to the feeling of their race toward President Harrison. Dr. S. A. Elbert thought that fifty per cent. of the colored people of the state were opposed to Harrison, and said, when asked if three good offices given to colored men would not change the sentiment, "Well, that might have some effect, but the feeling is strong." Editor E. H. Cooper, of the *Free-*

man when asked the ground of opposition said:

"He has appointed to office those who were not interested in his candidacy nor the party. Any policy that follows out to the letter the civil service regulations is bound to bring on unpopularity. The civil service law, in its operation here, it is true, has helped the colored race, as there are more colored people in the post-office than heretofore. Many of these in office were not Harrison republicans, and while the law makes places for them, at the same time Harrison does nothing for representative colored men who were actively for him in the convention and the campaign."

Rev. John H. Clay said: "The source of disaffection is that Harrison has disregarded the colored people of his own state, who are deserving of representation." Frank B. Allen, of the *Freeman*, said: "Indiana negroes have not been treated justly. No positions of importance have been given them, at least no positions commensurate with the importance of the colored vote of this state." Rev. G. A. Sissel, said: "The colored voters have not received offices in any sort of proportion to their services." Alfred Banks, said: "The offices received have been no credit to the race." Rev. James A. Davis, said: "We of the west have received really nothing."

The best that can be said of this is that these colored men do not take a more sordid view of citizenship, have no keener feeling that "support" ought to be paid for in offices, do not hold stronger views that politics are merely "personal" matters, and are not on any lower plane than the white critics of President Harrison, whose sayings the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE gave last month. And the remark may be repeated that there are powerful and manly reasons why Harrison should not be renominated, but the fact that certain men have not been quartered upon the people is not one of them.

SOME time ago the despatches from Washington stated to the country that Dan Ransdell, marshal of the District of Columbia, would go on a trip to Europe. Then by the same medium it was told that the state department had given him a passport; then that the government had given him a circular letter commending him to all United States officers abroad; then that he had sailed and would leave his children to be educated in Europe. Thus the American aristocracy of office-holders thrives and enjoys itself. Ransdell had grown rich out of office-holding, as a result of machine management, before President Harrison gave him his present place as a reward for personal service. True to his political ideas, he gave one place in the marshal's office to his brother-in-law, Leonard, whose last office had been the collectorship of customs at Indianapolis. He gave another place to his brother, Ed.

Ransdell, who had pleaded guilty in the United States court here to the charge of robbing the mails, and had been pardoned by President Hayes, not because he deserved to be pardoned, but because of the political influence Dan Ransdell was able to bring to bear. Doubtless Leonard and Ed. Ransdell will take a trip to Europe later. In the meantime, the re-elevation of this crowd into the line of public vision is a good vote-maker in Indiana.

THE death of Joseph E. McDonald removes a respected and prominent man from Indiana. He was not a great man any more than was the late Mr. Hendricks. As public men both busied themselves only with current public business. With both, but more with Mr. Hendricks, the problem usually was what treatment of a present public question will best conduce to the present success of the party. A great man not only treats current affairs with ability and honesty, but he looks into the future and recognizes those great measures which, when adopted, mark an epoch in his country's history. To bring about such a change is his great work. Thus Cavour patiently built up the kingdom of Italy, and Bismark the German empire, and Gladstone works for Irish home-rule. When a question pertaining to the routine of all governments came up, like revenue or coinage, Mr. McDonald always had decided opinions about it; Mr. Hendricks less so. Neither ever recognized the greatness of the slavery question. In 1844 Mr. McDonald advocated tariff reform, which was followed by the tariff-reform message of President Polk, and this by the tariff-reform act of 1846. Then and afterwards, with Mr. Hendricks, he completely failed to comprehend the heroic relief his country needed—the abolition of slavery. In 1888, the tariff pendulum had swung back farther than ever, and both, following Mr. Cleveland's message, which was very like President Polk's, were advocating a tariff-reform measure similar to that of 1846. They gave Mr. Cleveland no support in what he attempted to do against the spoils system. Here again both utterly failed to comprehend the great measure of relief their country needed, and still needs—the destruction of the practice of using public office to pay personal or party debts which now pervades every hamlet, town and city throughout the United States wherever there is a public office, great or small.

EX-GOVERNOR ISAAC P. GRAY is mentioned as a presidential candidate. If he lived anywhere but in the necessary state of Indiana, such mention might not be noticed. Still, in his kind of politics he is "no fool." He was formerly a republican, and as such has a "soldier record."

For some inscrutable reason he turned democrat at a time when his new party had no opinions or principles to speak of and when its attitude was chiefly denunciatory. He jostled the old party mortgagees, Hendricks, McDonald and Voorhees, very unpleasantly. Sometimes he played fantastic tricks, as when with a baker he defeated Mr. McDonald seeking to be a delegate to the democratic national convention of 1888. He now has a good grip on his party machine in Indiana, and will control the delegates. The boys will be interested in knowing that notwithstanding Mr. Cleveland's well known attitude and principles relating to the civil service, declared on so many occasions, yet at a jubilee meeting held here November 11, 1884, a few days after the latter's election, Mr. Gray said, according to the *Sentinel* of the next morning:

"One of the peculiar phases of the campaign just past, and, I think, the most peculiar that I have ever seen in any canvass I have ever been engaged in, is that our republican friends put forth an argument to the people that if the democratic party obtained control of the government, it would turn the republican office-holders out. Of course we will; there is no doubt about it. This has been a contest between parties. There have always been political parties in this country, ever since the formation of the government, and I presume there always will be. The republican party, in its long twenty-four years' lease of power, has filled the offices exclusively with republicans. That was right. When the democratic party obtains control of the government, which will be on the fourth of March next, then we will expect the offices, as rapidly as can be done with safety to the proper administration of governmental affairs, to be filled with democrats."

THE Indianapolis *Journal's* Washington correspondent says in that paper, July 23: "Colonel Dudley has, however, repeatedly assured his friends that he is done with politics, and that he only desires the indorsement of his political activity by his election as a delegate-at-large from Indiana to the next convention." A party machine is usually slow in giving one of its members the cold shoulder, but it would be a bold thing, indeed, for the Indiana republican machine to make this unpunished scoundrel a delegate-at-large.

THE following telegrams explain themselves:

WASHINGTON, June 20.

Prof. Francis M. Nipher:

What are your politics?

J. Rusk, Secretary of Agriculture.

Prof. Nipher telegraphed in reply:

Replying to your telegram as requested, I respectfully state that I am not a politician, and do not intend to engage in politics.

There seems to be no doubt but that the information was sought by Secretary Rusk with a view of giving it weight in determining his choice of a new head of the weather bureau. It will come to be one of the curiosities of our political history that a secretary's mind could be so constructed

as to prompt such an inquiry in relation to the duties of an office which can not be made to relate to politics without detriment to the public service. There have always been men who could tell more of themselves in a sentence than they or any one else could in a volume. Flannagan, of Texas, is one; Secretary Rusk is another.

By inference a stigma is put upon the actual appointee, Professor Mark W. Harrington, which we do not believe is justified. He is thoroughly equipped educationally and scientifically. He will have to show, however, that he is not a partisan tool of those above him. He will have to do this, not in a mild and obscure way, but by openly running his department on the merit system, and giving out that applicants of all shades of politics will stand an equal chance. Nothing short of this will clear the public mind of suspicion.

THE present boss of Tammany Hall is the well-known Croker, while the boss of the Brooklyn democracy is the equally well-known McLaughlin. The Brooklyn bridge patronage (composed of divers major and minor public trusts) had been distributed by Boss McLaughlin, but under the rules of modern buccaneering, Boss Croker got it away from him. Now Boss Croker desires to have Roswell P. Flower made the party candidate for governor. But Boss McLaughlin says that unless the captured patronage is returned to him, he will prevent Flower's nomination. Thus the matter stands, and it is a clear and happy illustration of how enterprising men may come to dictate officers great and small to 4,000,000 of people and also may fall out in the process and lead on the boys in a glorious fight of faction against faction over the division of spoils captured from a cowardly commonwealth.

EX-HEADSMAN CLARKSON, president of the national league of republican clubs, has got back from Europe, and had a dinner, at ten dollars a plate, given him at Manhattan Beach, New York, by the big boss, Tom Platt, and several little bosses and some office-holders, United States Marshal John W. Jacobus, Internal Revenue Collector Kerwin, Chief Inspector of Immigrants John E. Milholland, Assistant Appraiser Dennis Burke, Postmaster Van Cott, Internal Revenue Collector Walker and the President's son, Russell B. Harrison. Boss Platt, under whose command the President has dealt out New York spoil, aptly introduced Clarkson as follows:

"We have met, my friends, to do honor and welcome home a distinguished American citizen, one whom we not only respect, but love; we love him for the heads he has cut off, and we love him because the mugwump hates him."

COLLECTOR BEARD at Boston explains that the reason why the thirteen employes dismissed by him to reduce the force happened to be democrats, was because he chose from those appointed by Collector Saltonstall. He says that these can more easily find new employment than those who are older and have been longer in one line of service. Even Massachusetts, slow as she is to dispute a man's word, will hardly accept this explanation without winking. In the plain-spoken west it will be truthfully put down as the explanation of a smart republican politician who was determined to serve his party first, and therefore took the course by which he could hit the most democrats. And it will further be truthfully said that in so doing Collector Beard squarely violated his oath, which requires him to faithfully perform the duties of his trust, and one of those duties is, when reducing his force, to dismiss, not a class of men because they were appointed at a particular time, but the men who are of the least efficiency in the public service, no matter when they were appointed.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY.

Referring to the statement of the anti-Quay organization of Pennsylvania, that the fundamental fallacy of the Quay theory of politics is that "public offices are spoils, the lawful property of the politicians who capture them and by whom they are dispensed in turn to their underlings as the prizes of war," some tariff-reform papers argue that the protective tariff system is the real fundamental fallacy, and they so advise the Pennsylvania reformers. The Quayism of Tammany Hall and of Gorman and Raisin run neck and neck with the Quayism of Pennsylvania. The tariff-reform administration of President Cleveland looted more than 100,000 federal offices, as has the present protective tariff administration. There is no doubt but that thousands of Pennsylvania republicans want to keep down opposition to Quayism for fear that protection will suffer, just as thousands of Maryland democrats in 1888 voted to support Gorman lest tariff-reform should suffer. The protectionist office-holder of Pennsylvania robbed the public treasury; so did the tariff-reform office-holder of Maryland. The spoil of office is the one great prize which parties fight for in a campaign. With absolute free trade, we should have Quayism as powerful, as insolent, as extended, and as thoroughly gifted with the nine lives of a cat as now. It is a flourishing relic of monarchy and has always existed where there have been offices to be given out to reward allegiance; and this has been true without any regard to trade or commerce

or legislation. And in our modern struggle, protective republicans of Pennsylvania have not shrunk from their duty, but on the other hand have given valuable lessons to such states as Maryland and New York; and this is written in the individual belief that the protective principle is wrong.

PENNSYLVANIA.

For never land long lease of empire won,
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done.
—Lowell.

What is the matter with Pennsylvania and with the newspapers of Philadelphia? This is the exclamation of the country, which can not reconcile the present condition of Pennsylvania with the sterling character her people have borne for more than a hundred years. Has that character become debased? Have the people become so generally debauched that they can not raise their heads above the flood of public corruption and crime that now rolls over them? The answer to these questions will depend upon the way in which these people deal with the matters now before them. It is not necessary to enlarge upon Quayism. No pirate ever ruled his ship more absolutely than Quay rules the party machine in his state. No marauding feudal chief ever had his tribute-paying neighbors in more cowardly subjection than Quay apparently has the people of Pennsylvania to-day. He was branded a gigantic thief, and waited many months, seemingly afraid to deny. In the campaign which followed during this unmistakable confession of guilt, not a single Philadelphia paper dared to attack him. A few republicans, the usual "coach-load," publicly declined to wear that kind of a collar, and throughout the state they proclaimed the doctrine of anti-bossism and honesty in public affairs. They turned 80,000 republican majority into a minority of 17,000, and won the most astonishing victory that has ever been gained by any set of men in the war against bossism. After this trial of his own choosing, and after this conviction before the people of his state, Quay offered his denial. Even then the country would have permitted him to join the issue if he had called the evidence which he alone could call. He refused to call Wayne MacVeagh and Senator Cameron, whose word would instantly fix his guilt or innocence. He still remains chairman of the national republican committee and boss of Pennsylvania.

In the meantime his chief henchman, John Wanamaker, is affording another illustration of Quayism. A successful shopkeeper, he undertook the work of collecting a campaign fund for Quay, and did collect and turn over, by common report, \$400,000. He made an improper suggestion that one of the great railroads should contribute a large sum to this fund, but he failed to get the money. It is more than probable that for his success in raising this fund he was made postmaster-general. A great robbery of public money has taken place in Philadelphia, and this in inextricable connection with the Keystone na-

tional bank, an institution originally a nursing of Wanamaker's, and which has failed. To this business Mr. Wanamaker is tied by cords from which a due respect for the public imperatively demands that he loose himself; he has not so far done so. For instance, he said he never owned any stock in the bank, but that he once held 2,515 shares given him by the president, Lucas, upon which to raise money to carry on a deal in Reading stock in which, at his suggestion, he and Lucas were jointly engaged. Lucas died, and the succeeding president, Marsh, in December, 1890, told Wanamaker that this stock was fraudulently issued. The latter tells what followed later:

"Granville B. Haines and Lawyer Huey, with Marsh, came to Washington and saw me with reference to some settlement of the claim I had against the stock. I said that up to that time no person except Marsh had called the legality of the stock into question. Now that the vice-president of the bank and Mrs. Lucas' lawyer added their testimony, I felt obliged to say that they must either settle with me or I could not, in justice to myself, allow the controller of the currency to longer remain in ignorance of the fact that it was claimed that there had been an illegal issue of stock."

He then was and had been a cabinet-officer. It was the duty of the administration of which he is a member to watch this and all other national banks. He knew that a fraudulent issue of stock rendered a bank unfit to be trusted in any particular. Yet for months he kept from Controller Lacey the fact that such an issue was charged against the Keystone bank. Moreover, he, in effect, offered to continue the concealment if they would "settle" with him. At last, on March 19, 1891, Lacey found it out from Marsh and then closed the bank. In the meantime, depositors had, for months, been let to hand their money over to a bank that was not worth its office furniture. In the meantime, also, Wanamaker's firm, which had \$400,000 on deposit in November, drew out until it had about nothing in this bank when it was closed, March 19.

These facts are taken from a considerable list of the same kind and serve for illustration. The city councils of Philadelphia appointed a committee "to make a thorough investigation." Quayism again gets in its work. No cross-examiner appears. Whatever Wanamaker and the other actors in this financial tragedy care to tell, they tell. In the middle of the play thus made a farce, the Philadelphia papers, having previous to the general wreck paid forty per cent. commission to the wreckers for public advertising without ever calling the attention of the people to the patent rascality of the transaction, are true to Quayism still. The *Ledger* says June 9, 1891:

"All the other hints, innuendoes, insinuations, and accusations fade away in the same manner before the clear and open light of Mr. Wanamaker's testimony; they dissolve into thin air, mere baseless gossip and slander—and 'leave not a rack behind.'"

With public opinion thus warped and smothered by Quayism, it was to be expected that individual effort would again be disposed to try its strength. We have therefore the address published in another column. This is the

hardest public duty a citizen has to do, and it is especially hard where, as in Pennsylvania, the dry-rot of Quayism has penetrated far and wide into all classes and conditions of men. In the long run, a small number of fearless men, who are free from taint of having profited by the spoils methods of many decades of bossism, will because they are right, impress the right upon the minds of the people of this great state, and they will therefore triumph.

POLICEMEN AND FIREMEN.

The Competitive Physical Tests Applied in Boston.

[From the *Boston Herald*, June 21, 1891.]

Would you, kind reader, a "peeler" be? Would you become a fireman bold? Do you desire to become a member of either of these great protective departments? Then you must understand at the very outset that it is a rather difficult examination which the civil service commissioners impose upon all applicants. This, too, before they can even be entered upon the lists of eligibles from which names may be certified for appointment. To get upon those lists, it is only fair to assume, no person on earth but yourself can or will aid you.



FIG. 1.

The fact is proverbial that "the policeman's lot is not a happy one." That was made known by the "Pirates of Penzance" years ago. Yet the truth remains as great to-day as it was then. Still, there are many young men who seem anxious for appointment to the force in order that they may be enabled to share its sorrows and emoluments. Concerning the life of a policeman, there are very many interesting things. And this is equally true of the firemen's occupation.

But none is any more entertaining than the course of mental and physical "sprouts" through which the candidate has to go before he can become part of either department. It is in these anti-official struggles that the candidate is often left by the wayside, when he must succumb to the inevitable before he has even caught sight of the "promised land" of the blue and the brass, the helmet and the baton, or the right to run with the machine, which he is seeking with all his might.

The work done by the civil service commis-

ers may be unpopular in certain directions and among certain classes of the community, who either do not or will not understand it, and consider it in a spirit of fairness. Their examinations may be considered by some citizens to be tiresome and aggravating, and covered with red tape, yet it is plainly apparent that there is no class of public servants who have been so benefited by it as the police and firemen of this city. There can be no question that the stringent regulations imposed by the civil service board have done a great deal to relieve the force of much of any odium which may have existed in former years.

Dr. A. H. Brown, who was long the medical director of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union Gymnasium, has been for several years in charge of the official physical examination which, under the auspices of the board of civil service commissioners, are made of applicants for places in either of the two great departments of Boston's protective service—the fire and police. He holds a similar position in connection with the civil service examining board of New York City. Although yet quite a young man—being under thirty—Dr. Brown has, by his energy and ability, succeeded in securing a place in the confidence of the city fathers in both these great cities, which makes his future certain.

The object of these examinations is, of course, easily apparent, being to secure men of exceptionally fine physique to be the guardians of Boston's streets and homes. The men selected for the fire and police departments, under the present rules, are fine fellows, of more than average intelligence, sound as a dollar, and of remarkably fine physique.

A visit was made recently by the writer to the gymnasium in police station 16, at the Back Bay, while Dr. Brown was conducting examinations.

It will scarcely be a difficult matter to persuade any one that physical strength, good development and a fair amount of agility are essential for good, practical police and firemen. It is not only necessary that a policeman should have good hearing and eyesight, so as to hear and see a thief, but also that he should be able to run fast enough to catch him, and should be strong enough to hold him after he has caught him. He should be able to have more than an average chance in a tussle; he should not be lacking in the muscles necessary to make a good horseman, his grip should be good, he should be able to climb out on a roof if necessary, and he should have good endurance in all the physical work required of him.

For these purposes it is necessary that a policeman should have a fair height, which is fixed at no less than 5 feet 8 inches; that his chest should be in proper proportion to his stature; that his girth of waist should be neither too large nor too small for his height; that the capacity and strength of his lungs, the strength of his back, legs, upper and fore-

arms, abdominal muscles, etc., should all be up to a certain standard. It is obvious that it would not be advisable to have long, thin men, or men too short and stout.

Having run the intellectual gauntlet successfully, the candidate was punched, thumped and twisted by the regular examining physician, made to give his family history, and name the causes of death of all his departed brothers, and his "sisters, and his cousins and his aunts," in the determined search for any hereditary taint.

All these ordeals has the young man gone through, and now he has come to station 16. Here we see him, fairly trembling as his eye takes in the curious and awful instruments which are about to be used by Examiner Brown, in finally testing his fitness for a place.

"Now, then, young man," said Dr. Brown, "take off your coat and vest." This the candidate obeyed with considerable apparent trepidation, and submitted to some punching and pounding, and looked half scared while the examiner made a record of his respiration and temperature.



FIG. 2.

Then the young man is directed to try his hand at climbing a rope, sailor fashion, being first kindly admonished by the examiner not to get nervous, but to take time and do his best.

The young fellow seized the thick rope and went hand over hand to the ceiling, and came down again with the same movement, occupying only a very few seconds in the exercise.

As he stepped back his pulse and respiration were again taken. Then he was conducted to a long ladder suspended horizontally about eight feet above the floor, and told to jump and catch a round, and take himself hand over hand to the farther end

and return, which he did nimbly. Respiration was again noted.

The candidate was then directed to climb an inclined ladder, going up on the under side, round by round, while his feet hung motionless. Respiration taken, and carefully compared.

The idea of these tests is to judge of the wind and staying powers as well as the nerve of the applicant for an appointment.

The young man was then required to run several laps around the gymnasium, and required to lift above his head, first with the right and then with the left hand, the dumb-bells, increasing in weight until he put up 75 pounds.

Then came the test for strength of muscles of the abdomen, the candidate being directed to lie upon his back on a mattress, insert his feet under a toepiece, and taking a heavy dumb-bell in his hands, the bell resting above the shoulders and under the head (that is, at the back of the neck), rise to a sitting posture.

The tests consist of two distinct parts, one for development and the other for strength. For the development tests the men are measured for their height by standing barefooted on a platform so arranged that an electric bell rings only when their heels are resting firmly on the line from which the height is taken. They are then weighed without clothing, the minimum required weight being, in the fire department, 130 pounds for a man of five feet six inches, and in due proportion for greater height. Measures are then taken for the girth of the waist and of the chest, first empty and then inflated; for the depth of the chest and of the abdomen, and for the girths of the right and left thighs, calves, upper arms and forearms. The candidate also receives a mark for "muscular condition." This is put under development, but depends somewhat on the general proportion and strength, and also on the action of the heart and lungs and the look of the skin and muscles.

The tests for strength are all recorded under a separate head, and they consist in blowing into one of the ordinary receivers to measure the cubical capacity of the lungs.

The young man having shown above the average physical endurance and muscular power, was directed to disrobe. The candidate stripped to the buff, displaying a skin in splendid condition, and was placed in the scales, which he tipped at 130 pounds, and was then conducted under the measuring bar, where his height recorded just a little above the requirement. The candidate was close to the limit of the requirements in both weight and height, no man being taken in the fire department who weighs less than 130 pounds and is less than five feet six inches (sixty-six inches) in height.

The requirements are less in this direction in the fire department than on the police force, men in the latter department being required to weigh at least 140 pounds and measure five feet eight inches. Thus it will be seen that the young man could not have entered the

police force, being not only too light but also too short. The idea worked upon by Dr. Brown and the civil service commissioners is that a policeman should have good legs and good wind, so as to come in a good second, at least, in a race with a criminal; whereas a



FIG. 3.

fireman being required to do more or less climbing, should be lighter, with a well-developed chest and strong arms. A good grip is another essential to a good fireman.

The candidate was given an ingenious apparatus, composed of a French dynamometer fitted with handles, as in Fig. 1. He was directed to pull upon these handles, with the machine resting over his chest, then with first the left, and then the right arm extended. The strength of the pull was registered in kilos, by a hand revolving on a dial.

Next the dynamometer was removed from the handles and placed in the candidate's hand, and he was required to grip it, as in Fig. 2. With the right hand he gripped the equivalent of 65 pounds, and with the left 58 pounds.

A larger dynamometer, upon a somewhat different principle, and the candidate being required to stand upon a raised platform, was made to lift up with his knees straight. This tested the muscles of the back. Next he was directed to lift with the legs at liberty and the knees bent, to test the strength of the thighs.

A spirometer, which looked like a steam gauge with a rubber hose attached, was produced, and the now perspiring candidate was requested to blow sharply and quickly into it, as in Fig 3. This was done to test the strength of the expiratory muscles. After this the capacity of his lungs was measured by registering the pressure he put upon a lung testing machine of formidable proportions, like that in Fig. 4, which Mr. Brown called a water spirometer. This latter machine was, apparently, regarded by the young man with positive dread, as he saw the top rise in re-

sponse to the herculean effort of his lungs. As the top rose, and the hand travelled slowly around the dial, his eyes stuck out with astonishment. He looked as though he feared that after a big blow she would burst. An examination of the lungs and heart with the proper appliances finished the information sought concerning the applicant's internal economy.

Then came an exhaustive series of measurements, all, saving the height already mentioned, being taken by centimeters. The tape measured the length of the body, while sitting, to the knee, and in every possible direction. The girth of the head, neck and chest, waist, hips, etc., were taken, and then, with a curious and handy device like a pair of gigantic dividers, the depth of chest and abdomen and breadth of head, shoulders, etc.

The many and curious measurements were all very interesting, for it must be understood that Medical Examiner Brown's critical examination of applicants is based upon long experience, and is reduced to an average in every case. Thus, so many inches in stature, so many centimeters girth, breadth of chest, etc., so many pounds grip, and so many pounds lung power, added together and divided by the averaging figures gives a quotient that represents to a fraction the physical condition of the man.

In this respect, at least, it is believed that "figures will not lie." A man may be a veritable Hercules to all outward appearances, and yet upon this close and critical examination may fail to get the per cent. of marking that is requisite to pass him.

A man's mental qualifications and physical average are put together to fix his relative standing among the eligibles. The young man's markings are all written down in a big book, and they are all curious and remarkably thorough.

After having resumed his attire, the candidate was submitted to a rigid cross-examination, that went into a more minute inquiry than even a life insurance examiner, or a census enumerator would. He was required to answer all the following questions: Place of residence, name, class, department to enter, occupation, where born, nationality of father and mother, and of his father's father and mother, and mother's father and mother, occupation of father, what his father died of, which parent he most resembles, general health and hereditary diseases. Next examiner wanted to know if his victim had ever been subject to either of a long list of complaints.

It will thus be seen that these examinations of candidates accomplish two purposes. They throw out all those who are not up to a certain minimum standard, and they grade those who have passed that minimum according to their relative development and strength. In order to get a standard a table was first made out by Dr. Brown. This table was prepared from an average of measurements and tests—not of a few great athletes, but of a large num-



FIG. 4.

ber of individuals of good development and strength. If an average of 65 of this standard is not reached the candidate is rejected altogether, and according to the average percentage in all the tests the successful candidates are graded. The tables and rules for this grading are so arranged that good general development and strength count for more than special strength in particular sets of muscles alone.

In the total marking, which grades the candidate on the eligible list, the physical tests count one-half of the whole, and the mental examinations count the other half. The character and medical examinations do not count in the grading. For these the candidate either passes or does not pass. Those candidates for police, for instance, whose character is proved good, whose health, eyesight and hearing are up to the required tests, who know the police rules, powers and duties so well, and can make so clear a statement in writing, and show such penmanship, and can do simple arithmetic so well, and have such a degree of physical development and strength as to stand near the head of the list, are certainly a picked lot of men. If they stand the probationary trial of six months of actual service before final appointment, it may be safely said that those selected under this system are at least quite as well adapted, if, indeed, they are not much better equipped for their work than if selected because of their political energies exhibited in packing caucuses and getting voters to the polls, or on account of some secret influence or "pull" in city, state or national politics, or in otherwise making themselves superserviceable to some party "boss."

In view of the foregoing description of the work it is almost superfluous to add that Dr. Brown is an enthusiastic believer in the whole scheme of examination in development and strength. In a chat with him, however brief, one would be impressed with his thoroughness

and his absolute belief in the value of the tests to the community at large, in securing the best fitted men for these two very important departments of our protective service. "As a result of these examinations," said he, "I find I have to reject a large proportion of those who have succeeded in running the gauntlet of the preliminary and physical examinations. I test the men who come before me here and in New York for their all-round fitness. It was tried in Boston before any other city in the country, but New York has now adopted the same system, and, I think I am justified in saying, the authorities fully appreciate it there, as they certainly do in this city. In Boston, when we first adopted the system, we had, practically, no data to go by, and we picked out fifty of the older members of the police force—men who were regarded as the best specimens—and examined them. The tests they were put to found them very poor on their legs. They had poor wind and a poor stride when running. They were not active. Of course, our tests have been changed and improved considerably since the system was first put into operation, for since that time we have been enabled to collect a large amount of valuable data, and the experience which we have all had in the actual application of the system to the practical needs of the police and fire departments has been of very great help in many ways. Our averages are based upon scientific and well-known principles, the system being a modification and extension of that used by Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, of Harvard University. In order to get the requisite percentage, an applicant must be in pretty good physical condition, and a pretty sound man. We take the symmetry, development and strength of a man, and base his normal condition upon that. It would be a good thing if the men had to go through this examination every few years, and thus be forced to keep up their condition to a proper standard. The life of a policeman is such a change from

the active pursuits he has previously engaged in that it has a tendency to make him too heavy, and to a certain extent the life of a fireman may be open to the same criticism. I believe that the men should be required to exercise an hour a day and be paid for the time. In fact, I believe there should be a gymnasium attached to every police station and engine house, and the members of the departments required to go through certain stated exercises as part of their official duties daily."

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and * * become his MAN from that day forth. * * Services were free and base. * * Base service was to * * carry out his dung. —[Blackstone.

—Collector of the Port Cooper rushed to the defense of Senator Quay to-day in a self-prepared half-column interview. He says the address is both unwise and unjust; that it leaves a doubt in every mind if the real purpose is not to injure rather than to correct, and, if this be not so, he wants to know why they should call into review the acts of a senator who voted right on the elections bill, the tariff, and silver. He says that some of the signers aided in the movement that forced Delamater on Quay, at a time when the latter was ready to take up Hastings. On the whole he thinks it is a movement in behalf of the democrats. Of the senator he says:

"Senator Quay has battled with many storms. The gentlemen who believe him to be a little man but prove the narrowness of their own surroundings. He is one of the party's leaders—not its boss, surely, not my boss nor yours—and if he continues active in politics he will doubtless, as in the past, seek the removal of all serious obstructions to republican unity."—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times*, June 30.

Every receiver of lands, or feudatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his fief or fee, to do all in his power to defend him.—[Blackstone.

—The *Richmond Palladium* says that "the President will be his own successor," and that "there never has been an abler, cleaner or more successful administration of public affairs" than he has given the country. The *Palladium* is edited by Isaac Jenkinson, who also edits the post-office at Richmond.

—Collector Cooper of Philadelphia went last week to Atlantic City, where the Pennsylvania editorial association was visiting. The editors represent more than 100 county newspapers, nearly all of them republican. Mr. Cooper reports that they are all for Harrison.

—Amos Smith is a warm Sherman man, and owes his position as collector of customs to the senator. It is pretty generally known that a few days ago he called upon Foraker at Sherman's request, with the object of having the ex-governor say yes or no as to whether he would oppose Sherman's re-election or be a candidate himself. The report goes that Foraker told Smith

that his mission was impertinent, and gave him a very unsatisfactory message to take back to Sherman.—*Cincinnati Dispatch to New York Times*, July 21.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given."—[Blackstone.

—One of the most disgraceful appointments made by the Harrison administration is that of Edwin B. Low as postmaster in this village. It was opposed almost solidly by the respectable republicans of Westport on the ground that Low's reputation for honesty was bad and his habits so intemperate as to render him totally unfit to discharge the duties of the position. Despite the remonstrances of the citizens, whose knowledge of Low's character is complete, this man has been elevated to the chief position of trust in the community. Quite naturally the people are full of indignation. They feel that their rights have been trampled upon by Postmaster-General Wanamaker and Congressman-elect John M. Wever of Plattsburg. Denunciation of these two worthies is heard on every side in Westport and vicinity.

Wever, who is a banker of Plattsburg and politician of the Hill stripe, is charged with having promised the office to Low long before election, in the face of the fact that the opposition to Low was widespread. He disregarded entirely the objections offered, and even, it is alleged, suppressed the remonstrances and the petitions. When the people saw that Wever was determined to put Low in the post-office, they turned their attention to Mr. Wanamaker and Mr. Whitfield, the assistant postmaster-general. Personal appeals were made to both these gentlemen against the appointment of Low. Many letters were written them in support of these appeals. Low's unfitness for the post was thoroughly demonstrated. Wanamaker and his assistant professed to be much interested in the case.—*Westport, Essex County, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times*, June 30.

Thus the feudal connection was established, * * and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster.—[Blackstone.

"The" Allen, gambler, republican political heeler, and keeper of places of resort of people of questionable character, lies hovering between life and death at 246 West Forty-third street. He was a quick fighter, but he ran across an Italian who was quicker than he and received several stab wounds, one of which, it is feared, will prove fatal.

At about 11:30 o'clock Thursday night Allen and four others were playing cards in Allen's saloon at Bleecker street and South Fifth avenue. The game that they were playing is called "slaughter in the pan."

While the game was in progress John Carrero, an Italian, came in and asked to be allowed to take a hand. Allen said that he would not play with Carrero, and the Italian left the saloon. About an hour later he returned armed with an ice-pick and immediately made a rush for Allen. Seizing Allen by the throat before the latter could recover from his surprise, the Italian stabbed him again and again until he fell bleeding to the floor.

Allen is fifty-three years of age, and has had a bad reputation all his life. While he descends from a respectable family, his father having been an Episcopalian clergyman, most of his brothers have been either criminals or associated with the criminal

classes. Of the five brothers two are doing time in state prisons and one was shot in Ohio.

Wesley Allen, or "Wes" Allen, as he is known, one of "The" Allen's brothers, is spoken of by Inspector Byrnes as probably the most notorious criminal in the United States. He is described as "saucy and treacherous," and requires to be watched closely, as he will use a pistol if an opportunity presents itself. He has been a thief for many years, but has not spent much time in prison. Martin Allen, another brother, is a burglar, and was sentenced on November 1, 1883, to serve ten years in Sing Sing for burglary. Jesse Allen, a third brother, was shot in Ohio after committing a burglary, and died. John Allen, a fourth brother, is the only reputable man in the family. He is a jeweler in this city.

"The" Allen has consorted with toughs and criminals from his earliest days, which were spent in the eighth ward. During the war he kept a bar-room known as the "St. Bernards," at Prince and Mercer streets, which was a notorious resort for bounty jumpers, thieves, and loose women. Later on he opened a gambling den at 611 Broadway, and it was here he killed John Molloy by shooting him with a pistol early in the morning. No one was present to witness the affair.

Allen always combined politics with his business so as to get the necessary protection from the police in his nefarious business. He was at one time a political boss of a low type—not a boss in the sense of a leader, but a boss of his own followers. His affiliations were usually with the republicans. He was first prominent in the republican affairs of the old eighth ward, where he had considerable control of the colored voters. He held the whip over them if necessary, but when free-handed liberality suited his purpose best he used it. Besides his control over the colored voters he had a certain "gang" of his own henchmen, who were useful in running caucuses or in packing primaries.

Allen knew how to manage these things well, and when he was at the height of his power an eighth ward primary usually went his way. When the fifth assembly district succeeded the eighth ward as the political division, Allen was still something of a power. Of late years he has bobbed up occasionally in the many district fights in the fifth. Sometimes he was with this faction, sometimes with the other. In the last fight, in which ex-Police Commissioner Stephen B. French was the winner, Allen was with French. Years ago Allen ran for alderman, and he always claimed that he was elected and counted out.

When John I. Davenport was appointed chief supervisor of elections he found a proper tool and associate in "The" Allen, and made him one of his principal heelers. Part of Allen's duties to the Grand Old Party was to ship repeaters from New York and Philadelphia to Indiana and Ohio at election time. At one time Allen joined the greenback labor party in this city, and Shupe took him for his side partner and got him nominated for the assembly. Allen, at one of the meetings of the county committee of the greenbackers, pushed the chairman off the platform, put in his own man, and captured the meeting, the delegates being frightened by his heelers.

The prosperity of Harry Hill in his Houston street dive aroused "The" Allen's envy and he started another similar place a short distance away in Bleecker street and called it the "Mabille." It was a resort for thieves and loose women, sports, dissipated clerks, and strangers who wanted to "do the town." It was even below the low standard of Harry Hill's, but nevertheless, after Harry Hill's, Billy McGlory's, and Tom Gould's places had been closed by the police, "The" Allen's "Mabille" continued to flourish for some time, owing to his strong pull with the republican machine. He was regarded as a spy and go-between between the police and thieves, and was a great pet of Commissioner French's. Finally the "Mabille" had to be closed, too, and "The" Allen became more and more of a republican ward worker. His influence with Mr. French was said to be enormous, and he could almost always get his heelers jobs in the post office, custom-house, or navy yard.—*New York Times*, July 11.

"By not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord.—[Blackstone.

—There seems to be no reason known at the treasury department for the removal of Appraiser Stearns except that he is a democrat. Secretary Foster and Assistant Secretary Spaulding are out of town to-day, but no one about the department pretends to know any other reason than the political one for the displacement of the wounded democratic veteran. Some of the treasury officials were reluctant to make the change, and it was only just before the President started for Cape May that he signed the papers driving from the public service his comrade of the war for the Union. General Cogswell, in accordance with the reports already published, was the most earnest advocate for a change in favor of his friend, Mr. Dodge. The President, if asked the reasons for the change, would probably reply, as he did to the correspondent of the *Post*, in the case of the displacement of postmaster Pearson of New York, that he "did not think any statement was necessary."—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, July 6.

—Sergeant-at-Arms Adoniram J. Holmes, of the house of representatives, is an Iowa man, and he has evidently heard the cries of distress which his fellow-republicans of Iowa are sending up because of the outlook for next fall's election.

His first contribution to the cause was made to day, when he dismissed Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms Thomas Cavanaugh, who has held that office since the republicans took control of the house, and against whom it is declared no charges have been made. By dismissing Cavanaugh after all the work of the fifty-first congress has been done, Mr. Holmes makes room for the appointment of an Iowa man, who will have nothing to do but draw his salary until he is displaced by a democrat next December.

Of course, the new deputy can be depended upon to work and vote for the republican ticket, and as his chief duty will be to draw his salary, he ought to be willing to make liberal contributions to the party's campaign fund.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, June 30.

—When Mr. Blaine was called to the most important place in the cabinet he wrote, in reply to the President's letter tendering the appointment (which letter clearly outlined the President's views), a statement that distinctly implied in the clearest terms unquestioned and unbending fealty to the head of the administration, and by no act, word or intimation has Mr. Blaine at any time since left his loyalty open to the slightest suspicion.—*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.

PARTY EXORCISM.

—Quayism tried to force the bankrupt Delamater on the people as governor, and it is capable of dictating the election of such a treasurer as Bardsley if political exigencies demanded. The latter-day Republicanism of Pennsylvania has become a stench in the nostrils of honest men.—*Buffalo Express* [Rep.].

—"The movement to force Mr. Quay off the national republican committee, and to depose him from the leadership of the party in Pennsylvania is commendable. It should receive the approval of republicans everywhere," says the Cincinnati *Times-Star* [Rep.].

—Men will not work intelligently and enthusiastically under the direction of a partisan chieftain who has forfeited their confidence on the score of integrity, whose agents and associates are corrupt and discreditable, whose purposes are usually dishonorable, and who, whether his ends be good or bad, is reckless and unscrupulous as to the means which he employs for their accomplishment. This is the case with Mr. Quay. It is said that the President has entered into a sort of offensive and defensive alliance with the Pennsylvania boss.

The republican masses hope and believe that this story is false. Such a league would discredit Gen. Harrison, deeply offend his admirers, and fatally handicap the party in the campaign. The republican voters of the country demand that Senator Quay step down from the chairmanship of the national committee before the lines are drawn for the canvass of 1892.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat* [Rep.], July 14.

—After the publication of the Philadelphia address, the *Omaha Bee* (rep.) thinks that Quay "ought by this time to be convinced of his entire unavailability as a leader of the Keystone republicans."

—The *Advertiser*, which was one of the first to protest against the retention of Senator Quay in an important position on the republican executive committee, is glad to notice so general a republican condemnation of the Pennsylvania boss and his political methods. There is much in the Pennsylvania idea of political warfare which citizens of both parties have seen fit to condemn, and Mr. Quay's only reply to the recent signed protest against his retention in a responsible political position is no answer to its justice. Even if it be true, as he is reported to have charged, that the signers are "all democrats or mugwumps," that fact would not militate against the truth of their indictment.—*Boston Advertiser* [Rep.].

—There is a strong and growing conviction among republicans that Mr. Quay's prominence in the party councils is hurtful to the party.—*Philadelphia Press* [Rep.].

—"Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania can not counteract the demand that he shall resign from the chairmanship of the republican national committee and remove his big thumb from the republican party in Pennsylvania, by denouncing his critics as mugwumps and free-traders."—*Albany Journal* [Rep.].

—"It is time for plain speaking and resolute action. The republican party in Pennsylvania needs reform, and it can not take the very first step toward reform so long as Mr. Quay retains his place in its leadership and councils. It is the height of folly for the party to run amuck against the public conscience by refusing to eliminate the leadership which has brought it into discredit and defeat."—*Boston Journal* [Rep.].

—Even the *Boston Traveller* (rep.), speaks out. "The pressure is increasing," it says, "and it really looks as if Matthew Stanley Quay had better retire from the chairmanship of the republican national committee while he can do so gracefully."

THE ROUT OF SENATORS PLUMB AND GORMAN.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, of the national civil service commission, is the right man in the right place. His alert mind, his strong conviction, his accurate knowledge of details, and his aggressive temperament instantly challenge any false statement or sneering assumption against reform from whatever source it may proceed. Senators Plumb and Gorman have had occasion recently to discover that Mr. Roosevelt is "an ugly customer" to deal with upon this subject except with facts and arguments. If anybody supposes, said Senator Plumb in his place, that the civil service commission is now without fear or favor, he is entirely mistaken. Favoritism of the grossest kind is shown, and underhand work takes place by which persons are picked out for selection by that commission. This, says Mr. Roosevelt, is a charge of cheap corruption. It was susceptible of immediate proof or disproof. If true, the commissioners were guilty of official misconduct. If false and without

foundation, the wanton allegation of such rumors, or, as Mr. Plumb says, "information which seems to me to be conclusive," is saved from being infamous only by being contemptible.

The commission instantly wrote to Senator Plumb asking that the information on which his assertion was based should be immediately furnished to the President if it affected the commission, and to the commission if it affected any of their subordinates. They promised prompt and thorough investigation, adding that all their books, records, and papers were open to any responsible person, and that the career of every appointee could be traced in detail from his examination to his appointment. Nothing could be more frank, honorable, and explicit than the offer of the commission to meet the charges of Senator Plumb. Three months and more have passed, but neither Senator Plumb nor Senator Stewart, who had sustained his charge, has answered the letter of the commission. The reason, says Mr. Roosevelt, is that the statement did not contain a particle of truth, a fact which both senators knew, or ought to have known, when they made it.

Senator Gorman also foolishly exposed himself to the same unsparing castigation. He said, in an interview, to show the absurdity of reform, that a letter carrier was asked "the most direct route from Baltimore to China." Mr. Roosevelt wrote him promptly, saying that if such a question was asked it was against the explicit orders of the commission, which had in its office a complete set of the examination papers of every letter-carrier since the examinations began. The papers had been thoroughly examined, and no such question appeared. Would Mr. Gorman kindly state the date and place of the examination, or would he send a person to search the papers for the question which he alleged to have been put to a "bright young man in the city of Baltimore?" Mr. Gorman discreetly did not respond. After a few weeks, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt publicly told the truth in saying that Senator Gorman had told something else than the truth, for no such question was asked as he asserted to have been asked. To this challenge Senator Gorman made no other reply than to state in the senate that in common with everybody who had criticised the inability of the commission to enforce the reform law, he had been very severely criticised by the president of the commission—meaning Mr. Roosevelt, who is not the president—and when Senator Blair asked him what he did about it, Senator Gorman answered: "I did about it what I do in the case of all interference by impudent people who without warrant ask me about my discharge of my duty. I took no notice of it." Evidently Senator Gorman had stated what was untrue, and would not acknowledge it. The conclusive evidence of its untruth was offered to him, and he would not look at it. His conduct convicts him of bearing false witness, as that of Mr. Roosevelt shows the perfect readiness

of the commission to answer every question, and of Mr. Roosevelt himself to expose remorselessly the ignominious attempts of senators of the United States to slander other public officers. No member of congress who has read Mr. Roosevelt's letter describing the complete and ludicrous rout of Senators Plumb and Gorman, and Senator Stewart as their reserve, is likely to attack the civil service commission without carefully surveying the ground.—*Harpers' Weekly*, July 18.

Secretary Tracy deserves credit for extending the operations of the merit system to the navy-yards at Norfolk, Va., and Portsmouth, N. H. But he will quickly make a farce of his well-meant experiment unless he develops more capacity for resisting pressure than the newspapers give him credit for in a case that arose at Norfolk. The incumbent of a post in that yard was, it seems, found to rate lower at the examinations than another candidate. But the incumbent, like most of them, had a pull. This he exerted so vigorously through the agency of a former member of congress that he was given the place, and the man at the head got nothing. This will never do. If the secretary yields to one pull he will be subjected to hundreds of them, and his new policy will be "pulled" to pieces.—*The Civil Service Reformer*, July, 1891.

[Secretary Tracy, after careful consideration of the objections, has since upheld the examination and appointed the man selected by the the competition.—ED. CHRONICLE.]

Mr. Chittenden had ample personal knowledge of official life and the civil service in Washington, and his brief but stringent remarks upon them are of great value. The awful suffering and personal ruin due to the spoils system of the service he knew well by observation. "No men," he says, "better deserve the attention of philanthropists than the clerks in the government service;" and his words outweigh the gibes of a thousand mere party politicians when he says, "It will be a fortunate day for the country when the civil services system is extended to all the government offices except the cabinet and those immediately connected with congress."—*From Harpers' Weekly's Notice of Chittenden's Recollections of President Lincoln*.

In reply to Mr. Clarkson's statement in the *North American* for May that "no boss can live more than a year," the *Boston Transcript* (May 5) cites the instance of Quay, who continues to hold his place in spite of the denunciations hurled at him by men of his own party. Other instances disproving Mr. Clarkson's statement will no doubt occur to our readers, and show to them how absolutely reckless Mr. Clarkson is when he attempts to argue. He has no power of dealing with facts. Vigorous language is his sole forte in writing and speaking. As an instance of how long a boss may reign, the case of I. Freeman Raison of Baltimore may be cited. Before the war he was an officer of a Know-nothing club which made itself

infamous for its use of pistols and shoemakers' awls at the polls. When his party was overthrown, it might be supposed that Raison would disappear from politics; but no, from that day to this he has been a power in Maryland, and always in most disgraceful ways. His life and methods have been fully exposed by the reformers of Baltimore. Every one knows just what he is; but such is the strength of a boss, where the spoils system exists in perfection, that neither reformers within his party nor those who have left it to coalesce with the opposition have been able to overthrow him. Gorman himself—who, by the way, has certainly been a boss more than a year, in spite of his published record—would not today think of making a move or deal in Maryland without taking into account Raison's hostility or friendship, as the case might be.—*Civil Service Record*, July, 1891.

About one hundred and forty members of the Massachusetts reform club recently gave a dinner to express their respect and admiration for General Corse, the Boston postmaster, whom President Harrison is stated to have said that he could not re-appoint in spite of gallant services during the war and an admirable record as postmaster, because the postmaster had failed to give a public disapproval of southern outrages. The readers of the CHRONICLE will be interested in what General Corse had to say upon this occasion, and use is made of the report of the *Boston Post* of May 8:

General Corse was greeted with great enthusiasm, the whole company rising as he was presented. He said it was with some embarrassment that he tried to find words to express his gratitude for this reception. It was a rather sad commentary on the public service that a man should be commended for doing what was only his duty. He was deeply in sympathy with the reform club. He was that much of a partisan that he went on the line of his party when it commended itself to his opinion, and when it did not he was not with it. Probably men were more emancipated from party to-day than ever before.

When he took the Boston post-office he found the machine a very crude instrument. He addressed himself to the details of the business, examining the offices in Baltimore and several others. He learned it from top to bottom. The post-office system of the country was not perfect. No private business could be managed like this without going into bankruptcy. There were five or ten bureau heads, all at loggerheads with each other. If a postmaster got one into sympathy with the improvements the others might oppose him and his efforts went for naught. The post-office department was alien to the post-office. The heads of the department probably thought if the offices were wiped out they would have a very good time. A man must have great persistency to achieve reforms under such conditions.

The civil service law had been a constant bulwark against his political friends. It was a singular fact that the best friend a man had would unload upon him the most worthless whelp in the world to get rid of him. No doubt through the agency of such associations as the reform club civil service was advanced very materially. It was a delight to him that the navy yard and the Indian

department had been added to the civil service.

General Corse related how, not long before his successor was appointed, he was in Washington to see the postmaster-general. He found that certain politicians could gain access to him at all hours, while he who was on department business had to wait a long time to find out when he could see him next day. The postmaster-general said he was so occupied with affairs of state that he could only give him a few minutes of time. When he went into the office he saw that the postmaster-general was occupied with a colored man from a southern state who wanted an office. The postmaster-general was talking to the negro, saying that he understood he had been in a democratic caucus.

"No, sah, I was never in a democratic caucus," the negro replied.

"Well, you were seen in a democratic convention then," continued the postmaster.

"No, sah, never was in any democratic convention," reiterated the negro.

"Well, then, were you not in consultation with democrats?" pursued the postmaster.

"Never, sah, never," repeated the negro.

General Corse commented upon this state of things, and said he advised the postmaster-general to turn over to the first assistant postmaster this matter of investigating the character of applicants for small post-offices. The department, he said, was like a run-down railroad. Some man had got to go into the office of the postmaster-general some time and sacrifice years in building up a new and improved system, for which his successor would get the credit. The great idea of some postmaster-generals was to reduce postage, annihilate a lottery or annex the telegraph. The best step to be taken was to create an administrative head, and keep him there for ten years at a salary commensurate with the work.

Unless a postmaster-general was in sympathy with the congressional committees on post-offices and postroads he was entirely helpless. In the local office there was nothing which the ordinary business man could not accomplish. It was purely an industry. The postal service was designed merely to take a letter or package from one man and deliver it to another. * * *

He went on to show that the deficiency in the post-office department was due to the fact that \$5,000,000 worth of work was done for the government for which no credit was given, and that newspapers were carried for a cent a pound which cost five cents per pound. In the recent controversy over the Boston office it was his desire that the office should not fall into the hands of the spoilsmen. The man who succeeded him would make a good postmaster, and the office would not fall into the hands of spoilsmen. If the democratic party succeeded in 1892 he hoped a good official would not be displaced.

ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

As Pennsylvanians and as republicans, we, the undersigned, feel constrained to address our fellow citizens throughout the state upon the present political situation—to point out what we believe to be the essential causes of the alarming degradation in public affairs from which we now suffer, and the necessary steps toward improvement.

The republican machine in this state, under the leadership of Senator Quay, and those lieutenants whom he has drawn about him, is corrupt, and in strong contrast to the rank and file of the party. That leadership is absolute in its control, as it is unscrupulous in its methods, and disastrous in its results. With Senator Quay's political record the pub-

lic is so familiar that it is unnecessary at this time to give a detailed history of those more remote public acts through which its notoriety was acquired, while a brief reference to its more recent events is appropriate in order to depict clearly the present situation.

Mr. Quay is mainly responsible for the overwhelming disaster which befell the republican party in this state during the past autumn, whereby an accustomed republican majority of twenty to thirty thousand was changed to a democratic majority of seventeen thousand. The single issue of the campaign, as determined by Mr. Quay himself, was the vindication of his own personal and political character. The adoption of the republican platform involved a declaration of confidence and respect for the junior senator, and in the election of the republican candidate the acceptance of a man who was nominated at the dictation of Mr. Quay. The state rejected both the plank and the candidate, and a political revolution ensued. The republican party was defeated in Pennsylvania, its most conspicuous stronghold. It might have been supposed that the leader who had inflicted such a wound upon his party, and to whom it had given so overwhelming an evidence of a lack of confidence in him, would have retired from public prominence. Mr. Quay, however, contented himself with an elaborate defense of his record before the United States Senate. This was both untimely and inconclusive; untimely, since it came after all possible damage that could result to his character had been effected by his silence under the grave charges repeatedly made against him from responsible sources through the long critical period preceding the election; inconclusive, since he failed in it to adopt the simple and the only course in relation to the treasury scandal that could have made clear his innocence. Had Mr. Quay accepted the suggestion that he should call upon Mr. MacVeagh and the other gentlemen who were said to have been present when his alleged defalcation in connection with the treasury was covered by Mr. Cameron, to testify in his favor, he would have adopted the obvious means for securing vindication. But this he did not do; and failing to take such a course his defense falls to the ground, and his previous position remains unchanged. Notwithstanding these facts he still retains the party leadership, and his lieutenants, either acting under his direct, though hidden, command, or only in strict accord with the principles of his school of politics, by the attitude they assumed toward the ballot reform bill, have violated the express pledges of the party, have openly defied the will of the overwhelming majority of their constituents, and have been guilty of a stupid political blunder. The amendments first made by the state senate committee to the Baker ballot bill were of such a nature as to transform the very spirit of that measure from one in the interest of free and fair elections to one designed to perpetuate the corrupt practices under which the state had so long suffered, and by which these leaders have so long retained their power. But those who designed and favored these amendments, and who thereby declared themselves in favor of a fraudulent ballot, will be remembered by the voters of this state, and when the day for a consideration of the qualifications of our public servants shall have come, the names of those who have thus defied the commands of their constituents will not be forgotten.

For the defeat of the bill abolishing the local school boards in Philadelphia, which was designed to free our public schools from political influence, and from a divided and cumbersome control, a republican legislature must also be held responsible. The measure had the approval of the great majority of our best citizens of all creeds, and of both parties, and the time was ripe for its adoption.

All these statements, while they touch the root from which other evils have grown, find a fitting culmination in that scandal of more recent exposure—the robbery of the city and state treasury by its dishonest guardian. Not only must the citizens of Philadelphia suffer a tarnished name, a direct loss of a million dollars or upwards, while thousands of depositors lose their earnings through the failure

of banks connected with this defalcation, but those untold and untraceable losses, resulting from the shaken confidence in the community, must also ensue.

There is a fundamental fallacy in the theory of politics which has for years obtained in this state, and of which Mr. Quay has been the leading exponent. It is that public offices are spoils, the lawful property of the politicians who capture them, and by whom they are dispensed in turn to their underlings as the prizes of war. But the truth is that these offices are a public trust which should be held in stewardship by the politicians for the people. The disaster of a looted treasury is explained by the fact that the step from this fallacy to the startling and bald appropriation of public funds to the private uses of public officers is a long one in appearance only, not in reality. That step has now been taken. A partial remedy for future troubles of the same kind lies in the party's acceptance and assertion of the truth that a public office is a public trust, and that it will not support in power men who deny that truth. We are soon to nominate an auditor-general and a state and city treasurer. In making these nominations, if the elections are to give these posts to republicans, we must see to it that the men chosen are both honest and of such firm character that they can not be twisted to dishonest purposes.

In the presence of these facts, can the republican voters of Pennsylvania hesitate as to their duty, or be in doubt as to their course? The moment is a crisis as real and as momentous as any through which the state has ever passed. There was a time when Pennsylvania rose in arms to victory at the presence of a hostile invader upon her border, but the danger was less than to-day, when the hands of the public thief are upon her ballot-box, and have been through her treasury. The poison of political corruption and dishonesty have alike affected those who have promoted, and those who have permitted it. It has produced a paralysis, running through moral causes to material results. Many of our good citizens have been blind and deaf to the conditions about them, until the vicious system and the evil principles which have been tolerated so long have brought forth fruit after their kind. But when loose political morals and methods have culminated in appalling defalcations and increased tax rate, none will dare dispute the value of sound principles in politics. With a great financial scandal, the black bottom of which has not yet been sounded, fastened upon Philadelphia, and with the name of our state a word of political reproach throughout the country, we are convinced that the time is ripe for change. We appeal to the patriotism, to the sound sense of republicans throughout the state, or, in the absence of sensibility to higher considerations, to that fear of impending financial and political danger which further inaction will bring, to so consider this question, and so to agitate it as to secure speedily the required reform. Here, in reality, is a chance for reform within the party by such an expression of popular sentiment against the objectionable men, that they shall fail of renomination to their respective offices, and thus the voter be saved the alternative of accepting an unworthy candidate, or voting for one of the opposite party. The evils which we now suffer will be overcome, if each man shall but feel a personal responsibility for their removal, and will make those individual and associated efforts which, if wisely planned and faithfully executed, bring victory. The objectionable public records of the men who have inflicted those evils must be exposed. There must be a more competent and worthy leadership than that of Mr. Quay, and the legislature must be purged of those who have placed themselves on record as the enemies of ballot reform. The demand for the retirement of these men from the places which they have disgraced, must be unflinching. The political methods which they have adopted must be discontinued, and in their place must be substituted only those consistent with sound morals and with the practice of honorable men. These ideas must find expression through the public press, and by the private letters of constituents to their representatives. If they are not insisted upon and adopted, the republican party

in Pennsylvania is doomed. It will fall rapidly from decay into dissolution. No party can long survive the deliberate abnegation of principle, or the adoption of the heresy that the people at heart have ceased to believe in right. That what we urge is not sentimentality, but politics of the most practical sort, the financial losses which the state and individuals are now enduring, would seem to have clearly proved.

We issue our appeal at a time when these events are fresh in the public mind, to permit that full consideration and agitation of the subject which should precede ultimate action at the primaries or the polls. If this appeal shall excite a popular response, ways and means can readily be devised for organized effort at a later date.

Charles Richardson.	J. Rodman Paul.
Rudolph Blankenburg.	Charles E. Pancoast.
Charles W. Henry.	Geo. Strawbridge, M. D.
John T. Bailey & Co.	Hampton L. Carson.
Robert R. Corson.	Joseph DeF. Junkin.
Alex. E. Outerbridge.	Herbert Welsh.
Henry Hartshorne, M. D.	Rev. J. K. Murphy, D. D.
Henry S. Pancoast.	Robert Frazer.
Rev. Joseph May.	Edward Y. Hartshorne.
Theodore J. Lewis.	Charles M. Lea.
James E. Rhoads, M. D.	Rev. W. N. McVickar, D. D.
George Wharton Pepper.	Reed A. Williams, Jr.
Rev. Alfred J. P. McClure.	George Burnham, Jr.
Henry L. Patterson.	Edward I. H. Howell.
William B. Montgomery.	George W. Blabon.
William J. Dornan.	David Scull.
Charles B. Krein.	James S. Whitney.
William H. Castle.	Edward Longstreth.
William P. Datz.	John Story Jenks.
George H. Earle.	John H. Converse.
George Burnham.	W. C. Allison.
C. M. Clark.	Thomas J. Martin.
Joseph S. Clark.	Charles W. Dulles.
Charles H. Thomas, M. D.	James Peers.
T. Morris Perot.	Eben F. Barker.
Charles Heber Clark.	Reuben Haines.
Thomas Miles.	Thomas F. Jones.
Robert P. McCullagh.	Walter Wood.
Ferd. J. Dreer.	Rev. Sidney Corbett, D. D.
Edward H. Williams.	Philip J. Walsh.
Owen Jones.	Edward R. Strawbridge.
Rev. Ezra P. Gould.	William N. Mencke.
Nathaniel E. Janney.	George D. Bromley.
Benjamin H. Shoemaker.	Robert E. Hastings.
Rev. James Lisk, D. D.	Edward S. Whelan.
J. Cheston Morris, M. D.	Thomas L. Franklin.
Rev. J. Elliott Wright, D. D.	Rev. W. F. Paddock, D. D.
Rev. S. W. Dana, D. D.	Rev. W. C. French, D. D.
J. Sellers Bancroft.	Rev. T. E. Brown, D. D.
Rev. Willison B. French.	John T. Monroe.
Edward Lewis.	Rev. Charles Wood.
Charles Dissel.	Rev. S. D. McConuell, D. D.
A. J. Hemphill.	Enoch Lewis.
George A. Fletcher.	Samuel S. Thompson.
B. Frank Clapp.	G. A. Bisler.
George L. Mitchell.	John S. Engart.
Charles Hill.	E. W. Clark.
T. Henry Sweeting.	John Pitcairn.
Nathan T. Clapp.	Howard Comfort.
Evan Morris.	Robert E. Atmore.
Rev. C. Miel, D. D.	Dr. Owen J. Wister.
Lucius H. Warren.	Ebenezer Wood.
James Chadwick.	Maximilian Weiss.
George W. Anderson.	Harry K. Bisbing.
Emerson Conrad.	Alex. E. Outerbridge, Jr.
C. D. Ritchie.	Rev. J. T. Beckley, D. D.
Rev. M. Hulburd, D. D.	William F. Dreer.
Francis H. Williams.	Joseph W. Swain.
Rev. E. K. Young, D. D.	Rev. William Ely.
Rev. E. T. Bartlett, D. D.	Rev. J. R. Miller, D. D.
Rev. Benj. Watson, D. D.	Lucian Moss.
Edwin F. Schively.	E. B. Tyson.
A. M. Collins.	James H. Snodgrass.
Joseph P. Bolton.	Charles F. Vollmer.
George D. Wetherill.	Nicholas Lennig.
Frank S. Pleasonton.	Dr. W. A. Reed.
J. Henry Tilge.	Charles Henry Hart.
Rufus M. Smith.	George T. Pearson.
Jesse A. Tilge.	Lincoln L. Eyre.
Peter Moran.	O. M. Jenks.
F. O. Horstmann.	William Hazelton 3rd.
John J. Boyle.	Dr. Chas. W. Gessler.
Walter Horstmann.	Herbert I. Keen.
Graff, Son & Co.	Joseph H. Brazier.
Joseph S. Perot.	H. O. Hastings.
John V. Hastings.	Henry G. Thunder.
John Moss, Jr.	R. C. Gaskill.
F. DeB. Richards.	Rev. W. W. Hammond.
Henry Brooks.	George C. Harrison.
R. R. Phillips.	Atwood Smith.
W. E. Bates.	William P. Lewis.
Edwin F. Partridge.	William Harmar.
Walter Freeman.	Dr. Walter J. Freeman.
Dr. William G. A. Bonwill	J. A. Schiedt.
William M. Gordon.	H. G. Tinker.
Charles H. Ashburner.	Joseph Hartshorne.
George J. Newton.	Dr. William Moss.
John S. Dovey.	William H. Bradbury.
William H. Bradbury.	Samuel Bradbury.
Robert P. Molten.	H. M. Sill.
Thomas Bromley.	George W. Allen.
Joseph Priestley Button.	Rev. C. A. Dickey, D. D.
	W. D. Frishmuth, Jr.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind., where subscriptions and advertisements will be received.
Address THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VOL. I, No. 30.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable.—*Republican National Platform*, 1888.

When President Harrison was inaugurated, the reform system established by law had been extended to some 32,000 places in the federal service. In two years and five months he has extended it to cover some 700 additional places.

The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments * * * to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.—*Republican National Platform*, 1888.

Headman Clarkson in less than two years removed more than 30,000 fourth-class postmasters, and since March 4, 1889, more than 100,000 federal place-holders have been displaced by partisans of the administration. This has been done in the wilful and wanton exercise of "the power of official patronage."

LAST month, with the good authentication which repeated publication without denial in leading newspapers seemed to give it, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE published what purported to be a dispatch from Secretary Rusk to Professor Nipher, asking what his politics were, presumably with reference to his selection as head of the weather bureau. This paper has since learned from authority which can not be questioned that Secretary Rusk sent no such dispatch. There is no doubt as to how Professor Mark W. Harrington, who was afterwards appointed, stands as to "politics." In an interview in the *New York Evening Post* of August 11, given below, he states his views with entire frankness. It will be a relief for the country to find that so far as it lies with the head of the bureau the object of transferring the weather service to the department of agriculture in order to reduce it to the spoils basis will, if there was such an object, be defeated:

When asked by your correspondent whether he intended to put his force under civil service rules, or to use his influence to that end, he answered:

"The Washington office is already under the rules, except in the case of those employes especially exempt by law, and a few others filling positions created by the act transferring the bureau from the war department to the department of agriculture. The employes outside of Washington are not in the classified service. They were in the army under the old regime, and did not need the protection of the civil

service rules. On the transfer they lost their military standing and gained none in the civil service. So far, however, there have been few vacancies to fill, although there have been some promotions and some changes of position."

"On what principle do you propose filling vacancies?"

"I can not fill them personally; I have no appointing power. My authority extends no further than nominating. Before I entered the public service I was always warmly in favor of the merit system. Since taking office I have found that the civil service rules, through their not extending far enough, make such a task of reorganization as I was faced with here exceedingly difficult."

"In what way?"

"By preventing me actually from nominating some excellent men for promotion. The highest salary in the classified service is \$1,800. Hence, when a man deserves to be raised to be chief of division at a salary of \$2,000, and his superior officer would be glad to recommend him for such an increase of responsibility and pay, the question at once arises, will the extra \$200 a year compensate for the risks attending its acceptance? For when a man steps above the classified service, you know, just as when he falls below it, he is beyond the protection of the civil service rules, and must take the chances of war."

"You would prefer, then, increasing the scope of operations of the merit system in your bureau?"

"I am in favor of the extension of the merit system over practically the entire service. There are a few positions, of course, which should be filled by professional experts, who have already so high a reputation in their own special fields that a proposal to examine them would be an impertinence. Aside from these, however, and possibly a few others whose exemption would be universally recognized as proper, I think all the higher positions ought to be filled by promotions from lower grades, and all admissions to the service made through competitive examination thrown open to everybody. I shall recommend that this course be pursued, and I have no doubt that in due time the meteorological service of the government will be, with the exception I have already noted, under the civil service rules."

Prof. Harrington declined to be interviewed concerning Secretary Rusk's probable course in civil service matters, or to say anything which could in any way commit his chief, even by implication. He wished it distinctly understood that for the views he expressed he alone was responsible.

From a gentleman who is believed to speak with authority for the secretary, however, it is learned that Prof. Harrington expressed his opinions clearly and in full before accepting office, and that the secretary was the better pleased with him for his candor.

At the recent national convention of the letter carriers held in Detroit the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That the letter-carriers of the United States, in convention assembled, respectfully ask the President of the United States to extend the civil service to all free delivery cities of the country."

Why does not the President make the extension? The carriers want it, the civil service commission is ready to take charge of the competition, and the republican platform emphatically promised it. Why

is it not made? Are not two years and a half sufficient time in which to keep a promise?

At a national convention of fire superintendents held recently at Springfield, Massachusetts, the president with the decided approbation of the convention expressed himself as follows:

"A politician has no right in a fire department. To bring politics into a department is to destroy its usefulness. A man worthy to be a fireman must be educated in his business, and can't be a ward heeler at the same time."

At the recent semi-annual examination for clerks and mail carriers for the Indianapolis post-office there were five applicants for clerkships and eleven for positions as carriers. Ex Congressman Grosvenor, if we remember rightly, was very solicitous over the hundreds of young men who traveled to the place of examination at great expense, passed a successful examination, and then sick at heart waited in vain for a place. This objection to the law can hardly be thought serious in the face of only sixteen applicants, and the young men of the state may properly be reminded that race, color, politics or religion shuts no one out from a chance to work in the Indianapolis post-office; also it may be said that it is better for the post-office to have the possibility of the higher excellence of a larger number of candidates for competition.

It seems that Assistant Secretary Crounse and Treasurer Nebeker each desired to have his son for his secretary. The places are worth \$1,800 apiece a year and are excepted from the civil service classification. They have the further advantage of being "back doors" to the classified service because after having served a certain period private secretaries are admitted upon a "pass" instead of a competitive examination. It is stated that Secretary Foster objected to the appointments and then Nebeker and Crounse got together and fixed up the trick of each appointing the other's son for the place, but Secretary Foster vetoed that likewise. Just why Secretary Foster drew the line on Nebeker and Crounse we do not know. The land is dotted with relatives and friends from those of the President down who have received the gift of offices; all

the same, it is always interesting to note any squeamishness in this direction. Providing for relatives is a delicate operation and requires a good deal of secrecy and at the best always has an element of uncertainty as to whether the public will swallow it without protest. Such an erratum as Raum's son lately committed undoubtedly requires a temporary pandering to public sentiment. As to Nebeker and Crounze they need not be discouraged. The familiar plan is yet open to them of making a spoils' appointment upon the understanding of a division of the salary. They could make at least \$900 apiece a year in this way.

THE President has made a rule that hereafter promotions in the departments at Washington shall be made upon competitive examinations under the control of the civil service commission. These examinations will now amount to something, and those who stand highest will secure the promotions. Heretofore there has been a pretended examination, so easy that all in a given class could pass and then favoritism did its work by permitting a choice from the whole list. The only permanent control of examinations in which the country will have any confidence must rest in the commission. Secretary Tracy and Postmaster-General Wanamaker, if they wish to secure any permanent improvement, will have to take steps accordingly.

CONGRESSMAN WARWICK, the successor of Mr. McKinley in Ohio, instituted a competitive examination of candidates for appointment to West Point. Being open to all, a hundred or more are said to have competed. Answering an inquiry concerning a report that Congressman Warwick was dealing in bad faith with the results of the competition, a correspondent writes:

"I find your clipping and letter on my return from a trip. The newspaper account gives the facts in part, though there is some confusion. It has been the custom of Major McKinley to order competitive examinations to fill vacancies at West Point and Annapolis. Mr. Warwick followed the precedent, and made up his board of examiners, both educational and physical. Among all the applicants the son of Dr. T. Clark Miller, of Massillon, was facile princeps. His father is a leading republican, and pressure was at once brought to bear upon Mr. Warwick to have him appoint some one else, disregarding the recommendations of the committee which had unanimously endorsed young Miller for the place. There was an applicant from Holmes county, whose name now escapes me, whose father was as described in the article sent me. I am not able to state that he was lowest on the list; my impression being that he stood well up, though inferior to Miller both in mental and physical making. This man received the votes of the committee

for alternate. Mr. Warwick never, so far as I have been able to learn, has made an appointment for the place, but it is said that he contemplates a new competitive examination. There was considerable of a sensation at the time and I can readily see that Mr. Warwick will be much embarrassed by the attitude he assumes, whatever it may be. If a new examination is ordered the committee and the successful applicant may well feel aggrieved, the one by being stultified, and the other by being disappointed. If Miller is appointed the democratic constituents of the gentleman may make it unpleasant for him. As Holmes county, the residence of the alternate, gives 2,200 democratic majority Mr. Warwick is in a manner between the devil and the deep sea. What I have said is a very moderate statement of the facts, as I understand them. In a word, Mr. Warwick is seeking to undo, for political effect, the work of the committee chosen to inquire into the qualification of applicants.

"A word as to the manner in which the examination was conducted. Every young man was known by a number only, and the report was made on the examination papers by the number. Mr. Warwick held sealed envelopes containing the names of the men, and until these were opened the committee were not supposed to know the name or pedigree of any applicant."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL died August 12 at the age of seventy-two years. He was a distinguished poet and man of letters, but his crowning glory was that he was besides these the ideal American citizen. It was a light thing for Mr. Lowell to be so thoroughly American as to love his country and to feel pride in her greatness, but never to have shirked the disagreeable task always plucking at the sleeve of the real patriot of a watchful attention to her specific dangers is proof of a far more genuine Americanism. Seeing clearly the menace of the spoils system, he spoke his mind freely and he went further and took up the burden of allying himself with an association organized to fight it.

IN the death of Mr. George Jones, the controlling proprietor of the New York *Times*, the cloud of parasites who feed on the community have lost a relentless enemy. In the course of its attempt to condense the facts showing how the parasites work, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has found the *Times* an inexhaustible source of information; and if these columns have quoted from it more than from other papers it is because the *Times* in the same proportion strips naked the public evil which more than any other eats into American public morals.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S REPORT ON THE BALTIMORE PRIMARIES.

When Mr. Cleveland's term closed Maryland was almost a republican state. The struggle had been between Gormanism in control of the federal and state patronage on one

side and anti-Gormanism, unsupported by any spoil whatever, on the other. Had this state of the issues continued, Maryland would today have been as doubtful as Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana and Iowa. But the plum of federal patronage was given by President Harrison to the republican party machine. As always, there was not enough to go around; those who did not get any began to fight those who did, and Maryland has become as safely democratic as Alabama. Having looted the federal offices the new incumbents in the post-office and in the marshal's office performed their duties as a secondary matter. They gave their first consideration and efforts to hand to hand struggles to control republican primaries and conventions. The classified service being involved Mr. Roosevelt attended their primaries held last March. He obtained a large amount of evidence by personal observation, affidavits and oral examination of witnesses. Congressman Mudd, true to a congressman's notion, that the federal service has no duty so important as the manipulation of primaries, and exasperated that an official should presume to take down the facts of such manipulation, rushed to Washington and demanded Mr. Roosevelt's removal. In the face of this demand Mr. Roosevelt embodied his evidence into a report to the President with pertinent comments. This report has just been given to the public, but only extracts of it have so far appeared in print, and it is impossible at this writing to give it in full. It evidently strikes at the very root of the spoils system. It shows among other things "a federal employe attempting to drag one of the primary judges out of a window; another federal employe smashing a ballot-box and grabbing two handfuls of the tickets, and being pitched out of a window for his over-zeal; another trying to stop an election which seemed to be going against the interest of the faction to which he belonged; still others 'fighting fire with fire,' and frankly confessing their willingness to cheat or do anything else to carry the day for their side."

John Reed, an employe of the custom-house, frankly testified:

I don't say I wouldn't cheat in the primaries. Who ever gets two judges wins.

Q. How do you do your cheating? A. Well, we do our cheating honorably. If they catch us at it, it's all right; it's fair. I even carried the box home with me on one occasion. * * * I have broken up more than one election.

Q. As a matter of fact, in your ward, it is the office-holders who do and always have taken an active part in the primaries? A. Exactly; they are the ones that ought to.

Q. It is mainly the office-holders who run the primaries? A. Most undoubtedly; * * * the great majority are office-holders or people who want office.

Postmaster Johnson, having made a clean sweep in the unclassified service, and having dismissed fifty per cent. in the classified service, thus delivered himself:

Mr. Johnson—There are men that have told me right in my own office, "If you don't like what I do I will go out." People have put men in here over whom I have no control about elections; they're independent of me.

Q. You mean that a great many of the men here,

although nominally appointed by you, are really put in by somebody else outside; that is, by the different ward leaders of the party? A. They are recommended by outsiders and they work for the men who put them in here, and are under their control.

Q. Is that so generally in the non-classified service? A. Yes, sir.

Q. They feel responsible to the men who put them in, to the politicians and ward leaders generally, and not responsible to you? A. Yes, sir, that is it.

Q. The amount of it is that in making the non-classified appointments you have to parcel them out to the different wards—the different ward leaders nominate men for the positions? A. Yes, sir; there are about eighteen hundred applicants and about sixty places.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND PARTY DELEGATES.

The most important event during the month in connection with the management of the federal service is the acceptance of the resignation of Collector Erhardt and the appointment of J. Sloat Fassett to succeed him in the New York custom-house. President Harrison said to Mr. Erhardt:

"I acknowledged the receipt of your letter resigning your office as collector of the port of New York, and advised you that I would, at a later date, communicate with you again. I now accept your resignation to take effect upon the appointment and qualification of your successor, and in doing so I beg to say that I have held you, both personally and as a public officer, in the highest esteem and confidence, and had no other thought than that you would continue to discharge the duties of your office until the expiration of its term."

Collector Erhardt said:

"I have resigned because the collector has been reduced to a position where he is no longer an independent officer, with authority commensurate with his responsibility. I have given bonds for \$200,000. I have received for the government, during the twenty months last passed, \$322,697,135.40, and I am all the time personally responsible for enormous values in money and in merchandise. My duties are necessarily performed through about 1,500 employes. I am not willing to continue to be responsible for their conduct unless I can have proper authority over them. The recent policy of the treasury department has been to control the details of the customs administration at the port of New York from Washington, at the dictation of a private individual having no official responsibility. The collector is practically deprived of power and control, while he is left subject to all responsibility. The office is no longer independent, but I am. Therefore, we have separated."

Mr. Erhardt undoubtedly stated the truth, and the country will believe him. It will also believe that the "private individual" is Tom Platt. That he stood in the way of Plattism, the *New York Tribune* admits as follows:

"Mr. Erhardt, who has resigned his place as the collector of the port of New York for the excellent and uncompromising reason that there was nothing else for him to do, is endeavoring to put himself in the light of a hero and a martyr. This is highly absurd on Mr. Erhardt's part, though in that respect it is characteristic. The republican party honored him with an office of great trust and responsibility. It supposed him to be a republican, a believer in its policies, anxious for its success in administration. This was the view we entertained of him, and the view we presented to our readers. But Mr. Erhardt has employed the opportunities and powers of his office to create party discords, to hold unworthy democrats in the offices they had improperly got under the Cleveland administration, and to obstruct the policies of the treasury department. When he first began to do these things, we gave him some good advice in a kindly way, and he ought to have

taken it. But he preferred to keep the company and to heed the counsels of those who were hostile to the policies he was put in office to enforce, and he soon caused himself to be looked upon as an odd combination of mugwump Pharisee and Tammany boss. The result is that he has "resigned."

Mr. Erhardt has thought himself called upon to give out another and a different notion of this incident. "The recent policy of the treasury department," he says, "has been to control the details of the customs administration at this port from Washington, at the dictation of a private individual having no official responsibility." It is open to suspicion that reference is here made to the Hon. Thomas C. Platt. We have no commission to speak for Mr. Platt, but if he has been doing things that have rendered Mr. Erhardt uncomfortable in the Tammany-Mugwump policy he has pursued, we are sure the republican party will judge his offense lightly. What Mr. Erhardt calls "dictation" we should describe as a "narrative of cold facts." The republicans of New York have no desire to see the custom-house run as a tender to Tammany Hall under a sham civil service reform. If Mr. Platt has told this to Secretary Foster, he has told the honest truth. The democratic and mugwump papers which are mourning Erhardt's departure mourn not for him nor for the service, but solely because they know that a large quantity of democratic rubbish will soon be swept from the custom-house, as it should have been swept long ago.

When Mr. Fassett was sworn in he was presented with a San Domingo cutlass, in barbaric origin and purpose truly emblematic of the spoils system, and with the following legend:

This cutlass is an instrument of torture to be used in beheading democrats. Use it quickly and success is assured for the republican party.

Republican directions: Use daily—morning, noon and night, until every democratic head is severed. Sure cure for democratic headache.

Frank Platt, the son of Platt, comes to the surface as the attorney of the new collector and performs his duties in the sprightly manner of a man who has secured a very fat job. For this he is clearly indebted to his father rather than to his legal attainments. The evidence is too overwhelming to admit of the least dispute, that Tom Platt, a private citizen, without the least authority or right to interfere with the management of the federal service, forced Collector Erhardt out of his place because the latter would not let Platt have places in the public service to give to a gang of followers under his control. It is a perfect instance of bossism triumphant, such as the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has steadily maintained was the ruling spirit of American, national, state and municipal public affairs and the greatest evil connected with our civil government. President Harrison did not, as he might have done, prevent this triumph; he alone made it possible.

Again the evidence is so conclusive as to permit no denial, that the expected and understood payment the President is to receive is favorable delegates at the next party convention. He sold executive power vested in him by the constitution.

POINTS OF VIEW.

President Harrison has given us the best commission we have had. But, on the other hand, he has given to the lukewarm friends or decided opponents of the reform, like Wanamaker and Clarkson, positions so important that they have been able to do

more in certain directions to retard and injure the reform than the commission has done to improve and extend it. For while, except for details of management, the commission has merely advisory power, and must receive the sanction of the President for what it may propose to have done, these men are autocratic in their department, and can remove or appoint as they please thousands of our public servants, an extent of arbitrary power far more in keeping with the despotism of Russia than the democracy of America. The recommendation of the commission to extend the reform to the census bureau the President has disregarded. Its efforts to punish offenders guilty of bribery or of levying political assessments have been of little avail, because they have not received the aid they had a right to expect; and consequently the offenders still go unpunished. The order forbidding office-holders to take part in political meetings has been openly and constantly violated without rebuke.—*Rev. Henry Lambert on the Present Status of Civil Service Reform, Civil Service Record, July, 1891.*

While the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE desires to put on record an emphatic protest against Mr. Lambert's inference that Wanamaker and Clarkson have been able to retard and injure the reform more than the civil service commission to improve and extend it, the facts themselves are a fair indictment of this administration, and, *mutatis mutandis*, we think Mr. Lambert should have added, of the preceding administration. Change Wanamaker and Clarkson to Vilas and Stevenson and their acts are identical. Brazen brutality in the one pair may be substituted for hypocritical brutality in the other. Political assessments were publicly brought to notice in the preceding administration and were treated just as President Harrison is treating them, and the same with the interference of federal office-holders in primaries and elections.

In both administrations a few bright spots of reform have brought out the exceeding blackness and extent of the spoils horizon. It is not a fair standard of comparison with one administration to infer that the bright spots illumine the entire black sky and for the other that the black sky neutralizes the bright spots.

Mr. Lambert's point of view is that of the wide extent of spoil under the present administration. The following quotation, from the Boston correspondence of the *New York Times*, July 13, illustrates a point of view based on the power of the reform spots:

"Nobody will seriously question Mr. Cleveland's sincerity of purpose to eliminate hurtful partisanship from the business of office-holding. He stood out against the whole democratic party on this point, and he is deserving of credit for his firmness. Not only that; he won his party largely to his side, and established a precedent which his successors must follow, to a limited extent at least. The reform elements which broke away from Blaine in 1884 upon this issue encouraged him and sustained him. But they expected too much. They wanted him, in one term, to revolutionize public sentiment and break down a system which had become firmly rooted by long and unbroken usage. Whenever he made a mistake they set up a howl which was heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. The departments of the government with all their multifarious branches were filled with men of one political faith, with men who had secured their positions through political activity and who utilized their official station to retard the progress of true reform. No matter how offensive these men might happen to be, if one of them was disturbed the President was accused

of violating the spirit and letter of the civil service law."

It is this shifting standard that injures the influence of civil service reformers. It never fools the political bosses who are nothing if not clear-minded.

Again in the last month it has been a hundred times asserted by the independent press that Quay, Wanamaker, Clarkson and Dudley "represent" the republican party. They undoubtedly do represent the controlling machine. They are evil men but it is doubtful if Gorman is not a more consummate evil-doer than all of them together. Yet note how the standard of comparison and requirement changes in the following Washington dispatch to the Boston Post, July 22:

Senator Gorman has been asked to take entire charge of the democratic campaign in Maryland with a view to saving the state to the party this autumn. The farmer's alliance movement has become threatening, and the regular democrats are fearful that it will defeat their state ticket and, worse still, throw the control of the legislature into dangerous hands. Senator Gorman is asked to take charge, not to secure his own re-election, which is certain if the legislature is democratic, but to save the state from the disgrace which has come upon Kansas and South Carolina by the domination of the alliance element. Senator Gorman is recognized as the ablest political manager in the state, and all elements of the party are urging him to take the lead. There is no sign of the old independent movement against the senator in Baltimore, but on the contrary the independent democrats are willing to subordinate personal interests.

THE MERIT SYSTEM AND INDIVIDUAL MANHOOD.

A young man had passed a civil service examination in a city at a period when only democrats got in through the competitive system and republicans were got out by dismissal without cause. This carrier, with the rest, relied upon his democracy to get his place and to keep it. The civil service law had been a temporary and unpleasant formality. He was naturally an indifferent and disobliging carrier with enough of insolence in his demeanor to exasperate his helpless republican patron but not enough for any other purpose. This went on until the democratic defeat in 1888. Then in a day this high stepping young fellow became weazen and care-ridden. He was suddenly confronted with the old hardship of political proscription. The withdrawal of the wages to support his family, the task of finding other work made the civil service law loom up in his mind as something more desirable for him than the sort of politics that consists in using a Tom Platt cutlass. But he was obliged to remember that the law had been no bulwark and the time seemed at hand when he would be manipulated out of work as had been his predecessor. Under this strain he succumbed as most men do when the means of supporting their families are in peril. He became the most painstaking and efficient of carriers but with a hang-dog servility that almost exhausted the self-respect of his former suffering patron through sympathy. After a period and a small crisis in the post-office, it was

noised about that the law was to be enforced in spirit and it was to be a bulwark of safety to the efficient and honest employe, whatever his politics. No student of human nature could view unmoved the moral change in the old carrier. His manhood had not been restored; it had been evolved. He walks about to-day in all confidence that so long as he does his work well and bears himself with courtesy to the public, his means of livelihood are in no peril and he is free to hold his political and religious opinions. It is the thousands of identical cases over the country that make the strongest argument for the warfare on the spoils system.

THE TOWNSHIP TRUSTEE'S OFFICE.

TRUSTEE'S OFFICE,
CENTER TOWNSHIP, MARION COUNTY,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., 1891.

Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

DEAR SIR—Shortly after I took charge of this office, one year ago, you criticised my appointment of deputies and asserted positively that the county would have to pay dearly for my actions, inasmuch as my management of the aid given to the poor would largely increase the expenses of the county, attributing this supposed increase to our inexperience and imperfect knowledge of the applicants.

Feeling sure that whatever I might say at that time would not change your belief, I remained silent until the present.

My answer to this charge will be found in the statements following:

Aid given by my predecessor from Aug. 1, 1889, to Aug. 1, 1890:

Groceries.....	\$ 3,518 00
Coal.....	1,612 15
Wood.....	212 50
Transportation.....	679 75
Burial Costs.....	1,614 75

Total..... \$ 7,637 15

Aid given by me from Aug. 1, 1890, to Aug. 1, 1891:

Groceries.....	\$ 3,290 00
Coal.....	992 03
Wood.....	102 50
Transportation.....	565 35
Burial Costs.....	1,730 30
Clothing.....	16 30

Total..... \$ 6,696 68

Decrease..... \$ 940 47

I feel confident that very few, if any, worthy poor have been neglected during the past year. You also asserted that my appointments were made solely to pay somebody out of the public treasury, for having done party work, or, perhaps, personal work for myself. Let me say very emphatically that I made no promises whatever to any of the men employed at this office, or their friends previous to my election.

Trusting that you will give the above as prominent a position in your valuable paper as you gave the said criticism, I am yours very respectfully,

SAMUEL N. GOLD.

The criticism referred to by Mr. Gold is found in the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for August, 1890. There was no assertion that there would be any increase of expenses, or that the county would have to pay dearly for Mr. Gold's actions. A comparison of expenses with any preceding year is worth nothing against the criticism complained of—that Mr. Gold had dismissed thoroughly honest and capable employes, whose knowledge of the worthy and unworthy applicants for relief

from the public treasury was in every sense expert, and had put into their places men unfamiliar with their exceedingly important duties. It is no answer to say that the worthy poor have not been neglected. That is only one side of the question. Moreover, the statement is the mere opinion of a man who deprived himself of the means of knowing the worthy poor and of baffling the consummate adroitness of the thousands of unworthy applicants for support from the public treasury. The CHRONICLE said:

Township Trustee Gold, whose township embraces the city of Indianapolis, has removed all of the employes of the office except one, a woman, and has put in Frederick Voght, a molder, Charles McCreery, an advertising agent, Thomas L. Duffy, a laborer, and Joseph Keisburg, whose name we can not find in the directory.

Mr. Gold will never make anybody believe that he could substitute these employes for such men as Frank Wright and Smith King, whom he dismissed, without detriment to the public. He might as well say a plowman could command an ocean steamer.

It is only when in public office and in connection with the business of that office that men like Mr. Gold maintain that equally good results can be obtained with inexperienced assistants. Mr. Gold does not follow this principle in his private business. He is a democrat, but he keeps in his employ some faithful and efficient men who are republicans. He does not turn out his skilled book-keeper and put into his place Voght, the molder, or McCreery, the advertising agent.

Having deprived himself of means of knowledge within his office, the only way in which Mr. Gold could have found out how to properly spend the public money was by application to the charity organization society. If that organization did the work for him, then his deputies hold sinecures; if they searched the records and hunted old information themselves, then Mr. Gold's office was spending its time getting and wisely applying knowledge which it might have had, and skillfully applied at the start by keeping the men he dismissed.

It is no answer to the charge that Mr. Gold paid personal and party debts out of the public treasury with his deputyships, to say that he made no promises before election. Why did he not keep Frank Wright and Smith King?

Mr. Gold is an instance of the respectable citizen who gets an office and, in complacent ignorance, supposes he can violate business principles and then meet criticism by pointing to the fact that the cost of his office is less than under his predecessor. When our insane hospital was in the most infamous part of its career, it answered criticism by pointing to its expenditures which showed a less cost per capita for maintenance than could be shown anywhere else.

Postmaster General Wanamaker has established a board of promotion in the post-office department. The board is to determine a form and mode of examination subject to the

approval of the postmaster general. The examinations shall be competitive, and the competition is open to all from the next lower grade in the same bureau, and to all from still lower grades who obtain special permission. The value of this system will, like the system of Secretary Tracy's, depend upon its permanence. If the two secretaries go out of office without having their systems brought under the civil service law by an order of the President, their successors in office are very likely to say that while they believe "in civil service," they don't believe in just this kind, and all the work of Messrs. Tracy and Wanamaker will go by the board.

EULOGY OF QUAY AND DUDLEY BY THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE, JULY 28, 1891.

Resolved, That we accept, against our judgment and with much doubt as to the wisdom and expediency of it for the party's interest, the action of Senator Quay on his resignation as chairman and member of the national committee. In submitting to it, with so much reluctance and regret, we desire to express from our knowledge of the facts of his pre-eminent service to the party, the deep obligation under which he has placed the republican party and cause of good government and patriotism in the United States. He undertook the leadership of a doubtful cause, in a time when the republican party was disheartened and the democratic party confident in the power of supreme control in the government and the nation, and when the odds of the contest were against our party, and by his matchless power, his unequalled skill in resources, his genius to command victory, won for his party an unprecedented victory in the face of expected defeat. We know, as no one else can know, that the contest which he waged was one of as much honor and fair methods as it was of invincible power and triumphant victory, and that it was won largely by the power of his superior generalship and his unfailing strength as a political leader. In the great contest of 1888, in the months of severe effort, and during years of close personal association with him, we have learned to know the nobility of the man, and we desire in this conspicuous manner to place on public record, for the present and for the future, as an enduring answer to the partisan assaults of a defeated enemy, our testimony in appreciation of his public service and his personal worth.

Resolved, That while we are left by General Dudley's own wish no other course than to consent to his retirement from the committee, we feel that his action deprives the committee and the party of the invaluable and loyal service of one who has proved himself one of the ablest and most faithful public men of his time. In every field of honorable contest and patriotic purpose, as a soldier winning in his boyhood the stars of a general in the union army; as a public official, serving with equal fidelity his country in prominent places; in the political field with like ambition for the nation's good, he has proved himself always worthy of the respect and admiration of his countrymen. In his whole public career in his unselfish service, and with his generous nature, he has given freely his time and labor, never thinking of private profit or personal emolument. His whole life is a proof of his manliness of purpose and his patriotism as a citizen. Speaking from what we know of his rare abilities and unusual devotion to party and country, we would express this evidence of what we know the republican party owes to him for his services in so many of its contests, and especially in the memorable struggle of 1888. We part from him officially with sincere regret, and in doing so we wish to put in the records of the committee this expression of that party's gratitude and personal friendship in which we know he is so worthy to be held.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

—The resignations would give greater reason for the hope that republican politics are to be managed by different methods hereafter were it not that Gen. James S. Clarkson was elected as chairman in the place of Senator Quay, and that Mr. Clarkson has not hesitated to avow his belief in politics by the machine and for the machine.—*Christian Union*.

—Gen. Clarkson can not be considered as superior to Mr. Quay in his political ideas. These facts, when coupled with the reasons which compelled the resignation of Collector Erhardt of the port of New York, do not afford satisfaction to the friends of civil service reform and decent politics.—*Congregationalist*

—Each of the two parties is living on the same familiar diet—the mistakes of the other party. The republicans, being in power, do not appear to much advantage as to the disposal of offices and the carrying out of the civil service reform, and their choice of leaders is far from ideal.—*National Baptist*.

—We are glad Quay and Dudley have retired. We are glad that the sentiment of the party was strong enough to make it necessary for them to retire; we only regret that it seems advisable to the committee to cover their withdrawal with such fulsome adulation.—*Independent*.

—The *Pilot* of Boston says of Quay and Dudley that they are more widely than favorably known to the public as coadjutors of Postmaster-General Wanamaker in the "frying-of-fat" and "blocks-of-five" tactics, whereby the late election was won. Turning to Mr. Clarkson, it says that he is a spoilsman who makes no hypocritical pretense of "reform," and believes that the party in power should control the distribution of offices.

In the August *Forum* Edward P. Clark exposes the Jacksonian plan of rotation in office as an interloper in our political system.

Hon. Dorman B. Eaton has a paper on "Civil Service Reform" in the *North American* for June. After showing the present status of the reform, he adds: "It is no wonder that selfish politicians and bosses, who care more for patronage than for principle, are hostile, angry, and alarmed."

Moorfield Storey, of Boston, at the Harvard commencement-dinner said:

"There are men who are fighting the battles of the country in various fields, and who are proving their fidelity to the *veritas* which is stamped upon our seal by many an act of courage and self-denial. Meeting, as they do, month after month, abuse and misrepresentation, should we not do them and our country service if once a year we sent them our 'God-speed' in language that could not be mistaken? Would not a ringing cheer from this Memorial Hall encourage the fainting reformer as the pipes of the Highlanders revived the despairing garrison of Lucknow? When Theodore Roosevelt is fighting wild beasts at our modern Ephesus, will it not inspire even him with courage to know that the graduates of Harvard of every political faith are with him in his battle, and are sure that he will win?" [Tremendous applause.]

Ex-Secretary of State Bayard delivered the annual address to the alumni and students of the law department of Michigan University.

He called the attention of his audience to the wrongs the spoils system worked, and said, referring to appointees to public office under the system:

"These men hold that the public offices, which, as the name implies, are apportionments of public functions and duties for the public advantage, are created in order to furnish means of support and emolument to the individuals who are placed in them, thus losing sight altogether of the mutual relation of a government and its agents; indeed, subverting that relation and making that the servant of its own employes and agents, and this theory logically and practically carried to its conclusion involves nothing less than the revolution and defeat of our republican system. In fact, it reproduces the rule of the pretorian guard of ancient Rome."

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN THE CINCINNATI POST-OFFICE.

"It is hard to overcome the prejudice that has existed against the system of civil service examinations, and promotions on a basis of merit," was a remark made by Mr. John B. Staebach, on the day his term as cashier of the post office and secretary of the local board of civil service examiners expired. "The system now embraces all offices employing more than fifty men and of course embraces Cincinnati. All positions here, except the heads of departments and places where the incumbent has to handle a great deal of money, are filled by examination. During my three years' experience I have witnessed a good many improvements and I can assure you that the features that were at one time open to criticism have been largely eradicated.

"It was urged once somewhat pertinently that the examinations were of a technical nature, framed for school boys and not for men of experience who were apt to be somewhat 'rusty' in geography and arithmetic. The tendency has constantly been to correct the features that were honestly criticised and to make the tests as practicable as possible."

"Postmaster Zumstein is carrying out the law in the right spirit. There have been only four or five removals made in the classes to which the law has been made applicable, and these would have been made, I think, by Mr. Riley, had he remained. The men removed were incompetent."—*Cincinnati Times-Star*, Aug. 11.

The Ohio republican convention, June, 1891, in its platform said:

We denounce the present governor of Ohio for having converted the benevolent institutions into political machinery, making political merchandise of the sufferings and calamities of the helpless wards of the state.

(4) The existing republican administration promised, when it assumed power, to give full effect to reforms in the civil service. Offices in that service have, notwithstanding such pledge, been conferred for political reasons to as great an extent as at any former period in the history of the country. The civil service of the United States, considered as a whole, is to day a partisan organization, doing active political service for the administration by which it is employed.—*Maryland State Democratic Convention*, July, 1891.

PLATTISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and * * become his MAN from that day forth. * * Services were free and base. * * Base service was to * * carry out his dung.—[Blackstone.

—"There never was a time when Mr. Platt was so thoroughly appreciated or so highly esteemed by the republican party as he is to-day. The republican party without Mr. Platt would be like the play of 'Hamlet' with Hamlet left out."—*Gen. John N. Knapp, Chairman of the New York State Republican Committee.*

—"Did you notice the slap that Col. Erhardt made at you?" asked the reporter.

Mr. Platt's eyestwinkled for a moment, then he smiled, and, after looking at the reporter for a moment, said: "I see that he says that the affairs at the custom-house have been controlled from Washington at the dictate of some private individual who has no official responsibility, if that is what you mean?" Then came another smile, and as he slipped a paper-cutter through the edge of an official-looking envelope the ex-senator added: "But that can not refer to me. He must have been thinking of some other fellow when he wrote that."

"Well, what do you think of Senator Fassett's appointment?" asked the reporter.

"No better appointment could have been made," was the reply. Senator Fassett is pre-eminently well fitted to assume the responsibilities of the office, and his appointment should and I believe will please every good republican in the state. I think it is certain to strengthen the party throughout the state."

A few moments after Mr. Platt had finished speaking he left his office for the Pennsylvania railroad ferry en route to Washington. He was going on private business, he said.—*Interview in New York Evening Post, July 30.*

—"The office and its business are absolutely strange to me. I have everything to learn. I would say, however, that I have a very distinct purpose to make the administration of the office as successful as my present ignorance of it and the consideration of its patrons while I am learning will permit. Whatever ability I can command will be at the service of the government, and that, I hope, will be assisted by such encouragement as the administration of it may seem to deserve."—*Interview with Collector Fassett, Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 31.*

—Ex-Senator Thomas C. Platt arrived here at 9:40 o'clock last evening. This morning Mr. Platt called on Secretary Foster and later went to the navy department. Talking to the *Mail and Express* man, Mr. Platt said: "I am pleased with Mr. Fassett's appointment, but I have already told the *Mail and Express* all I have to say on that matter. There is no truth whatever in the rumor that Appraiser Cooper is going to resign. He was in my office yesterday, and we had a long talk. I can say positively that he will not go."—*Washington Dispatch to New York Mail and Express, Aug. 1.*

—At 12:30 Mr. Fassett's dictation of letters was interrupted by the appearance of a small but significant group of men. These were Frank Platt, son of Thomas C. Platt, Vernon H. Brown, Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey, and United States Commissioner John A. Shields. Young Mr. Platt, who is a lawyer, produced Mr. Fassett's \$200,000 bond duly executed. The ink was scarcely dry upon the signatures of the sureties, who were Vice-

President Levi P. Morton, Jesse Seligman, the banker, Vernon H. Brown, agent of the Cunard steamship line, and Garrett A. Hobart, the New Jersey republican politician. Each of the bondsmen qualified in the sum of \$50,000.

Commissioner Shields was then called on to administer the oath of office to Mr. Fassett. Col. Erhardt, who was also present, remarked jocularly that the oath would not be valid unless administered by Commissioner Shields, who had so long performed this function for the collectors of this port. Mr. Fassett then dully took the oath of office in the presence of the persons named and Mr. Sperry.

The ceremony was scarcely over when a present for Collector Fassett arrived from one of his admirers. It was a West Indian cutlass, called in San Domingo a *machete*. Its giver was Nathaniel McKay, who made a speech at the recent convention of republican clubs at Syracuse. The handle of the cutlass was tied with red, white and blue ribbons, while its blade was decorated with small American flags and inscribed all over with sentiments like this:

"This cutlass is an instrument of torture to be used in beheading democrats. Use it quickly and success is assured for the republican party.

Republican directions: Use daily, morning, noon and night, until every democratic head is severed.

Sure cure for democratic headache."

Mr. Hobart, Mr. Brown, and Commissioner Shields left the custom-house soon after Mr. Fassett had taken the oath. Frank Platt lingered behind. At half-past one o'clock he and Mr. Fassett came from the collector's inner office and left the custom-house.

Mr. Fassett, when questioned to-day, declined to say anything on the subject of new appointments in the custom-house.—*New York Evening Post, Aug. 12.*

—Among the callers received by Mr. Fassett in the course of the day were Bernard Biglin,¹ George Hilliard, Senator Saxton, William Leaycraft, ex-United States Marshal Clinton McDougal of the northern district of the state, Postmaster Van Cott, Senator Stewart, Appraiser Cooper, Colonel William L. Brown and John Simpson. Surveyor Lyon took Mr. Fassett out to luncheon. The surveyor's relations with the administration are much pleasanter than they were with the old one. If Mr. Lyon had taken Colonel Erhardt out on the same hospitable errand, the wiseacres at the custom-house would have thought that Arcadia had come back to earth and had settled down to do business at the corner of William and Wall streets.

Last night Collector Fassett was the guest at a dinner at the Oriental hotel. Among the others present were T. C. Platt, Vice-President Morton, Senator Stewart and others.—*New York Times, Aug. 14.*

[¹Rumors that have for some time been afloat in relation to a possible change in the office of appraiser of the port settled yesterday into a definite report that the brother of "Barney" Biglin is booked for the place. The prospect has appalled the Union League Club, to whose urgency in connection with that of the merchants, with whom for many years he was creditably associated, Mr. Cooper owed his appointment. While ready to make full allowances for the exigencies of practical politics, the stride from Marvelle W. Cooper to Barney Biglin's brother is a longer one than people of respectable leanings like to contemplate.

"Barney's" brother's name is Joseph C., if it is of any interest to identify him more closely than as the brother of "Barney." He is now in charge of the ninth division in the appraiser's department. The place came to him, of course, through his brother, whom he is credited with having served in it more faithfully than he has served the government. If stories are to be believed, the place has been used as a lever to throw in Barney's way the trucking business of merchants whose goods unhappily fall within that division.—*New York Times, May 5.*

The exposure in yesterday's *Times* of the scheme to hand over the appraiser's department to the Biglins raised a howl of protest throughout the entire business district. Merchants were emphatic in declaring that unless the administration wishes utterly to discredit itself it will shake itself clear of this alliance.

Apart from the humiliation of bowing to the authority of such a man, merchants are indignant when they think that the appointment would compel them to turn over all their trucking from the public stores to the Biglin family as the price of getting an examination of their goods. Already this form of tyranny has become offensive, in spite of Mr. Cooper's efforts to prevent it. With the Biglins in full control it would be intolerable.

Some curiosity was manifested yesterday to see how Platt and Elkins would take this business uprising. No one cares much for the wishes of these schemers, which often miscarry, but they are recognized as a power for mischief in things political. So far as yesterday's inquiries developed anything in this regard, it appeared that the concern of these worthies in the Biglin scheme is not of the kind to keep them awake nights.

Platt and Elkins control the syndicate that has worked for a Bowling Green site for a new custom-house. It was to their interest that a cheap site be acquired for the appraiser's warehouse in order that the saving might be applied to the Bowling Green appropriation. Biglin was useful to them in this work, for the appraiser's site is to go to the government for \$350,000 less than the appropriation for it, provided Lindley carries out his contract to deliver for \$500,000.

It is for his service in securing this saving that Biglin is promised the appraisership for his brother. Of course, if the syndicate can not bring enough influence to bear at Washington to carry out this deal, Biglin will have wasted his time.—*New York Times, May 6.]*

—E. C. Lee has enjoyed a variety of experiences lately. For some time he has held office as assistant superintendent of the custom-house. When Joseph Murray resigned the post of superintendent a couple of months ago Mr. Lee took up his duties. He had devoted himself to them but a few days when Collector Erhardt happening not to leave the custom-house until 5:30 o'clock one afternoon, found no watchman on duty at the entrance, and therefore suspended Mr. Lee. A few days later the assistant superintendent was reinstated, but when the orders for a reduction of the force were sent out Lee's name was supposed

to be included in the list of those to go. It was not there, however, and he continued placidly in office.

Yesterday there came another change for Mr. Lee. By a telegram from the treasury department he was appointed janitor of the custom-house at a salary of \$1,000 a year. The office is made for the man in this case, for hitherto the custom-house has got along without a janitor.

Lee has a powerful "pull" with the republican leaders, and in these days of promised prosperity for men of "influence" after Platt's own heart, he is not likely to be neglected. He has had the backing of Sheridan Shook and Leader Robert A. Greacen of the fifteenth assembly district, and William Brookfield, chairman of the republican county committee, has lent him a helping hand.—*New York Times*, Aug. 8.

—At the convention of the republican league, held in Syracuse, New York, August 5, the following office-holders were on the committee on resolutions: Mahlon Chance, inspector of immigration; John E. Millholland, another inspector; Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the census; Charles E. Fitch, collector of internal revenue; Henry Hebing, collector of the port of Genesee; Edward A. McAlpin, postmaster at Sing Sing, and Clarence Smith, son of Dr. William M. Smith, health officer of the port, one of Platt's particular cronies, appeared as an eleventh-hour candidate, and carried off the first vice-presidency.

—About two weeks ago the canvass (for the republican caucuses in this county) began in earnest, ex-Senator Fassett leading one section of the party and Postmaster Flood and his brother, ex-Congressman Thomas S. Flood, the other contingent. About that time Governor Hill's Albany heelers came to town and took an active part against Mr. Fassett.

Strange as it may appear the governor struck hands with his old party enemy, Mr. Arnot, and the triple alliance was formed and put into working order. Democratic heelers from all parts of the county were called in. They got money and instructions and proceeded to work to carry the caucuses for blood. The strange combination was a puzzle to all good citizens, and to offset it republicans turned out en masse and defeated it. At each caucus democrats by the hundred appeared and offered their ballots and swore them in, but it was labor in vain, for Fassett had an overwhelming majority.—*Elmira, New York, Dispatch to New York Times*, August 9.

—At Horseheads to-day, where the Chemung county convention was held to name delegates to the state and senatorial conventions, 186 delegates were expected to be in their seats. Contests, however, are made in 108 cases and these were divided up as follows: Fassett faction, 43; Flood faction, 65.

The widening of the breach to-day means a direct fight against Thomas C. Platt's influence.

A newspaper of Elmira prints an open letter from ex-Assemblyman Van Duzer, in which he accuses Collector Fassett of trying to defeat him in 1884 at the instance of Thomas C. Platt, and of swinging over from Evarts to Morton at Mr. Platt's suggestion,

after promising to support Evarts for United States senator. The letter claims that Mr. Fassett is trying to make a deal with the democrats to get the county.

Mr. Van Duzer said to-day: "The letter is in answer to an open letter sent to me in which Collector Fassett admits that he defeated the renomination of Congressman Flood because Flood declined to let him name the postmaster. Mr. Flood is now determined to test Fassett's power, and if he attempts to run the convention this afternoon we will withdraw and hold one of our own. We are averse to a split this fall, but we do not propose that Collector Fassett shall run the place for Tom Platt."

Postmaster Flood also spoke against Mr. Fassett, and said that the republicans of the district were trying to show the people of the state that they could not be controlled by Mr. Platt.—*Elmira Dispatch to the New York Evening Post*, August 16.

—The expected struggle between the opposing factions of the republican party in Chemung came to a close at Horseheads this afternoon.

Collector Fassett was early on the ground and opened headquarters at the Platt House. Congressman Flood, accompanied by Postmaster Flood of this city and Gen. Langdon, appeared early and also put up at the Platt House. * *

Postmaster Henry Flood made a speech, in which he denounced the other side. He said they had opposed him for years, had got him out of a position in his regular practice on a railroad, and were now trying to oust him from the post-office. He charged them with holding snap caucuses and conventions, and was especially severe in his remarks in reference to the *Advertiser*. He denied using money, said democrats at caucuses referred to Mr. Platt as boss, and that he never did and never would wear any man's collar. They had threatened and bulldozed him and used every effort to drive him from the republican party. * *

Then the twenty-seven regular Flood delegates and about fifty others were seated, after which the following delegates were elected: State—J. D. F. Slee, Jonas S. Vanduser, Henry Flood, George McCann, A. B. Fitch and Benjamin D. Smith; senatorial—C. J. Langdon, Thomas S. Flood, Moses Munson, John O'Connor, Julius S. Denton, Ira A. Jones.

In the meantime the regular convention was called to order by Abner C. Wright, chairman of the republican county committee, and Mr. Fassett was made chairman amid great enthusiasm. The collector made a speech, during which he reviewed the history of the factional unpleasantness. He referred to the double dealing of the other side, and told how they had connived with democrats and slaughtered their party candidates; and how some of the late caucuses were run by democrats in the interest of the Floods. He denied each and every claim of the others, and explained everything to the utmost satisfaction of all present in the crowded hall, for he was continually interrupted by applause.—*Elmira Dispatch to New York Times*, August 16.

—Collector J. Sloat Fassett, who has been doing political work in Chemung county nearly all the time since he was appointed to his present office, came down to the custom-house this morning to put in a day's work for the United States government. He was warmly greeted by a crowd of place-seekers. The result of his day's labor was summed up at two p. m. in the announcement that he was going to appoint thirty additional laborers for work at the public stores.

There will be no changes in the big offices at present, he said.—*New York Evening Post*, August 17.

—Granville D. Parsons, ex-mayor of this city and at present a member of the excise board, was notified yesterday of his discharge from the United States Express Company by John M. Frazier, general superintendent.

Mr. Parsons is a staunch republican, and has not in every instance satisfied the wishes of Senator Fassett and Col. A. E. Baxter, republican leaders, who have some friends who have not been successful in securing licenses. At this disregard of orders Tom Platt, president of the company, was consulted, and he deemed it advisable, by political discrimination, to dismiss Mr. Parsons from his position as cashier and head book-keeper of the Elmira office.

Granville Parsons had been connected with the company since 1857 in several trusted capacities, and this piece of political jobbery is a deliberate appliance for denying an honorable man, gray from service, the means of a livelihood.—*Elmira Dispatch to New York Times*, May 17.

—The preliminary skirmishing to the republican campaign this fall has commenced and the fierce contest over who is going to control matters in the cataract county has fairly begun. It is a fight of the Hiscock supporters against the anti-Hiscock faction. The leader of the latter is ex-Congressman Richard Crowley, and he has back of him the support of the party organ, the *Journal*, which a year ago was fighting him.

Hiscock made a big blunder when he ignored the *Journal's* canvass for the postmastership here, and the party paper is bitterly antagonistic to his interests. The first point was gained by the anti-Hiscock men last week by the election of John T. Davison as chairman of the republican county committee. Davison was one of the candidates for the office eight months ago, but by a trick on the part of the Hiscock Suspension Bridge custom-house, ex-Collector Benjamin Flagler, chief lieutenant of Collector Low, was elected to the place. He was forced to resign and Davison had a large majority.

The Hiscock men who hold office are endeavoring in every way to secure control, and have made places in the custom-house and post-office here for friends of ex-Congressman Crowley, in the hopes of appeasing him.—*Lockport, New York, Dispatch to New York Times*, July 19. [Hiscock is known as Tom Platt's 'errand boy.']

—OSWEGO, N. Y., Aug. 1.—The republican county convention for Seneca county, held at Romulus to-day, was one of the most exciting in the political history of this section, resulting in a bolt and two conventions. Only one convention is held in the county, there being only one assembly district, to elect state, judicial and senatorial delegates. The fight was between the Platt and Miller men, the forces of the former being led by J. B. H. Mongin, a partner of ex-Senator W. L. Sweet, and the Miller men by A. M. Patterson, a millionaire manufacturer of Waterloo. The forces have been getting ready for the fight for weeks and began gathering at Romulus last night, coming from all directions in hacks.

The convention was called for 12 o'clock to-day. At that hour the Miller men marched from their hotel to the hall only to find the door barred, and to learn that the Mongin men had entered the hall by a side door. A sheriff's posse of forty men was on hand to preserve order. They were inside, and seemed to be all in sympathy with the Platt forces, and to take their orders from them. The Miller men tried the rear door, but could not get in. Then they brought a battering ram to play on the front door. When they broke in the door they found the muzzle of a deputy sheriff's revolver leveled at them.

"You hit that door again and I'll fire," shouted the deputy.

The Patterson men desisted and started to withdraw, when Col. Manning, a Seneca Falls lawyer, jumped on a box.

"Don't go away, men," he shouted. "We'll hold the convention right here at the point of the pistol."

They then proceeded to elect a full set of delegates to the state, judicial and senatorial conventions, but without the formality of credentials or roll-call.

In the meantime, windows were smashed with stones, and somebody threw a bottle of vitriol, which struck the sash and broke, discoloring the building. They then withdrew.

While this was going on outside, the Mongin men were holding a convention inside. They elected as delegates to the state convention, W. L. Sweet, J. B. H. Mongin, P. Maguire, G. W. Peterson and E. L. Andrews. Only the presence of the deputies, who were armed with clubs and revolvers, prevented a first-class riot. The Mongin men say that when the doors were broken in the county committee was in session and the convention had not been called. There was great excitement, and to night the two factions are ready to clash wherever they meet.—*Oswego Dispatch to New York Times, August 2.*

—There was a hot republican primary in the first ward of this city at noon to-day, in which Platt and anti-Platt tickets were voted. Over five hundred persons were on hand, and a posse of police, under the marshal, was required to keep them in order and prevent acts of violence.

The Platt forces were led by B. B. Odell, Jr., republican state committeeman, and the opposition by Joseph M. Dickey. When the polls were closed not far from one hundred persons remained to vote, and were thus disfranchised. The vote resulted: Platt, 219; anti-Platt, 129.

It is expected that the fight will be continued in all the ward primaries in the city. Postmaster W. G. Taggart, and all the leading politicians of the city rallied to the support of Odell without regard to their residence so far as wards were concerned.—*Newburg, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, August 16.*

—We find the administration—which should be the neutral quantity, the reconciler of the factions—freezing out one of the best collectors New York ever had at the bidding of a relentless faction leader and installing in his place one whose most apparent claim to preferment has been his unswerving loyalty to that leader. It looks as if President Harrison were more interested in restoring to Mr. Platt the control of the party machinery in New York than in electing a

republican governor or a republican legislature next November.—*Brooklyn Times [Rep.]*.

—Mr. Platt declared that he loved Clarkson for the heads he has cut off, and he has got a collector in the New York custom house whom he expects to love for the same reason. Do the republicans wish the country to understand that the civil service reform pledges in the party platform and the President's letter of acceptance were only good until after election.—*Pittsburg Dispatch [Rep.]*.

—The system by which ex-Senator Platt or any other individual is enabled purely for political reasons of a low and sordid character to turn out of office an upright and capable public servant like Mr. Erhardt is wrong in itself. * * It virtually gives notice to every republican office-holder in New York that he must serve Platt. * * And if it is intended to help along the second term on the condition that Platt shall set the New York machine in motion for Harrison, it will do the President in the long run more harm than good.—*Philadelphia Bulletin [Rep.]*.

Thus the feudal connection was established, * * and an army of feudatories was always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster.—[*Blackstone.*]

—The *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, July 23d, prints the make-up of the recent state republican convention. There are ninety-six counties in the state and its report covers eighty two. There were more than sixty office-holders in the convention. The following names are given:

J. B. Patterson, Boone county.
Byron McQuinn, postmaster, Benton county.
J. E. Pickering, postmaster at Alta, Buena Vista county.
J. C. Blair, editor and postmaster at Newell, Buena Vista county.
S. T. Richards, postmaster, Clayton county.
Ed Darling, postmaster, Crawford county.
W. C. Marsh, postmaster at Aurelia, Cherokee county.
J. B. Hungerford, editor and postmaster, Carroll county.
D. C. Chase, Hamilton county.
C. Kennedy, railway mail clerk, Harrison county.
S. M. Child, postmaster, Harrison county.
J. D. Brown, postmaster, Harrison county.
G. L. Cruikshank, postmaster at Addison, Humboldt county.
L. A. Rossing, postmaster at Bode, Humboldt county.
W. S. R. Burnette, postmaster, Jackson county.
A. C. Blair, postmaster, Jackson county.
J. P. Harrison, postmaster at Lu Verne, Kossuth county.
B. S. Chapman, postmaster at Derby, Lucas county.
A. W. Swalm, editor and postmaster [\$2,600 per year], Mahaska county.
I. M. Treynor, postmaster at Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie county.
C. C. Carpenter, postmaster at Ft. Dodge, Webster county.
F. W. Gunkle, deputy U. S. marshal, Woodbury county.
R. L. Tilton, postmaster, Wapello county.
Ole Thompson, postmaster, Winneshiek county.
A. J. Cratsenberg, postmaster, Winneshiek county.
W. H. Klemme, postmaster, Winneshiek county.
S. C. Farmer, postmaster, Wright county.
W. H. Reiley, postmaster, Washington county.
W. P. Hepburn, government office-holder at Washington, on committee on resolutions.

—The negotiations pending for the last few weeks for the sale of the *Logansport Journal* were consummated to-day, and the paper is now in the hands of a stock company, com-

posed of strictly Harrisonites. The price paid was \$16,000. Among the stockholders are ex-Judge S. H. Chase, ex-State Senator A. R. Shroyer, Postmaster D. W. Tomlinson and Ex-Representative B. F. Campbell.—*Dispatch from Logansport to Indianapolis Sentinel, July 23.*

—John B. Cockrum, assistant United States district attorney, addressed, August 4, a republican club upon the recently nominated republican candidates for the city offices.

—"No, the fact that a meeting was to be held was not discovered through the treachery of any member of the anti-Harrison forces. There are a thousand ways in which such information can leak out. The leaders of the movement throughout the state are known and spotted. In the postmasters, postal agents, revenue men and other federal employes throughout the state, the administration has what you might term an army of agents and detectives, and any suspicious move on the part of a prominent anti-administration man is promptly reported to headquarters and his movements are watched, and the antidote is promptly applied for any mischief that may be set brewing. In general terms you may set it down that the president is nearly as well informed as to what is going on in the camp of his enemies as his enemies themselves, and when the time comes he will show his hand."—*Indianapolis Correspondence Cincinnati Commercial Gazette. [Rep.]*

—About two hundred Pennsylvanians, members of the Pennsylvania state club, and all office-holders, of course, sweltered in an upper room in the grand army building to-night. Mr. Quay was the subject of a highly-complimentary resolution, which expressed regret that he had resigned from the national committee, and the Pennsylvania state committee was requested to return him to that committee in consideration of his valuable services to his party.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 6.*

—Senator Quay, fresh from his Beaver home, arrived at the Continental hotel this morning, where he was soon joined by Collector Cooper. The ex-chairman of the state committee sat down, and they were busy for fully an hour discussing the coming republican state convention, its platform and candidates. When the matter of the convention had been fully discussed, the subject of the succession to Chairman Andrews was taken up.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 12.*

—"If I receive the nomination, I feel confident of an election, and I can assure you that, as in the past so in the future, I shall know how to take care of those who assist me towards success."

From the circular letter of Herman H. Gocsling, county commissioner of Hamilton county, Ohio, seeking to become treasurer of the county.

—"A lady is a cousin of a prominent official in the census office. She secured a clerkship through this relationship, and by the same means secured the appointment of seven or eight more clerks at good salaries, and these clerks are now retained through all the dismissals that have taken place. They pay the lady who got them the place a large portion of the salaries they receive each month."—*Washington Correspondent St. Paul Pioneer Press [Rep.]*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 31.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address.
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

When one thinks of the kind of government our forefathers supposed they had established, and when one thinks of the republic so many valiant soldiers fought to preserve, what a travesty it seems as one reads the actual state of affairs disclosed by this report (Mr. Roosevelt's)! It never before was so clear that to be a true patriot, to be worthy of the spirit of 1776 and honor those who died for their country from 1861 to 1865, one must be a civil service reformer, and do all he can to abolish utterly this horrid spoils system.—*Civil Service Record*.

REV. HENRY LAMBERT, of West Newton, writes the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE:

In noticing the report in the July number of the *Civil Service Record*, of my address before the Newton Civil Service Reform Association, you remark:

"The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE desires to put on record an emphatic protest against Mr. Lambert's inference that Wanamaker and Clarkson have been able to retard and injure the reform more than the civil service commission to improve and extend it."

Your "emphatic protest" does me great injustice, for I made no such sweeping statement as you attribute to me, but said distinctly that they had done more to retard and injure the reform, in *certain directions*, than the commission has done to improve and extend it, a very different, but entirely true statement, in which Mr. Dana, editor of the *Record*, agrees with me. I trust, therefore, that you will do me the justice to let my correction appear in your next number.

THE Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., will be glad to receive a copy of July, 1889, of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to complete their file.

THERE seems to be all over the country, not only an active participation in politics by federal office-holders but a very general domination by them of the machine. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE asks its readers to assist in making its record as complete as possible by forwarding particular instances.

THE annual meeting of the national league of civil service reform associations, will be held at Buffalo, September 29th and

30th. The first public meeting will be held Tuesday evening at Concert Hall, when George William Curtis will deliver an address. Meetings will follow on Wednesday at the lecture-room of the Buffalo Library, at which, in the forenoon, papers will be read as follows:

The Secret Executive Sessions of the Senate.—By William D. Foulke.

This Divorce of Municipal Business from Politics.—By Moorfield Storey.

(Upon a topic to be announced hereafter.—By Sherman S. Rogers.)

In the afternoon general business will be transacted, including the hearing of reports and the election of officers. Wednesday evening the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association will give a dinner to the members of the national league. All members of local associations are members of the national league. Buffalo is near Indiana, and the sacrifice to go to this meeting would, for many Indiana members, be a small one. Their enjoyment would be great, and the same may be said of the western members generally.

THE reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable.—*Republican National Platform*, 1888.

When President Harrison was inaugurated, the reform system established by law had been extended to some 32,000 places in the federal service. In two years and six months he has extended it to cover some 700 additional places, and has made the rules cover promotions in the departments at Washington. To have made the reform system, months ago, cover many thousand additional places, such as letter-carriers in free delivery cities, pension agencies and so on, would have been but ordinary diligence in performance of the above plain contract.

THE spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments * * * to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.—*Republican National Platform*, 1888.

Headsmen Clarkson in less than two years removed more than 30,000 fourth-class postmasters, and since March 4, 1889, more than 100,000 federal place-holders have been displaced by partisans of the administration. This has been done in the

wilful and wanton exercise of "the power of official patronage." The office of collector at the port of New York is now being tossed from henchman to henchman to placate Tom Platt, a private citizen, in order through him to secure delegates at the next republican national convention. This use of offices is not different in kind or unconstitutionality from the use of the Chilean civil and military service by Bal-maceda to break down the government of his country.

THE evidence taken by Mr. Roosevelt, assisted by John C. Rose and Charles J. Bonaparte, at Baltimore, makes a remarkable publication. In other official investigations, where it would hurt the other party, scraps of evidence have been introduced showing the connection between the public offices and primaries and conventions. But this investigation had for its one object the discovery of how far and in what manner do the federal office-holders of Baltimore interfere with the free action of the people attempting to perform their political duties. Mr. Roosevelt went straight to this object without regard to who was hit or hurt, and he has put on record a mass of evidence which is a monument of shame and of inestimable value. The country can now see the spoilsmen in black and white in their own words. With equal propriety the administration might allow the crew of a man-of-war or the troops from Fort McHenry to be assessed and brawl and fight at primaries, as to allow the civilians from the postmaster's and marshal's offices to do it. The *Civil Service Record* for September publishes Mr. Roosevelt's report in full, and the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will, from time to time, publish the most important parts of the evidence taken.

WE hear a great deal in these days about party "issues," and many excellent people regret that civil service reform has never been and never will be an "issue." These civil service reformers still cling to the idol of party or a party leader, and they really mean that Platt and Hill and Gorman and Quay and their gillies dictate the "issues" of their respective parties. If an issue springs from a condition of things that floods the country with facts, the spoils system is at this moment the great

issue in this country in spite of scant mention in any platform. This paper means to gather the facts of municipal, state and national spoil and put them into condensed shape for people too busy to get them themselves. There is not a month that its space is sufficient to print one-twentieth of what it collects, and it is a conservative estimate that it is not able to collect one-twentieth of what is printed. Such a floodgate of spoil touching every phase of public life as Tammany opens, this paper has to pass by. If gathered into a book as the facts appear from day to day in the New York papers, it would form the most astounding and incomprehensible manifestation of this century. It is criminal; it lays a vile touch upon the administration of justice; it blackmails; it steals; it corrupts far and wide, and though this is known by the best men of both parties in New York, its power is as great and as far reaching as it ever was. So far as any sign shows to-day, Tammany may last forever. Why, indeed, should Tammany and Tom Platt make an "issue" on civil service reform when their power and life are dependent upon spoil?

THE postmaster-general has sent a circular letter to postmasters at county-seats, inviting them to visit each postmaster in their respective counties, and report to to him before October 15 upon the condition of the office. In view of the high regard which this administration has for ex-Headman Clarkson, and in view of the many reports of the political information obtained by the census takers, it was natural for many people to suppose that Mr. Wanamaker desired before October 15 to know what republican postmasters were not sufficiently active and where it would heal breaches to remove the democrats who here and there have hitherto escaped the knife. The *Boston Post*, August 19, states that the leading white republicans of Alabama recently met at Birmingham, and appointed a committee of fifty to "hunt up and prefer 'charges' against every democratic postmaster in the state." Mr. Wanamaker suggests an easy channel for these "charges." The suggestion does not appear to find favor from republican sources. The *Cedar Rapids Gazette* says:

It would require two weeks steady work for Postmaster Daniels to examine the offices in this county, and his expenses could not be less than \$40; besides, he would have to pay for extra help at his own office while absent. Then again we do not think the average county-seat postmaster, who is usually a county-seat politician, would care to make an unfavorable report of a rural postmaster, who is usually a rural or local politician. The postmasters will generally notify Mr. Wanamaker that they are not in the inspection business.

Minor post-offices in divisions under superintendents who do not hold their places by favoritism is one thing, while minor

post-offices in divisions by counties under a county political boss is another.

CONGRESSMAN WARWICK, the successor of Mr. McKinley, submitted the selection of a cadet to West Point to a competitive examination, and himself selected the board before whom the candidates were to compete. They are stated to have been professional men of the highest standing in the four counties. The sixteen-year-old successful competitor proved to be the son of a republican, and Congressman Warwick has finally rejected him and appointed a boy who was a candidate and rejected by the examining board. This is one of the little silly mean things a grown man does who barter public office for private pelf.

FROM THE SPEECH OF WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE BEFORE THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS AT SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 3.

The principles underlying civil service reform are as clearly demonstrable as any in political economy. They start from the same axiom of self-interest, which, while not the sole motive of human action, are still apt to play a preponderating part. Just as men will buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, just so is it a necessary consequence of the spoils system that men in the distribution of offices will pay the highest price for political support of the greatest political value. As commercial value is measured by dollars, so political value is measured by votes, either in the caucus, convention or popular election. * * * In the primitive stages of republican government men consider more the quality of the man to be appointed than in its later and more impersonal stages. In the earlier days of our government we acted upon the theory of personal discretion in the selection of office-holders, the President was supposed to have some knowledge of the postmasters and collectors whose names were submitted to the senate, and when postmasters and collectors were few, this theory was not unreasonable. In the earlier days of the steam-engine the valve was turned on by the personal action of the engineer; but as the machinery became more highly developed and complicated, automatic action was found to be necessary. So has it been in our government. When the number of postmasters increased to 40,000, personal selection became no longer possible. These things must now be done by system. What shall the system be?

The development of the spoils system in American politics has been attributed to Andrew Jackson, to Martin Van Buren, to Aaron Burr. It is not due to any man. If Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren and Aaron Burr had never lived it would still have been engrafted at some time or other, in some form or other, into American institutions, in the absence of some other definite system established

by law. So long as appointments were left to the personal discretion of an officer selected by universal suffrage, the spoils system was a necessary result. The vote-value of the man could not be disregarded when he sought office from those whom he had helped to power. But just so surely as the spoils system was the product of natural law, just so certain it is to-day that its abolition is a necessity born from the evils which it inflicts.

No one will deny that party government is a necessary phase of popular government. Party government in the political world exercises much the same function that competition does in the commercial world; that war does in the physical world, and that the constant struggle for existence (the strong preying upon the weak) does in the organic world. It is a part of the great development of nature through the survival of the fittest. Where all men vote, the strongest conquer at the ballot-box by essentially the same rules that armies conquer in war. The temptation is powerful to use all means lawful, or unlawful, according to the decalogue and golden rule, or against them, to defeat the enemy. In earlier times and among the lower types of humanity the love of booty was a powerful motive with the man of war. The right to despoil his enemy was never questioned. But it has gradually dawned upon the consciousness of the civilized world that this right of plunder not only inflicts unnecessary hardship upon the conquered, but that it is the greatest weakness of the conquering army. How many have been the battles lost where after the first onslaught the victorious troops, instead of securing the fruits of their victory, devoted themselves to plunder and have in their turn been overcome and despoiled! The military world recognizes to-day that the courage of the soldier must be sustained by other motives than by the hope of spoil, and that to allow an army to devote itself to plunder is to corrupt and ruin it. This is true none the less in politics than in war. In nearly every instance patronage is a source of weakness rather than strength. The number of the disappointed is always greater than the number of the successful. Even the man who receives the coveted plum is apt to prove ungrateful. The corrupting influence of plunder is such that the honor said to exist among thieves can not be trusted. President Arthur had the patronage yet he could not secure a re-nomination. President Cleveland had the patronage, yet it contributed probably more than anything else to his defeat. President Harrison has had the patronage, yet the success of the republican party in 1888 was converted in 1890 into the most disastrous defeat in its history.

The analogy between the spoils of war and the spoils of office goes further in the division of booty among chiefs and men. The share of each was determined not by what he took, but by the relative war value of the man. The chief was to have one-fifth or one-tenth of the whole; then came the greater warriors, while

the common man must content himself with but little. So in politics, as we have seen, the place to which a man is entitled depends upon his political value. The man who raises or distributes a small campaign fund gets a small place, while the man who raises his hundreds of thousands may even hope for a seat in the cabinet. The small speaker in the country district may aspire to a country post-office, but the great leader, whom all men flock to hear, may perhaps become premier. The question which after all determines the office to be given and the man to have it is, how many votes is he worth? Now, it is evident that under such a system as this there is no relation of fitness between the man and the duties he is required to perform, unless those duties are political. If his duty is to guide the policy or spread the principles of his party and win votes for it, of course the best politician will be the best man for the place; but if the duties are administrative or financial, the man whose excellence lies in neither of these fields of action will very likely be a bad man for the place. In all non-political offices we are sure, under such a system, not to get the best service, but a rather poor service. Skill in managing a caucus has no relation to skill in adjusting the accounts of the treasury department. The man who can best whoop up the boys by promises of patronage is not always the best guardian of the public funds. Indeed, the particular kind of politician whose vote value is the most easily determined, and the results of whose labors are the most palpable, is generally the one who is most disqualified for responsible office.

The influences which determine the conduct of the conscientious, independent voter are not so immediately traceable to the particular action of any one man as are the votes of the venal "floaters" to the action of the man who divides them into hocks of five, or who raises the money to corrupt them. The venal politician is, upon the immediate face of things, a more valuable man than the more remote agent who convinces the intelligence. Hence he is apt to secure the better place, unless the fear of public indignation following the discovery of his methods makes his appointment impossible. So it often happens that a few votes in the convention which makes the nomination are more important than a vast number of votes at the popular election. Hence we find that the support of delegates is specially sought for by aspiring candidates and that great numbers of those who have thrown their influence for the nominee in convention are to be found among the successful aspirants for office.

Another thing which results is a political hierarchy, or as Mr. Lucius B. Swift more accurately calls it, a system of feudalism in office-holding, in which the respective rank and power of the men are often quite different from that prescribed by the constitution and laws. According to the latter, the President and members of the cabinet make the appointments according to certain statutes, the head

of a department or bureau is authorized to appoint the officers who serve under him, and he is responsible for their conduct, dismissing them if they turn out to be inefficient, yet in point of fact we find that appointments are not made in any such way. A member of congress or political boss of the district or city is really the appointing power. Sometimes, like Senator Quay, he holds an office, which is often purely legislative and involving no such duty as the distribution of patronage, and sometimes, like Mr. Platt of New York, he holds no office at all.

These gentlemen, the greater barons of politics, divide their possessions among the lesser, the county chairmen and political bosses, and these again apportion their allotments among the leaders in townships and wards, who in their turn divide their little holdings among their own thralls and hustlers. In each case fealty is due, not to the head of the office nor to the government itself, but to the particular source from which the appointment comes. The result is that the men appointed, inasmuch as they do not owe their place to any qualifications for the work to be done, and do not expect to retain it by virtue of their industry or fidelity, but on account of their influence with the men who appointed them, often neglect their duties and devote themselves to political work quite inconsistent with those duties. This system has all the vices and lawlessness of feudalism, and those additional weaknesses which spring from the unstable and uncertain tenure upon which these offices are held. The men who nominally make the appointments, the head of the office or department does not dare to make removals for incompetency lest he should offend the powerful "influence" which stands behind an incompetent man. The "influence," on the other hand, cares little for the manner in which his vassal performs the duties of the office, so long as the personal and political service to himself is satisfactory. There is thus a divided responsibility, the duties are neglected, and there is nowhere any power to apply the remedy.

FEUDALISM REVIVED.

The cities of New York and Brooklyn, the former especially, have produced a political and social system which bears some resemblance to the Roman relation of patron and client, and a greater resemblance to the feudalism of the middle ages. It is a spontaneous natural growth, and bids fair in future years to play a part even more important than it exercises at present. The nucleus is an association, or club, chiefly political, partly social, numbering anywhere from 50 to 5,000 persons, and headed by a leader, an alderman or such like, who dies, or is deposed now and then, in which case the succession is not hereditary, but determined by the popular will, informally expressed. Each of these clubs is part of a still larger body, led by one man, and this larger body is, again, part of one of the two great political parties and sub-

servient to the state boss for the time being. Boss Platt on the one hand and Governor Hill on the other are the feudal lords now at the head of the two great kingdoms or provinces, and beneath them is a regular gradation of leaders down to the ward "heeler" who haunts the liquor saloon of the local boss, and never does an honest day's work—except in the way of politics.

Of course the chief functions of these feudal bodies are primaries, caucuses, state conventions, political meetings and elections. But scarcely less important are picnics and funerals. The *Post* commented the other day upon the fact that two political clubs, both affiliated with Tammany Hall, had just enjoyed a maritime excursion—and in neither case was anybody murdered or even maimed—to such a degree of discipline has Tammany attained. On Friday last two more sacred politico-feudal rites were celebrated, a picnic and a funeral, one in Brooklyn, one in New York. The picnic occurred in Brooklyn, and was attended by fully 5,000 persons, belonging to the fourth senatorial district, it being the annual festival of the P. H. McCarren Association. The crowd included men, women and children, and they were entertained from 4 P. M. till the next morning—all at the expense of McCarren, the local feudatory, to whom they owe allegiance. McCarren stood at the gate of the pavilion where the picnic was held and shook the hand of every man, woman and child that entered, and kissed all the babies. Of course the people did not stream in miscellaneously—they marched in by divisions, each division constituting the local association or nucleus, already mentioned. Thus we have the "P. Donnelly Association," the "John Dunn Association," the "Hugh O'Brien Association," the "Michael J. Devine Association," and many others.

But while these festivities were transacting at Brooklyn a feudal funeral was occurring in New York, being that of John Stroubenmuller, late boss of "de Ate," i. e., the 8th assembly district. The chief interest of this occasion arose from the fact that prominence at the funeral would be a factor in the selection of a new boss. Hence a spirited rivalry among the leaders in the size of their "floral tributes." Hence, also, a contest as to who should head the procession. The *New York World* says that Barney Rourke sent the biggest "floral tribute." It was a wreath bearing the following inscription:

He was our friend.
Yours respectfully,
BARNEY ROURKE.

Another aspirant, F. Wolf, is said to have remarked when the wreath was borne in, "I wonder where mine is. That kid must be crawling. Ah! Here he comes." And then to the bystanders, "Now what do you think of that for a fine one? Barney's might be a little the biggest, but mine cost the most money all right enough."

But, on the whole, it is conceded that Barney Rourke profited as much by this funeral as McCarren, of Brooklyn, did by his picnic. "de Ate" has done homage to Rourke.—*Boston Post*.

PLATTISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and * * become his MAN from that day forth. * * Services were free and base. * * Base service was to * * carry out his dung.—[Blackstone.

—It was not long after Collector Erhardt had been in office that Platt sent in a list of about twenty names of men whom he wanted appointed to office at once. Mr. Erhardt looked it over and asked the messenger where it came from.

"From Mr. Platt," is said to have been the messenger's answer. Then the collector is reported to have said:

"It is about time that Mr. Platt learned that I am the collector of the port of New York."

"What answer shall I take back?" asked the messenger.

"Take back that answer," said the collector, referring to what he had previously said.

From that time on Platt began his warfare on Mr. Erhardt. He failed for some time to carry his point, but when Secretary Foster succeeded Mr. Windom, Platt's chances improved, and now the republican party in this state is politely told that any man who can not do the bidding of T. C. Platt must get out of office, no matter how efficient a public official he may be.—*New York Times*, July 30.

—It has been for and against T. C. Platt, for and against Senator Hiscock, and for and against Warner Miller. Republican voters in this county are largely anti-Platt, and a distinctively Platt candidate for any office would receive scant consideration at their hands. This hostility has grown up because of Platt's interference with and control of appointments, some of which have been most unsatisfactory. The selection of E. E. Robinson as postmaster at Ithaca and the removal of the collector's office from this city to Waverly, in Tioga county, one of Platt's henchmen receiving the commission, produced deep feeling which found open expression of decided dissent. The collection district is Tompkins, Tioga, and Schuyler, Tompkins county furnishing greater revenue than the other two combined, and the change of location is regarded here as an outrage. The Ithaca postmastership is a mere sinecure, the official being a telegraph operator at the Lehigh Valley Railroad station, who sometimes appears at the post-office in the latter part of the day. As regards the performance of any duty to compensate for his large salary, he might as well be a resident of Alaska. His appointment was secured by T. C. Platt and John W. Dwight of Dryden, in this county, in defiance of an earnest protest sent to Washington signed by many republicans of the highest character and most pronounced political views, but this protest was entirely disregarded. This parceling out of offices in this locality has produced a deep feeling of dissatisfaction, which probably will appear in the canvass.—*Ithaca, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times*, August 29.

—The republican county convention met in Ithaca, September 5. Postmaster E. E. Robinson, who is employed by the United States government at a salary of \$3,000 a year to keep an eye on the post-office when not engaged in his regular business, despatching trains on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, at once assumed control of the convention. For some reason, probably to discourage the attendance of too many spectators, those who had charge of the matter had furnished only

about the requisite number of seats to accommodate the delegates.

The postmaster called attention to the fact that many of the seats intended for delegates were occupied by spectators and requested that they should be vacated to make room for delegates who were standing. * * * The postmaster thought the debate had proceeded far enough, and producing that well-known weapon used in debate—which ex-farmer Enz is responsible for introducing into republican county conventions—he moved the previous question, which was promptly carried and Counselor Baker was crushed again, and with him the young republican orator who had the temerity to say something about the question which he was trying to debate.

The vote on the postmaster's motion revealed the strength of the machine, and it was apparent that Almy would receive the nomination for county judge, which he did on the first formal ballot, his vote being 64, or ten more than the number required. * * * After which the postmaster adjourned his convention.—*Ithaca (N. Y.) Democrat*, September 10.

—The enrolled republicans of Brooklyn and the Kings county towns held their primaries yesterday for the election of delegates to the various assembly conventions to-morrow night. The object of the latter is the election of delegates to the state convention to be held Sept. 9. Every effort had been made to bring about a harmonious feeling among the local leaders before the voting began yesterday, but it was successful only in those wards where a fight would have been of no consequence.

Wherever the party is in a position to distribute anything there was a struggle for control. The most serious fight was that between State Committeeman Thomas A. McWhinney and Assemblyman Joseph Aspinall in the twenty-first ward. Aspinall represented Ernst Nathan, whose chief desire now is to remove McWhinney and replace him by Charles J. Dunwell.

When the voters began to arrive they found several thousand copies of a circular in which "Boss" Nathan was attacked most viciously as a man who stabbed in the back every candidate whom he could not manage. It was pointed out that he had given Blaine very few votes in his ward in 1884 and had knifed the assembly candidate the following year. The circular continued:

"The anti-Nathan ticket stands unpledged to any man. This is not a fight against Charles T. Dunwell personally, but only because he is being used by Mr. Nathan to advance Nathan's ambition to become a supreme boss.

"The power of Internal Revenue Collector Nathan over those having official business with his office is well-known and realized by every dealer in spirits, tobacco and cigars, and he appears to be attempting to press them into his service for his own political advancement and against the action of the republican association of the ward. He is spending nearly every evening in the ward, superintending the canvass and pressing the button, and subordinates from his office are exceedingly active there. A circular has been issued to the Nathan ring containing the names of many gentlemen who will vote the regular ticket, and to swell the numbers some of the names have been repeated. It may be difficult to forecast the result, but many protest against this attempted 'bossism,' and the result of the 'button pressing'

may have the same effect as it had upon our candidate for congress last year."—*New York Times*, September 2.

—The republican primaries in Jefferson county have left the party in anything but a happy and united condition. The expenditure of about \$3,000 by one candidate to secure delegates to a district convention created the impression that the county is becoming one of the most corrupt in the state.

The work of federal office-holders who left their official duties to work the caucuses has awakened honest people to a sense of their obligations to the state, and it is not unlikely that charges will be preferred against the head of the Cape Vincent custom-house and some of his subordinates.—*Watertown, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times*, August 29.

—After a factional fight, the most exciting in the history of Onondaga county politics, the Hiscock-Hendricks faction to-day won the first battle in the contest to retain control of the state senatorship for the Onondaga and Cortland district. They captured by a substantial majority the city caucuses which elected delegates to the senatorial convention to be held next Saturday. The results of the caucuses held throughout the district make it certain that Assemblyman Rufus T. Peck, of Cortland, will be nominated for state senator.

The struggle to capture the senatorship in the interest of Senator Hiscock has been, according to republican authority, the most disgraceful ever waged in the district. The leading candidates were Assemblyman Howard G. White, of Onondaga, and Assemblyman Rufus T. Peck, of Cortland. Peck is a gillie of Senator Francis Hendricks, and the senator has in person led the fight for him, assisted by the various leaders of the Hiscock faction, with the United States Senator himself as director general of the campaign. Senator Hiscock himself hurried home from his trip to the far west to rally his forces and fight for Peck's nomination.

The Cortland county caucuses were held last week and sent a delegation, practically salted for Peck, to the senatorial convention. This result, it is claimed by the *Standard* (republican), was accomplished by the most corrupt and disgraceful methods ever put into practice in the district. It is openly charged that votes for delegates were purchased outright by the most lavish use of money, and that no less than \$4,000 was spent to corrupt the voters and purchase Peck delegates.

Having carried the Cortland caucuses the Hiscock-Hendricks faction set about to defeat the will of the republicans of Onondaga by adopting the same methods which had prevailed in Cortland. At the republican caucuses held in the town of De Witt, men who had received favors at the hands of Senator Hiscock were forced into the fight. The senator's brother, Charles Hiscock, who holds a fat position in the United States revenue office, led the force.

Eugene Bogardus and G. C. Ferris, both of whom have sons in the assayer's office in New York at large salaries, were also actively fighting for the Hiscock candidate. The sheriff's office also took a hand in the fight, and the sons of county postmasters tramped the town to help the Hiscock men carry the caucuses.

Hiscock, since his return from the west, has made frequent visits to New York to confer with Platt, and Platt emissaries from Oswego and elsewhere have been here and taken a hand in the senatorial contest. Peck is not the choice of the business men of Cortland for senator. He carried Cortland for the assembly last year by less than 100 votes, and is the most unpopular man in the district.—*Syracuse Dispatch to the New York Times, September 4.*

—Mr. Coykendall is with Platt, and his influence dominated the conventions in the second and third assembly districts and that of the first district to the extent of bringing about the selection of ex-Member of Congress James G. Lindsley, and County Judge A. T. Clearwater. Charles Davis, one of the first district delegates, is a friend of Sharpe, and Christopher G. James, another delegate, is employed in the New York city post office. It is believed by some that Sharpe is with Platt, because Platt sanctioned his appointment in the appraiser's office in New York city after Senator Hiscock had recommended him to the President.—*Kingston (N. Y.) Dispatch to New York Times, September 4.*

—The republican primary elections, at which delegates were chosen to the republican state convention, were held in all the assembly districts of this city yesterday. Frederick Leffson, president of a German organization, telegraphed to Collector Fassett that deputy collector Wilson Berryman was working around the polls. Berryman was at his desk when the collector received the message, but he subsequently asked for a "day off," to be charged against his vacation, and Mr. Fassett remembering his own work at Horseheads, granted it to him. Mr. Berryman went back to the seventeenth district polling place and looked out for the interest of the regulars.—*New York Times, September 4.*

—But another thing that the primaries have settled is that a complaint is to be made to the federal authorities in regard to Internal Revenue Collector Nathan's pernicious activity in local politics. His office is being run as a political machine. The subordinates have been working in this third senatorial fight with great vigor, and all their efforts have been directed to inducing republicans to vote against Senator Birkett. It is said that a list of over one hundred men who have been importuned by these subordinates of the collector has been drawn up and will be sent to President Harrison. One of Nathan's men was an inspector at the recent twenty-first ward primary, and he was ordered to New Jersey by the department on the day of the primary and kept there until just before it opened.

Then it was discovered that he had the official roll book in his pocket, and that his absence was designed to prevent the opposition

from having the names of thirty-five recently elected members placed on the roll, thereby enabling them to vote. This trick was rendered worthless by the granting of a mandamus by Judge Osborne, under which the votes were received. But it is an example, and a very fair one, of the way an important federal office is being used to advance the fortunes of a local party boss.—*New York Times, September 6.*

—The *Evening Post's* correspondent met Collector of Internal Revenue Nathan in Power's Hotel this morning and asked him whom the Kings county delegation would support for governor. "Our first choice," he replied, "is General Stewart L. Woodford."

"And who next?"

"Andrew D. White."

"How does your delegation feel towards Collector Fassett?"

"Very favorably."

"In the event of a contest between ex-Minister White and Senator Fassett whom would your delegation support?"

"That would have to be determined. The Kings county delegation will work in harmony with the New York delegation. We shall be a unit in the convention."—*Rochester Dispatch to New York Evening Post, September 7.*

—It has been reported within the last few days that Frederick S. Gibbs is to be the regular republican candidate for assemblyman in the thirteenth district and that he would have the support of ex-Senator Platt and the republican county organizations. A reporter for *The Evening Post* learned that such is not the case: that if Gibbs should be nominated by his alleged "regular" organization in the thirteenth, the county leaders will not recognize him as the party's candidate, will not contribute to his support, and, in all likelihood, will see to it that the Cowie people place a candidate in the field against him.

Although the Gibbs delegation was seated in the county committee, Gibbs was not recognized as the regular leader of the district. He had a number of men appointed to places in the custom-house during Col. Erhardt's regime, but has had none since Mr. Fassett went into office. It is stated by an excellent authority that when Collector Fassett begins the weeding out process the Gibbs men will be the first to go; that no democrat will be touched until after the Gibbs people have gone. Gibbs very recently succeeded in obtaining a place for one of his followers in the custodian's department in the post-office. The giving of that place, it is stated, led to a very warm interview between ex-Senator Platt and Postmaster Van Cott, and it is understood that the appointee will be removed as soon as the state convention is over.—*New York Evening Post, September 7.*

—The general sentiment seems to be summed up in the words of John E. Brodsky to your correspondent: "We'll give all the candidates a show on the first ballot; then the whole business will go for Fassett." Brodsky proclaimed further, with a chuckle, that the New York City delegation was going to start off in the convention with a vote for "that great and good man, Andrew D. White."

Thomas C. Platt has been known for many years as a grim joker. According to appearances this morning he is carrying out the grimmest joke of his life. He sits in his parlor in Power's Hotel, declaring vehemently to all visitors that he is for Andrew D. White, first, last, and all the time, and eulogizing in the most earnest way the ex-President of Cornell. But all the time his lieutenants are down stairs, preparing for the nomination of his chief lieutenant, Fassett. This idea appears to be to give the impression that he thinks Mr. White is the best man, and that he will not desert him until a great wave of enthusiasm for Fassett sweeps away all other candidates. If the wave turns up on schedule time, the boss will probably shed a public tear for the Ithaca statesman, and declare that he could not prevent Fassett's nomination.

The little comedy is very amusing to the delegates who are here. They know that until Platt arrived yesterday morning there was a general doubt as to the nominations, and that within ten hours after his arrival the name of Fassett was on everybody's tongue. Delegates who came here shouting for their local candidate grew silent and all at once came to the conclusion that Fassett might be more available.—*Rochester Dispatch to New York Evening Post, September 8.*

"No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the arrangement of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed."—*President Hayes, June 22, 1877.*

—Big and little federal office holders have been jostling one another in the hotel corridors ever since this convention began to pull itself together. The two most conspicuous ornaments of this office-holding array were, of course, Thomas C. Platt, member of the commission for the location of a government dock in Washington, and the collector of the port of New York, Mr. Fassett.

Only a single instance is known where the chief of a department gave his subordinates to understand that it would be better policy for them to remain at home than to come to Rochester. Naval Officer Theodore Willis is understood to have conveyed some such hint to his men, and the Brooklyn men in his department appear to have generally observed it. Some of the more important place-holders who were here are the following:

Thomas C. Platt.

J. Sloat Fassett, collector of the port of New York.

Ernst Nathan, collector of internal revenue for the Brooklyn district.

John W. Jacobus, marshal of the southern district of New York.

John E. Milholland, inspector of emigration at the port of New York and press agent for the Platt aggregation.

Denis Shea, deputy collector in Mr. Fassett's office.

John H. Gunner, of New York, deputy collector in Mr. Fassett's office.

John Collins, of New York, deputy collector in the collector's office.

Gen. Michael Kerwin, of New York, collector of internal revenue.

Ferdinand Eidman, of New York, collector of internal revenue.

Robert H. Hunter, collector of internal revenue for the Poughkeepsie district.

Barney Bigliu, baggage contractor at Castle Garden.

Jesse Johnson, district attorney for the Brooklyn district.

Col. Archie E. Baxter, of Elmira, marshal for the northern district.

Henry Flood, postmaster of Elmira, and contesting delegate from Mr. Fassett's own town.

Jonas S. Van Duzer, postmaster of Horseheads and also a contestant from Mr. Fassett's county.

William B. Morgan, collector of the port of Buffalo.

James Low, collector of customs at Suspension Bridge.

Charles E. Fitch, ex editor of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* and collector of internal revenue for western New York.

John E. Smith, of Morrisville, Madison county, assistant district attorney, with headquarters at Syracuse, and a candidate for the nomination of state senator against Titus Sheard.

Mynders E. Van Cliff, of Ithaca, commissioner of the circuit court.

James Miller, postmaster of Utica.

Gen. Reynolds, postmaster of Rochester.

Carroll E. Smith, postmaster of Syracuse and editor of the *Syracuse Journal*.

R. M. Ritchie, postmaster of Saratoga Springs.

George W. Dunn, postmaster of Binghamton.

Leonard Groesbeck, of Troy, United States bank examiner.

Amos Roberts, postmaster of Addison, Stenben Co.

Horace E. Morse, collector of customs at Cape Vincent, Jefferson county.

—*Rochester Dispatch to New York Times*, Sept. 9.

—Mr. J. Slee, of Elmira, the speaker for the anti-Fassett Chemung delegates, was given the first opportunity to speak.

He charged that the republican county committee of Chemung was in the hand of the contestants opponents, who did not hesitate to use every means, lawful and unlawful, to run the primaries to suit their selfish ends. He said there was not the slightest doubt that, barring the fact that pistols and knives were not used by the Fassett people, their methods were the most disgraceful ever witnessed in the county. Mr. Fassett, he said, repeatedly honored by the people of Chemung, had betrayed the confidence of his constituents and bulldozed them in the hope of making them support his line of action. There was a feeling in Chemung so intense against this system of party rule, that unless some rebuke was administered at this committee's hands, a wrong would be done to the republicans of the county that would result disastrously to the party in November.

The contestants, he claimed, after a fair fight secured 100 votes out of 186. The only convention was called for August 15. On August 14 the county committee, made up of Fassett men, decided to admit no one to the convention who was unprovided with a ticket. Tickets were not given to the anti-Fassett men until fifteen minutes after the hour for the convention to open. Under the circumstances, they were obliged to hold a convention of their own and elect delegates.

Col. Archie E. Baxter, United States Marshal, representing the Fassett crowd, consumed twenty minutes in replying to this arraignment. He was frequently interrupted by the members of the contesting delegation, and they asked him some awkward questions. He insisted that if democratic money had been kept out of the county, Fassett would have won in every town. This is a proposition that makes men smile who know the facts. Dr. Henry Flood, postmaster of Elmira, refuted the charge.—*Rochester Dispatch to New York Times*, September 9.

—The fact is that the business of the convention was cut and dried for it. The only question is, how long ago Platt wrote out the slate. The best informed politicians say that he arranged for the business of last night several months ago, when he put Fassett into the custom-house, made him a quasi New York city man, and thereby secured the 133 votes of the New York city delegation. All the evidence is in this direction. Without New York city's solid vote there might have been more than one ballot last night, and it was pretty clear that if a struggle for the nomination was entered into by even a second ballot, Fassett would find opposed to him a combination which he could not defeat.—*Rochester Dispatch to New York Post*, September 10.

—The news of the appointment of Senator Hendricks as collector was no surprise at the custom-house, nor did it cause disappointment among those whose tenure of office was rendered secure by the resignation of Col. Erhardt. Everybody regarded Hendricks as Fassett's natural successor. Hendricks is Hiscock's chief local lieutenant in Syracuse, and Hiscock is Platt's right-hand man. Therefore, it was thought Hendricks would carry out the party plans arranged by Fassett, that is, a clean sweep of democrats, and the running of the custom-house on the Platt spoils system.—*New York Evening Post*, September 17.

PLATTISM AT LARGE.

—Colonel Webster Flanagan, who put the famous question, "What are we here for," at the republican national convention, 1880, has had the question very satisfactorily answered for him by President Harrison. He is now collector of customs at El Paso, Texas. Flanagan has the reputation of being a very active politician of the sort who believe that there would be no use of the spoils if they were not for the victors, and that there would be few victories without the spoils. He is a power in Texas republican politics, and his appointment is looked upon as a shrewd move by Mr. Harrison to obtain a firm hold on the Texas delegation at the next republican national convention.

Cunie, the colored leader, who is collector at Galveston, was not a personal friend of the President's. He has always been an admirer of Mr. Blaine, and Flanagan is said to be the only man in the state who can dispute his control of the republican political machine. While it is believed that Cunie would be loyal to Harrison under ordinary circumstances, it is not thought that anything would prevent his supporting Blaine if he is in the field. Flanagan, on the other hand, is not a Blaine man, but has been for Sherman and is now for Harrison. It is believed by friends of Mr. Harrison that, backed by the administration, he could take the state conventions away from Cunie if the latter turned against the administration, and it is said that this consideration entered into his selection to succeed Collector Clark at El Paso.—*Boston Post*, September 5.

CHARGES WITHOUT APPARENT FOUNDATION.

Lucius B. Swift, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.:

DEAR SIR: I received your letter enclosing the following cutting from the *Brookville American* of July 25, it being a quotation from the *Delphi Journal*:

The circumstances surrounding the cases of the two democrats from this city who have been appointed under this so-called civil service law since the Cleveland administration turned up its toes to the daisies, bear some very suspicious marks of favoritism. In each of these cases a civil service examination was passed, but it was a mere excuse, for "the pull" of a friend did the rest. Let the average republican worker ask for a place, and his qualifications and recommendations are consigned to the impenetrable gloom of the civil service lists. But the democrats from this county are more fortunate. The examination is passed, and "a friend" who has influence at court steps up and "fixes" the whole thing, and the appointment is made. And this demonstrates that this civil service business is hypocritical and fraudulent; sort of a family affair, a channel by which particular pets and favorites, democrats who have a "pull," float gracefully into the promised land, while the ordinary republican eats grass in the fence corner.

The article asserts that under the present administration there have been two, and but two, appointments from Delphi, Carroll county,

and practically states that the civil service examinations under which these candidates were appointed were fraudulent. This last statement is simply and purely a baseless slander. During the time of my service as commissioner, that is, during the last two years and a half, there have been, as far as our records show, but two appointments from Carroll county, and these, I presume, are the two appointments referred to. One was that of Clay M. McClure, who was appointed as a junior draughtsman in the supervising architect's office of the treasury department on March 19 last. The other was that of Mrs. Rachel A. Crawford, who was appointed a book-keeper in the treasury department on July 1 last.

Mrs. Crawford passed the difficult book-keeper's examination with an average of 87 per cent. At the time of her appointment, she was the highest on the woman's register, and, more than that, her average was higher than that of any other person on the same register for the last four years.

Mr. McClure passed the much more difficult and highly technical junior draughtsman examination with what is for that examination the good average of 75 per cent. At the time of his appointment there were a number of men on the draughtsman register. Every one of these who stood above him was appointed before he was, with one exception, the exception being that of a man who was already in the treasury department in another capacity, and who had previously been in the supervising architect's office, as I am informed. It is presumed, therefore, that for some reason that office did not wish him back.

The examination papers of both Mr. McClure and Mrs. Crawford are on file in our office and can be examined at once by any responsible person. If the editor of the *Delphi Journal* or the *Brookville American* or any one else can make out the slightest *prima facie* case of fraud in either the examination or the marking or the grading or the certification or the final appointment of these two candidates, not only will the commission immediately investigate the matter, but will also call for its investigation by the secretary of the treasury, and at the investigation made by the commission the gentlemen making the charge of fraud can themselves be present, either personally or by representatives, and can examine all the books of the commission, as well as the two candidates themselves.

To advance a charge of fraud, without also showing a sound basis of justification for it, is to commit an act no less cowardly than infamous. It seems to me that the article in the *Delphi Journal*, quoted in the *Brookville American*, is itself good evidence of how faithfully the law is being observed. It shows, assuming that its statements as to the politics of the two persons appointed are true, that democrats have precisely as good a chance as republicans under the law, and that no amount of "pull" will help a man if he is unable to win his place honestly and fairly on his own merits. The *Delphi Journal* has unwittingly paid

a compliment of the highest character to the law and its administration, and as a strong republican I feel particularly pleased at the evidence thus unconsciously given to the effect that in the administration of the civil service law the republican party is keeping the pledge of the national platform.

Very respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Washington, D. C.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

Noah W. Pierson testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) State your full name, Mr. Pierson. A. Noah W. Pierson.

Q. What is your position in the post-office? A. I am assistant engineer.

Q. How long have you been in the service? A. I have been here about a year and two months.

Q. Appointed by Postmaster Johnson? A. Appointed by the eustodian.

Q. By Mr. Johnson as custodian of the office? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Pierson, understand that there is nothing affecting you at all in any question we put to you; it doesn't affect you in the least as far as we now know; it is simply a matter of observation of the law in certain particulars by others, not by you. Do you know anything of the collection or contribution of any funds for political purposes at this time? A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about the collection of \$5 apiece, or the attempted collection of \$5 apiece from a number of employes of the post-office, or of the postmaster as custodian, for primary purposes? A. No, sir.

Q. You have never known of any that you know anything about? A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know of anyone having paid any sum or having been asked to pay any sum for political purposes recently? A. No, sir.

Q. And specifically with reference to the primaries on Monday next? A. No, sir; I don't know anything about it.

Q. You know nothing about it at all? A. No, sir.

Q. And you have never been approached by anyone who asked you if such and such a man had paid? A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) You understand that neither Mr. Roosevelt nor I know anything about this matter, except that certain reports have been brought him, and he asked me as president of the local civil service reform association to come down here and assist him in the investigation of them. Now, has any officer in this building, either under the postmaster as eustodian or the postmaster as postmaster asked you whether anybody else had contributed to the primaries?

Witness. These primaries coming?

Mr. Bonaparte. Yes, sir.

A. No, sir.

Q. Well, having inquired of you, has anybody in the service inquired of you whether some one else had contributed in any way to any fund to be used in this republican contest? A. No, sir.

Q. Now supposing some officer here has reported that you had told him that other officers in the building had contributed to this, that officer has not told the truth then? A. No, sir; the man that reported that didn't tell the truth.

Q. Have you collected any money from any one else yourself for these primaries? A. No, sir.

Q. Have you told any one, any officer in the building here, that you had collected any money? A. No, sir. This is unexpected to me, you know, gentlemen, and I am answering right off. Of course, I haven't had any time to think, you know.

Q. Of course, we understand that, and we would like you to think pretty carefully, because we don't want to do anybody any injustice. A. No, sir.

Q. Think carefully if you have been approached by any officer employed in this building with the inquiry as to whether anybody else had contributed

to the primaries, or to anything of that sort? A. Not to my knowledge; I can't call any to mind just now.

Q. Has anybody connected with the building, or having an office in this building, asked you whether you yourself had contributed or whether you had collected contributions? A. No, sir.

Q. And you are quite positive you have never told any one anything from which they could understand that you were collecting contributions? A. Yes, sir; I am positive that I have never told any one that I was collecting contributions; I don't know anything about it.

Q. And that you never told any one connected with the service in any way that anybody else connected with it was contributing? A. No, sir.

Q. So that if any officer in this building has made a report to Mr. Roosevelt to the effect that certain other officers were collecting contributions or promoting their collections, and that they knew something about it, that officer has not told the truth? A. Well, of course, I don't want to say that he didn't tell the truth; he might be mistaken.

Q. I mean, that it wasn't so? A. It wasn't so if he made a report of it; yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Are you a republican in politics? A. I am; yes, sir.

Q. And actively identified with the republican party? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Identified with one of the organizations here in the city, a republican organization or a republican club, or whatever you choose to call them? A. Yes, sir; I belong to one of the republican clubs.

Q. What republican club are you a member of? A. The Active Club, they call it. It is down in the First ward; it is a ward organization.

Q. Are there going to be primary elections next Monday? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there going to be a contest between two republican factions? A. Well it looks that way, sir.

Q. It looks that way. Do you take an active part in this contest or not? A. Well, no; I don't think it is my place to take an active part.

Q. You don't think it is the place of any government employe to take an active part; is that your idea? A. No, sir. I think it is his place to go and vote his sentiments and then go away.

Q. But you don't think it is the place of any government employe to stand around the polls and work for one faction or the other; hold tickets and so fourth? A. No, sir. I don't think there is anything like that going on there.

Q. Precisely. Do you know if the post-office employes, as a whole, sympathize with one or the other of these factions? A. I don't know.

Q. Or are they divided? A. Well, from rumors; that is all I can go by.

Q. Certainly. It is simply a matter of common notoriety. What do you hear? A. There seems to be a little difference of opinion.

Q. Well, are there two factions in the republican party here in Baltimore that are going to contest in the primaries on Monday? A. Not that I know of, sir.

Q. What will the fight be on? A. The fight will be this: These people in our ward—I only take my ward for instance—they want to send one delegate to the convention, and the men that I favor on, they want to send another, that is the sum total.

Q. But what are the difference between the two factions; is one of the factions identified with Postmaster Johnson? A. Well, not that I know of.

Q. Not that you know of? A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

* * * * *

AFTERNOON.

Noah W. Pierson, recalled.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) We want to be clear in order that we don't do anybody any injustice in this matter. Do I recollect you to have testified this morning that you didn't have any conversation with anybody on the subject of the payments of assessments of employes here? I don't mean to use that term; I should say contributions towards the expenses of the primaries.

Witness. How is that?

Q. Didn't you tell us this morning that you hadn't had any conversation with anybody on the subject of the payment of contributions by any employe of the post-office? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That you didn't have any conversation with John F. Thomas? I think we asked you that particularly? A. No, sir; you didn't ask me that.

Q. Well, I will ask you now. Did you have any conversation with Mr. John F. Thomas, the superintendent of the registry division about that?

Witness. What do you mean?

Mr. Bonaparte. About certain employes of the post-office giving money for the expenses of the primaries?

A. Well, I was talking to Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Thomas told me that Mr. Hammond had told him that Ashton had given me \$5 for the primaries.

Q. That Ashton gave you \$5 for the primaries? Well, now, what more passed between Mr. Thomas and yourself? A. Mr. Thomas told me to go down and see Mr. Ashton and ask him for that money he promised to pay.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Mr. Thomas told you to go down and see Mr. Ashton and ask him for the money? A. That was after we had the conversation.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Did you go? A. I went down and asked Mr. Ashton if he had ever given me any money for the primaries, and he said, no.

* * * * *

James Wilson, colored, testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What is your position? A. I am a laborer.

Q. Under Postmaster Johnson as custodian of the post-office building? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been so employed? A. I have been here about six months.

Q. Were you appointed by Postmaster Johnson? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. C. B. Johnson, of South Bethel street? A. No, sir; I don't know him.

Q. Or Mr. R. H. Harris, of 314 South Caroline street? A. Yes, sir; now I know who you mean by C. H. Johnson.

Q. Then you know C. H. Johnson, of South Bethel street, and R. H. Harris, of South Caroline street? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do both of these gentlemen take a more or less active interest in local politics? A. Yes, sir; they have in the last primary.

Q. They live in the third ward? A. Yes, sir.

Q. There are going to be primary elections next Monday, are there not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there going to be a contest in the primaries? A. Yes, sir; I judge so, from the looks of things. There is one polling place.

Q. There is going to be a contest in the primaries then? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of course I am speaking of the republican party; you are a republican yourself, are you? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you a member of any republican organization? A. I am of the district association, yes, sir.

Q. Well, in the third ward there seems likely to be a contest? A. They appear to seem like it; yes, sir.

Q. Acting under that committee? A. Yes, sir. It seems like the colored element goes with Mr. Johnson.

Q. Well, go on. A. And the principal part of the other element, which is called the Henderson faction, are taking their hands off.

Q. There are two factions here? A. Yes, sir.

Q. One called the Johnson faction? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the other called the Henderson faction? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the fight on Monday next is going to be between these two factions? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Johnson faction has for its heads Postmaster Johnson and Marshal Airey? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, does the fight bid fair to be a pretty bitter one next Monday? A. It seems so.

Q. At one time in the third ward it looked as if the colored element was going to be against the Johnson faction? A. Not the majority of them, but a portion of them.

Q. A portion of them? A. Yes, sir.

Q. But now that has been gotten right, and it looks

as if they would all go for the postmaster? Q. Yes, sir.

Q. At one time were these two men, C. H. Johnson and R. H. Harris, going to go on the ticket opposed to the postmaster? A. I don't know whether they were going to go on the ticket or not.

Q. But they were going to oppose him? A. Yes, sir; they were the head parties.

Q. Of the opposition to him? A. Yes, sir; among the colored?

Q. Well, I suppose you are friendly to Postmaster Johnson? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you went to Mr. C. H. Johnson and Mr. R. H. Harris and asked them to come up here and see the postmaster? A. I asked them to come up and see Dr. Weaver.

Q. Did you take them up here yourself? A. They didn't come at all.

Q. You simply asked them to come and they didn't come? A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. Did they see Postmaster Johnson at all or any one connected with the office then? A. No, sir.

Q. Then they just changed of their own accord? A. Yes, sir; through me.

Q. You persuaded them to change? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Who is this Dr. Weaver that you asked them to come and see? A. He is the assistant custodian.

Q. Of this building? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this Mr. Johnson is a cousin of his, this Mr. C. H. Johnson? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) And Dr. Weaver is a colored man, the assistant custodian? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) And you asked him to come up and have a talk with his cousin, but he didn't come. A. He didn't come.

Q. Do you feel pretty sure that he didn't see anybody connected with the office? A. Pretty sure, sir; I can tell you the reason why; these gentlemen are all friends of mine.

Q. That is what we understand. A. Yes, sir; they are all friends of mine; and, well, a gentleman by the name of Jacob H. Seaton is in our ward, a colored gentleman, a leader, gentlemen, he is down there, and him and I got to talking to these gentlemen, and he showed them where it was to my interest to fight for this faction.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) To your interest? A. Yes, sir.

Q. The leader of the ward showed Messrs. Johnson and Harris where it was for your interest that they should fight for this faction? A. Yes, sir; that they should fight for this faction.

Q. For fear it would jeopardize your position here? A. Yes, sir; certainly. He told them it was to my interest to vote this way, and as they were friends of mine they said they were willing to support people that had supported the colored people, and that Mr. Johnson done that, but they didn't say they were going to vote that way, but they would take their hands off for my benefit.

Q. For your benefit? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) When you say they took their hands off you mean that they were thinking of running as delegates on the other side? A. I know they was with the other faction at the last primary election.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) They were the leaders on the Henderson side, and it being shown to them that it would be to your interest to cease their opposition to the Johnson faction they agreed to do so? A. Yes, sir; they agreed to do so.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Were you present when Mr. Seaton had this talk with them? A. We had a ward meeting.

Q. And Mr. Seaton explained the matter? A. Yes, sir; Mr. Seaton explained the matter in the meeting.

Q. When was that ward meeting? A. That was last Monday night.

Q. Can you recollect in general terms what Seaton said then? A. No, I don't recollect everything he said, but he explained the situation, and explained my situation, and how my appointment was made, and all.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) How is your appointment made? A. Well, my appointment was made through

the people in my ward. I was a favorite with the people, with both sides; both factions favored me.

Q. Both the Henderson and the Johnson people? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Henderson and the Johnson leaders recommended your appointment? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were appointed on the recommendation of the colored republican element of your ward? A. Yes, sir; the colored element in that ward.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) You are pretty sure then that this explanation of Mr. Seaton to these friends of yours, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris, was the cause of their going out of this contest? A. Here's what the gentlemen said to me; I have been friendly with all of them ever since I have been there at work, and I was trying to persuade these gentlemen, as they said they were favorite to me and wanted me to have the appointment, both sides of the question, and ever since I have been here I have been urging them to support me, because I didn't want no split in our ward.

Q. You didn't? A. No, sir. Until last fall it seems as if this Mr. Baumgartner down there, the state central committee man, he has been kicking down there for quite a while. Well, he goes around and get a lot of the colored young men down there—lots of them had been voting the democratic ticket—and he calls a meeting, and at this meeting he invites these gentlemen, this Mr. Harris and Mr. Johnson, they came around there and got into this meeting; they heard it was going to be and they went there and captured the meeting, and they made the leading people in it.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Was this a Henderson meeting? A. Yes, sir; well Henderson started it.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) You say ever since you have been employed here you have been urging them to support you? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Well, there was, I suppose, some money collected for the primaries? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had this Mr. Seaton had anything to do with the collecting it? A. No, sir.

Q. Had either of these other two anything to do with it? A. Harris and Johnson? No, sir; they had nothing to do with it.

Q. Nothing at all? A. No, sir.

Q. Now have you any idea who did contribute to the expenses down there? A. Well, there is some gentlemen who was office-holders.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Certainly; the office-holders? A. Yes, sir; we had a meeting to ourselves, you understand.

Q. The office-holders had a meeting themselves to contribute? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Now, were Mr. Harris or Mr. Johnson present at that meeting? A. No, sir.

Q. Was this confined to the office holders; was anybody else there except people who were in office? A. That was all.

Q. About how many of you were there? A. There was about 7 of us.

Q. About 7 office-holders; there are that many in this ward? A. Oh, my; there is 14.

Q. The other 7 didn't come? A. No, sir; they wasn't there; I think they sent the money.

Q. Do you know who they sent it to? A. Well, we made a treasurer, you know, amongst ourselves; in fact, gave it to one gentleman to keep the money.

Q. All of these people who attended the meeting gave it to one of themselves, one of their own number? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are pretty sure they didn't give it to either Mr. Harris or Mr. Johnson? A. No, sir.

Q. Who was it they gave it to? A. A gentleman by the name of Mr. Martin.

Q. Is he a colored man? A. No, sir; he is a white man.

Q. Is he employed in this building? A. I think he is; yes, sir.

Q. In what capacity? A. I think he is a letter carrier; I think he is.

Q. From what ward; the third ward? A. Yes, sir; the third ward.

Q. Now, you are pretty certain that neither Mr. Harris nor Mr. Johnson or this old gentleman, Mr.

Seaton, had nothing to do with collecting any money? A. Nothing at all; no, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What is the first name of Mr. Martin? A. Henry Martin, I think.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) He is a letter carrier from the third ward? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect when this meeting was held? A. I think it was last Saturday a week.

* * * * *

Q. And when you had agreed among yourselves what you ought to give on that occasion, you gave it to one of your own number, and not to an outsider? A. Yes, sir, one of our own number.

Q. You are pretty sure of that? A. Yes, sir, pretty sure.

Q. Now you are pretty certain that none of the office-holders from the third ward, so far as you know of, gave \$5 apiece to any outsider? A. No, sir; I am pretty sure of that.

Q. Was \$5 the amount they were each to give? A. That was it; yes, sir.

Q. You have already answered it two or three times, but I will ask you the question again; you are quite sure that neither Mr. Harris nor Mr. Johnson had anything to do with getting \$5 for anybody? A. No, sir; I don't believe they would accept \$100 if it were offered to them by any one.

Q. This money that you raised in that way, it wasn't intended to buy votes with, was it? A. No, sir; it was just spread in the ward to pay ticket-holders.

Q. And to have tickets printed and so forth, I judge? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And for what other expenses was it? A. That is the only expenses; printing tickets and ticket-holders.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What are the ticket-holders? A. They get \$2 apiece.

Q. You pay the ticket-holders? A. Yes, sir; for working, helping to poll the vote.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Was either of these men, Johnson or Harris, employed as a ticket-holder, do you remember; are they going to be employed as ticket holders? A. No, sir, they are not.

Q. The ticket holders you have, I suppose, will belong to your faction? A. Some of them have voted with the others in the last primary.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) But they will vote with you now? A. Yes, sir; they come of their own consent.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) And this money which you raised was raised from among the office-holders? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was given to one of your own number, and it was intended to be used in the regular expenses of the primary? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now we want to get this pretty straight, so that we can bring it back on the person who is guilty. You didn't give your \$5 to Mr. Johnson or Mr. Harris, that you say positively? A. No, sir.

Q. You did give it to Mr. Henry Martin? A. Yes, sir, one of our number.

Q. Now you say there was a man connected with the elevator; what is his name? A. His name is Mr. Mitchell.

Q. You don't know his first name? A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Is he a white man or a colored man? A. He is a white man.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Did you see him pay his money? A. No, sir; I didn't see him pay his; he told me he gave it to this Mr. Martin.

Q. You have no doubt about him telling you the truth about that? A. Well, he showed me \$5 one night, and the next morning he told me he gave it to Mr. Martin. You see we didn't give the money the first time we had a meeting.

Q. You didn't? A. No, sir; that was afterwards. Some of them were willing to give it then and didn't give it. Of course I didn't have mine at that time.

Q. Do you recollect who were willing to give it at that time? A. I don't think any one gave it, but we all agreed upon it.

Q. And now you have given us your name and Mr. Mitchell's, the elevator man, and you have mentioned one or two others. You mentioned the name of Mr. Glass? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his first name? A. I think his name was Mr. Harry Glass.

Q. He is a letter carrier? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any reason to know he gave his money to Mr. Martin, or gave it to somebody else? A. He told me he gave it to Mr. Martin.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 32.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address, THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Ind.

The genesis of the mugwump is that he first becomes better than his party, and next better than his country. The teachings of the mugwumps for the past five or six years have been for the purpose and to the result of stifling enthusiasm and encouraging indifference. We want to remove this sort of dry rot, and bring republicanism back to its old-time force of warm blood, fearlessness and uncompromising courage, and to educate every young man in the land that next to being an American, the greatest badge of honor he can wear is membership in the republican party.—From Clarkson's Letter for the Dinner of Quay's American Club.

AT the meeting held at the opening of the recent city campaign to ratify the nomination of the republican candidate, Mr. Herod, he being present, ex-Mayor Cale Denny expressed his heartfelt gratification that there were "no mugwumps in this campaign." There were none on that side. The republican side was under the blatant control of the hustlers who removed Chief Webster from the head of the fire department in 1889 because he would not turn out some dozen democrats, out of eighty-two employes, to make room for republican henchmen, a full account of which was given in the CHRONICLE for April, 1889. Joined with these were the tinhorn-Farwell club crowd who, it will be remembered, were a club of "workers" formed mainly to work for federal spoil then being distributed. It first called itself the tinhorn club, but it got no spoil, and being unable to pay its rent, it moved from large quarters on a fine street into small ones on a back street, when it changed its name to the Farwell club, in honor of Senator Farwell as "the only man who has the sand to oppose civil service." Farwell refused the honor, and the club went to pieces, its effects being sold for a few dollars. This aggregation of boys had a candidate who openly declared himself one of them. Office-holder Harry McFarland, who has a place in the government printing office to pay him for work among the worse elements in 1888, came weeks ago from Washington and took up his work. Office-holder A. D. Shaw, who was paid with an office for work among

railroad men in 1888, was brought here and again set to work. In the middle of the campaign Sim Coy left the democrats and went over to the republican machine.

THIS hungry and bawling crowd at once caught the eye of the independent voter, and he instantly comprehended that rarely could so many vicious elements be balloted under foot in a single day, and rarely has the independent done his work with greater relish. He had also to justify him, the fact that in the main, the present administration had been a good one for the city, and this was particularly true of the board of public works and the controller. Mayor Sullivan, whose re-election was sought, had been elected two years previous by 1,700 majority admittedly secured by independent votes. October 13, his re-election followed by 2,700 majority. This was because the best citizens of Indianapolis refused to be bound by party ties. The times have happily changed here. The *Indianapolis Sentinel* is not the old *Sentinel*. It is a strong, fearless paper, that wants good government and pays regard to the ties of honesty as well as the ties of party. There is beyond question, a very large independent vote here. For the development of this fortunate condition, for any community, the first credit must be given to the *Indianapolis News*.

THE annual meeting of the National League, at Buffalo, September 29 and 30, was in many respects the most successful ever held. Buffalo was a congenial place, and her civil service reformers in great numbers, after their many victories securing a complete enforcement of both federal and state laws, held their heads high. Elsewhere are given the tenth annual address of Mr. Curtis and the paper by Sherman S. Rogers. Mr. Foulke's paper opposing secret sessions of the senate is excellent, and Moorfield Storey's paper on the separation of municipal government from politics, is a real contribution to the cause of reform.

The annual meeting closed with a dinner, at which Sherman S. Rogers, presided, and the speakers were George William Curtis, Charles J. Bonaparte, Lucius B. Swift, Edward Cary, William D. Foulke, Everett P. Wheeler, Theodore Bacon and E. C. Sprague.

FOR want of space THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has to omit, this month, the papers of Mr. Storey and Mr. Foulke, read at the league meeting at Buffalo, the report of the special committee on the census, and to limit the current facts mainly to the assessment circulars and to the activity of office-holders.

SHOULD the President seize upon the military and naval services and use them as he does the civil service for his re-nomination, he would have a corps of men in uniform. At primaries, at conventions, at the business of hustling voters, running over the country, laying pipes and the thousand other odd jobs, they would be conspicuous objects, and the people would be greatly interested to watch them at work. Now let the President put his civil service into uniform. Let us see Col. Archie Baxter as he journeys over New York state with Fassett, in uniform, and Postmaster Van Cott and Collectors Hendricks and Beard and a host of others. Of course, such as these should be distinguished by certain marks and extra embellishments as officers. It is probably a moderate estimate to say that the President has now 75,000 employes paid by the whole people and supposed to be giving their entire energies to the service of those who pay them, as busy as bees in his own private interest, or to put it less baldly but what really amounts to the same thing, at work for the republican machine.

We take the liberty to suggest that the color of the new uniform for the civil service should be red. Red has recently been adopted as the official color of letter boxes for the excellent reason that it shows well at long distances, and that is precisely what we want of the civil service as it labors for bosses big and little. When Col. Baxter passes through the little towns and speaks at the car door for Fassett, if he is in a bright-red uniform he shows well down the street as a federal employe off junketing. So with these different postmasters who have held conventions, their red uniform is a constant reminder that their living is furnished by general taxation, while they are using their time and official position to carry out the orders of a Quay or Platt or lieutenants of those worthies.

QUAY.

Quay is having much to disturb him in Pennsylvania. The investigations into the rottenness of the recent scandals bid fair not to be stifled after all. Governor Pattison's proclamation for an extra session of the senate has obliged Quay to summon his henchmen, Marshal Leeds, Collector Cooper, Controller of the Treasury Gilkeson, Collector Warmcastle, Assistant Postmaster Hughes and others to meet the situation.

The *Public Ledger* has at last brought its great influence for reform:

It is indispensibly necessary that the "spoils" system shall be struck by a crushing defeat in Pennsylvania. It is for the voters of the state now to judge—now that the issue is joined as to the deliverances in the resolutions of both conventions—which party and which nominees are most likely to strike the blow that will defeat and stamp out the system.

The *North American*, which calls itself the oldest daily paper in America, being in its one hundred and seventh year and the staunchest of republican papers, says:

"Fidelity to party is played out as a battle cry to lead the hosts of republicans across fields where they may be unwilling to tread." * * *

"But in the republican party itself there is a discontent more dangerous than any attack from outside. It is in our own ranks that we best know the burden we have borne. It is not reasonable to suppose that it has been borne willingly, and to day no man's individual excellence is enough to insure him from defeat at the polls if it is the belief of the republicans who dislike and despise the demoralization which has touched the public service that the so-called leaders who have caused it may be overthrown by the revolt of the ballot."

For almost the first time the men who have for years been striving to break down the boss system in Pennsylvania now find papers that will print the facts of their efforts. The republican movement against the leadership of Quay is growing. An address has just been issued, signed by 322 prominent republicans, for a meeting to organize. This address says:

"The object of those who have signed this address is to secure the recognition of common honesty and the establishment of sound political methods in the management of the affairs of this commonwealth, and to restore Pennsylvania to her original position of honor among the states of the Union. To accomplish this end, and as a natural outgrowth of the protest, an organization will be formed to break the power of spoils politics in this state, and to obtain a fitting representative of Pennsylvania's interests in the senate of the United States upon the termination of the incumbency of Senator M. S. Quay."

While Quay's enemies are rising up about him and party shackles have so loosened that the freedom of the press seems to be at hand, his friend and ally, William H. Kemble, suddenly dies. The following is from the *New York Times*:

The incident in the life of Mr. Kemble that brought him notoriously to the attention of the people of the state, was his famous letter to Titian J. Coffey of Washington, D. C. George O. Evans, in his capacity as fiscal agent of Pennsylvania, was commissioned to collect a claim from the government to reimburse Pennsylvania for certain bounty money that had been allowed to the state's account. The famous letter from Kemble read:

"MY DEAR TITIAN: This will introduce to you Mr. George O. Evans, who has a claim of some mag-

nitude against the government. Treat him as you would me. He understands addition, division and silence."

It was a matter of some years before this remarkable correspondence, introducing Evans came to light. In the year 1878 Mr. Kemble was convicted in the courts of Dauphin county, Penn., at Harrisburg, of bribing members of the Legislature to vote for the famous riot bill, which would have taken about \$3,000,000 from the state for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Every effort was made to obtain a pardon for him before the case came to trial. Finding that this could not be done, Kemble fled the state. After he had been sentenced he was promptly pardoned. Mr. Quay was a member of the board of pardons and was the leading spirit that brought about Mr. Kemble's pardon.

TEN YEARS OF REFORM.

[An address by George William Curtis at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, at Buffalo, Sept. 29, 1891.]

When the distinguished president of the Buffalo Association invited the National League to hold its annual meeting in this city, we were sure, in accepting the invitation, not only of a generous and hospitable welcome, but we knew that we were coming to one of the holy cities of the reform faith. In the revolutionary army every state watched with profound interest the conduct of its own soldiers, and those states to-day still cherish with pride and gratitude the story of the deeds of the New York line, the Massachusetts line, the Virginia line, all of them uniting in the final triumph of the whole American line. So in our contest for reform, the contest for honest government by the people and not by the pensioned politicians, the Buffalo line has been always at the front, and to the conviction, the constancy and the courage of that line, some of the noblest victories of the good cause are due. It is especially pleasant, therefore, that we should assemble in Buffalo for our tenth annual meeting, not only to renew the pledge of our fidelity to reform, but to exchange congratulations upon its achievements and progress.

The formation of the League was not, as sometimes has been pleasantly represented, a whim of amiable gentlemen who had a fancy for new fashions in politics, for spinning moonbeams and dipping water in a sieve. The spirit of reform is the instinct of order and progress and as old as government. It is the creative instinct moving upon the face of the waters. When the republican platform of 1884, reaffirmed in 1888, spoke of the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage, it did not announce a new discovery; it merely stated a historical fact. In the famous declaration of 1688, which, after consultation with his English advisers, William the Third issued upon embarking for England, he mentioned as the sixth among the thirteen particulars in which the laws of England had been set at naught by the dethroned dynasty, the interference with elections by turning out of all employment such as refused to vote as they were required; and in the declaration of rights drawn by Lord Summers with which the crown

of England was offered to William and Mary, the seventh of the fourteen grievances mentioned was the same violation of the freedom of elections by patronage. So early and so prominently in constitutional history was the evil of patronage denounced as a great public wrong and peril.

A century later the evil instead of declining had grown to such strength that when the most ignoble of British ministers sought by the corruption of patronage to restore the supremacy of the Crown, Edmund Burke raised his great voice in protest. Macaulay, in a famous passage, describes the excesses and the terror of this abuse in England, and Webster draws a similar picture of its ravages in this country. It was sixty years ago that he said, in arraigning the Jackson administration, "As far as I know there is no civilized country on earth in which, on a change of rulers, there is such an inquisition for spoils as we have witnessed in this free republic." The evil that both described was the baldest form of political corruption. It was making booty of the public service, and Marcy, who defended the outrage, justly described the service so seized as spoils. In one country the public patronage was a bribery fund to prop the crown, in the other, to help a party. In both it was organized corruption.

It is not surprising that the passionate ardor of party spirit during a civil war which identified support of a party with the existence of the government should have strengthened the tradition that extreme partisanship is the rightful condition of public employment, nor that the immense increase of such employment at the very time when this conviction was strongest should have developed at once and flagrantly the evils of an exclusively partisan civil service. The exaltation of patriotic feeling during the war is an inspiring recollection. But the reaction that always follows such exultation was not less signal, and corruption in our politics was never felt to be so general, so vast and penetrating, as during the last quarter of a century. The formation of the League, therefore, did not announce the discovery of a new abuse, but the conviction of an old one was at once so deeply extended and so threatening as to demand constant exposure and resolute reform. The story of the progress of ten years is the evidence of the scope of that conviction and of the awakening of public opinion. There is no better place for the retrospect than this entrenched reform camp of Buffalo, over which the flags of victory fly, and in which drums are beating for further advances and the final triumph.

The National Civil Service Reform League was organized at Newport, R. I., on the 11th of August, 1881. It was the result of a conference among members of civil service reform associations that had spontaneously arisen in various parts of the country for the purpose of awakening public interest in the question, like the clubs of the Sons of Liberty among our fathers, and the anti-slavery societies among

their children. The first act of the League was a resolution of hearty approval of the bill then pending in congress, known as the Pendleton bill. Within less than two years afterward the civil service law was passed in congress by a vote in the senate of 38 yeas to 5 nays, 33 senators being absent, and in the house only a week later, by a vote of 155 yeas to 47 nays, 87 members not voting. In the house the bill was put upon its passage at once, the speaker permitting only thirty minutes for debate. This swift enactment of a righteous law was due, undoubtedly, to the panic of the party of administration, a panic which saw in the disastrous result of the recent election a demand of the country for honest politics; and it was due also to the exulting belief of the party of opposition that the law would essentially weaken the dominant party by reducing its patronage. The sudden and overwhelming vote was that of a congress which probably had very little individual knowledge or conviction upon the subject. But the instinct in regard to intelligent public opinion was undoubtedly sure, and it is intelligent public opinion which always commands the future. It is fear of the same righteous sentiment, infinitely stronger than it was ten years ago, which to-day prevents the repeal of the reform law.

The passage of the law was the first great victory of the ten years of the reform movement. The second is the demonstration of the complete practicability of reform attested by the heads of the largest offices of administration in the country. In the treasury and navy departments, the New York custom-house and post-office, and other important custom-houses and post-offices, without the least regard to the wishes or the wrath of that remarkable class of our fellow-citizens known as political bosses, it is conceded by officers, wholly beyond suspicion of party independence, that in these chief branches of the public service reform is perfectly practicable and the reformed system a great public benefit. And, although as yet those offices are by no means thoroughly reorganized upon reform principles, yet a quarter of the whole number of places in the public service to which the reformed methods apply are now included within those methods.

I say reformed methods and not principles, because the principle of reform is applicable to the entire public service. When under their oaths to discharge the duties of their offices to their best ability and with the divine aid, the President nominates and the senate confirms a member of the cabinet or a minister to England, the collector of a port or a postmaster, both the President and the senate are morally bound to select the fittest agents for those high public trusts without regard to personal or party interests and with reference solely to the public welfare. For the public service is the service of the people. Its offices are not the perquisites of the chief magistrate to whom the people commit the appointment of persons to fill them. Nor are

they the property of the constitutional majority of the people which selects that magistrate. The majority which selects him is simply the agency by which the whole people act, and in executing the trust of appointment to office, he is discharging a duty, not to a majority nor to a party, but to the whole people; and in making the appointment he is morally bound to consider only qualification for the service and not agreement with the opinion of the majority upon subjects that do not affect the duties of the office. Undoubtedly, our political system intends the action of the President to give effect to the will of the majority in legislation. He officially confirms the policy of the country as expressed in the election and declared by congress, a policy which varies with varying opinion. But whatever the changing policy, the actual transaction of the public business under that policy is unchangeable. It demands only capacity, honesty, diligence, subordination.

This is the principle of the constitution which nowhere recognizes party, but everywhere contemplates the general welfare. It is the reasonable view of the nature of popular government. To admit the practical necessity of government by the majority is not to legitimate despotism, as to concede the necessity of government at all is not to justify the caprice of a tyrant. The majority, like the President, in the discharge of its function, is the subject of moral obligation. They are both bound to consult the general welfare. If, for instance, a majority selects a President and a congress to promote a policy of protection, the President and congress must show that the duties of postmaster in New York necessarily affect the execution of that policy, in order, morally, to justify the removal of a perfectly efficient and satisfactory officer, because of his views of that policy. If the postmaster's official duties are in no degree dependent upon his political views, his removal is as gross a public wrong and as great a violation of public principle and policy as Jackson's despotic dismissal of his cabinet because the wives of the secretaries would not visit a woman whom Jackson favored.

Ten years ago this truth was very indistinctly perceived. To-day it is a very general conviction. The entire practicability of reform, that is to say, the practicability of retaining, with the greatest benefit to the public service and with no injury whatever to any part of our political system, public officers of proved and satisfactory ability, is the second great achievement of reform within ten years.

Another happy advantage of the reform in this retrospect has been the character and efficiency of the national civil service commission. The prosperity of the reformed system depended almost wholly in the beginning upon the sincerity, the special knowledge and the tenacity of those to whom was entrusted the duty of putting it into operation. To farm out the infant to an enemy would have been to smother it. It was easy for

President Arthur, after he had approved the bill, to paralyze reform by the appointment of commissioners who had no faith in the law and no heart in its proper enforcement. But he honestly placed at the head of the commission one of the most conspicuous, intelligent, and earnest friends of reform, who, at the invitation of President Hayes, had made a complete study upon the spot of the English system, and whose report is the most important contribution ever made to the literature of the subject; who had taken a leading part in the preparation of the reform law, and whose large familiarity with the question especially qualified him to organize the practical operation of the law, Mr. Dorman B. Eaton. Cordially sustained by President Arthur in the novel and difficult work, Mr. Eaton and his colleagues laid the secure foundations upon which their successors have wrought in the same spirit.

President Cleveland, to whose personal interest, while governor of New York, the passage of the reform law in this state was chiefly due, had demonstrated the sincerity of his purpose by the appointment of a state civil service commission, whose personal character and ability and unswerving fidelity to the cause were not only the earnest of the honest observance of the law, but commended the reason and the essential value of reform to the sound judgment of the state. As President, Mr. Cleveland enlarged the range of the classified service, revised and strengthened the rules of the commission and sustained it in the firm enforcement of the law. President Harrison's selection of civil service commissioners, also, was in strict conformity to the spirit of the platform upon which he was elected, and to his own professions and pledges as a candidate, and he also has extended somewhat the classified service.

The enforcement of the law through the commission by the three Presidents who have served since its passage, has been honest and honorable. It is certain that neither of them has struck at reform by entrusting the execution of the law to its enemies. They have not adopted, indeed, all the progressive recommendations of the commission, but political pressure for the practical betrayal of its work, or for the dismissal of any actively aggressive commissioner, has been manfully resisted by them. This is well done, for I can imagine a commissioner of so high a faith, so alert a mind, so aggressive a temperament, a public officer so impatient of humbug, lies and hypocrisy, and with so shrewd an eye to see and so sharp a sting to avenge even senatorial violations and sneaking cabinet evasions of the law, that he must be as welcome to lofty official delinquents as a swarm of hornets to a crowd of Sunday-school boys on a high fence stealing peaches. I can imagine such senatorial and cabinet delinquents seeking by the basest appeal to personal interest and partisan servility to persuade a President to dismiss such a commissioner; and such a commissioner I can imagine sometimes in great doubt

whether he should long retain his official head but never in the least doubt that he should always retain both his personal and official honor. Such firm and self-respecting public officers dignify office and restore the public service to universal respect and confidence.

I am speaking only of the fidelity of the three Presidents to the commission. The League has pronounced its judgment upon the conduct of each of the administrations since the passage of the law, in regard to civil service reform in general. It has tested them, as was its duty, by the principles and spirit of reform which apply to the entire exercise of the appointing power and to every branch of the government and which have been especially approved by the platform of the present administration. The moral obligation of reform, as I have said, is not limited to the classified service. If its principles are sound they are as applicable to public offices employing forty-nine clerks as to those employing fifty; and an administration which observes the letter of the law in appointing the fifty, but makes spoils of the forty-nine, is not a civil service reform administration, as a man who gets drunk occasionally, is not a temperate man.

It was doubtless in recognition of this truth, and to seem to conform to the highest standard, that the platform of the party of administration declared that "the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments." It did not say that reform should apply to thirty thousand employes only of the one hundred and twenty thousand employes of the government, and that the rest should be treated as spoils, but that the spirit of reform, whatever the method of appointment, should be observed throughout the service. When, therefore, the assistant postmaster-general endeared himself to the chief administration agent of spoils in New York, by cutting off official heads as fast as possible, he violated the express pledge of his party to respect the spirit of reform as much as if, being a soldier of the Union, he had broken the orders of the march and disgraced his flag; and the President, by tolerating such riot of contempt for his own professions and for the promises of his party, made all such promises contemptible, and forfeited the claim of his administration to be considered a reform administration. Keeping one pledge does not condone breaking another. A party, like a man, is certainly not bound to make a promise. But if it promises and breaks the pledge, although a party is an elusive entity, a vote is not, and punishment is possible.

But while no administration can be fairly called a reform administration which, like the present and the preceding administrations, makes spoils of the great multitude of offices not included within the law, it does not follow that reform does not advance under such administrations, nor that the three Presidents of whom I have spoken did not sustain the civil service commission in enforcing the law. It may not be thought high praise to

say that an executive officer enforces the law which he is sworn to enforce, but there are different ways of enforcing a law. In the dark ages of the Fugitive Slave law, there was an officer in Boston, who, being entrusted with a writ of arrest for a fugitive slave, used to go into the quarter of the city where the colored people congregated and announce that he believed the fugitive to be there and that he should call for him in the afternoon and expect to have him delivered up at once without delay; "and it is surprising," he said, "that after such ample and definite notice making everything easy for those who were criminally harboring the offender, I was never able to find a single fugitive." There is another method of enforcing law to be studied in the case of the Sunday liquor law in the city of New York. The farmer remarked of the Canada thistle and twitch grass in his fields that the more he pulled them up the more they grew. It may be said in the same way that the more the Sunday liquor law is enforced in the present way, the more liquor is sold on Sunday. Indeed, in the early days of civil service reform, when it was not enforced by law, but by an executive order of Presidents Grant and Hayes, I knew an appointing officer who used the order as a short and easy way with politicians whom he did not care to gratify, and so secured leisure to distribute his patronage more satisfactorily. In our history of ten years it is a very great victory of reform that the national civil service commission has been an honest and efficient ministry of the law, and that Presidents Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison have honestly supported it.

Still another victory is the fact that the system of party assessments on the civil service and the kindred evil of the interference of office-holders in elections are now so effectually stigmatized by public opinion that although not abandoned they have become disgraceful. The effort to justify the levying of blackmail by party committees of congress or of local districts, and to defend the moral coercion of public employes by irresponsible officers of the government, has disappeared in the contemptuous scorn of public common sense. Undoubtedly the practice in some degree still continues, as the late disgraceful letter of the Ohio republican state executive committee shows, but only as sneak-thieving and pocket-picking continue after laws are enacted to prevent them. The supreme court of the United States has affirmed the constitutionality of the laws prohibiting such assessments, and since the publicity given to the wide-spread and flagrant extortions of the notorious Hubbell congressional campaign committee of 1882, no senator or representative in congress who is sensitive to public contempt would authorize the signature of his name to circulars demanding of post-office clerks at home and consular officers abroad, and even of women clerks who have no vote, the surrender of two per cent. and four per cent. of their salaries to be spent in buying seven more

mules or in dispatching soap to Indiana or in marshaling floaters in blocks of five.

This steady change of public opinion in regard to political changes in the non-political public service is the happiest result of the ten years' agitation of reform. It is indeed only to a certain degree a change in practice, but the change of opinion greatly facilitates its practical completion. The reform rules embrace only about a quarter of the places in the registry of the service, and within that range the reform may be fairly said to be effected. But beyond that range the civil service is still liable to be treated as spoils. By the express direction of President Hayes and by the known desire of President Cleveland, the immediate control of caucuses and conventions by office-holders was greatly diminished during the last few years. But in the state convention of the administration party this year in New York, where in other years I have seen the collector of the port of New York, in person, openly directing the votes of his subordinates, the office-holding force again appeared, and the chief figure in the convention of the party whose national platform demands that the reform shall be extended to every branch of the service and its spirit observed in every appointment, was that chief state agent of spoils, who gaily proclaims that public officers endear themselves to him not by fidelity or efficiency, but by violation of their party pledges and by making the public service party plunder. The comedy of the autumn campaign is that the platform of a convention directed by the chief administration spoilsman in the state reaffirms the affection of the party for "thorough, genuine civil service reform."

But these are only incidents of a battle which is still raging. Here and there the line is pushed back and broken. Here, there is an advantage, there, a reverse, although the general advance is plain. The appointment of the late collector of New York was a distinct violation of the executive pledge that "the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments." But the intimation that the collector contemplated a course which no law forbids and which in the time of his predecessor Swartwout was held to be entirely legitimate, nevertheless provoked a protest which was not limited to party. I know no reason in his character or career to suppose that the late collector, whose personal good name even amidst the rancor of partisan controversy has been unsoiled, would have wantonly blackened it by prostituting a public trust to promote a personal or party interest, or would have deliberately sophisticated himself by the pretense that honest and efficient public agents might be summarily removed to make place for other equally honest and efficient agents, not because the public service would be promoted by the change, but because it would advance the political interest of the officer to whose official act the collector owed his power to do the service. But the significant fact is that the mere suggestion was

resented by the public sense of official decency and personal honor. Whatever reaction there may be at any point, the moral progress of reform is signally illustrated by the undoubted fact that it is becoming personally discreditable to a public officer to administer his office as an agency of spoils, and a serious injury to a party when its conspicuous leaders are no longer statesmen but bosses. To say that this is not the universal opinion is to say nothing. It is an opinion general enough and strong enough to make laws and regulations, to secure their faithful execution, and constantly to extend the range of their operation.

This revolution in public opinion is the result of the agitation of civil service reform, and I should not call it the happiest result if it were not a revolution which had produced practical results. In a rapid glance we have seen the general progress in such results during the ten years of our organization. But the annual meeting invites a retrospect of the year, and if the partisan ravage of the civil service beyond the range of the rules were the only indication of the situation, it might be thought a year of little promise. But the really significant facts are of quite another kind. Let me recall some of them, although I can but mention them.

The good work of the year began in Buffalo. Just after our last annual meeting, the court of appeals decided the case of Rogers against the city of Buffalo to test the validity of certain appointments made in total disregard of the civil service law of the state. The court approved the constitutionality of the law, forbade payment of persons illegally appointed, and declared the city bound by the action of the mayor in employing and paying persons to carry out the law, although the council had refused to provide for the payment. The court, in announcing its opinion, expressed, with the utmost force and dignity, its approval of the principles of reform, saying that under the spoils system "The chief reason for an appointment was the political work done by the applicant and his supposed power to do more, and thus an appointment to an office in the civil list was regarded as a fit and proper reward for purely political and partisan service. No one can believe that such a system was calculated to produce a service fit for the only purpose for which offices are created, viz., the discharge of duties necessary to be performed in order that the public business may be properly and efficiently transacted. The continuous and systematic filling of all the offices of a great and industrious nation by such means became conclusive proof in the minds of many intelligent and influential men that the nation itself had not in such matters emerged from the semi-barbarous state, and that it had failed to obtain the full benefits arising from an advanced and refined civilization." The Court added: "The fact must be fully recognized that the duties connected with the vast majority of offices in both the Federal and State

governments are in no sense political, and that a proper performance of those duties would give no one the least idea whether the incumbent of the office were a member of one political party or another."

The reform association of Buffalo declares that the public service of the city is at last practically taken by law out of the spoils system, and no intelligent man supposes that it is any less vigorous, honest, efficient and satisfactory for that reason, or doubts that the problem of city government, one of the most difficult and important with which we have to deal, would be greatly simplified if what the association says of Buffalo could be said truly of every other city in the country.

The year has given us also in the city of New York the valuable testimony of private citizens in the recommendation of the very able committee appointed by Mayor Grant to consider the most efficient and most economical system for the conduct of the street-cleaning department in that city. The subject, like every subject which involves the honest expenditure of public money in that community, is extremely perplexing. But the public spirit of the eminent citizens who served as a committee led them to a careful and detailed investigation, and in their report they state that the efficiency of the system proposed by them will depend upon bringing the whole force of the department within the control of the civil service regulations. That this is entirely feasible, the experience of Boston in its public labor department has demonstrated, and that the result in New York would be of the highest advantage and most satisfactory to all good citizens, is unquestionable.

At the beginning of the present year the national civil service commission made known the fact that it had succeeded in adjusting the quotas of appointments under the rules among the several states. The spoils system has obtained so firm a hold upon the public mind that in parts of the country, especially in the southern states, there was a total disbelief in the honesty of the reformed system which was assumed to be only a scheme to make partisan appointments more universal and certain. But a perfectly frank conference between the commissioners and members of congress and representatives of the press from the southern states resulted in the conviction upon the part of the representatives of the press and the people that the law was a reasonable law honestly administered by the commission and, consequently, at examinations to fill additional places in the departments at Washington, candidates appeared without influence and without regard to party sympathy; the fair proportion among the states was established; the persons appointed were in general natives of the states in which they were examined, and "in the overwhelming majority of cases, these native born southern whites were democrats." The great advantage gained was not only the proper adjustment of the quota, but the practical demonstration to partisan members of congress, to the party

press, and to utterly incredulous party adherents in the states that the civil service law is not only just in itself, but is honestly enforced by a party administration. The proof that such a course is possible is undoubtedly the most valuable lesson in national politics that the communities in which it was demonstrated have ever received, and Commissioner Roosevelt, in his interesting account of this demonstration, says, with a satisfaction that every friend of reform must share, "In the departmental service at Washington we have succeeded in putting nearly a complete stop to removals for political purposes."

In January of this year the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association urged upon the President the extension of the reformed system to the Indian service. The same request was made by the board of Indian commissioners, of which President Gates, of Amherst College, is chairman. The commissioners stated that they desired to secure permanence in the service for the greater part of the officers and employes. In April the President directed the extension of the rules to physicians at the Indian agencies, and to superintendents, assistant superintendents, teachers and matrons, of Indian schools, and the rules and regulations prepared by the commission for enforcing these executive directions will go into effect on the first of October. In February the national association of public school superintendents at the annual meeting in Philadelphia, commended the principles of reform as applicable to the selection of teachers in the public schools, and recommended the passage of laws requiring from all candidates certificates of qualification from the state authorities. In the state of New York, at the suggestion of the superintendent of public instruction, the school commissioners throughout the state have adopted a system of uniform simultaneous examinations for teachers upon conditions essentially competitive. Every argument for the selection of the 63,000 postmasters in the United States by some better test than personal partiality and political "pulls" is irresistible when applied to the selection of the 350,000 public school teachers in the country. We boast that the public schools make American citizens. But the teacher is the school, and if it be wise to ascertain the qualification of a street cleaner, or a physician at an Indian agency, or custom house clerk, for the proper discharge of his duty, it can not be unwise to test the fitness of public school teachers and to appoint only those who are ascertained to be fittest.

The usual attempt was made in congress by members of both parties to starve and paralyze the civil service commission. But it was briskly and ably resisted also by members of both parties. As usual the weight of ability and influence and character was with the friends of reform and not with the spoils-men. In the house the attack upon the law was defeated, and the moderate increase of appropriation asked by the commission was granted. But a difference arose between the

two houses, and the controversy was adjusted by the passage of the old appropriation. The house committee on the civil service law made an investigation of its workings and reported that the public service had been greatly benefited by it and that the law upon the whole had been well executed. The conditional term of approval was doubtless due to the fact that an administration of another party had intervened between the passage of the law and the present administration, and it would have been politically unwise to imply that Messrs. Vilas and Dickinson, for instance, had shown the same zeal for honest reform in the post-office which have distinguished Messrs. Wanamaker and Clarkson, although an impartial observer might have decided that they were entitled to precisely the same praise. The committee proposed a bill for the reorganization of the commission making the regulations still more stringent and declaring that "any law which revives influence, political or personal, in the public service of the country, should be vehemently opposed, and that no system other than that in vogue at the present time can furnish a safeguard against this spirit of favoritism." The bill which was reported was not considered, and if it should be said that it would not have been reported had it been supposed that it would be considered or could be passed, I should reply that the members who reported it were honest friends of reform, and that the bill itself was evidently the result of knowledge and a sincere desire to remedy what were held to be defects in the existing law.

Eight years' experience of the working of the law has demonstrated the necessity of reorganizing the methods of promotion in the service by introducing competition as contemplated by the law and established for a time under the Grant administration. In January, 1887, compulsory competition, with the certification of the whole eligible list, was introduced in certain offices. But upon the recommendation of the commission, the President has recently authorized open voluntary competition for promotion within the classified service, under such regulations as the commission may provide. These regulations are now under consideration and will be applied as soon as possible, and the measure may be regarded justly as the most important step yet taken by the President in the interest of reform. Meanwhile, it is a striking illustration of the practical wisdom of the reformed system that promotion by voluntary competition has been lately introduced into the department of the service which has been most prostituted to party and personal influence, the post-office.

At the first examination the postmaster-general assured the clerks, as his order expressly provides, that hereafter advancement would depend solely upon the results of the examinations and the official records, and no longer upon personal favor or party influence. "God works in a mysterious way his wonders to perform."

Before this reform was instituted in the post-office department, the legislature of Massachusetts last winter requested the senators and representatives of the state in congress to urge legislation which would secure reform in the Charlestown navy yard and the other navy yards of the United States. If, however, those senators and representatives urged such legislation, congress was obdurate. But in April the secretary of the navy, in a luminous, courageous and decisive speech at Boston, announced his intention to exclude politics from the labor system of the navy yards. He said that the degradation of that labor into party spoils was demoralizing to any party that resorted to it, destructive to the government service, and debauching to national and local politics. "It is an ulcer on the naval administration system," he said, "and I propose to cut it out." He proceeded to state clearly his scheme, for which he said the rules were preparing in detail. The three cardinal points of the scheme were free and open competition, employment on proved merit alone, and the absolute publicity of every detail. This was the three-edged blade for the secretary's invigorating reform surgery. "I do not propose to stop," he said, "until the principle of efficiency and worth is the only test of navy yard employment; * * so that it will remove not only all machine politics from the navy yard, but all suspicion of machine politics." This speech, showing the secretary's clear comprehension of the scope and method of reform, and supported by his character, was felt at once not to be a mere flourish of political rhetoric. The secretary's rules affecting the higher positions were applied in May, and those affecting labor on the first of September, and his action is by far the most important event in the progress of reform under this administration.

"It is an ulcer and I mean to cut it out," said the secretary, and he is cutting it out. With all the ardor of the Irishman we may certainly wish him "more power to your elbow," until the cutting is complete. The only regret that can be expressed in view of this admirable act, as of the promotions in the post-office department, is, that the reform in the navy yards has not been brought under the direction of the national commission as in other branches of the service. While General Tracy is secretary of the navy there is no doubt that the ulcer of the spoils will not thrive in the navy yards. But when he retires will he have extirpated its roots? His scheme is admirable and effective, and it is based upon sound principles of reform. But it is only his official regulation. It is not yet law and with his successor the devils whom the secretary has expelled may return. If the rules of the civil service are to be applied, as they certainly should be, to the navy yards, is there any good reason why they should not be applied as in all other departments, and as they are applied in the clerical branch of the navy department? It is a reform too important to be left to the changing sym-

pathies of successive secretaries, and its inception and execution are so important as to entitle Secretary Tracy to the gratitude of the country while they write his name high on the roll of practical reformers.

Upon a survey even so general as this of the progress of civil service reform within the ten years of the existence of this League, it is idle to deny the prodigious advance which it has made, both in public opinion and in practical application. The evil is not new nor is the League first in calling public attention to it. Escape from the vicious party despotism of the old council of appointment in this state was one of the chief reasons for the adoption of the constitution of 1821. Congress has echoed with loud debate upon the subject, with the angry altercations of party chiefs, and the terrible array of facts which is the most powerful plea of every political reform. Investigations, reports, executive orders have followed each other. But they have been the temporary weapons of party warfare dropped when they had served their purpose, not the persistent pressure of increasing conviction—hot gusts that blew off green fruit, not the change of temperature that ripens the harvest. The League has represented not party strategy to carry an election, but public conviction to reform an acknowledged evil of administration.

If it had done nothing more its service would be great in having forced the spoils system to its defence. The political pirates are at last driven to show the black flag and defiantly to declare that at every election the whole public service in every detail, with all its emoluments and opportunities, shall be made the prize of a vast struggle of greed and intrigue, of bribery and dishonesty of every kind, all inflamed to fury by party spirit. We demand that all public business, which is not political, shall be kept free from politics, and shall be transacted upon the simple principles which are approved by universal private experience. The masters of Tammany Hall, with the dealers in mules, soap and blocks of floaters, who hold that in politics fraud is not fraudulent, nor dishonesty dishonest, declare that everywhere, except in Sancho Panza's Baratania, No Man's Land, and the Isle of Fools, the public service is spoils and belongs to the victors. But Washington warned us in advance against these voices. Webster said that whoever controlled a man's means of living controlled his will. Clay said that Marcy's doctrine would end in despotism. Lincoln, hounded by the remorseless demand for spoils, said that the evil would destroy the government. Those who would use the patronage of public employment as the vast bribery fund of a party are on one side. Washington and Lincoln, patriotism and good sense, the wisdom of age, the instinct of youth, are on the other. Let all good men choose their part. We have chosen ours.

Let us now see what extensions have been made of the classified service.

They have been considerable. The entire

official service has increased considerably. The commissioners in their first report (February, 1884) estimated it at about 110,000. It is supposed now to be about 120,000.

The classified service, as stated by the commissioners in their last report, November, 1890, contained somewhat over 30,000 employes, an increase since February, 1884, of about 16,000.

A large portion of this must be from natural increment within the departments, districts and offices originally classified, but a considerable part can be otherwise accounted for.

Mr. Cleveland, in March, 1888, extended the classification within the post-offices and custom-houses named in the classified service (it should be borne in mind that not all the places within the classified offices and districts were originally or have yet been brought into the classified service), adding 1,931 to the number of officials brought under the civil service rules.

January 4, 1889, Mr. Cleveland also directed the railway postal service to be classified under the civil service rules, the extension to take effect March 15, 1889. At the request of the commission, which had not time to prepare eligible lists, President Harrison postponed the extension to May 1st; since which time we have had the classified railway postal service. The number of places is understood to be somewhat over 4,000.

April 13, 1891, President Harrison made a valuable extension of the rules to about 600 persons (the number at the present time is supposed to be about 700) in the Indian service: physicians, school superintendents, school teachers and matrons. This extension to the classified service is the only one thus far made by Mr. Harrison. It is not believed, however, that this is because he is not in sympathy with the new system or is not loyal to his own personal or party pledges on the subject.

The appointment by him of the present excellent commission and the support he has accorded their vigorous administration of the law; his annulling in April last the rule which allowed promotions or transfers from the non-classified to the classified service (a rule which furnished a "back-door entrance," without the ordeal of a competitive examination), and the extension to a part of the Indian service just mentioned, have been of the greatest service to the reform. It is fair, too, to assume (although the navy-yard service has not been brought under the civil service rules) that the late extension of the principles of the reform to the navy yards, with their 4,000 or 5,000 employes, announced by Secretary Tracy, has been with the full concurrence of the President.

But the fact remains that a large part of the postal and customs service, to which the rules might well be applied, is still in the thrall and bondage of the spoils system. Why should it so remain? It may be that when Mr. Harrison came to the Presidency he found an inadequate administration of the

law and rules. It is not my desire to debate this question, for it is not necessary to the purpose of this paper. Still I may be permitted, perhaps, to state my personal belief that when the commission was reorganized, so to speak, by the appointment of Mr. Roosevelt and Gov. Thompson, the entire system was in an unprosperous condition, and that unless new life and more vigorous loyalty in its administration had been put into it, not only would not extension of it have been advisable, but it would have fallen soon into serious public discredit. No law is worth much that is not properly enforced.

But the new commission has saved the system from the discredit into which it might have fallen, and by general consent it is and has been now for a long time fairly and thoroughly administered.

Then why has it not been extended to the rest of the large post-offices and custom-houses? The commissioners, in their report for 1889, said:

The minimum limit for the number of employes in the classified post-offices should be fixed at twenty-five instead of fifty. This would add not far from thirty to the forty-three now classified.

This recommendation was repeated in the commissioner's report for 1890.

Why did they not also recommended the extension to custom-houses having twenty-five employes does not appear; but it is believed that the limitation of the post-offices at twenty-five, rather than twenty or ten, was simply because, with the meager force in the service of the commission, it was not deemed practicable to go below twenty-five. Probably for a similar reason the recommendation was not extended to the custom-houses.

But there would seem to be no reason why all the custom-houses, as well as post-offices, having even ten employes, should not be brought into the classified service. If that would be too extensive an addition to be made at once, certainly the inclusion of those having twenty-five officials seems entirely practicable. Why should it not be made? Why should the custom-house in Buffalo be under the spoils system, and the post-office under the merit system? Competitive examinations for the offices on the ground floor; "influence," or personal and party service for the offices on the second! How are the people to be convinced that the system of patronage and plunder is not to resume complete sway so long as it is permitted by the President to remain entrenched in at least fifty of the principal post-offices and eighteen of the great customs districts, not to speak of the much greater number of considerable offices, where there are from ten to twenty-five officials, in all of which the old system, which has been denounced by Presidents Harrison, Cleveland and Arthur is as vigorous and vociferous as ever?

I desire to speak with becoming modesty upon this subject, and I am quite aware that the President may regard the persistent demands of the friends of civil service reform, in the midst of his varied and engrossing du-

ties, as irksome. I believe, however, he might well enough entertain another view of the subject from which he would derive a pleasure that is not often within the reach of a President. The civil service reform, after some vicissitudes, has achieved a great success. More than 30,000 of the principal subordinate places in the federal service are under its control. It stands to-day well accredited before the people; but the condition of its safety, as well as of its final success, is that it go forward. Its great enemy still holds much of the field; but a single strong movement will decide the contest. If the President were tomorrow to issue an order by which the offices in even the non-classified customs and postal services having twenty-five employes were brought under the civil service rules, I believe it would be regarded by the whole country as practically decisive. It would show not only that there is to be no step backward, but that the end is not far distant when this reform which underlies every other reform in American politics shall be completely triumphant. This is the President's great opportunity. If he avails himself of it, more than anything he has yet done, more, probably, than anything else he may yet do, it would make his administration illustrious.

OUGHT THE CLASSIFIED SERVICE TO BE INCREASED?

[A paper read by Sherman S. Rogers before the National Civil Service Reform League at Buffalo, September 30.]

I wish to present the case of the national civil service reform, with special reference to the question of its extension.

Ought the classified service to be increased?

What I have to say will not be new, but no apology seems to be needed for urging the subject on public attention, for either this reform has justified itself by actual trial, or it has proved a practical failure.

It can not any longer be regarded as experimental. If it has failed, it would seem that the act "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States" should be repealed, and the country be permitted to return to the harmonious and logical methods of the spoils system.

If, on the contrary, it has not only not failed, but upon actual trial has approved itself by a real and substantial public benefit, and that, too, notwithstanding it has not always had fair and vigorous enforcement, the question is most pertinent whether it ought not to be extended, and that, too, without further delay.

I know of no public utterance where the proposition which in this brief paper is sought to be maintained is better stated than the resolution of the republican party, contained in its national platforms for 1884 and 1888, to wit: that

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable.

The act to improve and regulate the civil service of the United States was approved by President Arthur, January 16, 1883. The first commissioners under it were confirmed by the senate on May 1, 1883. On the following day the rules for carrying the law into effect were approved and promulgated, and on July 16, 1883, the act became essentially operative. The official service had been classified by the rules, but under the act vacancies might be filled according to the old methods until July 16. Since that time all appointments to places within the classified service have been made upon competitive examinations, pursuant to the act and rules.

As appears by the first official report of the commissioners to the President, February 7, 1884, the entire official civil service of the United States embraced about 110,000 persons, 48,434 of whom were postmasters and 4,017 persons in the railway postal service. The rest were distributed among the various departments at Washington and through the customs, internal revenue, postal, diplomatic and consular service, etc. The President, in the exercise of the discretion reposed in him under the act, directed that there should be three branches of the service classified (not including laborers or workmen or officers required to be confirmed by the senate,) as follows:

First—Those classified in the departments at Washington, to be designated as the "classified departmental service."

Second—Those classified under any collector, naval officer, surveyor or appraiser, in any customs district, to be known as the "classified customs service."

Third—Those classified under any postmaster at any post-office, including that at Washington, to be designated as the "classified postal service."

In these branches of the classified service there were included at the outset 13,924, persons, of whom 5,652 were in the departments at Washington, 2,573 in the customs service and 5,699 in the postal service, and there remained, and still remains, in the President the power to revise and modify by extension or otherwise this classification.

Thus was inaugurated the most remarkable administrative reform in our national history. Mr. Arthur had the unique pleasure of saying in his next message to congress:

Since the 16th of July last no person, so far as I am aware, has been appointed to the federal service in the classified portions thereof, or at any of the post-offices and customs districts above named, except those certified by the commission to be most competent, on the basis of the examinations held in conformity to the rules.

A much more extended classification of the service might have been made by the President; but in inaugurating such a tremendous change it was deemed prudent, as the civil service commissioners say in their first report, while making the experiment broadly enough to test its merits, not to make it so general as to involve serious inconvenience in case of failure. Besides, as the commissioners further say:

There was need to bear in mind that the greatest opposition from patronage-mongers and partisans would be at the first stages, when the examiners

would be the most inexperienced, the commission most embarrassed by novel questions and the ill-informed most easily misled.

For these reasons, probably, President Arthur made what seemed at the time to some too limited an application of the act to the customs and postal services. But it was done with the approbation of the commissioners and others of the best friends and most efficient promoters of the new system; and in view of the novelty of the situation, and the obstacles which the honest and efficient execution of the law has since met, it would be difficult now to refuse one's assent to the conclusion reached by the President. A great experiment was being made. It seemed well not to enlarge its proportions, lest by its own weight, it should break down at the outset.

But from the start, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, the new system vindicated itself.

Mr. Arthur, in his message to the congress at its next session, said of it:

I am persuaded that its effects have thus far proved beneficial. Its practical methods appear to be adequate for the ends proposed, and there has been no serious difficulty in carrying them into effect.

In his next annual message, after a year of additional practice under the new law, Mr. Arthur said:

On the 20th of February last, I transmitted to congress the first annual report of the civil service commission, together with communications from several of the heads of the executive departments respecting the practical workings of the law under which the commission had been acting. The good results therein foreshadowed have been more than realized. The system has fully answered the expectations of its friends in securing competent and faithful public servants, and in protecting the appointing officers of the government from the pressure of personal importunity, and from the labor of examining the claims and pretensions of rival contestants for public employment.

President Cleveland said in his message to congress, December, 1886:

The continued operation of the law relating to our civil service has added the most convincing proofs of its necessity and usefulness. It is a fact worthy of note that every public officer who has a just idea of his duty to the public testifies to the value of this reform. Its staunchest friends are those who understand it best, and its warmest supporters are those who are restrained and protected by its requirements.

The limits necessarily assigned to this paper do not permit extracts so copious as I could wish to make from official utterances on this subject, especially from the various cabinet officers; but I ought not to omit the following from the annual report of Mr. Windom, late secretary of the treasury, in December, 1889. He said:

The beneficial influences of the civil service law in its practical workings are clearly apparent. Having been at the head of the department both before and after its adoption, I am able to judge by comparison of the two systems, and have no hesitation in pronouncing the present condition of affairs as preferable in all respects. Under the old plan appointments were usually made to please some one under political or other obligations to the appointee, and the question of fitness was not always a controlling one. The temptations to make removals only to provide places for others was always present, and constantly being urged by strong influences, and these results and the feverish condition of depart-

mental life did much to obstruct and disturb the even current of routine work. Under the instrumentalities which are now used to secure selections for clerical places, the department has some assurance of manly capacity, and also moral worth, as the character of the candidates is ascertained before examination. The manifold duties of the department require the closest application on the part of the secretary and his assistants, and the freedom from importunity now enjoyed for appointments to places that are within the classified service and the saving of valuable time heretofore devoted to the distribution of minor patronage, are of very great advantage and enable those officers to devote more thought to the important questions of administration constantly arising. The clerks received from the civil service commission usually adapt themselves readily to the duties they are called upon to perform and rank among the most efficient in the department.

It may be that some utterance by some member of the cabinets of the last three Presidents, hostile to the law or skeptical of its benefit, may have escaped my search; but I think it safe to say that no such expression can be found, and that it may be stated broadly that the concurrent testimony of those officials has been favorable to the new system. A very remarkable example of this is contained in the late address of the secretary of the navy at the Boston dinner, in which he announced the speedy application of the merit system to the navy yards. To this consensus on the part of heads of departments might be added a vast number of interesting and convincing statements, reports, etc., from other executive officials, both national and state, members of congress, the great public journals and leaders of thought in the country, all in the same direction and to the same effect. Gradually the people have come to understand the true character of the new system. The vigorous administration of the law by the present admirable commission, too, has been its most effective support, and it may be said, I think, at this time, without hesitation or assumption, that the reform has passed the experimental stage and is now an assured success.

A brief statement of the limitations in the customs and postal classified service, and of the extensions and modifications since made in the classification ought now to be made.

The classified customs service on July 16, 1883, embraced only such districts as had as many as fifty officials. The same is true of the classified postal service.

The customs districts were as follows: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Baltimore, New Orleans, Chicago, Burlington, Vt., Portland, Me., Detroit and Port Huron.

The Portland district was one exception to the general rule, for its officials only numbered twenty-seven. I can not imagine why the exception was made, unless it was that some wise statesman from Maine, who desired to be rid of the pestering annoyance of the seekers for place in the Portland customs house quietly induced President Arthur to lengthen his life and that of the collector by including the Portland customs house in the classified service.

The classified post-offices were twenty-two in

number. The number at the present time is fifty.

Whether the number of classified customs districts has been increased I am unable to state; but, by the prompt courtesy of the secretary of the treasury, in reply to an application lately made through the civil service commission, I learn that there are eighteen customs districts having as many as twenty and not more than fifty employes; as follows: Portland, Me., 27 employes; Cape Vincent, N. Y., 20; Oswego, 25; Suspension Bridge, 17; Brownsville, Tex., 26; El Paso, Tex., 24; Galveston, 26; Cleveland, 20; Portland, Oregon, 25; Buffalo, 42; Ogdensburg, 20; Plattsburg, 28; Key West, 37; Corpus Christi, Tex., 23; Eagle Pass, Tex., 20; Cincinnati, 23; St. Louis, 31; Port Townsend, Washington, 42.

I am unfortunately not able to give similar information touching the number of post-offices having as many as twenty and less than fifty employes, although a like application was made to the postmaster-general, as will appear by the following extract from a letter lately received by me from the acting first assistant postmaster-general. It is as follows:

Your letter of the 15th instant, from Narragansett Pier, R. I., addressed to the United States Civil Service Commission, requesting information in relation to post-offices whereat twenty or more employes have been authorized, has been referred to this office.

On your stating the use you desire to make of the information in regard to the postal employes, further consideration will be given to your request. Very respectfully,

E. C. FOWLER,
Acting First Assistant Postmaster General.

It is probable, however, with the great increase of population and business and the extension of the letter carrier system, that there are a large number of post-offices (probably between fifty and sixty) having more than twenty and less than fifty employees.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

[Continued.]

W. A. Mitchell testified as follows:

Q. What is your name? A. William A. Mitchell.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) What position do you occupy in this building? A. I am the elevator man, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Now do you remember attending a meeting * * * ? Perhaps I may recall to your mind that there was also present a man named Martin, a Mr. Henry Martin, and a Mr. Harry Glass. I believe they are both letter carriers. A. Yes, sir; and Mr. Reed was there too.

Q. What is his first name? A. Robert Reed; he is foreign clerk; assistant foreign clerk.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Employed here in the post-office? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) This man Robert Reed; he was also present, you say, your fellow clerk? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, at the meeting, first of all, did you meet together by appointment, or did you happen there together accidentally? A. We all came there by appointment.

* * * * *

Q. * * Now, will you tell us, as near as you can remember, what happened at that meeting, at that gathering? A. Well [pause].

Q. Was anything done about the primaries, in the first place, so as to attract your attention? A. Well, we met there in regards to little financial affairs.

Q. Did you agree to pay anybody money? A.

No, sir, we didn't agree to pay anybody any money at all.

Q. There was nothing said, I suppose, there about buying any votes for the primaries, was there? A. Not that I know of. I will tell you my opinion; when you can buy a man's vote, he ain't worth having a vote.

Q. Of course we all know that there has to be some money raised for primaries for legitimate expenses. A. I will tell you, gentlemen, this is the first political job I ever held, and I am green about it; I am as green as that door. I was in the candy business about twenty years before I got this job—in the confectionery business.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) How did you come to get your present position? Who was it recommended you, backed you? A. James W. Bates, the elevator man on President street.

Q. Is he a republican? A. Yes, sir; old Mr. James Bates. His son married my sister, and I have a brother a conductor on the Pennsylvania railroad, and these two spoke for me, and that is how I got the place.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You say you paid \$5 to Mr. Martin, a letter carrier? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What time was it that you paid that? A. I think it was the 20th or 21st of the month.

Q. Was that when you drew your money you mean? A. No, sir.

Q. Well, all the gentlemen there that night who were office-holders agreed to pay \$5; is that the idea? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you come to that agreement, or those that agreed to pay that much, how did they come to that understanding, do you recollect; it was to be for perfectly legitimate purposes, of course? A. Well, I don't know. When we met there, one of the gentlemen—of course, we all knew what we went there for—

Q. You knew what you went there for? Yes, sir; we had seen one another on the street and had been talking.

Q. What was it you met there for? A. To have a little money; to give a little money free gratis.

Q. For the primaries that are to take place next Monday? A. I don't know what they are going to do with the money, but I have an idea that they were going to use it for the primaries; I don't know; I have only an idea, but it was given free gratis; it wasn't an assessment or anything like that.

Q. It was given perfectly free? A. Yes, sir; yes, sir.

Q. You gentlemen who are connected with the post-office here, who are office-holders, freely gave this money to Mr. Martin? A. Yes, sir; just like we would give it to anybody else.

Q. Precisely, and you agreed on \$5 as the right sum, sum, or how was that fixed? A. Yes, sir; we agreed on \$5.

Q. Was there any discussion about that there?

Witness. About the \$5?

Mr. Roosevelt. No, about settling it; whether the sum should be \$5 or was that the sum all the employes were paying? A. That I couldn't say; we didn't have any discussion about it that I remember of.

Q. How did you happen to come to the conclusion that \$5 would be the right sum to give? A. Well, I don't know how that was.

Q. Was Mr. Martin the treasurer, or how did he happen to receive the money? A. No, sir; we just—we didn't exactly appoint him, but some one said, I don't know who it was, but somebody says, "Well, who shall it be?" and somebody says, "Mr. Martin; he will take it," and he said, "Yes, sir; I will take it."

Q. Do you recollect how that started; who it was that started the talk about giving the money? A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Did you meet there for the purpose of settling about contributing for the legitimate campaign expenses; wasn't that what you said? A. Let's see—we met there for the purpose of donating some money.

Q. Donating some money with the view to the—? A. (Interposing) To the primaries; yes, sir.

Q. And had there been a formal call for the meeting? A. No more than we would meet one another and say: "You know there's going to be a meeting; you are coming down to the meeting to-morrow night," or something like that.

Q. Did you meet there every Saturday, or was this a specially called meeting? A. I couldn't say whether it was a specially called meeting or not.

Q. Was it a specially called meeting of the whole club, or only just of the officers? A. Just of the officers.

Q. Just a special meeting of you gentlemen who are in office here? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) But that little meeting held in the room was a meeting, merely, of office-holders called there to contribute and settle about contributions for the primaries? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

George W. Sears testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) How long have you been letter-carrier? A. I was appointed on the 18th of August.

Q. Of last August? A. No, sir; August, 1889.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Through our civil service examination? A. Yes, sir. Postmaster Brown appointed me; that is, he reappointed me; he turned me out and reappointed me.

Q. When were you originally appointed? A. I was appointed under Colonel Adreon; I think it was in August; then I was appointed and staid in under Postmaster Veazy and Postmaster Brown, and he—I really actually forget the date—but I worked on that district for sixteen years, and then it was found out that I was inefficient, and I was dismissed to improve the efficiency of the service.

Q. And you were reinstated? A. Yes, sir; so I took an examination last February a year and passed, I believe 87, and they appointed four or five of us old carriers that he dismissed; he appointed us from the examination, and I had to take a substitute again and start at the bottom of the list.

Q. Although you were dismissed to improve the efficiency of the force? A. Yes, sir.

Q. But that was not a bar to your appointment by the same postmaster? A. No, sir; I don't think so. I had a letter here. After my dismissal I got a letter from the postmaster-general when I asked for the charges made against me, and he told me I was discharged to improve the efficiency of the service, although at the same time the carrier that was put there that succeeded me—there was two of them that worked it for awhile—and there was a letter addressed to Mrs. H. G. Stewart, southwest corner of Hoffman and McCulloh streets, and this carrier left the letter at Mrs. Stewart's, southeast corner of McCulloh and Preston streets.

Q. And it was to improve the efficiency of the service that the substitution of him, after your dismissal, was made? A. Yes, sir. So the party who got the letters gave them to me and wanted me to send them to Washington. I told him it wouldn't do me much good, and the postmaster went to work and put these in an official envelope and put an immediate stamp on it and sent it up by another carrier, and wrote a note to the party explaining it, and signed it "Frank Brown, Postmaster."

* * * * *

Q. And at the approaching primaries there is a fight on, on Monday? A. There is a division.

Q. Between the Henderson and Johnson factions? A. Yes, sir; that is about it.

Q. Of course the post-office employes are all interested in the success of the Johnson element? A. Yes, sir; certainly.

* * * * *

John L. Shields testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What is your position? A. I am a letter carrier.

* * * * *

Q. Now, we will not detain you much longer. Do you know of any contributions of money towards the expenses of the approaching primaries being made among the officials here? A. No, sir; I do not.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Have you yourself contributed anything? A. I have sir.

Q. Who was it that asked you for your contribution? A. The executive of the ward, Mr. James H. Marriott; he is not in the department at all.

* * * * *

Q. It was \$5, I suppose? A. Yes, sir; that is what I gave.

* * * * *

Q. Has there been any meeting or gathering of the employees of your ward to consider the question of how much they should give, or whether they should give anything? A. I believe there was.

Q. Where did that take place? A. It took place on Carrolton avenue.

Q. At either of these clubs that you have mentioned? A. No, sir.

Q. At a private house? A. Yes, sir; at a private house.

Q. At a private house of one of the employees? A. Indeed, I couldn't tell you whether he is or not.

Q. Were you present at the meeting? A. I was; yes, sir.

Q. And was there any discussion then as to how much that each should give, or how much they should give, or anything of that sort? A. I believe there was something said in regards to what they would give, and it seems to run in my mind that there was some talk about it.

Q. It was made up of these employees of this office who came from the fourteenth ward, wasn't it? A. There were a number of them, I believe, who were employees, that is, of this office, and some of them that were not.

Q. Were there some there from any other public office; some from the custom-house? A. Well, yes, sir; I believe there was.

* * * * *

Q. You say at this meeting it was agreed or talked over as to how much money should be given. Now, was there anything said about who it should be paid to? A. It was paid to Mr. Marriott.

Q. And that was the understanding? A. Yes, sir; that was the understanding.

Q. And that was what you did? A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You say that they were mainly office-holders at that meeting? A. I believe a great number of them were.

Q. Were there any outsiders, non-office-holders, except Mr. Marriott? A. Yes, sir; Mr. Marriott wasn't an office-holder.

Q. But were they all office-holders or active republican workers in that district? A. Yes, sir, I think they were.

Q. Did you meet there by invitation? A. Yes, sir we had notes to meet there.

Q. Who sent these notes? A. Mr. Marriott; they were signed by Mr. Marriott, and I supposed he sent them.

* * * * *

John W. Boulden testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Were you present at a meeting held somewhere on Carrolton avenue, some time about Monday or Tuesday last, at which there was a discussion regarding the amount of contributions that different persons were to make toward the expenses of the primaries? A. I was at a meeting; I was notified to come to a meeting, but it was merely they wanted a little money, I believe, towards ticket-holders, or something of that kind, but I don't know that there was anybody in particular asked to contribute at all, any office-holder or anything of that kind.

Q. Well, these ticket-holders were at the approaching primaries? A. I presume that is what it is.

Q. Who presided at that meeting? A. The executive of the ward was there.

Q. Was he a gentleman named Marriott? A. That's his name; yes, sir; I presume it was Marriott; he was the one, I think, that is executive.

Q. Now, did he receive any money on that occasion, do you know? A. There was some money paid there, and I think it went to him; I am not sure; I came there a little late for the meeting.

Q. To whom did you pay your subscription? A. I just laid it down on a stand that was there; the parties were in there, and I laid it down on the stand there.

Q. It disappeared, I suppose? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Now, what sort of a man is this Mr. Hammond; I mean is he a respectable and truthful sort of a man? A. I have always looked upon him as a very truthful man as far as I know.

Q. Do you know which side he takes in this contest; which side he is on? A. I do not, sir.

Q. He is not a sort of man, you don't think, that would really be on one side and profess to be on the other, is he, from the little that you know of him? A. Well, politics is pretty tricky and I couldn't say.

I have played politics in the ward long before the civil service, and I know things are pretty tricky; they were pretty tricky then, but they have got to be a little better; they are not quite so much so now.

* * * * *

Q. And as far as you were concerned you put your contribution on the desk, and where it went, you are not able to say from your present knowledge? A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Why did you happen to put down \$5 exactly? A. I didn't suppose we had to put down that exactly, because there was no assessment at all.

Q. Why did everyone put down that sum? A. That I don't know; I seen that was what they were giving, and I gave \$5 too.

Q. Who wrote to you to come to that meeting? A. It was my ward executive.

Q. This man Marriott? A. Mr. Marriott, yes, sir. James L. Webber testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You are a letter carrier? A. Yes, sir; I was appointed 1st of May, 1890.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) What ward do you come from? A. The Seventh ward.

Q. How much, if anything, have you contributed to the expenses of this primary election, this approaching primary? A. Nothing; I am going to contribute.

Q. You have not as yet? A. I am going to contribute.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You have not contributed? A. I have contributed partly, and I am going to contribute some more.

Q. Five dollars is the total amount you were to contribute, isn't it? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much have you contributed? A. I have contributed the whole amount.

Q. And are you going to contribute more than that? A. Yes, sir; some more. I am going to use my own discretion about that.

* * * * *

Q. What was the purpose for which this was to be used? A. I suppose to give the boys a good time for this work they do, so they might enjoy themselves. On Thursday night we had beer and a supper over there to treat the workers.

Q. And you did tell this Mr. Loane? A. I think that is the only one; of course he is a fellow employee, at least he was. He resigned the other day; he got a better position.

Q. Does he belong to your faction or to the other side? A. I am a republican. I don't believe in either faction. I contribute to both clubs, Mr. Stone's club and to Mr. Johnson's club. I don't believe in faction fights at all.

* * * * *

Louis E. Gladfelter testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Are you a clerk in the office here? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. To whom was it that you paid \$5? A. I paid \$5 very willingly, voluntarily, to a gentleman in the Seventh ward.

Q. And to be used for legitimate expenses? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Not to be used for bribery, or anything like that? A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. But for perfectly legitimate expenses? A. Yes, sir.

Q. This gentleman; what was his name? A. Mr. Bell.

Q. What was his first name? A. That I couldn't tell you; he is an office-holder here. He is a dispatcher in the mailing division here, formerly night

superintendent. John Bell, I think it was, I am not sure. I will not be positive about the name.

Q. How did you happen to bring it to him; was he the man that was receiving contributions? A. Not to my knowledge; no, sir. In fact I know of no one who was receiving them.

Q. Was this just simply voluntarily paid? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who else do you know that paid to Bell? A. Not a soul, to my knowledge.

Q. When did you pay it to Bell? A. I paid it to Bell about two weeks ago, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Did you pay him on the streets? A. No, sir; I paid him down stairs.

Q. What time was it that you handed it to him? A. Well, it was in the area way; not in the area way, one of the aisles of the building, going toward the clerk's room; right before going on my time of duty.

Q. Did he speak to you about it? A. No, sir; nobody in the office or any other outsider did. I mentioned the fact to him and I just voluntarily contributed \$5 towards defraying the expenses, such as paying for tickets.

* * * * *

Q. Why did you happen to take \$5 as the sum to give? Is that the general sum that they are all giving? A. Not to my knowledge. Why I gave the \$5, because I could spare five very well; in fact, if I had more money I might give more; I am only what you call a salaried clerk.

Q. What is your salary? A. I get \$700 a year.

Q. I think \$5 is all you possibly could be expected to give. Did you give any last year, last fall? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did you give last fall? A. I gave \$15.

* * * * *

Mr. Clarkson said not long ago that a boss could not live a year. He should come to Maryland and watch Mr. Gorman's boss-ship. After many years of petty tyranny, Mr. Gorman still controls the smallest details of office-peddling.

Mr. Daniel M. Murray, an estimable lawyer of Howard county, is the last victim. Mr. Murray wished to go to the legislature, and his neighbors wished to send him there; and proved it by carrying the primary for him in spite of Mr. Gorman's expressed desire to have Mr. Murray stay at home. Finding that Mr. Murray was likely to win in the primary, Mr. Gorman in person ordered him to withdraw. Mr. Murray had too much spirit to obey, but Mr. Gorman enforced his order upon a slavish convention, which refused Mr. Murray the nomination to which his victory in the primaries entitled him. People in Maryland somehow, high-spirited as they are proud of calling themselves, endure boss-ship not only one year, but many years.—*Civil Service Reformer*, August, 1891.

One has to go back ten to fifteen years to remember a time when political activity among office-holders in New York was as great and as open as it is now. * * * Numbers of custom-house deputies are displaying more zeal in working to make Fassett governor than in collecting the revenue for the government. One of them is doing good service in the state committee. The custom-house has become what it was in the old days, a center of political activity.—*Philadelphia Ledger (Rep.)*, September 26.

PLATTISM.

The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and * * become his MAN from that day forth. * * Services were free and base. * * Base service was to * * carry out his dung.—[Blackstone.

—Among the members of the Republican State Committee are Mr. J. W. Wadsworth, representative-elect; Mr. C. Van Cott, postmaster of New York; Mr. F. Hendricks, collector of the port of New York; Mr. John A. Quackenbush, representative-elect; Mr. John Collins, deputy surveyor, New York, and Mr. Frank Raymond, deputy collector of New York.

WILLIAM BROOKFIELD, Chairman.
JAMES W. HUSTED, Chairman Executive Committee.
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Treasurer.
JOHN S. KENYON, Secretary.
REUBEN L. FOX, Chief Clerk.

NEW YORK, Sept. 25, 1891.

DEAR SIR: The Republican State Committee respectfully invites from you such contribution as you may be willing to make toward defraying the legitimate and necessary expenses of the important campaign now in progress in this state.

The clear and explicit platform unanimously adopted at Rochester and the worthy and unexceptionable candidates placed in nomination fairly represent all that is sound and good in the political life of our state, and, it may be confidently assumed, meet the cordial approval of the 700,000 republicans of the state of New York.

When the beneficent policy established by the result of the great national contest of 1888 shall be supplemented by the restoration to power of the republican party in this state, and by the triumph of the reforms for which it has so persistently labored, intelligent and patriotic citizens will find ample reward for all their endeavors in that behalf. To this end a united and harmonious party is beuding its energies. A full vote will insure success; and we invoke such material aid as will enable this committee to conduct the campaign throughout the state in a manner to secure the attendance at the polls on the 3d of November of the vast body of republican electors.

Checks may be drawn to the order of the "Treasurer of the Republican State Committee" and transmitted in the enclosed envelope, addressed to James W. Wadsworth, treasurer, Fifth Avenue hotel, New York. Very truly yours,

J. W. WADSWORTH, Treasurer.

P. S.—We venture to request that you will also write us your views of the political situation in your locality and such suggestions as you may be pleased to make as to needed measures to insure success in the pending campaign.

To the Hon. William Brookfield, Chairman Republican State Committee:

DEAR SIR: The attachment of my name to a circular inviting voluntary contributions for campaign purposes may be considered a violation of the law by me, as I am a congressman-elect from New York state. I, therefore, can not consent to it, and as this may embarrass the committee, I resign the treasurer-ship.

J. W. WADSWORTH

NEW YORK, Oct. 5, 1891.

[Section 11 of the act of Jan. 16, 1883, "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," (chapter 27, Statutes at Large, volume 22, page 403,) is as follows:

"That no senator, or representative, or territorial delegate of the congress, or senator, representative or delegate-elect, or any officer or employe of either of said houses, and no executive, judicial, military, or naval officer of the United States, and no clerk or employe of any department, branch, or bureau of the executive, judicial, or military or naval service of the United States shall directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, or be in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving any assessment, subscription, or contribution for any political purpose whatever, from

any officer, clerk or employe of the United States, or any department, branch, or bureau thereof, or from any person receiving any salary or compensation from moneys derived from the treasury of the United States."

Section 15 of the same law Says:

"That any person who shall be guilty of violating any provision of the four foregoing sections (including the eleventh, just quoted), shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years, or by such fine and imprisonment both, in the discretion of the court."]

—One question was whether Mr. Wadsworth regarded it as wrong to have his name on that circular. "If a violation of the law is wrong," said Mr. Wadsworth, with a smile, "it was wrong. I resigned as soon as I discovered the mistake."

"But were not all of the circulars sent out by the time your resignation was handed in?" he was asked.

"No. Only those to the post-offices had been sent out."

When asked if he thought that any further action would be taken in the matter, he said that he thought not.—*New York Times*, October 8.

—Chairman Husted was at his desk yesterday afternoon, and he had numerous callers. Some came in response to the circular, and either brought cash or pledged themselves to make contributions. Yesterday was pay day at the custom-house. One custom-house employe appeared at headquarters and gave up \$25, saying that that was the best he could do at present. He was told that that was all right and to do the best he could. Gen. Husted was asked last night if it were true that many employes of the custom-house had been hurrying up to the headquarters with their money.

"Have they?" he answered. "Let them come. We are glad to get money here."

Among the officials who called at the headquarters yesterday were Deputy Collector Gano, Col. Ira Ayers, special treasury agent, and Major Cronkite of the public stores. It was said about the corridors of the Fifth Avenue hotel last night that many federal employes had stepped up to Mr. Platt's headquarters in the course of the day and had settled with those in charge.

Among those who had also placed their names on the headquarters register were Revenue Collector Kerwin, Congressman Julius Caesar Burroughs, of Michigan, who is scheduled to do some campaign talking in this state, and S. P. C. Henriques, United States commercial agent at Cardenas, Cuba.—*New York Times*, Oct. 2.

—Many of those holding offices received their circulars early yesterday. There were many, notably among the more prominent republicans holding offices in this city, who responded almost immediately. They knew what to expect if they didn't. They hied them to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where the republican headquarters is located, and seemed really cheerful over the prospect of turning over a portion of their salary for the purposes of the campaign.

Among those who came down handsomely were Deputy Collector Charles A. Burr, Assistant Appraiser Eugene W. Pratt, Deputy Surveyor John W. Corning, Special Treasury Inspector Traitteur and Custom Inspector Henry Keeller, II. H. Howe, Captain Benjamin and a lot more. Each one declined to state what

percentage of his salary he had been compelled to turn over to the committee. Many of those who have not yet subscribed would like to know just how much is to be taken from them, because as many of them are clerks on comparatively small salaries, they would rather give \$3 than \$5.—*New York Dispatch to Boston Post*, October 2.

—Mr. Platt's "voluntary contribution" circular, which practically tells employes in federal offices to step up and settle with his committee for the campaign assessments, has reached the post-office, and almost every clerk there, no matter what his salary may be, has received one.—*New York Times*, Oct. 7.

—Much credit is due to Postmaster Van Cott for the fine campaign meeting in Hardman Hall on Thursday evening. Mr. Van Cott and the seventh district were on deck early this year; they organized a Fasset and Vrooman club on the very day the nominations were made at Rochester, and they propose to remain there until sunset on election day—*New York Tribune* [rep], September.

—Few complaints have been made about Gen. Husted's management of the campaign till to-day, when it became generally known that John McMackin, the former labor leader, had been placed in charge of a bureau at headquarters. McMackin received a custom-house inspectorship in return for services to the Republican National Committee in 1888, and it has been charged that he sold out the labor ticket to help Harrison.—*New York Evening Post*, October 14.

—General Cyrus Bussey, the president of the New York state republican association has appointed the following named as a campaign committee. * General Bussey is the assistant secretary of the interior, and the first two names on his campaign committee are those of A. J. Davidson, the deputy commissioner of pensions under General Raum, and A. X. Parker, deputy attorney-general. These high officials and five others of less prominence are appointed to take charge of political campaign work in getting republican clerks, who live in New York, aroused to the importance of electing the Platt ticket for state officers and perpetuating ring rule in the Empire state.—*Washington Dispatch to Boston Post*, September 30.

—In the meantime, Collector Fassett has announced that the battle has begun. He left for his home in Elmira on the Northern Central Road this afternoon. He was accompanied by Col. Archie E. Baxter, marshal of the northern district.—*New York Times*, September 11.

—OGDENSBURG, N. Y., Sept. 29.—J. Sloat Fassett, republican candidate for governor, journeyed to-day from Watertown to Ogdensburg. A meeting of 3,000 persons in the town hall to-night was addressed by Mr. Fassett, Mr. Vrooman, Archie E. Baxter [United States marshal].

—MALONE, N. Y., September 30.—Mr. Fassett and his party left Ogdensburg this morning and arrived here at noon. Five-minute stops were made at Madrid, Norwood, Win-

throp and North Lawrence, but the candidate's speeches were little more than "good-morning" and "good-bye" to the crowds which had met at the stations. Mr. Fassett is trying to preserve his voice and avoids speaking in the open air as far as possible. The outdoor oratory devolves upon Col. Archie E. Baxter, of Elmira [United States marshal] and * *

—LYONS, N. Y., October 2.—Mr. Fassett, Mr. Vrooman and Colonel Baxter (United States marshal), arrived here this morning.

—Mr. Fassett, Mr. Vrooman and Mr. Baxter (United States marshal), will begin another week of oratory at Oswego to-night. to-morrow afternoon they will appear in Binghamton, to-morrow night at Owego, Cortland Wednesday afternoon, Ithaca, where Andrew D. White will preside, Thursday; Saratoga Friday afternoon, Sandy Hill Friday night, and Troy Saturday.—*New York Times*, October 12.

—The faction fact in the republican party between S. D. Coykendall and George H. Sharpe broke out in the Ulster county republican convention held here today. The strife came on the organization of the convention.

William M. Hayes said the postmaster of Kingston, who openly and defiantly opposed the election of James G. Blaine, and the collector of internal revenue had taken a trip through the county and juggled to get delegates to the convention. * * *

The result was a Coykendall victory.—[Coykendall is a Platt man.]—*Kingston, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 11.

—There is trouble among the republicans of Genesee county on account of a broken slate at the county convention, which met at Batavia to-day. There were many delegates present, and the ticket was thought to be in fine shape to be railroaded through without a hitch. * *

It is street talk that the convention was controlled by Postmaster Tarbox, and it is everywhere declared that there is a rupture in Genesee's republican ranks which it will be hard to heal.—*Rochester, N. Y. Dispatch to New York Times*, September 29.

—Several hundred delegates to the Scranton convention of the state league of republican clubs left here this morning. The bitterness over this contest is intensified by the fact that only yesterday it was learned that, in the interest of Quay's candidate, who is Congressman-elect Robinson, 250 clubs were secretly organized in western Pennsylvania by federal office holders. Their delegates left for Scranton last night. It is really a fight between Quay and the federal office-holders on one side and Chris. Magee on the other as to who shall represent the party in this state, with Dalzell's ambition to succeed Quay in the senate in the background.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to the New York Evening Post*, September 23.

—The way that federal office-holders organized gangs of heelers for the Scranton convention, presented them with free railroad tickets and beer ad lib., as well as paying their hotel bills, etc.—*Pittsburgh Post*, September.

—Senator Quay came up from his Atlantic City retreat to-day, and the fact of his coming was known only to a few. Gov. Pattison's proclamation called him to the city, and republican

leaders from every direction visited room 34 at the Continental as part of that political sympathy that invariably brings the leaders together when the senator is about the city. Chairman Porter, Congressman Reyburn, Marshall Leeds, Collector Cooper and ex-Collector Martin realized early that the situation was something more than serious. Among Senator Quay's callers were Gen. Frank Reeder of Easton, *Controller of the Treasury Gilkeson*, the close bosom friend who runs Bucks county; Gen. Hastings, whose concern in the result is shown by his engagement as a speaker; Hamilton Disston, Chairman Porter, Collector Warnum, Senators Crouse and Thomas, and Chairman Watres, whom the Senator met later at republican headquarters.

Collector Cooper had the largest end of the conference. He had no sooner emerged from Mr. Quay's room than he said: "Gov. Pattison's action is clearly partisan." That declaration was the keynote to the conference of the afternoon.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times*, September 28.

—Senator Quay summoned Assistant Postmaster Hughes to the hotel during the morning and about 12:30 o'clock that official and the ex-national chairman met in the state committee rooms.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times*, October 6.

—Ohio having expressed a desire that the republicans who are in office should contribute of their earnings to help elect McKinley, and Secretary Foster having advised the Ohio state association that Ohio men should do their duty by "the party that put them in office," the Pennsylvania republicans are now making known their wants.

Notwithstanding that Postmaster-General Wanamaker opposed that thing, a list of post-office department employes from Pennsylvania was furnished to the state committee, and one of those clerks yesterday received the following lines:

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE, }
CONTINENTAL HOTEL, Sept. 25, 1891. }

MY DEAR SIR—The importance of the present campaign should not be underestimated. This contest is but a forerunner of 1892. A democratic victory, or even a meager republican majority now, would seriously cripple us in the great tariff battle soon to open. Only a few weeks are left for active work. November 3 being election day, our vast organization must be gotten into line for its best effort on that day. We can not perfect such an organization as is necessary in an "off year" like the present, when there is always more or less difficulty in arousing the people and getting them to the polls unless we receive financial help. Knowing your activity and liberality in behalf of the party, we invite your earliest convenient subscription to the state committee, and we especially request that it be made as liberal as possible. Yours very truly, LOUIS A. WATRES, Chairman.

An officer of the department told a reporter who asked about this letter that Mr. Wanamaker had requested that no such demands be sent to clerks in his department, and intimated that the postmaster-general had informed Mr. Watres that, if he would designate the sum expected to be realized by "voluntary contributions" from his Pennsylvania clerks, he would send a check for the amount. Now, the question is asked whether Watres has not obtained the check, and is also trying to get the "voluntary contribution" in addition.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, September 28.

—The fact is that the county-house ring, the court ring, the government building ring and the city-hall ring got together before that convention and fixed up as late. * * Levi Meacham, Allen T. Brinsmade, Bill Gabriel, Howard Burgess and Mark Hanna simply ran the convention. It would have been better if such men as Brinsmade and Gabriel, holding government offices,

had attended to their neglected offices, instead of being present in that convention to steal nominations for ring candidates.—*Cleveland, O., Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, September 29.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

—William M. Hahn, chairman Mansfield.
W. S. Matthews, secretary Columbus.
George W. Sinks, treasurer Columbus.

Asa S. Bushnel Springfield.
Julius Whiting, jr. Canton.
Myran T. Herriek Cleveland.
Harry B. Morehead Cincinnati.
Dr. J. E. Lowes Dayton.
Edward S. Wilson Ironton.
George Fields Toledo.
Clinton D. Firestone Columbus.
M. R. Patterson Columbus.

HEADQUARTERS

OHIO REPUBLICAN STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
122 E. State st. (Opposite Government Building),
COLUMBUS, O., Aug. 29, 1891.

—, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.:

DEAR SIR—The republican executive committee of Ohio is now fully organized and actively at work. Funds are required for this work. The campaign in Ohio is more than a state campaign; it is national in both its importance and effect. The election of the Hon. William McKinley, jr., and his associates on the ticket and a republican general assembly this fall in Ohio, assures a republican success in the campaign of 1892.

You are the incumbent of place made possible by the success of the party in the past. The continued success of the republican party is of great interest and advantage to the whole country, and you, no doubt, appreciate it. A liberal contribution from you as an individual, will largely aid this committee in the furtherance of its work. In the ordinary business affairs of life promptness of payment is absolutely required. Such promptness in our business is equally important. We will be pleased to hear from you at once. Yours truly,

W. M. HAHN, Chairman,

W. S. MATTHEWS, Secretary.

—There has been a systematic effort to impress upon the government employes that they must put up their money for the republican party. Early in the summer Secretary Foster gave them some very broad hints in his speech to the Ohio republican association, and they have been followed since by men with subscription books and begging circulars, at first mild in tone and then approaching the threatening. The last circular was the following notice from Mr. McKinley's agent to come down with their cash:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 7, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR: A meeting of Ohio republicans who are interested in the success of our ticket this year, will be held at the office of McGrew & Small, 623 F street, N. W., on Friday evening October 9. Your presence is earnestly requested.

The necessity of electing Major McKinley by a decisive majority on the issue joined is imperative. The election of a republican legislature is of still greater importance. So the Major says himself, "Self-preservation is the first law of human nature." Don't deceive yourself by thinking you are safe in any event. Show your republicanism and fealty to the party by attending this conference. Very respectfully,

JAMES E. LOWREY.

The result of this call was the coming together of eleven timid Ohio employes of the government, who brought with them \$25 in cash with which to placate the growing anger of the tin gods.

Mr. Lowrey is now in a very bad temper. He says that there are 7,000 Ohio employes of the government at Washington, drawing pay aggregating \$500,000 per year, and that only thirty of them have contributed to the cause of tin plate and protection. The contributions, he declares, amount to only about one-fifth of one per cent.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 11.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 33.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

TWO NOTABLE events have occurred since the last issue of the CHRONICLE. In one of the cases against the Mahone blackmailers, the government prosecuting officer, after a year, brought to argument a demurrer to the indictment. The district court at Washington unanimously overruled the demurrer, taking the ground that every kind of solicitation of money in a government building for political purposes is unlawful. It is clear that the courts neither mean to legislate nor to interpret the law with a view to helping spoilsmen out of scrapes. The United States supreme court in the Curtis case, the New York court of appeals in the Buffalo cases, and now this district court have in strong and unmistakable terms upheld the civil service laws in their true spirit and object.

The other event is the dismissal by the postmaster-general of some clerks and carriers in the Omaha post-office. It seems that President Cleveland's postmaster appointed a number of these without any regard to the civil service law, and although they had never been on the eligible list. When President Harrison's postmaster came in he also decided that he was greater than the law, and he appointed persons not on the eligible list. The present civil service commission, neither being asleep nor afraid, overhauled him, and on its report the dismissals are ordered. The present postmaster furnished a perfect instance of a spoilsman's "brass," by an effort to "save" the men. It seems that he may have to refund the wages thus unlawfully paid. Of course, President Harrison will dismiss him. A suit should also be brought against the old postmaster to recover the illegal payments under him.

MR. JOHN M. BUTLER, of this city, having been to New York, said in an interview in the *Indianapolis Journal*:

There are a few extremely good fellows over there, most too good to live, but hardly good enough to die, who are howling about Platt, but they are not seriously disturbing Platt or the party. As I said before, I believe the signs point to a great republican victory in New York.

Mr. Butler is an eminent lawyer, and as such, after a brief consideration of the fact that the federal offices pertaining to the state of New York, including the custom-house, the post-offices, the sub-treasury and

the internal revenue collectorships, were placed under the control of Tom Platt, a private citizen, to be used by him in an attempt to carry the recent election, he would say that such an act was wholly unconstitutional, and that a president who turned over offices to be so used was guilty of a gross violation of his official oath. If he pondered the subject further, and from the stand-point of a citizen, Mr. Butler would say that such a practice by a president was unrepugnant in every sense, and that it was an unlawful exercise of imperialism such as this government was formed to prevent. Further, Mr. Butler, still reflecting as a citizen, would say that this practice was dangerous to public order, and that at any time some able manipulator like Quay or Gorman in the presidential chair might think he had the country by the throat, and might try the recent experiment of Balmaceda in Chili, and might make this country incur an outrageous cost of lives and money to put him down.

BUT as a republican, Mr. Butler is instantly purblind and strabismic. He does not examine and judge the acts of his own party. Dorseyism and Dudleyism in Indiana apparently have never crossed his view. The stupendous violation of the promise of the republican platform, of which Plattism is one glaring instance, apparently is unseen by him. To say that he knows of these things, and is not goaded by his conscience into a protest which could but be powerful, would be to say that he is grossly recreant to his duties as a citizen. His position is that of a man of wide influence, whose judgment ought to be sound, but who can always be depended upon at critical moments to say that Plattism is harmless and to give color of respectability to any republican machine, however vicious. It is a good thing for the country that it has a large and increasing number of men who are "hardly good enough to die." They will live on, and will, in time, destroy Plattism, which is but another name for our buccaneering spoils system. And Mr. Butler and many other respectable citizens like him, will be ashamed that it was done, not only without them, but in spite of them.

UNHAPPY HEADSMAN CLARKSON can only expect jeers as he stands among his 40,000

decapitated postmasters and sees his state of Iowa, which has had his peculiar care in abundance, gradually placing itself in the democratic column. In Pennsylvania, when Quay had the support and sympathy of the administration last year, he was defeated; this year he lost that, but he has been successful. He has his heel again on the necks of the people of his state. Every good citizen may rejoice at the defeat of either party in New York. Taking the elections together, the result of the national election next year is extremely doubtful. This will make it impossible to ignore the subject of civil service reform, which both party machines would like to do. Every vote will be needed. Those members of both parties who have been trying to bring it about that the tariff shall be the only "issue," while the real prize to be fought for is the hundreds of millions of spoil in federal salaries, will have to abandon their ground. The chief business of the president of the United States is the management of the civil service. How he is likely to do that is the chief question to be determined in voting for a presidential candidate. The president's use of the federal service as spoil to divide among his relatives and personal and party friends is going to be broken up. Happily the opponents of this relic of absolutism, so detrimental to public morals, will be needed next year by both parties in several close states. Neither party can afford to alienate its share of this element.

"The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under a republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.—*Republican National Platform, 1888.*

The more this promise is examined, the more magnificent it seems. It could not have been made stronger if written by the civil service reformers themselves. Indeed, it was written by George William Curtis. Having been inserted into the republican platform of 1888, after a steady four years insistence against a democratic administration that similar ante-election promises ought to be kept, there was a double reason for supposing it was put there to be

carried out. President Harrison publicly made this promise his own. He has in fulfillment placed about seven hundred places in the Indian service under the reform system along with the thirty-two thousand already there. On the other hand he has supplanted more than 100,000 federal employes with his relatives or with his personal or party friends and all for personal or partisan reasons. He has turned out such men as Pearson, Burt, Graves, Saltonstall and Corse, whose sole object was to render faithful service. He appoints such men as Flanagan, of Texas. He neglects to require the Mahone blackmailers to be brought to trial. He ignores the most flagrant violations of law in Baltimore. He turned the federal service in Virginia over to Mahone, in Pennsylvania to Quay, in New York to Platt, to be used in attempts to carry elections. The time is approaching when the account must be taken, and these are examples of facts which must be put into the scales on the good or bad side respectively. Civil service reformers have long memories.

AMONG the publications of the month, Mr. Herbert Welsh has an article in the current *Forum* on "The Degredation of Politics in Pennsylvania," which is a statement of facts full of humiliation to that state.

The executive committee of the National Civil Service Reform League, some time ago put out a circular letter containing a brief statement of the present status of the merit system in the federal service. The salaries of the entire service amount to over one hundred millions a year, of which about forty millions are attached to places in the classified service.

Speaking of the merit system, the letter says:

"It is objected that this system is English and aristocratic. The system prevailing in England at the time of the American Revolution was the patronage system. Under that old system the chief offices were controlled by the great aristocratic families. The reform which was begun about 1854, was a movement on behalf of the common people of England, and was resisted by those families who had up to that time the monopoly of the offices. The present reformed system is most popular among the masses of the English people, who now have a fair opportunity of getting the offices under conditions that make them subservient to no man for his gift or influence. Under the reformed civil service, sons of poor men, without social or political influence, have an equal opportunity with the rich and prominent of getting appointments, and depend solely on their own character and ability."

The object of the letter is to call public attention to the need of an additional appropriation for the civil service commission. The commission needs a force of clerks of its own instead of clerks detailed to it from the departments, and it needs more clerks to enable it to mark all examination papers in Washington, a plan

which would manifestly secure uniformity and, in places less fortunate than Indianapolis in local boards, fairness.

PRIVATE-SECRETARY HALFORD, when editor, but not manager, of the Indianapolis *Journal*, is said to have replied to the question why the *Journal* persisted in a certain palpably wrong course, "For the reason, I suppose, that only a mule refuses to change his mind." It is not certain that even this excuse can be given for the course of the administration towards Chili. Balmaceda was a president who tried, by using the public service, to perpetuate himself as a boss. His murder of citizens has no parallel except in the Turkish bow-string. His removal of the judges was about as if President Harrison should remove the judges of the United States courts. Such acts at once fixed Balmaceda's standing throughout the world as a violent usurper, bent upon breaking down the liberties of the Chilians. There was not a shadow of excuse for sympathy with him on the part of our government. We should have meted to him, as a *de facto* power, the strictest letter of international law, and our one wish should have been that the Chilians might succeed in putting this murderous boss under their feet. In fact, our government sympathized with Balmaceda. It assumed an attitude of hardened indifference regarding the people of Chili, and treated it as a foregone conclusion that the dictator was to succeed. Its protection of the persons executing Balmaceda's order to cut the cable yet waits an explanation to bring it within the rules of neutrality. When the dictator was overthrown and the blunder of our government became a glaring and humiliating fact, it might have made a frank acknowledgement by recalling its reckless minister. But seemingly on the principle that only the mule refuses to change its mind, it still keeps him in a place where the only effectual thing he does is to exasperate the people with whom we ought to be friends. An attack follows upon our sailors who are wholly innocent. This would occur in any city in the United States under the same circumstances. We are sending ships to Chili and are talking about her "insolence." Whatever the law requires for the attack upon our blameless sailors, that Chili must render. But that does not alter the fact that the people of this country are glad that the people of Chili overthrew their dictator, nor the fact that our government managed to throw its influence and sympathy in favor of a boss attempting to carry bossism to its legitimate end, nor the fact that Minister Eagan's office was given to him, not for his fitness, out of spoil allotted to him for partisan service.

THE DUTY NEXT YEAR.

A subscriber writes from Providence, Rhode Island:

Enclosed find postal note for subscription for one year. I send it gladly in view of the good fight you are making, but I never read the *CHRONICLE* without a feeling, almost bitter, that your influence should have been used in behalf of Harrison instead of Cleveland two years ago. I believe the treachery of the Hill democrats would not have defeated Cleveland had the reformers and independents in New York solidly supported Cleveland.

No doubt the course of Cleveland in regard to the civil service, especially in Maryland and Indiana, was obnoxious to the reformers in those states, but what have the latter gained by the change? You know as well as anybody. Look at the open and undisguised activity of federal officials in party politics, caucuses, conventions and campaigns over the whole country; the assessment circulars sent to federal employes by republican state committees of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; the power of Quay, Platt, Clarkson, Belden with the President; the failure to extend the provisions of the civil service law; the complete looting of the federal civil service; the failure to punish violators of the law in Virginia and Maryland; the deliberate violation by the President of his letter of acceptance, and of the pledges of the convention which nominated him. * * * All of which would have been prevented had Cleveland been elected, and you have a record calculated to make a man feel bitter. The mischief has been done and republican defeat next year will not undo it. The reformers trusted in the promises of a bigoted, narrow minded, petty Indiana politician and a corrupt and rotten party, turned over to Quay, Dudley, Platt, Belden and the like, and they have their reward.

With the correction of the inference that this paper took part in the campaign of 1888 (it was not in existence), and adding also the fact continually forgotten that the reason of more weight than all others with those referred to by our correspondent for supporting Harrison, was to avoid a ratification of the acts of the late administration, we wish to examine whether it is true to say, regarding the action of any who may have supported Mr. Harrison on account of his pledges and the pledges of the republican party, because both the President and his party have since violated those pledges, that "the mischief has been done and republican defeat next year will not undo it." We claim that the end of the spoils system is nearer at hand, and that the merit system is stronger among the people at large than ever before, and that this advance is the "reward" of the reformers who believed in taking Mr. Harrison and his party at their word; that equally it is true that the republican President and the republican party have been seriously discredited by their broken pledges, and their "reward" has come in the shape of several defeats already and a rather gloomy looking future.

Every one has a right to assume that the promises of a platform and of a candidate will be kept until by actual performance they are violated and then he has no right to apologize for the violation. No personal devotion to a president, no affection for a party, should stay the exposure of the facts, nor the unbiased comment on those facts. If a party or a president has played a confidence game to win votes, or has shown pusillanimity in

meeting the worse elements of the party and failed to keep the pledges made to win the better elements, let all the world know these facts and it is not civil service reform nor its advocates who will suffer. But the fatal mistake is to ignore, to excuse, to change the point of view, and to feel because one accepted in good faith the solemn pledges of a party or a man he has got to "stick" to both.

If the men who voted and worked for Mr. Harrison had blinked his short-comings and sighed over the "pressure" brought to bear upon him, had expatiated on how he was constantly "deceived" by his friends, and finally had maintained that he must not, as a working President, fall between two stools, but could do his sworn duty only as he could carry his party along with him, civil service reform and reformers would indeed be now discredited.

Such a position has been for years the great blunder in fighting the spoils system. Timid reformers in 1884 said the candidate could not withstand his party and a party so hungry and thirsty for spoils must be longer excluded from power; later the reform ranks were too full of apologists, who seemed to labor night and day to show that the President really had not promised much, and that while things could not be explained in a couple of states the fault, if fault there was, was in the inability of the sufferers to get their troubles to the presidential ear. Every spoils act of President Cleveland and his party when explained to the people without malice and without excuse helped the reform and only injured him and his party, and it was only when so large a number of civil service reformers could not withstand the temptation to explain away what seemed entirely plain to practical spoils politicians, that the cause was weakened. So far as we know the personal and political friends, and he has a good many, of President Harrison, among the civil service reformers who supported him, have never sought to excuse him or his acts. They have regretted the fact that he should seize the civil service as spoil to perpetuate party, or personal ascendancy, but they have never sought to shield him from the moral consequences of his acts.

But comparisons are profitless, except as they bear upon the practical question of what a man is to do next year, if he believes that the spoils evil is now the greatest evil to be crushed, and he desires the most of all to bruise the head of the serpent in the way to wound him most sorely. Suppose Mr. Cleveland is the democratic candidate, as now seems likely, and he and his party declare themselves in favor of the present law, say that it shall be enforced in letter and in spirit, and that its provisions shall be materially extended; and the republican candidate and platform try to ignore the question, or are less explicit and vigorous than in the platforms of 1884 and 1888; the wise civil service reformer does not dwell on the errors of the late administration and say because that administration failed

once, he will continue to be timid and suspicious. Instead, he acts upon the supposition that Mr. Cleveland and his party have profited by experience, and that they will probably avoid the mistakes they made before. It is a very dull man who learns nothing by experience, and Mr. Cleveland is not dull.

On the supposition that the pledges of both candidates and both platforms are satisfactory, he certainly will not lose the opportunity to nail the present "chicken hawk to the barn-door," as a warning and a lesson. And if the democratic party should succeed and if its administration should break its promises as the republican administration has done, nevertheless civil service reform would have been advanced over what it would be to ratify or condone the division of over 100,000 federal places and salaries, amounting to hundreds of millions, as spoil.

THE DIVORCE OF MUNICIPAL BUSINESS FROM POLITICS.

[A paper read by Moorfield Storey before the National Civil Service Reform League, at Buffalo, September 30.]

Every American is brought up to believe two things: First, that we are *par excellence* a business people pre-eminently endowed with what we are pleased to call "sound business sense," and, second, that we invented and understand better than any other nation the art of self-government. These are fundamental articles in our national creed, comfortable household beliefs that are handed down from father to son and we cling to them with unquestioning faith. Yet how shall we reconcile them with the fact that our large cities are without exception badly governed, and in many instances disgracefully governed? When we are applying the principle of self-government most directly, where the people are nearest to their agents and feel their neglect or mismanagement most keenly, our "sound business sense" deserts us and we fail lamentably.

What are the causes of this failure? How can we secure good municipal government? No more important questions confront the American people to-day, and they must be answered.

These questions concern not merely the dwellers in the cities who suffer the immediate effects of bad government, but every citizen of this country, for a city which is governed by corrupt men is a plague spot that infects the whole body politic. Baltimore dominates the state of Maryland; New Orleans exercises a baleful influence over Louisiana. Nor is the evil stayed by state lines; a corrupt city government may poison the politics of the whole country. Tammany Hall rules the city of New York. It claims the power to elect and defeat Presidents, and so to shape the policy of the country. The candidate who refused to promise all that its leaders demand of office or public plunder may well owe his defeat to their opposition or their treachery, and so the result of a close election may be determined by men who care nothing for the questions at issue, nothing for the vast interests at stake, nothing for the welfare of the country, but who are mere political mercenaries ready to fight for the party which offers the highest wages, and unlike the free companions of the middle ages, ever willing to desert their standard in the midst of a battle, if desertion seems likely to be profitable. It is mortifying to think how many months and years of honest and earnest effort to educate the people upon such vital issues as tariff reform and financial honesty may be brought to naught by a miserable bargain made in the city of New York. It is humiliating to reflect that the national conventions of great parties may be governed in their choice of a candidate for the highest office in this country by the supposed necessity of conciliating men like Tweed and John Kelly. Indeed, the very existence of republican government may almost be said

to be at stake. If the people of a single city, whose associations, traditions, education and interests are more nearly identical than those of widely separated communities can ever be, are unable to manage their common business with reasonable honesty and success, what hope is there that the experiment will continue to succeed on an enormously greater scale with communities as widely separated as Maine and California?

QUESTIONS OF PURE BUSINESS.

The officials who administer the government of a city deal with pure business questions. It is their duty to see that the air which we breathe is unpolluted, that the water which we drink is pure, that our sewers do not fill our houses with poison, that the streets upon which we walk are well paved and clean, that their use is properly regulated so as to preserve the respective rights of pedestrians and those who ride in public or private conveyances, that our lives and property are protected by efficient police, that fires are prevented and extinguished, that the new uses of electricity for light, power, and the transmission of intelligence are carefully guarded so as to give the public the service which it needs without undue risk to the citizen; that our schools are well conducted; that the spread of infectious diseases is checked; that we are not injured by unwholesome food and drink; that our feet are not obstructed by snow on the sidewalks, nor our heads crushed by ice from the roofs. From birth to death, at home, at school, in the street, in the theater, in church, eating, drinking, breathing, sleeping, walking, sick or well, at every moment of our lives, our health, our safety, and our property depend very largely on the excellence of our city government. Not merely the necessities, but the luxuries of life, libraries, art museums, parks, music, architecture, painting and sculpture, are within the sphere of municipal government. If that government is inefficient and corrupt, we feel it at every turn in our daily life; if it is efficient and honest, all our lives are made easier. If we give the subject a moment's thought, we can not but see how large a part of the business which concerns us all most nearly is entrusted to our municipal governments.

There is nothing in the nature of things which makes it impossible to govern a city well. If we cross the ocean and examine what some of us like to call "the effete monarchies of the old world," we shall find that the business of ruling a city is well understood. The streets of London and Paris, and even Liverpool, seem surprisingly clean to any one who is familiar with the streets of an American city. The sewers of Paris are models, and the efficiency of the French police is proverbial. The disastrous conflagrations which so constantly lay waste large sections of our cities and towns, are almost unknown on the continent of Europe. Illustrations might be multiplied, but Glasgow and Birmingham deserve more than a passing mention, for they are conspicuous examples of the successful application to municipal affairs of that "sound business sense" upon which we so unreasonably plume ourselves.

GLASGOW'S MODEL GOVERNMENT.

In Glasgow we have a city which in 1888 had about 560,000 people, in an area of some 6,100 acres, so that it may well be compared with several of our American cities. The population is extremely dense and dwells largely in tenement houses, so that the conditions are extremely unfavorable to cleanliness and health, and there is nothing in the character of the population which makes it especially easy to govern. It is possible in this paper to give only the briefest summary of the work which the city government does, and does well.

The public health is secured by a large force of trained inspectors, some of whom seek for cases of infectious disease; others search for nuisances, such as defective drains and unwholesome accumulations; others who are women go from house to house among poor families and make suggestions as to house-keeping methods, and others still are night inspectors who visit lodging houses to see that the laws against overcrowding are respected. Their labors to prevent disease are supplemented by admirable hospitals, of which the latest is a model. There is a sanitary

wash-house, where infected articles are cleansed and from which disinfecting operations are directed at the houses where cases of disease have occurred. Nor should we overlook the house where families are received while their houses are being disinfected. The results of this system are excellent.

The street cleaning department sweeps 181 miles of streets nightly; cleans 11,000 private courts and passage ways at least once a day; waters the streets; removes refuse of every kind at least once a week; burns what can not be used for fertilizing purposes; sells what can be so used, and does all this work at a net expense to the citizen of 35 cents a head, the total cost, including interest on the city's outlay of \$600,000 for plant, being \$370,000, which was reduced by sales of manure and the tax levied on the owners of private courts to \$190,000.

The city has dealt with its worst and most crowded neighborhoods, where in some places the population was 1,000 to an acre, by buying the property, opening wide streets, laying out parks and squares, and selling the land left after the improvements. This work has been done on a large scale at a very reasonable cost, and with great benefit to the moral and physical health, as well as to the appearance of the city.

Not only have old tenement houses been demolished, but new ones have been built, and the city owns and conducts not less than seven lodging-houses, furnishing some 2,000 beds, and accommodating annually nearly 700,000 lodgers at a charge per night of from six to nine cents, according as the lodger prefers one sheet or two. For this each lodger has a separate apartment, a woven wire mattress, the use of a large sitting-room, a locker for provisions, and a chance to cook his food on the kitchen range, while everything is beautifully neat.

This experiment not only has raised the whole standard of lodging accommodations, but pays a net income of four or five per cent. on the investment of some \$500,000, after making a proper annual charge for deterioration.

Another department deserves mention. Some \$600,000 has been spent in the erection of five public baths, in each of which are large swimming baths for men and women, in charge of competent swimming masters, and kept open with water at a uniform temperature throughout the year. To these are added private bath houses and wash houses, where a woman for two pence an hour can have the use of the most improved washing, drying, and mangling apparatus operated by steam, and at the end of her hour go home with her clothes washed, dried, and ironed. This system takes from the houses of the poor a prolific source of discomfort and domestic difficulties, for washing done by the wife in the family living rooms is a process which exhausts her strength and tries her temper, while it is exasperating to the husband and everyone who is compelled to eat or stay for any purpose in an atmosphere of steam and sloppiness.

The gas problem is also dealt with on business principles. The city owns the works, and between 1869 and 1870 so conducted them as to increase the consumption of gas 140 per cent., while the increase in population has been only twenty per cent.; and to reduce the price from \$1.14 to sixty-six cents per thousand feet. The leakage has been reduced by one-half. Not only the street but private courts and passages and even the common stair cases in tenement houses are lighted at the public expense, with very marked results in diminishing crime and increasing the comfort and security of the people. The city lets gas stoves to citizens at a moderate price, which the poor who live in tenements find very convenient; and all this is done so economically that the city can operate the works, construct new ones, pay interest on its debt, charge off large sums for depreciation, and accumulate a sinking fund which in fifteen years has paid nearly \$3,000,000 towards the cost of the investment.

The street railway question, which has embarrassed us so much in America, has been settled on a business basis. The city has built and owns the railways and lets them to a company. The lease made in 1872 expires in 1894, and the company pays as rental and interest on the city's investment, a

yearly sum for a sinking fund sufficient to pay the principal before the expiration of the lease; a sum for repairs and renewals equal to four per cent. on the cost of the road, out of which it is kept in repair; and in addition a rental of \$750 a mile. The fares are fixed at a penny a mile and a penny for certain routes which in some cases are more than a mile long, and on which cars are run in the morning and at night for workmen at half price. The original lessees sold this lease for \$750,000, and yet the purchasing corporation after some hard years began to pay dividends which since 1880 have been from nine to eleven per cent. a year. After 1894 the city will own the tramways in perfect order, and their cost will have been paid, some \$1,700,000, so that hereafter they will be a source of large revenue to the city.

Equal intelligence has been shown in providing the city with the water of Lock Katrine, and the works have been so managed as to pay for their maintenance and partly for their cost, which will in course of years be provided for, while the rates have been reduced. The pressure is such that the expenses of the fire department have been so much reduced that the saving in this item alone more than equals the interest on the entire cost of the water-works.

WATCH THE CORPORATIONS.

This is a brief resume which shows what can be done by the intelligent application of business principles to the conduct of municipal affairs. The success of this experiment is peculiarly interesting to us. One of the greatest dangers which beset our system arises from the existence in our cities and states of large aggregations of capital, whose owners have interests at variance with those of the general public. A street railway monopoly or a great gas or water company is naturally anxious to make as much money as possible and to secure whatever privileges will aid in the accomplishment of this object. The public, on the other hand, which gives such a corporation its franchises, which permits it to use the streets and grants its various rights, is anxious in return to get the best possible accommodation at the lowest possible price. The attempts of the corporation to secure new privileges and the use of those already granted should be carefully watched in the public interest, so that the fulfillment of the obligations may be secured. On the other hand, there are always demagogues or honest fanatics or venal politicians who suggest unreasonable demands on the corporation, which the persons interested in the latter consider attacks upon their vested rights. There is inevitably a conflict of interest, and out of this grows the danger that the corporations will feel themselves obliged to gain their ends defensive or offensive by corruption, and that dishonest men will seek municipal office in order to be corrupted. When legislation is for sale, no man and no private or public right is safe, and it is important therefore to have as few great corporations which may be tempted to corrupt as possible.

Take another example. Birmingham is a city a little larger than Boston. Here we find liberal parks, but to those we are not unused on this side of the Atlantic; swimming baths "which offer larger swimming facilities than the people of New York City ever possessed within doors in public or private baths along shore or in town" (to quote from Mr. Ralph in *Harper's Magazine*) and every convenience for bathing is afforded at the most moderate cost. Here also are libraries, an art gallery and museum, enriched, it is true, by donations from private citizens but supported at the public expense. Here again the gas works belong to the city, and while charging reduced rates to the consumer, who now pays about sixty cents a thousand feet, they yield a handsome profit for the city on their large cost.

Birmingham also, like Glasgow, has bought up bad neighborhoods and laid them out again at large original cost, but so that the enterprise will prove pecuniarily very profitable, while its main objects, the prevention of disease and the discouragement of crime, have been accomplished and the death rate of the city has been reduced more than one-half.

The difficulties of draining a large inland city have

been grappled with and overcome. The little river into which it naturally drained was wholly insufficient for a large population, and in consequence a new system was necessary. The city accordingly acquired a farm of 1,200 acres, into and through which all sewage is conducted by a conduit and system of filtration. In this way the sewage is purified and the farm fertilized, so that its products are sold for nearly \$125,000 a year, a little less than half the cost of operating the system. All household waste is removed and treated so that what is useful is sold and the rest is buried or made by melting into paving material.

Here again street railways are owned by the city and rented at a profit; and the finances of the city are so administered that the burden of taxation is not severe, while the debts incurred in carrying out its great improvements are in a fair way of being paid.

Each of these cities are governed by a council consisting of a large number of members who serve without pay, and as the best citizens are elected to these offices it is considered an honor to serve the city. These cities succeed in getting able and honest men to manage their business, and in consequence it is managed well.

NEW YORK ONE OF THE WORST.

What do we do? Let us take for example the city of New York, the largest and richest city that we have, the center of our business intelligence and activity. What is true of New York is approximately true of our other cities, though misgovernment is more effectively organized there than in any other city except perhaps Baltimore. New York is governed by the political organization which from the name of its headquarters is called Tammany Hall, and this in turn is controlled by its executive committee. This organization is not interested in the great questions of national politics, the tariff, the finances, or any foreign or domestic question of national interest. It calls itself democratic, but in recent years its power has been more often used to defeat than to elect the democratic candidate for President. It is really, to use a slang phrase of its own invention, a "combine" of men who wish to live on the city of New York, and who consider it no sin to labor in their vocation. Their purpose is simply to get as large a sum out of the city treasury as they can, and their success has been phenomenal. The *New York Evening Post* has done a great public service by publishing the records of the twenty-eight men who compose the executive committee of Tammany. Its summary shows that they are all professional politicians, and that among them are one convicted of murder, three men who have been indicted for murder, felonious assault and bribery respectively; four professional gamblers, five ex-keepers of gambling houses, nine who either now or formerly sold liquor, three whose fathers did, three former pugilists, four former rowdies, and six members of the famous Tweed gang. Seventeen of these hold office seven formerly did, and two are favored contractors. From a corrupt tree must come corrupt fruit. Is it strange that the government of New York is bad? Is it not strange, is it not disgraceful, that such men should be suffered to govern the metropolis of our country, and through the bargains by which they sell the votes of their followers and buy city offices to very largely affect the government under which we all live?

Every city government is not as bad as that of New York, but everywhere, with the rare exception, inferior men are elected to municipal office, and any man, however little his education or his previous training may have fitted him for the work, is considered competent to deal with the complicated problems of municipal government. A succession of men more or less incompetent follow each other at brief intervals over the stage, and as a result, there is no consistent economical administration of a city's business. In Boston, as a gentleman who has recently been studying the operation of the various departments said, "the methods are such that no business house could adopt them and keep out of bankruptcy six months."

We are badly governed because we choose incom-

petent, dishonest or at best inexperienced men to govern us. We all admit the fact. We all lament it. What is the remedy? Is it possible that a great business people like ourselves is powerless to change this state of things? Must we look forward to an indefinite future of tame submission to saloon-keepers and actual or probable convicts? Is there no chance of a new anti-slavery movement in which we, the slaves, shall rise against such masters?

No one can answer these questions without first clearly apprehending the causes which have brought us to our low estate, nor are these difficult to discover.

In the first place the average American takes very little interest in the government of his city. He will work hard and contribute freely of his time and money in a presidential campaign, or in the effort to elect a governor or congressman, though these offices have less power over his daily life than the alderman who represents his ward. If elected a member of a club, committee, or a parish committee, or the building committee of some charitable institution, he will give the most conscientious attention to his duties. He will work hard as the director of a business corporation in which his pecuniary interests are trifling as compared with his stake of family health and comfort and security in the municipal corporation of which he is a member. He will take hours and perhaps days from his business in order to select the hangings, or carpets, or furniture for his own house, which are mere matters of taste, but he will not often give an hour in the course of a year to the intelligent consideration of his city's business. He will grumble at dust, swear at bad water or foul smells, vote for his party candidate if he can do so without too much inconvenience, complain of his taxes, and think that he has done his full duty. Every follower of Tammany voted for their chief on election day; 30,000 excellent citizens neglected to vote against him and Mr. Astor said that he had no political interest in New York.

THE CAUSE OF APATHY.

We must go deeper, however. What are the causes of this indifference? Can we hope to overcome it or must it be dealt with as a constant factor in our problem? It arises partly from the fact that municipal politics seem petty as compared with national politics, partly from the fact that they have been so many years in bad hands that a certain stigma in the minds of many persons is attached to men who are active in them, partly from the discouragement caused by repeated failures to dislodge bad men and the feeling that it is idle for a few disorganized citizens to contest the field with the well disciplined army which obey the "bosses," and in some cases from sheer laziness. It is not that Americans do not know what good government is or that they do not want it. It is not that they are content with their rulers, but they find it easier to pay a little more in taxes, to swallow a little dust, to breathe a little foul air, and to treat disease as inevitable, than to spend in working for the public time and money for which no one thanks them, and which are taken from lucrative business or from rest and recreation.

Another cause which blinds the eye of the citizen and paralyzes his energy is the idea which politicians so carefully cherish that political parties should carry their contests into municipal elections, that if a man in favor of tariff reform he must vote for the Tammany candidate for mayor, or if he favors the McKinley bill that he can not safely support a candidate for mayor who is selected from the democratic party. The superstition goes so far that men who joined the republican party in 1856 because they were opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories and who supported it because they believed in the abolition of slavery and the restoration of the Union, feel bound twenty-five years after all these objects are accomplished to vote for a republican candidate for sheriff whom they know to be entirely unfit for the office. If their arguments were extended in plain English it would astonish them. "I believed in the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery twenty-five years ago, and therefore, I vote for a man now who had nothing to do with either and whose business it is to keep our streets clean simply because he calls

himself a republican, though I know that he is incompetent. In short, I am still so busy restoring the Union and freeing the slaves, that I have no time to think of clean streets or pure water."

A third cause of our trouble may perhaps best be illustrated by a comparison. A manufacturing corporation, whose stock-holders include republicans, democrats, prohibitionists and mugwumps, desire a president. Those who are interested choose some man of acknowledged ability, and without asking what his political opinions are say to him: "Become our president and we will pay you adequate salary; we will give you the assistance of the best directors that we can select from our own members; you shall have power to manage our business as you think best, subject to their advice, and if you succeed you shall keep the place as long as you like." The city seeking a mayor says to the same man: "Do you wish to become our mayor? You must first agree to pay a large sum to the campaign fund for expenses; you must then satisfy the heads of certain factions that they and their followers have something to gain by your election, as they are practical men who are not to be satisfied with vague expressions of good will and will want something very definite. You must then take the chances of a campaign in which all your sins and many which you have never committed will be marshaled against you in the daily papers, and you will be exposed to every kind of misrepresentation. If you are elected, we shall give you very small pay and a board of directors who will be incompetent to help you and entirely competent to embarrass and perplex you at every turn. You will receive plenty of criticism from every corrupt politician whose demands you either can not or will not gratify, but little or no encouragement or support from good citizens who are too busy with their own affairs, or too modest to give you much attention or assistance or even applause, and who treat your good works as a matter of course, while they are swift to visit on you not only your own sins, but the shortcomings of every city official; and when your term is over and you are beginning to learn the duties of your office, we will remove you in order to put some other unfortunate victim in your place." Is it surprising that the private corporation gets its president, and the city is obliged to look elsewhere for its mayor?

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS AND POLITICS.

There are three motives which may induce good men to take public office: The desire for money, the desire for honor, and public spirit, or the sense of duty. We appeal to neither. Our salaries are inadequate even if we could promise a tenure of office during good behavior. Municipal office has ceased to be regarded as especially honorable, and however keen may be his sense of duty, it is difficult to persuade a public spirited citizen that he ought to seek municipal office and engineer his own campaign. Until the people whose business is to be done are sufficiently interested in having it done well to select good officers, elect them, and keep them in office by proper support, our citizens will continue to be governed by incompetent men and persons who make office profitable in illegitimate ways.

There is another thing which can not be neglected in enumerating the causes which contribute to misrule in our cities. They contain a large number of ignorant voters, mainly of foreign birth or descent, many of whom know nothing of our government or even of our language, and who are easily led by a few men whose influence is for sale and whose prejudices are easily inflamed. These men are ignorant, not wicked. They can be influenced for good as well as for bad. They do not want bad water, bad air, and squalid abodes. They do not wish to see their families die of infectious disorders, and if they could be made to understand the facts they would be ready to vote for everything which will improve their condition. Their numbers make them an element in the situation which must be considered and dealt with. How are these causes to be dealt with? How shall we reform our system so that the business of our cities may be done by competent men? These are the questions.

In the first place municipal business must be en-

tirely divorced from national politics, and if party organizations are necessary to secure the elections of good mayors and aldermen, they must be organizations absolutely distinct from the national parties and made up on different lines. When the president of a railroad or a bank, or the treasurer of a manufacturing corporation is to be elected, the stockholders do not divide themselves into two hostile camps according to their views upon the tariff or the fisheries or their opinions upon the questions of twenty-five years ago and struggle for victory over each other. They recognize the fact that their interests in the corporation are identical, and they co-operate to find some man whose ability and experience fit him to superintend the corporation's business. If differences arise among them they are differences of opinion as to the comparative fitness of different candidates, but no one denies that the fittest man should be selected. There is a close parallel between the business of a great railroad corporation and the business of a great city. Both require great administrative and financial ability; skill in the selection of men, power of organization, and force of will. The ability to organize a force which will run trains for freight and passengers economically and efficiently is not in kind different from the ability to organize a force which will clean or pave streets regularly and well. The ability to secure the best results from a given expenditure of money in well-built railroads and strong bridges is of the same character as the ability to get like results from a similar expenditure in well constructed sewers or water-works. The men who can deal successfully with rival companies competing for his business can meet with equal success the demands of street railway companies or gas companies competing with each other to obtain franchises from the city. The same financial skill which preserves the proper ratio between the income and expenses of a business corporation will find ample opportunity to display itself in dealing with the finances of a municipal corporation.

Railroading, as it is beginning to be called, is a profession which offers to those who adopt it a definite career. The opportunities are great, but he who would seize them must fit himself for the work by special training. The Pennsylvania company has its own college at Altoona, where young men can learn the business of managing a railroad. The graduates of this college begin at the foot of the ladder and gradually climb up. The man who wishes to superintend a woolen mill or a paper mill begins as a hand, in his father's mill perhaps. In every private business men recognize the necessity of learning how the work should be done before they begin to do it. This is equally true of the business which is done for a city, but here we act as if no training were necessary. Why should not our cities offer young men who will learn how to do their business as honorable and certain a career as cotton mills and railroads offer? Should we not all rejoice if our municipal business was in the hands of men trained to do it well, and have we not energy and sense enough to secure so desirable a result? Let us simply as members of a great business corporation apply the same rules to the selection of our president and directors that are followed by stock-holders in smaller business corporations. Instead of letting a number of politicians associated with the national parties meet and nominate some of themselves as candidates for the offices of the city, why should we not have an entirely new departure? Why should not the business men of the city, irrespective of their political or religious opinions, form a municipal party for the simple purpose of electing competent municipal officers and keeping them in office as long as they do their work well? It would be easy to draw a platform for such a party upon which the whole city could stand. Here is a specimen plank: "Resolved, that we are in favor of having the streets properly paved and regularly swept." The party standing for this and this alone with an organization in each precinct would soon number every one who wished to have the city's business done on business principles, and against such a party the petty politicians who live by plundering the city would be powerless. The committee of fifty in Philadelphia has shown what

can be done by a small organization of citizens aiming only at the public good. Once break down the superstition that national politics have something to do with city business, and it will be comparatively easy to unite all citizens who want clean streets, good water, pure air, good drainage and everything else that good government means, in a municipal party which will be powerful enough to insure good government.

INTERVALS BETWEEN ELECTIONS.

To make the distinction between national politics and municipal business complete, the municipal election should be held say in May, and the municipal year should begin July 1. The greater interval between the elections the more difficult it becomes to sell a congressman for a sheriff or a mayor for a president. And in this connection let me say that the plan so efficiently supported in Buffalo of separating municipal from the other elections by a whole year meets my cordial approval. The more completely municipal business can be divorced from national politics, the better for us all.

Experience has shown that the apathy which makes so many citizens neglect their duties can be overcome at intervals. The people are capable of a great uprising such as drove the Tweed ring into exile or prison, whenever things have reached such a pass as to become unbearable, but where elections are frequent men become negligent, both because they weary of the efforts necessary to victory in a political campaign, and because they console themselves with the reflection that if the election goes wrong it will be easy to correct the mischief next year. This tendency can in part be met by making the elections less frequent, thus giving municipal officers longer terms and making it easier to bring out the voters who may be willing once in three or four years to make a vigorous effort rather than be misgoverned for so long a period.

The next step is to make positions in the city employ attractive to such men as we need, men of ability and character. To fill the higher offices in a city government requires a great deal of time and hard work, and we can not organize our government upon the theory that a considerable number of the most capable citizens will sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the rest. In the long run we must pay for good work if we expect to get it. We can not compete with private employers unless we are all willing to pay as much. The work of governing a city is not especially agreeable, and the city can well afford to pay for the best talent that can be had. Large salaries are not so expensive as large stealings and poor work. The men who now pretend to serve our cities without compensation are often better paid than the men who receive the largest salaries that private corporations offer. The sound business rule is to pay good wages for good work, and to expect nothing for nothing. If we have not time to govern ourselves, we must pay some one else to do the work.

Money alone will not get such men as we need. There must be some assurance of permanence, some hope of promotion. We must offer a career, if we would tempt into our service the able young men who every year are choosing their professions. No man who can do anything else will accept employment where good service does not help him and where he is liable to be turned out at a moment's notice. If sound business principles could be adopted, a successful city officer would be called from one city to another as an able railway superintendent is called to continually better positions, and the profession of municipal administration would be extremely attractive. Is it impossible in America to create such a profession? Are we forever bound to our present unbusiness-like method of selecting our officers at random and turning them out as soon as they begin to know their business?

GOOD MONEY FOR GOOD WORK.

With citizens organized to insure good municipal government, it would be comparatively easy by proper effort to reach and influence the mass of ignorant voters, who now help the vicious bosses to govern our cities, but it is the part of prudence not to take too many chances against ourselves. We are struggling with a great many complicated questions,

which it takes intelligence to understand. They are to be settled by gradually educating the people. Public opinion is the ultimate force in this country, if not indeed everywhere, but it takes time and effort to create and direct it. A colony of Italians, Scandinavians, Germans, or Irish, preserving their national languages and their national ideas, and living as foreigners among us are very difficult to reach, but their votes count just as much as the votes of the most highly educated men among us. We must make our naturalization laws more stringent. It is not consistent with business principles to admit men as equal partners in a prosperous firm, who bring neither experience nor capital, who know nothing of the business, and do not even speak the same language with the other partners. We certainly may insist that a man shall not vote here until he has been here long enough to understand our institutions and speak our language, and as we must have an arbitrary rule, it would seem safe to require fifteen or twenty years' residence. This may operate severely in a few cases, but the country will not suffer, and its interest demands that we should organize and educate the citizens that we now have until they are better able to govern themselves before we undertake to admit many more voters with the traditions, ideas, and interests of foreigners.

The tendency in this country is to concentrate municipal authority in a few hands. In Glasgow and Birmingham the best results are achieved by enlisting a large number of able citizens and dividing the work among them, some taking charge of sewers, others of lights, others of water, etc. It makes little difference which system prevails if only good men are induced to do the work. Make it in popular estimation as great a tribute to a man's business ability to make him an alderman as it is to make him a director of a bank or railroad and men will be glad to take positions in the city government. Make it, as it is to-day, rather a questionable distinction to be prominent in city politics, and except the few whose public spirit leads them to do a disagreeable public duty or whose ambition makes them take municipal office as the first step in public life, the men who hold city office will do neither their city nor themselves any credit. If your city officers are bad men we can not have too few aldermen or councilmen who intrigue for patronage or consider only what their votes or influence in the city legislature can be made to yield, the fewer we have the better.

Once persuade the people that the government of a city is a mere matter of business and induce them to treat it as such, and municipal reform is assured.

The experiment is worth trying. Let even twenty of the men in any city who are its business leaders meet and really consider what steps should be taken to secure economical municipal government. Let them agree to give, say, two hours a week each to the work. Let them take measures to organize their fellow-citizens of all classes in support of their movement, and let them show the same intelligence and energy that they exhibit in dealing with the affairs of business corporations in which they are directors. Let them select their candidates and agree to pay them what their time is fairly worth, to stand by them, and to keep them in office as long as they do their work well. Can any one doubt that such intelligent and organized effort would succeed? If there are difficulties, can not such men find means to overcome them? Whoever answers these questions in the negative must admit that republican institutions are a failure when applied to municipal government, or, at least, that we must submit to years more of inefficiency, corruption, plunder, and disgrace before that public spirit is developed which is necessary to their success.

If some humorous derider of civil service reform principles wished to perpetrate a huge joke on all the protestations in the republican platform in favor of the reform, he could hardly do better than hunt up the once famous Flanagan, of Texas, who asked at the republican national convention, "What are we here for, if not for the offices?" and reward the said Flanagan with some high office. Strangely enough, President Harrison, whom no one accuses of being a humorist, has, in solemn earnest, appointed this same Flanagan collector of customs at El Paso, Tex. — *Civil Service Record*.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE PASSED AT BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 30, 1891.

The National Civil Service League congratulates the country upon the significant progress of reform during the last year. The extension of the reformed system to a part of the Indian service and its introduction into the navy yards; the executive revocation of the system of compulsory competition for promotion, and the executive order authorizing open competition with the actual adoption of such a system in the post-office department; the increase in the number of applicants for examination from all sections of the country, which has made it possible to equalize the quotas of appointments among the states, showing a general confidence hitherto unknown in the honest non-partisan observance of the law; the indictment of members of both political parties for attempting to levy political assessments upon public employes, and the defeat by the friends of reform in congress of the efforts to embarrass the commission and paralyze the operation of the law; the admirable statement and approval of the principles of reform by the court of appeals in New York in declaring the constitutionality of the reform law and confirming its applicability to municipal administration in Buffalo, all attest the steady practical progress of reform and the happy advance of the public sentiment upon which all effective reform depends.

The League declares its high appreciation of the great and patriotic service rendered to the country and to the interests of reform by the secretary of the navy in his prompt, comprehensive and thorough application of sound principles administration in the selection both of skilled and unskilled employes in the national navy yards, which have been hitherto scenes of the worse excesses of the spoils system. The League trusts that this great measure of reform will be secured permanently by an executive order which alone can make it a part of the general system under the law administered by the national civil service commission.

The League regards the recent displacement for political reasons of the collector of New York, an officer of acknowledged integrity, ability and efficiency by compelling his resignation, as a flagrant violation of the platform promises and executive pledges of the party of administration to respect not only the letter of the law but the spirit of reform. The League holds the declaration that the spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and the pledge that fitness and not party service should be the essential test in appointment, if they mean anything, to mean that diligent, honest and capable officers whose duties are in no sense political shall not be forced for political reasons to resign. Against this violation of solemn public pledges by the highest officers of the government the League, in the name of all honorable citizens, unqualifiedly protests.

The League condemns the failure to prosecute effectively the persons indicted for levying political contributions in violation of law, a failure which can not but encourage similar violations, because it will be held to indicate a willingness on the part of the administration to respectively connive at such offences.

The recent letters signed by the officers of the republican state executive committee in Ohio, and the republican state committee in Pennsylvania, levying a political tax upon public employes under terror of removal, plainly violates the spirit, if not the letter of the civil service act of 1883, which was designed to protect public employes against partisan extortion and illustrate the evil effects of the failure which we condemn. Any party which is not supported by the voluntary contributions of its members, and which resorts to practical blackmailing to obtain money for election expenses, strikes a fatal blow at the party system by confessing that it depends for success, not upon the conviction and confidence of those who compose it, but upon the fear of those whose livelihood it controls. We protest against these acts as strengthening an abuse

which tends to destroy the legitimate function of party and the self-respect of public officers, which brings the American name and government in contempt, and, in this instance, which disgraces, also; the name of a party which is pledged to respect not only the letter of the law, but the spirit of reform.

The League reiterates its conviction that the power of removal should be vested in appointing officers, subject only to a sound discretion. But it holds as strongly that to secure that discretion from dangerous temptation every motive for its unjust exercise should be removed. The League, therefore, renews its recommendations as necessary conditions of reform that the laws prescribing fixed terms of office which were intended to prevent the odium of arbitrary removal should be repealed; that the widest publicity should be given to removals, and that public officers should be required by law publicly to record the reasons of removals made by their authority.

The interference of office-holders in elections is one of the oldest evils of free constitutional government. The dispensers of official patronage hold a power over primary political action which is not shared by the rest of the people, and which has been always grossly perverted to secure control of party caucuses and conventions. The attendance of office-holders at recent political conventions is a sign of neglect by the administration of one of the ancient safeguards of constitutional liberty.

The League returns the thanks of all good citizens to the United States Civil Service Commissioner, exposing to public notice and condemnation the scandalous abuses arising from active participation by federal office leaders in primaries of the republican party held in the city of Baltimore. It sees in the evils the natural results of choosing for offices whose incumbents are to enforce the civil service laws, professional politicians, indifferent or hostile to that law. It considers the prompt dismissal of every official shown to have violated the law an imperative requirement of the President's oath of office.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Point of View of a Crawfordsville Reader of the Chronicle.

"Enclosed I send you 50 cents for one year's subscription to the CHRONICLE. It is the most welcome paper that comes to my house and is generally read first, and from beginning to end without stop unless called from it by some interruption.

"I feel particularly indignant with Harrison. We had a right to expect as decisive action on his part in favor of the civil service generally, as Secretary Tracy has shown in the naval service. He has not done as well as Cleveland in spite of the platform on which he was elected, and his own speeches in favor of it. He is booked for defeat, so far as my vote goes, if he is renominated."

PLATTISM.

—The directory of the republican campaign subscribers in the possession of the party leaders must be a very poor one, for Chairman Wagner's appeals for money have been received by hundreds of democrats. Here is a sample of the call for funds now being sent out:

HEADQUARTERS KINGS COUNTY REPUBLICAN
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.
ROOM 10, ARBUCKLE BUILDING,
BROOKLYN, Sept. 22, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR: The campaign committee is ready to receive voluntary subscriptions from all citizens having the success of the republican party at heart. The conduct of the campaign requires large expenditures of money for legitimate purposes, and under

the laws we have no right to assess any person. I would be glad to have you call at the headquarters and to give you any explanation required and receive any advice you may choose to offer. A ready response is earnestly requested. Yours truly,

ARNOLD H. WAGNER, Chairman.

One of Nathan's subordinates in the internal revenue office was shown this section about not assessing any one, but he merely laughed and shrugged his shoulders.—New York Times, October 23.

—Judge Lowery, of Ohio, calculated that the 700 Ohio persons in office in Washington, with aggregated salaries of \$500,000, would give at least \$25,000 to help McKinley and protection. They have, it is understood, "paid up" only \$1,000. The result of his appeal is said to be "disgusting," only fifty clerks having subscribed. The subscriptions are very small, indeed. I do not believe that the clerks from any other state in the union are as niggardly as those from Ohio. Why, they won't give anything."

"I suppose it is," the judge answered, when asked if this indifference could be attributed to confidence in their ability to hold their places, "but I think some of them will learn they are mistaken. Probably 25 per cent. of those in office are democrats. They are active, and some of them have already made applications for leave. Everything I have written has been published here by some kicker, who runs immediately to the press. There seems to be an entire lack of party spirit among them."—Washington Dispatch to New York Times, October 19.

ROOM 48, WASHINGTON LOAN AND TRUST
COMPANY BUILDING, CORNER OF NINTH AND F
STREETS, N. W., WASHINGTON, Oct. 15, 1891.

—In view of the importance of the pending political contest in the state of New York, and the necessity for every republican from that state, resident at the national capital, to do his whole duty under the demands of the hour, I am prompted, under authority from the state committee, to invite you to call at Room 48, Washington Loan and Trust Company Building, corner of Ninth and F streets, at your earliest convenience, between the hours of 8:30 A. M. and 6 P. M. This is for the purpose of consulting with you in regard to the best way for conquering the enemy in this fight. Please bring this note with you. Respectfully, &c., A. M. CLAPP,

Agent of New York State Republican Committee.

The lady who received this note will not present it to Dairymaid Clapp, but will keep it to exhibit, by and by, if occasion should arise, to account for any injustice that may be exercised toward her in the way of punishment. The civil service commission can find a great many of these letters in the department. It is understood that a list of every employe from New York was furnished to Dairymaid Clapp. —Washington Dispatch to New York Times, October 21.

—As regards the duty of the United States district attorney to prosecute Mr. Van Cott or Mr. Hendricks, collector of the port, Mr. Platt, son of ex-Senator Platt [Tom Platt], in the absence of his chief, Mr. Mitchell, said that the district attorney's office did not undertake prosecutions of its own motion, but only on complaints filed.—New York Evening Post, October 14.

—Among the federal office-holders who were seen about Mr. Platt's preserves yesterday, were Gen. Dennis Burke, Deputy Collector Burr, Special Agent Pryor, Marcus A. Hanlon,

treasury inspector, and Chief Clerk Rose of the appraiser's office.—New York Times, October 3.

—Platt appeared to be in a disturbed frame of mind last night. It has been his habit to keep very much in the background at headquarters. Last night, however, he stood in the main corridors of the hotel, laying the law down to his lieutenants. Bernard Biglin, William H. Bellamy, and Internal Revenue Collector Eidman were the center of a group of politicians which Platt addressed with emphasis.—New York Times, October 15.

—Mr. Platt's headquarters in the Fifth Avenue hotel had a good many visitors yesterday, including Collector Hendricks, Deputy Collector Biyor.—New York Times, October 16.

—ITHACA, N. Y., Oct. 14.—Mr. Fassett's speech was received with great applause. John W. Vrooman made a short, witty speech, and Col. Baxter [United States marshal] wound up the rally in the opera house.

—At the Lyceum opera house, Thirty fourth street and Third avenue, James M. Turner presided over a meeting. ** Pending the arrival of Mr. Fassett, Col. A. E. Baxter [United States marshal] made a rally-round-the-flags speech to a supposed audience of grand army men. Col. Baxter paid a glowing eulogy to Roger Byron Towner, the Brooklyn man who published a falsehood about Mr. Flower and the union soldiers a few weeks ago. Col. Baxter said that he would not take Mr. Flower's word or oath about the matter, and that he considered Towner a patriot and one of the noblest men that ever lived.—Times, Oct. 21.

—Headed by Internal Revenue Collector Ernst Nathan, a machine has been built up. * * *

Now Nathan is absolutely bossing the present fight. He says the party has been harmonized. Yes, with a club. The opposing faction has been beaten down and out by Nathan. * * They saw how he observed the spirit of the civil service law by going to the state convention that nominated Mr. Fassett and by forcing his official subordinates to go. Every enrolled republican in the twenty-first and twenty-third wards knows that the employes in the internal revenue collector's office are used there at the primaries, and that one of them was sent out of town with the roll book of the twenty-first ward recently, so that the opposing faction could not have the names of thirty-five new members placed on it in time to have them vote at the primary.—New York Times, September 27.

—The conference began when Collector Nathan told Mr. Ziegler that the people wanted to make him mayor and that the republican organization stood ready to nominate him. * * A politician who stands very close to Nathan and his fellow-leaders saw Mr. Ziegler after the conference and asked him point blank if he would be guided by the organization in making appointments and dispensing patronage. Mr. Ziegler looked at him in surprise and said: "That is a matter that I had not supposed I would be asked to consider."—New York Times, September 30.

—Brooklyn republicans were rather blue yesterday over the prospect of electing any of their candidates. They had anticipated a lively, genuine campaign on the issues laid down by William Ziegler, but they could not but admit that the wisdom displayed by the democrats in nominating such a man as David A. Boody, aided as they were by the Nathan policy of putting forward such a man as Henry A. Meyer, had almost eliminated these issues from the campaign. No one pretended yesterday that Mr. Meyer could go on the stump and force those issues, and every one concluded that "Boss" Nathan had simply sold out his party.—New York Times, October 13.

—The Notorious Gibbs, whom Platt will need in this campaign, was restored to full leadership by the republican organization in the thirteenth assembly district last night. Gibbs was expelled from the county committee a year ago on the ground that his action with Hamilton Fish and others in the legislature of 1890 had made him a traitor to his party. Afterward, the state committee, at the direction of Mr. Platt, read him out of the party.—*New York Times*, September 24.

—As Mr. Platt surveys the results of his "harmony" policy in the legislative districts he will not find much to comfort him. He took the "Wicked Gibbs" back into favor in the thirteenth assembly district in this city, using the federal patronage to crush out all opposition to him, and the results are the defeat of Gibbs for the assembly and of Stewart for the senate. Probably no one act of Platt's did more to alienate independent voters in this city from Fassett than his championship of Gibbs. It gave the lie to all his professions of zeal for good government as opposed to the bad government of Tammany Hall, for Tammany has never produced a worse public servant than Gibbs.—*New York Evening Post*, Nov. 4.

—There will be some post-mortem politics at the monthly meeting of the Kings County Republican General Committee this evening, in the Criterion Theatre, Brooklyn. The machine which has run the party into such straits when nearly half the voters of the city are republicans, is not likely to mend its ways. *Ernst Nathan*, the dominating spirit in the party management, who is hand-in-glove with the democratic regime while holding an important federal office, sententiously says that the victory was lost because there were not votes enough, and then proceeds to plan how to make the party smaller by rigidly disciplining those who failed to support the unfit candidates nominated by his influence. Mr. Nathan, who has been dubbed the Mephistopheles of Brooklyn, does not openly present himself in the party councils, save at great campaign meetings, for he is usually in the background pulling wires. But occasionally he makes his way into the gallery of the meeting-place of the general committee and watches the proceedings.—*New York Evening Post*, November 10.

—The meeting of the *Nathan Machine*, which seems to govern the republican party in Brooklyn, last evening was as lively as was predicted in *The Evening Post* of yesterday. The arbitrary action of the chairman, William W. Goodrich, in declaring the meeting adjourned in face of the fact that a clear majority of the members voted against the resolution to adjourn, was denounced in no measured terms by groups of the members who lingered for an hour in front of the Criterion Theater, where the meeting was held, after it was over.

"This is the greatest outrage ever perpetrated upon a meeting assembled for free speech," declared one member, and he said he told Mr. Goodrich so when he left the hall.

"More arbitrary action I never saw," said another. "In the first place, Mr. Goodrich applied gag-law to Mr. Stubbett, and prevented him from expressing his views, and then, when other members wanted to speak, he declared carried a motion to adjourn, when less than one-fourth of those present voted for it. In fact, the members of the committee supposed the motion lost until they saw Mr. Goodrich putting on his overcoat to go away." *New York Evening Post*, November 11.

—It was highly appropriate that the highest official (Collector Beard) in the federal service in this part of the country should preside at the club meeting with which the republican campaign was opened, Saturday afternoon.—*Boston Post*, September 21.

WANTON REMOVALS.

—The news of the removal of Appraiser Stearns, which was published yesterday, created a great deal of comment at the custom-house.

Neither Collector Beard nor Appraiser Stearns had been notified of the change. The first Mr. Beard knew of the appointment, or that it was contemplated, was when he read the papers containing the dispatch, and he did not seem in ecstasies over it.

It is said that the removal of Appraiser Stearns and the appointment of Mr. Dodge was brought about by Congressman Cogswell, who has felt that it was not well to have a democrat in the place, while there were so many republicans anxious to get into the service of the United States government.

One of the great objections to Mr. Stearns was that he stood between his subordinates and those republicans who wanted their places and thus prevented political workers from securing what they deemed their just rewards.

Mr. Stearns, when seen yesterday regarding his removal, seemed in no way disturbed. "While I have been in the position of appraiser," said he, "I have tried to do my duty faithfully and well, and if I have been removed, I shall lay down the cares of office with a sense of having done my best while here. Really, at the present time I can say nothing about the matter, because I know nothing about it. I heard shortly after the change of administration that there was some attempt made to have me removed from office, but I have heard nothing at all in regard to the matter now for several months. If I am removed, it is entirely without any notification up to the present time."

Collector Beard said Mr. Stearns had proved an unusually competent official. "He has a remarkable knowledge of the details of his department and is an excellent executive. I am sorry if the report of his removal is true, for I think very highly of Mr. Stearns and thought the department was very well satisfied with him as appraiser. He has made a splendid record, and may be well proud of it, and if he is to go I am sorry, though I think Mr. Dodge may fill the office well."

"Mr. Stearns has been connected for eighteen years with the custom-house. He was appointed a measurer in 1872; in 1874 he was appointed a liquidating clerk in the warehouse department, where he remained until Jan. 27, 1886, when he was appointed appraiser by President Cleveland, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the then appraiser. He has filled the office of appraiser ever since."

He has made very few changes in his department, not allowing politics to enter into it at all. There was a great deal of pressure brought to bear by party men during the administration of Mr. Stearns under Mr. Cleveland to "clean out" the republicans in the office and put in democrats, but he resisted it and retained all the examiners he found in office when he went in. All the changes made were of openers, packers and porters, and most of these were to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation. A few removals were made to get rid of incompetent persons or those whose usefulness had long been a thing of the past.

Mr. Dodge is a resident of the town of Hamilton in Essex county. He is a distant relative of "Gail Hamilton" Dodge who in turn is a cousin

of Secretary James G. Blaine of the department of state.

Mr. Dodge was appointed a clerk in the naval office in 1873 and remained there until 1885, when he was removed. He was one of the first appointments of President Harrison in 1889, having been named for the office of assistant appraiser, which position he is now holding.—*Boston Post*, July 4.

—"Only last week, the postmistress of Olneyville, R. I., who had been in the office for twenty years—who was appointed postmistress by Cleveland—who had given entire satisfaction, and who had recently been especially praised in the official report, was removed to make way for an active republican who had no experience whatever in the department."—Private letter from Providence, R. I., Oct. 15th.

RECENT PARTY PLATFORMS ON THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The Ohio democratic convention, July, 1891, was entirely silent on every phase of a reform of the civil service.

17. We denounce the corrupt and shameless domination of Senator Matthew S. Quay in the politics of the state, and arraign and condemn the republican party for its servile acquiescence in the leadership of a man who has utterly failed to defend himself from grave charges against his official conduct and political record.—*Pennsylvania Democratic State Platform*, September 3.

Thirteenth—We re-affirm the republican party's favor to thorough genuine reform in the civil service, and commend the national administration for giving effect thereto under existing law. And the flagrant and persistent abuses in the state civil service by the democratic administration are held up to condemnation.—*New York Republican State Platform*, September 10.

"We believe that public office is a public trust, and that appointments should be made for fitness, capacity and integrity, and in the spirit of civil service reform. The republican administration has shown the hypocrisy of its pretensions in favor of this reform by destroying the efficiency of the census bureau for the sake of furnishing political spoils, by neglecting to bring prosecutions for the punishment of violations of the civil service law, by ignoring the recommendations of the civil-service commission for the dismissal of officials who have openly defied the law, by reviving the active participation of office-holders in partisan politics, and the assessment of government employes for partisan purposes.—*Massachusetts State Democratic Platform*, September 29.

First—The further extension of civil service rules to those in the Indian service.

Second—The application of the principles, if not the rules, of the civil service to the appointment and tenure of Indian agents.—*Indian Rights Conference at Lake Mohawk*, October 9.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 34.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1891.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE report of the census has crowded out much other material this month. The report, although widely noticed by the press, is reprinted entire that it may be at hand to readers of the CHRONICLE for future reference.

THE eighth report of the civil service commission has been printed. It shows in what directions there has been in the past year improvement in making the merit system effectual, and with directness and candor the commission also states what is yet unsatisfactory and what remains to be done.

THE correspondence between the civil service reform association of New York, and the treasury and post-office departments, regarding the circular sent out by the state republican committee to federal employes, asking for contributions, has been published by the New York association. The departments claimed for Collector Hendricks and Postmaster Van Cott that the circular was sent out without their knowledge, and that Mr. Van Cott has (since the election) sent in his resignation to the state committee. It was not to be supposed that Secretary Foster or Postmaster-General Wanamaker would do otherwise than try to shield these officers, but by the side of the letter of Mr. Curtis they make a sorry appearance; it is to be noted, however, that the offenders and their superiors are subdued and apologetic, and not as in former days impudent and defiant.

The Pennsylvania civil service reform association also prints a correspondence regarding political assessments of the city employes before the recent election in Pennsylvania.

THE following is the President's message relating to the civil service:

The report of the civil service commission should receive the careful attention of the opponents, as well as the friends, of this reform. The commission invites a personal inspection by senators and representatives of its records and methods; and every fair critic will feel that such an examination should precede a judgment of condemnation, either of the system or its administration. It is not claimed that either is perfect, but I believe that the law is being executed with impartiality and that the system is incomparably better and fairer than that of appointments upon favor. I have during the year extended

the classified service to include superintendents, teachers, matrons and physicians in the Indian service. This branch of the service is largely related to educational and philanthropic work and will obviously be the better for the change. The heads of the several executive departments have been directed to establish at once an efficiency record as the basis of a comparative rating of the clerks within the classified service, with a view to placing promotions therein upon the basis of merit. I am confident that such a record, fairly kept and open to the inspection of those interested, will powerfully stimulate the work of the departments and will be accepted by all as placing the troublesome matter of promotions upon a just basis.

I recommend that the appropriations for the civil service commission be made adequate to the increased work of the next fiscal year.

The President's mind is apparently cleared of all doubt. The question at once arises, how can the President, believing that the merit system "is incomparably better and fairer than that of appointments upon favor," seem to think he has done his duty by taking a paltry seven hundred places in the Indian service out of the reach of favoritism, and leaving many thousand places to which this incomparable system could be applied, to be distributed as spoil? The President can not give a reason why he does not extend the system to all letter-carriers in free-delivery cities, to all post-offices and custom-houses, of ten employes, to the internal revenue service, to the weather bureau, to the pension agencies, to all government laborers, and to other classes of employes.

IN the appointment of Steve Elkins to be secretary of war, the President has given the country another instance of how much he will dare and do when he wants to make the offices "count." It took a bold man, under the circumstances, to make Wanamaker a cabinet officer, but to "back" with the whole power of federal patronage such thoroughly discredited political adventurers as Mahone two years ago, Quay last year, and Platt this year, seems the extreme of foolhardiness. Yet, to borrow from the gamblers, in the elevation of Elkins the President sees all of his other moves, and goes them at least one better. Elkins has never been convicted of anything in court. He combines characteristics of Dudley, Quay, Platt and Sim Coy. He is simply a schemer. His elevation to the head of the war department is beyond measure repulsive to the American people.

IF the election of Mr. Crisp tends to give elements of the democratic party, led by

Hill and Gorman, an advantage over the elements led by Mr. Cleveland, it is to be regretted. The Hill and Gorman section has and lives by but one principle and one practice, the spoil of office and of public contracts. For the party to turn back to such leadership is to return from comparative civilization to barbarism.

THE signs relating to the management of the city service are not re-assuring. In spite of talk of "a business administration," the god of spoil seems to be quietly getting the upper hand. One is impressed with the number of ward heelers who have got into the service, men who always have to be provided for, now in one office, now in another. There are too many trials of employes for drunkenness, or sleeping on duty, or other serious offence. The insurance people have taken the alarm on account of the results of favoritism in the fire department. The engineering department is apparently getting ready to do a good thing for the boys. All this proves again what has been proved millions of times that opportunity for the exercise of favoritism should be cut off to the utmost extent. To this end all but the highest appointments should be thrown open to free competition, except laborers who should be employed upon the system now in use in the navy yards.

TAMMANY AND THE CHILDREN.

A fresh field of corruption inflicted by Tammany upon the subjected and paralyzed city of New York is being brought to light in recent issues of the *New York Evening Post*. Mr. Wilmer, a school inspector of the fifth district of the city, thought it in the line of his duty to rid the school-houses in the district of the saloons and houses of ill-fame that hemmed them in. The law reads: "A license will not be issued for a new place adjoining a place already licensed, or in the immediate vicinity of a school-house." First he tried to get Tammany's Excise Board to define "immediate vicinity," and he failed. Then he asked the police department for a list of the saloons and houses of ill-repute within two hundred yards of the school-houses of the fifth district. One report was:

"Within 200 yards of grammar school No. 10, at No. 180 Wooster street, twenty-three bar-rooms; within the same distance of grammar school No. 47, at No. 36 East Twelfth street, fifteen bar-rooms. Reported houses of ill-fame, five."

Another report was: "Grammar school No. 40, at

No. 225 East Twenty-third street, bar-rooms ten; Primary school No. 4, at No. 413 East Sixteenth street, bar-rooms, eighteen; Primary school No. 23, at No. 322 East Twentieth street, bar-rooms, eleven; Primary school No. 29, at No. 433 East Nineteenth street, bar-rooms, thirteen."

Then Mr. Wilmer wrote the police department for the number of saloons and houses of ill-fame, their owners and licenses, but this request was ignored. Finally Tammany's Mayor Grant, in making the appointments for school inspectors, omitted the name of the troublesome and pernicious Mr. Wilmer. Fortunately the *Post* is doing what Tammany most dreads, and that is it day by day prints the facts and gives a plat of the school buildings and the surrounding saloons in the different districts. As the *New York Tribune* says:

Tens of thousands of children are daily forced into contact with the vilest grogeries and the creatures that haunt them. They have no means of escaping the contamination. Saloons on both sides of the school-house, saloons on the nearest corners, saloons across the street press demoralizing sights upon their eyes and demoralizing sounds into their ears. Familiarity with vice and degradation is inevitable, and it is a short and almost certain step from familiarity to companionship. The poison of such an atmosphere is absorbed into body and soul. What chance has a child against it? Citizens are onerously taxed that their children may laboriously learn a few things out of books and draw in moral infection with every breath. This horrible state of affairs exists because Tammany can not exist without it. The mayor and his advisers know the fact and the reason perfectly. Commissioner Koch, whose character was clearly revealed when he went into court to plead to an indictment, and Commissioner Fitzpatrick, who escaped with him at the same time on a technicality, are doing the work they were appointed to do in the way in which they are instructed to do it. Commissioner Meakim is entitled to the credit of being obnoxious to his colleagues and in some danger of losing his place. But the majority of two is sufficient. And there is no popular agitation. Tammany goes unrebuked, re-elects its candidates, tightens its grip, expands its ambitions, and illustrates its depravity by an occasional cheap pretense of virtue, while sedulously implanting the seeds of vice in the rising generation. The harvest will be gathered in due time; and what a harvest it will be!

What the grip of Tammany is, the random facts from time to time quoted in the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE show. It has been further shown that Tammany does not belong alone to the democratic party, but that the dominating part of the republican machine of New York trades its candidates and principles with Tammany, according as it can obtain a little of the vast spoil. The responsibility for the continued existence of this monstrous engine of degradation is fixed in part upon the selfish greed and love of ease of the citizens of New York, but it is fixed beside upon New York democrats, whose zeal for reform is national, and upon such an organization as the republican Union League Club; for these all go their separate party ways, and furnish the money for these republican and democratic creatures of Tammany to trade and betray for spoil. And it is under their party banners, with bogus war cries and by means of their respectable cloaks to hide under, that these mercenaries can glut themselves with the spoil of New York City. And again we beg to ask any citizen of New York, What is any

man, whether Grover Cleveland or Benjamin Harrison, or James G. Blaine; what is any "issue" of the tariff or currency compared with the destruction of a monster like Tammany, simply by the withdrawal of its spoil. Ballot reform will weaken it, but deprivation of spoil will kill it.

ELKINS.

In securing Elkins's appointment it is not at all probable that Mr. Blaine took the trouble to remind the President of the star route scandals, of the Maxwell land grant steal, or of the gigantic claim against Brazil that Blaine and Elkins endeavored to enforce. Elkins's part in the notorious Jewett claim is easily ascertainable if reasons were to be sought for questioning the propriety of putting him in any office. This was a claim to which the attention of Secretary Bayard was directed during the administration of President Cleveland. It came to his knowledge as a part of the business of the state department left unfinished by Mr. Blaine.

James C. Jewett, of New York City, claimed to have discovered deposits of guano in the Island of Fernando de Noronha, within the dominions of the empire of Brazil. Jewett obtained a permit from Brazil to remove portions of these deposits for experiment, with a conditioned promise of a contract under which he should receive a certain percentage. He fitted out two small vessels for purposes of exploration, but his agreement with the Brazilian minister of agriculture excited so much hostility in Brazil that the minister was forced to resign, and his successor canceled all the agreements with Jewett and officially informed the United States of his action.

Jewett's actual losses, according to his own figures, were \$27,330. He presented to the state department a claim against Brazil for more than \$50,000,000. The claim was, of course, a gross exaggeration of any possible right of recovery of such damages. Secretary Evarts twice rejected his claim. When Secretary Blaine came in he reopened the case. Jewett retained Mr. Stephen B. Elkins as his attorney. On August 8, 1881, Mr. Blaine, in a dispatch to Minister Osborne, in Brazil, reversed the instructions of his predecessor and wrote to Mr. Jewett stating that he had taken this course "at the request of Stephen B. Elkins, Esq., your attorney." To Minister Osborne Mr. Blaine said emphatically, speaking of the rescinding of the Jewett contract and the claim for \$50,000,000 damages, "I am not sufficiently informed as to the law of Brazil to know how far its formal requirements as to the mere question of right and title would nullify this action by its government, but I do know that in justice and in equity a responsibility has been incurred which can not be escaped."

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Blaine in behalf of "Stephen B. Elkins, Esq., your attorney," this preposterous claim slept during Mr. Frelinghuysen's administration, and Mr.

Bayard, after a careful examination of the facts, declared: "Such a claim, so stated, shocks the moral sense and can not be held to be within the domain of reason or justice. It would be an act of international unfriendliness for the United States to lend themselves in any way or to any degree in urging, much less enforcing, such a demand upon a country with whom we are, or design to remain, on terms of amity. I, therefore, return the protest as inclosed by you and decline to transmit it to the United States minister at Brazil or to instruct him to present it officially or otherwise."

This ended the business, unless, perchance, it has been reopened since Mr. Blaine began business "at the old stand" for the benefit of "Stephen B. Elkins, Esq., your attorney." The confirmation of Mr. Elkins as secretary of war may give him opportunity to throw the case into the hands of a lively man, and with the recovery of the \$50,000,000 from the republic of Brazil he ought to feel fully repaid for his rebuke at the hands of so "unpatriotic" a secretary as Mr. Bayard.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, December 17.*

—The critics who represent Stephen B. Elkins as having forced himself into the cabinet of President Harrison are as far astray now as the prophets who were swearing six weeks ago that this nomination would never go to the senate.

The choice was unquestionably the President's own. It was made with full realization of the adverse comment it would call forth. To those who are in the inner White House circle, it has been evident for a long while that President Harrison was spending a good deal of time looking into the public and private record of Mr. Elkins, and this has satisfied many of them that the man of many homes and many enterprises was booked for something worth having.

This choice was impelled by two motives—gratitude and hope. Mr. Elkins has in more than a few ways done favors for the President personally, and for his son Russell, which could not be ignored. Just how to show the proper appreciation of this was a question. Elkins was rich and on the inside of many big schemes, while the President was poor and had nothing in prospect; so recognition in a financial way was out of the question. Elkins was not the sort of a man for one of the greater diplomatic posts, and the lesser ones he would not have accepted at any price. All that seemed open to him, therefore, was a place at Washington, in which his restless activity of mind and body could be turned to some account.

On the other hand, the President understood that Elkins was by nature a manager, and the lack of enough material of that sort in the cabinet, on the eve of a national election, had been brought in various ways strongly to the notice of all who were interested in the President's renomination. Blaine, Tracy, and Foster were useful men in their several places politically; Rusk contributed a certain posi-

tive element supposed to be attractive to the farmers of the northwest; but Wanamaker was engulfed in a sea of public contempt; Miller was a negative force, and Noble had as many whims as a woman, coupled with manners which antagonized nearly everybody who met him on an equal footing. It was as a political adjutant that Elkins was given the preference over Cheney and Estee and all the other equally good republicans talked of for the place.

The friends who are now approving the President's selection of a secretary are suddenly confronted with a rather menacing array of reminiscences, some of which they find it hard to explain away. They discover that there still lingers in the memory of many people the letter written by the malodorous Dorsey to Representative Springer in the spring of 1884, concerning witnesses who might be brought before the house committee investigating the star route scandals, in which these words occurred:

"S. B. Elkins, United Bank building, New York, has probably a larger knowledge than any other person of all the star-route matters and the moneys paid. George E. Spencer demanded of the late J. W. Bosler and myself \$12,000 to pay Mr. Elkins for the purpose of avoiding indictment and prosecution, and I replied that I would not pay a penny and never did."

They are reminded, also, of the McMains charges of the same year, overhauling Mr. Elkins and some other persons for their conduct with reference to the Maxwell, Mora and Una del Gato grants, together with other valuable tracts of land in New Mexico.—*Washington Dispatch to the New York Evening Post, December 18.*

John McCoy and his home rule club in the fifteenth assembly district have again broken away from Tammany Hall.

McCoy is now in revolt against William J. Dalton's leadership. Dalton is the deputy street cleaning commissioner, a follower of ex-Senator George W. Plunkett. He was imported from the seventeenth district (Plunkett's own) to take charge of the fifteenth. McCoy's chief ground of complaint is that Dalton imported a brother-in-law from another district, and, after he had resided in the fifteenth for three weeks, had him appointed to the police force. After his appointment, Dalton's brother-in-law, whose name is Halligan, moved out of the fifteenth back into his old district.—*New York Evening Post, July 21.*

SIXTH REPORT

Of the Special Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League,

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE CONDITION OF THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE AND OPERATION OF THE REFORM LAW.

To the Executive Committee of the National Civil Service Reform League:

In the last republican platform, it was declared "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under republican administration, should be com-

pleted by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all grades of the service to which it is applicable." This declaration was embodied in the platform as a specific pledge; and the construction of this written agreement, made with the voters of the country, is not difficult. The law provides (Civil Service Act, sections 1 and 2) that the President shall appoint three commissioners whose duty it shall be to aid him in preparing suitable rules, providing for open competitive practical examinations, all places classified by the rules to be filled by selections from those graded highest, with a period of probation before appointment. These rules are entirely under the control of the President and the commissioners appointed by him, and it is within his power under this act to extend them to any grades of the service to which they are applicable. The promise of the republican platform, therefore, was not that new laws should be enacted, but that the system should be extended by the President. Nor, within certain limits, could there be any question as to the offices to which the civil service system was applicable. The object of the system was to take subordinate administrative places out of the field of political controversy and to make appointments to these places depend upon the fitness of the appointee, as proved by competitive examination and probation, and not upon patronage and political favor. It was applicable, then, to non-political administrative offices.

If there was any branch of the service which should have been kept free from party controversy, it was the census bureau. It was the plain duty of those in charge of this bureau to give to the people the exact facts as to all matters inquired of, unwarped by political bias.

In every decade the government spends millions of dollars upon this census, and the importance of accuracy and thoroughness in the work can not be overestimated. The census is at once a record of our progress as a people, a picture of our condition in each successive ten years of our national history, and the basis of instructive comparisons with the condition and progress of other nations. The representation of the several states in the popular branch of congress rests upon its statistics of population. No one will dispute that unfairness, incapacity, or blundering in the census is a grave public misfortune, and that the officers charged with a work of such importance should use every precaution to prevent the belief that their work is partial or incomplete.

The census ought to be as free from partisan color as the judiciary. Otherwise, no one can rely upon the accuracy of its conclusions. To gain the confidence of the people, it ought to be not merely fair and just, but it should be removed from the appearance of corrupt or partisan influence. The good sense of our ancestors made it an illegal act for a trustee to put himself in a position where he could make a profit out of the trust funds in his control, even though actual fraud could not be shown. An evident analogy makes it an improper act for one political party so to monopolize the taking of the census as to be in a position to profit from the result. If an administration has a free choice between a non-political and a political agency for taking this enumeration and chooses the latter, composed of officials of its own political faith, the presumption is against the fairness of a census so taken. The results of such a census will be apt to reflect something of the bias of those who take it. And, even if it were fair, many would not believe it to be fair. Suspicion is cast on such a census in advance of enumeration; and, if at the close of the work many inaccuracies are shown, resulting in some cases in the advantage to the party by whom it is taken, the work is sure to be discredited.

It had already been demonstrated, by actual experience, that the patronage system as applied to this branch of the service was liable to grave abuses, and frequently resulted in the appointment of incompetent officials, and that the reform system was well adapted to a bureau of this kind. This is manifest from the previous experience of the census bureau itself, as well as from an examination of the methods pursued in the taking of statistics in the state

of Massachusetts, and from a comparison between the patronage and merit systems in the taking of the census in England and Scotland.

The defective results in the census of 1870 were directly traceable to the patronage system. Francis A. Walker, under whose supervision this census, as well as that of 1880, was taken, says in a publication of the American Statistical Association (December, 1890): "The local supervision of the census in the southern states was, by the defeat of General Garfield's bill, thrown back into the hands of the marshals of the United States courts. * * The whole battle against the Garfield bill had been fought on the question of patronage. It was for the purpose of retaining this large body of more or less lucrative appointments in the hands of the dominant party that the United States marshals rallied at Washington during the winter of '69 and '70 to defeat the house measure. They wanted to use these thousands of offices as a means of strengthening their hands in their respective districts, to fight the Ku-Klux and the illicit distillers, to build up the republican party and consolidate the negro vote, and, in general, this was precisely the use to which these offices were put. * * The result was an enumeration which we know now, from indisputable evidence, to have been in many parts of several southern states inadequate, partial and inaccurate, often in a shameful degree."

And not only are the disastrous results of patronage appointments shown by the census of 1870, but the improvement produced by the elimination of partisanship from the census is shown in the comparatively satisfactory results and general confidence in the census of 1880.

In respect to this census it is true that no competitive system was adopted. This was before the passage of the civil service law, and before the introduction of these methods into our federal service; but the essential element of the civil service system—namely, the exclusion of political consideration in appointments—was largely observed. Mr. Walker tells us in the same article, "supervisors were appointed from either party with the utmost impartiality, and as they were themselves selected without regard to partisan services, they were instructed that it would be considered an offence and abuse of trust if, in their own appointment of enumerators, they allowed partisan motives to appear."

The following extract from the letter from the chief of the bureau of statistics to the civil service commissioners of Massachusetts, dated Nov. 27, 1885, shows the success that attended the application of civil service methods to the taking of the decennial census in that state:

"I am very happy to inform you that, as a whole, the force supplied by you is very much superior to the one we should have been likely to have secured through the old method of personal application and the indorsement of friends. * * * In intelligence, in capacity, in attainment, and in attendance upon work, our present force reflects the greatest credit upon the civil service system.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"CARROLL D. WRIGHT."

In England, after nearly all the places in the civil service had been included in the rules prescribing competitive examination, the positions in the census bureau were left out and remained a part of the government patronage. The results of this omission, as shown in several investigations, were deplorable. The report concerning the civil service in Great Britain, communicated to the two houses of congress at the beginning of the session of the 40th congress (pages 155 and 156), says, concerning an official inquiry made in England in regard to the census of 1871: "The head of the office gives a sad account of the motley imbeciles put upon him by the members of Parliament taking the census. 'They were a heterogeneous mass, from fourteen to sixty years of age, who had tried many occupations and failed in all.' When the registrar was ordered to take the census in 1871, he says he supposed he was to be allowed better clerks, obtained through open competition under the order of 1870, but he was deprived of them.

"The lords of the treasury decided against me,

and their lordships took to themselves the patronage and divided it among members. Their lordships acting on the old system, and following the recommendation of influential adherents, nominated no fewer than two hundred and sixty-one census clerks.' He found that inquiry into their character and history 'was productive of pain and confusion,' and he gave it up. But he forced this miscellaneous herd of official favorites into a pass examination before the commission *which rejected fifty-seven per cent. of them*, and with the residue, the registrar succeeded in taking the census of 1871, and wonders that he could do it. He says, 'Nothing could be worse than the system of nomination of clerks by the treasury.'

The report of the "committee appointed by the treasury to inquire into certain questions connected with the taking of the census," made on the 23d of May, 1890, together with the evidence upon which this report is based, also demonstrates the superiority of the merit system.

In Scotland the competitive examinations were adopted in the census of 1881. The result is shown in the testimony of Mr. Stair Agnew, the registrar-general (see pp. 83 and 84), who thus describes the manner in which the clerks in this office were supplied:

"A. 1922. It was arranged that all the names that were sent to me as applicants should, after inquiry by myself as to their general fitness, be sent up to the civil service commissioners, who held a competitive examination, and selected those at the top of the list. I should state that the patronage was in the hands of the treasury at that time, but it was arranged by myself with the secretary of the treasury that I should directly send up the names to the civil service commissioners.

"Q. 1923. But, in the first place, was any person at liberty to send in his name, or were the persons whose names you received nominated by the treasury?

"A. Any person was at liberty to send in his name, either to myself or to the treasury.

"Q. 1927. In fact, it was an open advertisement?

"A. Yes.

"Q. 1932. Did they give you satisfaction?

"A. Yes.

"Q. 1938. They did their work intelligently?

"A. Very much so.

"Q. 1942. And you propose to follow the same principle in the coming census?

"A. I should be quite satisfied to do so."

In England, on the other hand, the clerks employed were nominated by the treasury patronage, and underwent "a rough examination by the civil service commissioners;" but the results seem to have been lamentable. Dr. Ogle, the superintendent of statistics, in England, thus testifies (p. 11):

"A. 238. The clerks who have been sent by the treasury to the census office hitherto have contained a number of gentlemen who have fallen out of their occupations, and are anxious to get something to do; and, as a rule, a very large proportion of them have turned out to be absolutely unfit for any work at all, certainly for any work that requires either honesty or intelligence. A very great deal is work which practically can not be checked. Anything that we could check, anything that was checked, we found was oftentimes done so badly that it was hardly worth having had done at all; and the inference is that the unchecked work must have been very imperfectly done.

"Q. 248. You get them now from the patronage secretary of the treasury?

"A. That is how we have had them hitherto. At each census there has been a protest against this mode of appointment, owing to the experience of the past one.

"Q. 249. Would any rough kind of examination by the civil service commissioners help you?

"A. There was one, but it was quite ineffectual.

"A. 261. I am afraid myself that no mere pass examination will meet the difficulty."

It is true that good men are occasionally obtained, and fairly good work done under the patronage system. Thus in Ireland, where the system is a mixed one, the clerks being the copyists of the civil service, and the temporary clerks appointed by the lord-lieu-

tenant, and submitted to an examination by the civil service commission, the apparently suitable persons being selected first, and the poorer men gradually weeded out by examination of the registrar general, Dr. Grimshaw declares:

"A. 564. I think the thing was fairly done on the whole. We certainly got a very fair set of men. Very few of these men misconducted themselves during the course of the work."

The committee report (p. viii) that they trust it may be found feasible to introduce a system of transfer from other branches of the civil service. And, if this should not be the case, they would regard with satisfaction the adoption of a method of appointing the requisite assistance, by open competition, at an examination to be conducted by the civil service commissioners. Open competition was accordingly held in London, in February, 1891, for filling temporary clerkships in the census office, the examination being on the following subjects:

- 1st. Handwriting.
- 2d. Orthography.
- 3d. Copying manuscript.
- 4th. Copying figures and tabular statements.
- 5th. Arithmetic.
- 6th. (Optional) Geography.

Candidates were notified that the employment was purely temporary; that every person employed would be liable to dismissal at any time at the discretion of the registrar-general; that, on the cessation of service, no claim for further employment would be entertained; that no pension or gratuity would be given on retirement or dismissal; and that the successful candidates must be prepared to commence their services when required.

It thus appears that experience in England as well as in our own country has demonstrated the advantage of appointing men to this bureau under the competitive examinations conducted by the civil service commission.

If, then, the promise of the republican platform had any significance at all, it meant that the President would extend this competitive system to the clerks of the census bureau, when that bureau should be established. Mr. Harrison, in concurring with and adopting the platform, distinctly made this promise his own, and emphasized it by the declaration that, "in appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test," and in the statement that "further extensions of the classified list were necessary and desirable."

The act of March 1, 1889, providing for the taking of the census, gives the secretary of the interior the power to appoint the clerks of the census bureau, and provides that all examinations for appointment and promotion shall be in his discretion and under his direction. The secretary is himself an appointee of the President, and subject to his control. It would have been easy for the President, if desirous of extending the reform system, to have had appointments in this bureau made without regard to political considerations. This might have been done by the appointment of clerks in the bureau through competitive examinations under the control of the civil service commission. Such a course would, in the hands of the present commissioners, have given an absolute guarantee of the fairness and non-partisan character of the appointments. If the president and secretary are unwilling to do this, they could have instituted competitive examinations for this bureau alone, publicly announcing that the places were open to all and that political influence would not be regarded in making appointments. The President was indeed solicited by the civil service commissioners to cause a system of competitive examinations to be adopted for the clerks in this office; but he declined to have this done, and, in the words of the superintendent of the census (see report of November 6, 1889, page 4), the examinations required by the rules were not competitive, but merely tested the qualifications of such candidates only as might be designated for examination by the superintendent of census. It thus appears that the superintendent was permitted to retain in his own hands the power of making

nominations without which admission to the census bureau was impossible.

The well known opinions of Mr. Porter, who was selected by the President to administer this office, made it certain that these appointments would become in great measure matters of political patronage.

Mr. Porter's opposition of civil service reform methods clearly appears in his testimony before the house committee on reform of the civil service, September 9, 1890. He said (p. 125), that civil service methods were "creating a system of barnacleism." Again: "There was some effort (p. 112), to have the census brought under the control of the civil service commission. The main objection I urged at the time was on account of the temporary employment." Mr. Porter further stated that in the census bureau appointees were, as a rule, recommended by republicans (p. 124).

The act of March 1, 1889 (Sec. 4), provides that the secretary of the interior shall, upon the recommendation of the superintendent of the census, designate the number of supervisors, who are to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the senate, and directs that "each supervisor shall designate to the superintendent suitable persons, and with the consent of the superintendent shall employ such persons as enumerators within his district, one for each subdivision, *who shall be selected solely with reference to fitness and without reference to their political party affiliations.*" It will thus be seen that the act itself endeavors to incorporate the principle underlying civil service reform, which is that in these subordinate, non-political offices appointments shall go by merit, and not by political favor. If this provision had been fully enforced, complaints of the partisan character of the census could not justly be made; but, unfortunately, the supervisors were themselves largely appointed upon political considerations, and the result was that the appointments of enumerators was in many localities a matter of political patronage. Republican members of congress nominated great numbers. Sometimes the recommendation of democratic members or other influential politicians procured the appointment of a few, the object being apparently to add to the political strength of the office. The great mass of officials, clerks, supervisors and enumerators came from the republican party. Whatever the motive was, such a line of conduct was sure to discredit the result. Even had it been true that it was not possible to select the enumerators under civil service reform methods, it was certainly possible to select both clerks and supervisors without reference to political considerations; and the appointment of supervisors in this way would to a large extent insure the selection of non-partisan enumerators, as the law required. A careful inquiry made by your committee as to the character of the enumerators appointed shows that, while in some places political considerations had no weight and the work was, on the whole, well performed, yet the supervisors were influenced in many other cases by partisan considerations. Men were often chosen without reference to their fitness on account of their political services; and in such cases the work was often badly done, and in many instances thoroughly discredited.

As far as can be learned, the census was fairly well taken in Massachusetts. It was under the charge of a man who superintended the state census of 1885. Appointments were not made there for political reasons. The same is true of the first district of Maryland, where the supervisor was a well-known statistical expert.

The report furnished us by the secretary of the civil service association at Bangor, Maine, informs us that in that city the census seems to have been conducted in an impartial manner, and the men employed appear to have been selected for their efficiency.

The secretary of the civil service reform association of Newburg, N. Y., also reports that in that place the enumerators were apparently competent, and the result satisfactory, so far as known. The same report comes from the mayors of Atlanta, Ga., and Peoria, Ill.; and in Memphis, Tenn., while the result is un-

satisfactory, this is not attributed to the enumerators, but to other local conditions.

From the secretary of the civil service reform association at Madison, Wis., your committee learned that the character of those employed in the enumeration was extremely various, some competent and some quite the reverse. One of the enumerators was so illiterate as to be unable to spell the most ordinary words and names, such as "Samuel," "Canada," "lawyer," etc. Others are supposed to have been appointed solely as matters of patronage, their appointments being controlled by the republican member of congress and the postmaster of Madison. The result of the census was most disappointing to the citizens, and the accuracy of the count is seriously questioned by men of both parties. The increase of population in ten years, as shown by the federal census, was 30.9-100 per cent. Comparing the vote cast for governor in 1880, the presidential year, with that cast for governor in 1890, a non presidential year, there is an increase of 57.45-100 per cent. Democrats speak of it as a significant fact that Mr. Lafollette (the republican member of congress) boasted that he had the name of every voter in the district.

The secretary of the civil service reform association at Norwich, Conn., says of the enumerators: "They are the men who are ready for odd jobs, given in the way party jobs usually are. I do not believe that a high degree of confidence is felt in the accuracy of the count from such information as I can gather. So far as the statistics of industries and general business are concerned, I am strongly of the belief that very little confidence is felt in their accuracy."

The civil service reform association of Buffalo send us the following:

"The census in Buffalo was not satisfactory to any of our citizens. The announcement of the result was much delayed, and was given out in a fragmentary and uncertain manner, necessitating several successive changes in figures. It was evident that in some of the enumeration districts the work was not done promptly and correctly, and these delayed the whole enumeration. The newspapers without regard to party condemned it. The mayor and the merchants' exchange formally expressed their dissatisfaction, and asked for a recount. * *

"The population of the city was first announced as about 252,000, then, after a special agent had been here, as about 257,000, and recently this has been changed to about 255,500.

"We are not prepared to say that the defects in the local census are wholly due to the incompetency of the enumerators. Indeed, some other contributing causes were apparent. Yet there is a general impression that, as a whole, the work of the enumerators was not well done, and as a body they were not equal to their task.

"The enumerators were nominally appointed by the local supervisor of the census, but actually they were forced upon him by the usual methods which control such appointments where they are not otherwise regulated by law. Personal considerations and partisan pressure undoubtedly dictated many of the appointments, and combined with other influences in bringing about others. It would not be fair to say that the fitness of the applicants was disregarded; but it was not the sole consideration. We have no hesitancy in asserting that the census in Buffalo would have been better taken if the enumerators had been selected on the basis of merit and fitness for their work, ascertained by suitable inquiries into these qualifications without regard to any other.

"We append, without further comment, a copy of a circular letter signed by the local supervisor of the census, which has been published in the newspapers. This was sent to some, and probably all, the enumerators. It has been stated that this letter was merely a personal communication from Mr. Douglass, not official, and that at the time he had no control over the enumerators, and did not in any way attempt to coerce them, and that he explained his position personally to some of them. We give you this explanation with the letter:

"OFFICE OF SUPERVISOR OF CENSUS FOR THE
11TH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

Oct. 28, 1890.

"To ———, Esq., Census Enumerator,
Post-office ———, County of ———.

"My Dear Sir—As it is of the utmost importance that a republican member of congress be elected in this district, I shall feel personally obliged if, on the day of the election, you will work specially for Benjamin H. Williams, the republican candidate.

"Very truly yours, SILAS J. DOUGLASS."

Mr. C. R. Lane, formerly secretary of your investigating committee, informs us as follows, in regard to the enumeration in Indianapolis:

"First. The enumeration was conducted by partisan enumerators. * * * The appointees, as a rule, have been of fair character, but there are notable exceptions. One, a negro lawyer by profession, a disreputable man by nature and training, and an acknowledged gambler, was appointed on a promise just before the spring election, in order to hold his vote; and he was heard to boast that the appointing power did not dare to leave him off the list. He is a man whom respectable men would not admit to their houses except under protest. All appointments were delegated to a member of the local republican county central committee, for this county and Wayne county, to my positive knowledge. * * * The recommendations of this committee-man were followed almost without exception. It is perhaps worthy of remark that the committee-man found himself involved in infinite annoyance, and was heartily sick of his job before it was completed. He found himself laboring with no reward either of money, comfort, prestige, or conscience.

"Third. The results of the enumeration are satisfactory, this city showing a heavy rate of growth. Still, the satisfaction was obtained only after a vigorous onslaught of the press and privately by the alleged oversight of hundreds. Private enterprise was stirred up to assist in having every possible name enrolled. Every complaint was investigated, and the name added to the list, if not already there."

Your committee have received from Mr. Merrill Moores, the member of the republican central committee referred to in the foregoing communication, a letter from which they make the following extracts:

"Mr. Conger was appointed supervisor for this district. His home is at Flat Rock, on the south line of Shelby county, a good many miles from here. He has been a client of mine, and is a good fellow. One day he came into my office and said he was bothered with a lot of applications for appointment as enumerator, and that he had called upon nearly everybody he knew in town for advice, and most people he had talked with had said, 'Go to Merrill Moores; he knows more of these fellows than anybody else.' He wanted my advice as to the competency of the applicants. Of course I gave it to him. * * There were five democrats appointed, and I think they were all who applied. This was, perhaps, because democrats thought they would stand no chance; but the fact remains that there were no more applicants. The number of applicants was less than the number of districts in the city; and it was necessary to hunt up enumerators who were known to be competent, and persuade them to apply. * * I asked one or two of them in very bad districts to give me a list of the voters for their districts; but no poll was ever made, and no enumerator was asked as to the politics of any man in his territory, and I know, as a fact, that no statement of any sort of the politics of any man was made by any enumerator to any of our party. I paid myself for the list of voters, and obtained it for my personal use." * *

The secretary of the Geneva (N. Y.) Civil Service Reform Association informs us regarding the enumerators: "They were all republicans; but, from what information we could gather, they seem to have been appointed, not with the view to benefit the republican party, but with the sole view of enhancing the political fortune of the member from this district, Mr. John Raines. Mr. Raines's friends were provided for. Any one that opposed him was ignored. Consequently, there is a very bitter feeling against Mr. Raines in his own party, which came

very near defeating him when he was up for re-election last November, although the district is strongly republican. * * * It was known that the enumerator received instructions to make a list of voters, and classify them as to party connection."

A copy of a letter from Congressman Raines to one of the enumerators appointed in this district was sent to your committee. It is as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR—As it is quite likely that you will in a few days be appointed enumerator for your district, I write you this in the strictest confidence. I would like very much that you should take the trouble, before you make your report to the supervisor of the census, and after you have taken all the names in your district, to copy in a small book the name and post-office address of every voter on the list. After you have done so, I wish you to send the book to me at Canandaigua. I ask you to do this as a personal favor, and to make no mention of the matter to any one. What I want is a full list of all the voters in your enumeration district. Will you please treat this matter as strictly confidential?

"Very truly yours, J. RAINES."

A letter was addressed to Mr. Raines as to the facts regarding this matter, and a copy of the letter was enclosed. He called upon the chairman of your committee, and stated that he could not say whether this was an exact copy of the letter sent, but that, if it were so, as might be the case, he had sent the letter in ignorance of the law, which required enumerators to keep secret the results of the enumeration, and that the census bureau was not responsible, but only the individual enumerator. He further stated that his purpose probably was to get this list for the purpose of distributing documents.

From the chairman of the civil service reform association of Bloomington, Monroe county, Ind., we learn that the enumerators were selected there, by and upon the recommendation of the chairman of the republican county committee. They were engaged in making poll lists for the republican party. Similar statements were made in regard to other counties and states.

In connection with these lists, your committee would call attention to section 8 of the act of March 1, 1889, which requires that each enumerator shall subscribe an oath that he will not disclose any information contained in the schedules, lists, or statements, to any person or persons except to his superior officers; and section 13 provides, that, if he shall, without the authority of the superintendent of the census, communicate to any person or persons not authorized to receive the same any information gained by him in the performance of his duty, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not exceeding \$500. If enumerators were allowed to remain ignorant of this law, the superintendent of the census deserves the greatest censure; if they were permitted to violate it wilfully, he is an accessory to the crime.

Hon. J. D. Alderson, M. C., of West Virginia, writes that the supervisor in his district has always been a prominent and active republican, was the nominee of his party for prosecuting attorney, and beaten by some five hundred more than his party's lack of majority. "I do not know a single case in which a democrat was appointed by him as enumerator. He was a candidate for the republican nomination for congress in 1890, but was defeated. We have all understood that his appointments were partisan, and made with some view at least to his nomination to congress; but there were too many pins for the holes, and he was not nominated, although many of his appointees were delegates to the convention in which he was defeated. In my own county the republican executive committee held a meeting, and voted for persons to be recommended for appointment as enumerators. Mr. Mann appointed some of the persons agreed upon, others not; but his appointee, in every case, was a republican."

It may be here remarked that the supervisors in all parts of the country were nearly always republicans, and generally republican politicians.

The following letter from Hon. H. Clay Evans, M. C.,

states what seems to be the grounds upon which many of these supervisors were appointed: "*Mr. Park was appointed upon my recommendation, and it is not my custom to recommend either political or physical enuchs for appointment to office; and I presume he has followed a like rule in his appointment.*"

Undoubtedly the worst effects of the patronage system of appointments are apparent in the city of New York. One C. H. Murray, a republican politician, was made supervisor of the census of that city. The following circular letter from him, which has many times been published without question of its authenticity, shows the manner in which enumerators were selected:

"*Dear Sir—You will please forward to this office a list of the applicants that the republican organization of your district desires to have named as census enumerators. This list must be sent here on or before April 1.*"

Of this method of appointment, President Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who was superintendent of the ninth and tenth censuses, says, "If the selection of the enumerators was made upon any such bases as is implied by that, the census could not have been otherwise than bad." Such a method is a direct violation of Section 5 of the act providing for the present census, which prescribes that enumerators "*shall be selected solely with reference to fitness, and without reference to their political party affiliations.*" Such a method is also a violation of the supervisor's oath of office. The manner in which the appointments were made pursuant to the plan outlined in this letter appears from the statement to a representative of this committee of M. A. Greaves, who was personally present at the meeting on March 28 at 2250 3d avenue, republican headquarters. All applications had been filled out in advance. Mr. Frank Raymond, a republican leader of the 23d assembly district, presided. Taking the applications, he seated himself at a table, with a couple of party workers beside him, who examined the republican roll and checked off the names as the appointments were made. The process was simple: Mr. Raymond would call a name, the man called would go to the table, and Mr. Raymond would ask him, "Are you upon the roll?" His answer was always in the affirmative. The next question was, "What district would you like?" The applicant would choose a district, which, if it had not been already selected, would be assigned to him.

It is evident enough that among men thus appointed there must have been a considerable number who were utterly unfit for the work. And it is not surprising that among these men Police Inspector Byrnes should recognize well known criminals. Mr. Byrnes states: "I know that some of the enumerators in this city were thieves. This very morning one of these enumerators came here to call upon me. He had been three times an inmate of the state prison. He was appointed upon the recommendation of a republican judge. This thief's name is known to all the city detectives, and his picture occupies a prominent place in the rogue's gallery. He did not take the oath in his own name, and his dealings with the census bureau were under an alias." The danger of employing such men as census enumerators is very evident. Private houses were opened to them with the understanding that the government was satisfied with their trustworthiness.

And, even in cases where the enumerators attempted to do their duty, obstacles were interposed, at the supervisor's office, which often made this impossible. For instance, Mr. Alfred B. Thieme, an enumerator residing at 37 Ludlow street, states that he could not get a sufficient number of blanks, and that many other enumerators were in the same predicament. His district was a tenement-house district, and very large; and it was difficult to extract from the people the necessary information. He wrote to the supervisor asking for an extension of time and was refused. He had to leave out several tenement houses. He returned three thousand names. Sheets were lost in the supervisor's office. Mr. Thieme believes, from his knowledge of this district, that there were four thousand people in it. He knew of other men who were refused an ex-

tension of time under the same circumstances, and their returns also were incomplete.

John W. Fulton, another enumerator, states that he returned all the people in his district that were in town, but that in block after block the houses were mostly closed, and hundreds were missed. He had no time to hunt up representatives of the absent families, nor was he inclined to do so at two cents a name. He was told to do the best he could about his schedule.

Mr. Samuel C. Sloan, a permanent boarder at the Madison square hotel, sends us an affidavit to the effect that there were thirty or forty permanent guests in this house, and at least ten domestics; that the census enumerators called but once, and took only two names, those of the proprietor and clerk; that Mr. Sloan notified Superintendent Murray forthwith, but that his complaint was never noticed and the census-taker never appeared again. This affidavit is also confirmed by an affidavit of Charles B. Fisher, the proprietor.

The probable inaccuracy of the census taken in the city of New York first became apparent from an examination of the vital statistics prepared by the health department of that city. Very few persons who have been residents of the metropolis during the last ten years can question the improved sanitary condition of the city. The direct supervision of the plumbing, drainage, and ventilation of new houses under the laws of 1879 and 1881, affecting about six thousand tenement-houses and many other dwellings constructed since that time, the almost total demolition of vaults and cesspools, throughout the city, and the more rigid control of contagious diseases, led to the belief that the death-rate had considerably decreased.

There is a certain class of diseases known to physicians as "preventable. These are diarrhoea and zymotic diseases, the latter including small-pox, measles, diphtheria, meningitis, scarlet, typhoid, typhus, malarial and puerperal fevers, etc. These generally result from bad air, bad water and bad drainage—causes which can be greatly diminished by improved sanitary conditions. And, in fact, if the present census be assumed to be correct, and the population on June 1, 1890, be regarded as 1,513,501, as reported, the death rate from zymotic diseases has decreased during the past decade from 8.31 per cent. to 7.29 per cent., and the death rate in diarrhoeal diseases from 3.59 per cent. to 2.77 per cent. The death rate from consumption has also diminished. This shows the improved sanitary condition of the city. But during the same time the general death rate has advanced from 27.44 per cent. to 27.54 per cent., so that by the federal census we have the startling coincidence of an improved sanitary condition and an increased death rate. If the federal census were true, there was also a considerable increase of the percentage of registered voters and of names in the city directory in proportion to the population.

In addition to this, the count of the city, as first added up and published, gave a population more than 100,000 greater than the aggregate afterward published.

These things led to the belief that the count was inaccurate; and the police authorities, by order of the mayor, had the population of the city recounted. The result showed a population nearly 200,000 greater than that shown by the federal enumeration, and the mayor accordingly asked the census bureau for a recount. This was not granted. The request was then made to the secretary of the interior; and the books containing the names, as taken by the police authorities, were sent to Washington, where Mr. Kenny, their custodian, offered to the secretary of the interior to take them for his inspection to any place the secretary might designate, and to keep them there for comparison with the federal schedules as long as might be necessary, the books still remaining in Mr. Kenny's custody. The secretary refused to receive them unless they were absolutely surrendered to the exclusive custody of the federal authorities, which Mr. Kenny was not authorized to do. The New York authorities, considering it impracticable to procure copies of the entire federal enumeration, which would involve vast expense,

determined to take one of the wards of the city and make the necessary comparison, and a copy of the federal enumeration in the second ward was demanded, this being one of the smallest wards in the city, and one in which the comparison could be most easily made. A copy of the federal list for the second ward was furnished. It contained 826 names, and 8 of these were found upon inquiry to belong to the first ward. The police enumeration for the second ward contained 1,340 names—a difference of 414, or more than 41 per cent. above the federal enumeration.

The board of health had previously taken an enumeration of the inhabitants of this ward during the first part of September. It was made rapidly in a single day, but it showed a population of 274 more than was reported in the federal census.

The New York authorities now procured from the persons whose names appeared in the police enumeration, but who had been omitted from the census affidavits, showing their residence in that ward on the first of June last. Affidavits were furnished showing the residence of some 328 of these persons. The chairman of your committee has inspected a number of the books containing the police enumeration, as well as a copy of the federal enumeration and of the health enumeration of the second ward. The work done by the police presents a neat appearance, and is in each instance verified by an affidavit. There are no doubt inaccuracies in it; and some of the affidavits of the residents afterwards taken are irregular in form. But a comparison of the two lists certainly indicates that a very large number of the residents of this ward were omitted in the federal enumeration. For instance, your chairman ascertained that in the two squares bounded by Broadway, John, Nassau, and Liberty streets, there were no less than twelve houses wholly omitted from the census, in which it appears, both from the police reports and by the affidavits, that there were thirty-eight persons residing on the first of June last.

The chairman of your committee called upon John Kiernan, the enumerator of this district, and inquired concerning the manner of his appointment, and was told he secured it through the "regular channel," as an enrolled republican of the third assembly district; that he got it through Charles Wagner, the brother of the candidate for the assembly; that one Reed was first appointed, also through the "regular channels," but soon found that it did not pay, and gave up the job after he had taken about fifteen names. Mr. Kiernan exhibited his commission, which was evidently the same one that had been issued to Reed in the first place, the name of Reed having been erased and his own inserted. Mr. Kiernan said that Reed threw down his book and was never required to report. The schedules taken by Reed and given to Kiernan, who proceeded to verify them; but some of the persons thus taken refused to give Kiernan any information, saying that they had already been enumerated. The names upon these schedules were not included by Kiernan in his returns. On December 8th, Kiernan telegraphed to Superintendent Porter, "Schedules containing about fifteen names which were not included in my returns, will be mailed to you early Monday morning." Kiernan stated that he had been unable to find these,—they had been lying somewhere around the house, but he could not find them. In this he was corroborated by the other members of the family, who said they had looked everywhere around the house, but that these schedules could not be found.

Nothing more seems necessary to show the untrustworthiness of a census taken by men appointed through the "regular channels" of political machinery.

And it seems that in a number of cases the names reported by Mr. Kiernan did not appear in the federal lists. Whether the schedules containing these names were lost or destroyed, or in what manner the discrepancy occurred, is not known. Among these houses were the following: 102, 152, 140 Nassau street, 35 Park Row, 25 Ann street, 50 Nassau street. Many others can be given. These facts appear from a comparison between the telegram sent by Mr. Kiernan to Mr. Porter, and read to the census com-

mittee of the house of representatives, with a copy of the federal enumeration of the second ward.*

Indeed, there is strong reason to doubt the completeness of the enumeration made, not only in New York City, but throughout the entire country. Numerous corrections and additions have been made, and in cases where a recount was ordered, the enumeration was sometimes found to be greatly defective. Thus Multnomah county, Oregon, had a recount, the result of which showed a population of 75,657, whereas the first enumeration gave only 61,000.† In several other cases, the enumeration was found to be incomplete when compared with the results of subsequent recounts by the local authorities. For instance, in the city of St. Louis over 12,000 names, and in Augusta, Ga., 4,150 (or over 12½ per cent. of the whole) appear to have been omitted. Of course, there is always a question which of the two enumerations are the more trustworthy, where two have thus been made; but, since the total result falls far short of what is to be expected from the statistics of emigration, vital statistics and other evidences of growth, it is not unfair to presume that in many places where the first returns are still uncorrected they are probably inaccurate and unreliable.

The bulletin of October 30, 1890, announces that the population of the United States was 62,480,540. In this bulletin the superintendent of the census considered it necessary to explain this result.

"Upon their face these figures show that the population has increased between 1880 and 1890 only 727,345 more than between 1870 and 1880, while the rate of increase has apparently diminished from 30.08 to 24.57 per cent. If these figures were derived from correct data, they would indeed be disappointing. Such a reduction in the rate of increase, in the face of the enormous immigration during the past ten years, would argue a great diminution in the fecundity of the population or a corresponding increase in its death-rate.

"These figures are, however, easily explained. It is well known, the fact having been demonstrated by extensive and thorough investigation, that the census of 1870 was grossly deficient in the southern states, so much so as not only to give an exaggerated rate of increase of population between 1870 and 1880 in these states, but to effect materially the rate of the increase of the country at large.

"There is of course no means of ascertaining accurately the extent of these omissions, but in all probability they amounted to not less than 1,500,000. There is but little question that the population of the United States in 1870 was at least 40,000,000 instead of 38,558,371, as stated. If this estimate of the extent of the omissions in 1870 be correct, the absolute increase between 1870 and 1880 was only about 10,000,000, and the rate of increase was not far from 25 per cent. These figures compare much more reasonably with similar deductions from the population in 1880 and 1890."

The superintendent therefore justifies his own figures by assuming that the omissions in the census of 1870 were not less than 1,500,000. He evidently sees that, unless this can be established, the results of the present census will be discredited. But in this explanation Mr. Porter makes no mention of the great increase of immigration in the past decade—some two and one-half millions greater than in either of the preceding ten-year periods. This would make a difference of some 3½ per cent.; and Francis A. Walker, who superintended the taking of the ninth and tenth census, showed very clearly, in an address delivered before the National Academy of Science at Boston, on November 11th, that a discrepancy of 1,500,000 in the census of 1870 could not

*As the enumerators in New York City were appointed through the machinery of the republican party, and as the city had a large democratic majority, and the result appeared to be an underestimation of the population, it was inferred that the error was intentionally made for the purpose of reducing the representation of New York in congress. This inference, whether correct or not, was natural and inevitable, and will always be made whenever political considerations invade the census bureau.

†The president of the board of trade of Portland writes us that some of these enumerators were "political hacks," others too old to do the work, others mentally incompetent.

exist. That there were inaccuracies was not denied; but these losses occurred in districts where the colored people greatly outnumbered the whites, and where they had no regular abodes and often no family names. The percentage of growth in the whole country by decades and by periods of twenty and thirty years is as follows:

Census.	10-year period.
1800	34.7
1810	36.3
1820	33.1
1830	33.5
1840	32.6
1850	35.8
1860	35.6
1870	22.6
1880	30.8
1890	24.6

The percentage of increase in the colored population (where the census of 1870 was defective) is as follows:

Census.	Total per cent.	10-year period.	20-year period.	30-year period.
1790	19.3			
1800	18.9	32.3		
1810	19.0	37.5	82.0	
1820	18.4	28.6	77.0	134.0
1830	18.2	31.4	69.0	133.0
1840	16.8	23.4	62.2	108.6
1850	15.7	26.6	56.3	105.4
1860	14.1	22.1	54.6	90.7
1870	12.7	9.9	34.1	69.8
1880	13.1	34.8	48.1	80.8

Taking the twenty years' periods, these show a constant decline in the percentage of increase of the colored people.

From 1860 to 1880 the fall is from 54.6 to 48.1 per cent. Now, if the census of 1870 be omitted, and the ratio in that year be fixed at the higher figure, the number of colored people would be 5,624,505. If the lower ratio, 48.1, be taken, the number would be 5,390,894. If the 30-years' period be adopted, the extremes to be followed were 90.7 for 1860 and 80.8 for 1880. If the former be taken, the number of colored people in the country in 1870 would have been 5,489,196. If the latter figure be taken, the number would be 5,206,992. The real figures could hardly have been higher than one of these estimates. The census of 1870 returned the colored population at 4,880,009. The true colored population, if the census be omitted, must have been between the limits of 5,206,992 and 5,624,505. Taking either of these figures, the inaccuracy of the census of 1870 would be less than one-half the one and one-half millions which Mr. Porter claims, and the figures derived from the present census remain still unexplained.

In the face of the inaccuracies conceded and the omissions proved, it is far more likely that the present census is incomplete than that there has been the great diminution in the fecundity of the population or a corresponding increase in its death-rate which its figures necessarily imply.

Your committee consider the following propositions have been established by the results of their inquiries:

1. That the refusal to apply the civil service reform system of open, non-partisan competitive examinations in appointments to the clerical force of the census bureau was violation by the President of a promise contained in the republican platform in 1888, and indorsed in his letter of acceptance.

2. That by the appointment of enumerators on political grounds, in open violation of Sect. 5 of the census act, great numbers of incompetent men have been engaged in taking the census, and that in many places attempts have been made to use official positions for the benefit of the party in power.

3. That while in some places the results of the work appear to be free from partisan color and to be accurately and well done, yet in many places the work has been carelessly and badly done, and is open to the suspicion that partisan considerations have not been absent, and that finally, there is a widespread distrust of the accuracy of the census, which greatly impairs its value to the country, and which is caused in great measure by the fact that the census bureau has been conducted upon the spoils system.

Your committee desires to express its belief that no census will hereafter receive the confidence of the people until it has been wholly removed from partisan influences; and they trust that in the future

such successful examples as have already been made of the merit system will be followed in all federal enumerations.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.
CHAS. J. BONAPARTE.
RICHARD H. DANA.
WAYNE MACVEAGH.
SHERMAN S. ROGERS.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

(CONTINUED.)

Charles Oehl testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You are a clerk in the office here? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Have you been identified with the Johnson or Henderson factions? A. I haven't been identified with either of them.

Q. But they have these two factions in your ward? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the two factions are going to fight for supremacy next Monday, are they not? A. I suppose so.

Q. And to whom did you contribute, if at all, to what faction? A. I contributed to the club of which I am a member.

Q. Was \$5 the sum you contributed? A. Well, I gave that free gratis to them.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) You gave this, you say, through the president of the club, who is a Mr. Pierson? A. Yes, sir; for the benefit of the club, to help to keep the club up; mostly for social enjoyment; that is, to benefit the mind, and discussing the things of the day, etc.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) How much did you contribute last fall? A. I didn't contribute anything.

Q. You made no contribution last fall? A. I gave a few dollars voluntarily.

Q. I mean voluntarily entirely, but how much did you give voluntarily last fall; was it \$15? A. Fifteen dollars; I think it was about that.

* * * * *

Henry Martin testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) You are a letter-carrier? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Now, as a matter of fact, do you know whether on that day or some other day soon after that there was a meeting of six or seven employes of the post-office, among them being yourself and Glass and Reed, at the rooms of the Fairmount Club, where there was a discussion as to the amount of money there would be needed for the primaries? A. No, sir.

Q. You don't remember anything of any such discussion? A. Nothing about anything like that; no, sir.

Q. Well, what do you recollect about it, about that or any other discussion taking place at that time? A. Well, we were going to buy a pool table; we wanted to get a pool table in the room for the enjoyment of the members, and that is what we were talking about.

Q. At that time? A. Yes, sir.

Q. On that occasion? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, as a matter of fact, did any of these persons whose names I have mentioned subscribe anything towards the expenses of the primaries? A. No, sir; not as I know of.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Mitchell? I don't know what his first name is; he is employed in some capacity on the elevator. A. Yes, sir; I know him. I am not personally acquainted with him; that is, I don't know him well.

Q. Do you know whether he was present on that occasion, at that meeting? A. Well, I don't know whether he was or not.

(See testimony of W. A. Mitchell, September CHRONICLE.)

Q. Do you know whether he has contributed any money towards the primaries? A. I think not.

Q. Whether he has contributed anything to the primaries? A. No, sir; none of us contributed any money for the primaries.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Well, for the purchase of this pool table? A. Not yet, no sir; we are going to get a pool table for the enjoyment of the members of the club. I suppose there ain't anything wrong about that?

Mr. Bonaparte: I suppose not. A. We want some kind of enjoyment.

Q. Now, you say for the primaries there has not been any discussion about taking up a contribution at all? A. No, sir.

Q. You have given something toward the expenses of the primaries, yourself, haven't you? A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing at all? A. No, sir.

Q. And you haven't received anything from anyone else for them? A. No, sir.

* * * * *

Note—At this point, W. A. Mitchell was recalled, and the following questions put to him in the presence of the witness:

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Do you know Mr. Martin? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, was he the person whom you testified had acted as treasurer for that fund that was subscribed? A. Somebody said that he was willing to give it to him.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) He was the man to whom you gave your \$5. A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Was there anyone else who acted as treasurer on that occasion? A. That, gentlemen, I couldn't say.

Q. You don't think there is any mistake, is there, in your mind as to its being this Martin and not somebody else? A. That is the gentleman I gave it to.

Mr. Bonaparte: That will do.

(Whereupon the witness Mitchell retired.)

Q. (Roosevelt.) Have you anything to say in answer to that?

Witness. In answer to what?

Mr. Roosevelt. To his statement.

A. I have nothing to say about that; that's all right.

Q. Do you deny it? A. I don't deny that he gave me \$5.

Q. You don't deny that? A. No, sir; he gave me \$5.

Q. What was that for? A. To buy a pool table; we were going to buy a pool table.

Note.—The witness W. A. Mitchell was again recalled.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What did you give that for; what was the object of the gift of that \$5 to Mr. Martin? Didn't you testify that it was for legitimate expenses of the primaries? A. Yes, sir; that's what I said.

Q. Was there any talk about its being for any other purpose but that? A. They were talking about buying a pool table.

Q. Did you subscribe the \$5 for the purpose you testified; you testified that you subscribed for the primaries? A. Yes, sir; I did; but I was willing to give it, though, for the pool table; we have got to have a meeting about that yet; which way it will go.

(Whereupon the witness Mitchell retired.)

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) I think that is all, unless you want to make some further explanation. A. I have no further explanation to make.

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) But you didn't have any talk that night about the primaries at all? A. No, sir.

John H. Ashton testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What is your position? A. I am fireman in the post-office.

Q. Appointed by Mr. Johnson as custodian of the public buildings? Appointed by the secretary of the treasury.

Q. How long ago since you were appointed? A. This November past a year ago; what date I disremember.

Q. (Mr. Bonaparte.) Do you know a man by the name of Frederick Hammond? A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was at one time employed in the government service, wasn't he? A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Did Mr. Hammond show you a subscription paper for the expenses of the primaries next Monday? A. Yes, sir; he didn't show it to me; he didn't tell me what it was for; he had it in his hand.

Q. He was holding it in his hand? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say he didn't tell you what it was for? Just tell us how you knew it was for that purpose?

Witness: How I knew it, or him?

Mr. Bonaparte: Well, how did you know it in the first place, and then how did he know you knew it?

A. I didn't know for what purpose he had it.

Q. What did he say to you about this paper? A. He came to me and if I remember now he asked me if I contributed anything, and I told him no; I told him that the engineers or some of them in the building generally came down stairs and had a talk when anything like that was going on; so nothing more was said and he went away. That is all that was said.

* * * * *

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) Now, did this man Hammond tell you at the same time that he showed you the paper that he had collected a

certain number of subscriptions? A. They were marked, you know, on there, "five."

Q. You mean that there were five subscribers or \$5? A. No sir, \$5.

Q. Opposite the various names, was that? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember whether these names were among those that were down there, John F. Thomas, superintendent of the registry division? A. I seen his name there.

Q. George Sears, was that down? A. Yes, sir.

Q. George W. Johnson? A. W. W. Johnson, I seen his name.

Q. That would be the postmaster? A. Yes, sir; and George W. Johnson.

Q. Were there any others? A. Yes, sir, there were others; but I don't remember the others. In fact, I didn't know the others.

Q. Now, you are pretty clear in your mind that you didn't pay anything yourself? A. No, sir.

Q. Do I understand you to say that you didn't pay to anybody? A. I paid the sum; that is, I intend to pay the sum.

Q. You have promised to pay it to somebody? A. Yes, sir.

Q. But it was not to Hammond? A. No, I didn't make any promises to him at all. I told him in this way, I says, "I guess I will see them people about that."

Q. What did you mean by that? A. I told him that generally the engineer, he generally said something if there was anything like that on hand, and I was in closer contact with him than anybody else. I told him it was a wonder that he hadn't said something if there was anything like that on hand.

Q. Who was the engineer? A. Mr. Pierson.

Q. Noah R. Pierson? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What you told Hammond was that you wondered that Mr. Pierson hadn't said something to you about it? A. I said, "It is a wonder that he hasn't."

Q. Now, at that time Pierson hadn't said anything to you on the subject, as I understand? A. No, sir.

Q. Did you tell Hammond that you expected to pay your money through Pierson? A. No, sir; I didn't tell him that I intended to pay any money at all.

Q. To whom had you promised to pay this? A. Nobody.

Q. Then we misunderstood you in saying that you had promised to pay it to somebody just now? A. No, sir; I said, "It was a wonder that some of them hadn't been there if there was anything to be paid; it is a wonder that somebody hadn't said something about it." And me being in closer contact with the engineer I thought if anybody there was contributing anything they would certainly let me know; if there was a contribution to be made I would know it.

Q. In other words—let me understand you—you mean that you were surprised that these other officers who were so much more with you hadn't mentioned this contribution to you rather than Hammond? A. That an outsider altogether, if there was to be any; but there wasn't anything said to me about any.

* * * * *

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 35.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23, Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address, THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Indianapolis, Ind.

MR. W. C. PHIPPS has been in the city service in different capacities for thirteen years, the later years of his service having been in the capacity of chief clerk of the engineer's office. He has been regarded as an especially efficient man, particularly in matters relating to forms and methods of business. The charter requires a written statement of the cause of dismissal, and the city engineer thus states it:

"I desire for the betterment of the service in my office to introduce a new method of keeping accounts; define a policy of keeping a systematic record and have made the change referred to in order that in the position of chief clerk I could have an appointee who thoroughly understands the systematic methods to be pursued."

Mr. Phipps publicly states, and it is not denied, that the city engineer first told him that he would keep him as long as he desired to stay, and later that he wanted a democrat in Phipps' place. The latter says that the city engineer admitted both of these statements before the board of public works, to whom the matter of the dismissal was referred. The city will not believe that Mr. Phipps was not competent to take charge of and improve upon any methods of book-keeping which the city engineer could devise; on the other hand, the belief will be very general that Phipps was discharged solely to make room for a democrat. The city government, by its neglect to comply with the charter in the matter of the city civil service, is inviting an appeal to the courts which in due time will be made.

INDIANA affords to day the most interesting example of the evil of the rule that a President may be re-elected. Strike out the federal office-holders and it is safe to say that a majority of the new republican state committee, and of the delegates to the coming national convention would not have been Harrison men. This fact was recognized by the administration and accordingly the full power of the federal patronage was turned on. Throughout the state it has been used with consummate skill and slyness. It is not a popular move, and to the utmost possible extent its use has been veiled. No clumsy and brazen bull-doing by federal officials, such as the democrats practiced under the late administration, appeared. All was smooth and secret, but federal patronage was never more powerful. For instance, Marshal Ransdell came from Washington, but his

coming was not announced by the *Journal*. Hanna, a law officer of the government, appears and holds a secret conference with republicans not active in politics. Warren G. Sayre, of the Indian service, suddenly has business in Indiana, and so on through a long list. Meanwhile, thousands of postmasters and other minor officials give their attention to setting up the primaries and with such success that Harrison will apparently have a majority of the state committee. Whether he will have a unanimous delegation to the national convention is yet undecided.

THE undisputed facts are that the reelection of Senator Sherman was secured by federal office-holders. There has never before been a case where in such numbers and with such aggregate strength, federal office holders have worked upon a state legislature which is supposed to act with deliberation and free from federal influence. Any one can see what this practice if continued by successive Presidents would lead to. The immense power of the federal government through its patronage would destroy the free action of the state legislatures. The worst of it is that Senator Sherman saw what was going on and admitted it and sanctioned it. In the fullness of years of eminent service to his country, he was in a position to say, "If the legislature of Ohio desires to elect a blather-skite like Foraker in my place, I will submit. If the Cincinnati Tammany headed by an illiterate keeper of a notorious dive can go among the members of the Ohio legislature, and influence them to defeat me, I will submit. If the respectable citizens of Ohio choose to stand aloof and allow this disreputable gang to secure my defeat, I will abide the result." A defeat under such circumstances would have been a badge of honor.

IN the summer of 1891 Sherman S. Rogers, President of the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, applied for information as to the number of post-offices having twenty or more employes. He received the following reply:

On your stating the use you desire to make of the information in regard to the postal employes, further consideration will be given to your request.

Very respectfully, E. C. FOWLER,
Acting First Assistant Postmaster-General.

It would not seem that Mr. Rogers, armed with the information asked for, could have done any great damage. Yet the administration seems to be working on the same line with the Czar, who sends subjects

to Siberia upon suspicion of a desire to change the existing imperial rule.

POSTMASTER FLOOD, of Elmira, hearing that he had been removed upon charges filed against him, wrote to Postmaster-General Wanamaker demanding a copy of the charges. To this Wanamaker answered as follows:

Your demand for a copy of the inspector's report can not be complied with, because this administration adopted the course laid down by President Cleveland, to regard such reports as confidential papers, and to neither allow them to go out of the office nor to permit copies of them to be made.

Very respectfully, JOHN WANAMAKER,
Postmaster-General.

It is difficult to fitly characterize this transaction. The facts are that Flood was not a friend of Platt or Sloat Fassett, and they, smarting under overwhelming defeat, are hunting up subjects for vengeance, and the administration is trying to help them. To this end it sends an "inspector" to Elmira who is nothing but a tool of Wanamaker's. He makes a report which Wanamaker and the administration are ashamed to publish, knowing that it would bring upon them the contempt of the people. They therefore pursue a star chamber method and remove Flood. It is to be hoped that the time will come when the sneaks and cowards who get into public office will understand that the American people mean to have the accused confronted with the charges and with his accusers.

WE have received from the Postmaster General a copy of his last report and enclosed with it a broadside of editorials deemed suitable for the use of the press and abounding in such expressions as "Mr. Wanamaker believes," and "the Postmaster General argues strenuously," and so on. Preferring to prepare our own remarks, we leave the broadside to the subsidized press.

Mr. Wanamaker can not boast sufficiently of what he calls "an enlargement of the scheme of promotions on merit." He says that formerly a great majority discovered that there was no recognition of merit and gave up the struggle for advancement and he felt that "there was but one way to bring about the greatest state of efficiency in the clerical force" and that was to advance, reduce, retain or dismiss on merit only, without regard to influence. He therefore introduced a daily record and competitive examination system. At the first examination, twenty-three were examined for two vacancies

and the successful competitors were women. Ninety-two were examined for twenty-seven promotions in about three months. Mr. Wanamaker says "the results of this competitive merit system have been extremely gratifying. * * * There is marked improvement in the quantity and quality of the work done from day to day." He has further issued an order extending this scheme to all post-offices having fifty employees. Is this the same Mr. Wanamaker, whose present private secretary was, in Mr. Wanamaker's behalf, writing over the country in 1889 when this same merit system Mr. Wanamaker now boasts of governed admission to over 30,000 places in the federal service, asking "why both parties should not discard their insincere professions and have the patriotism to go back to the old system," that is, to the spoils system?

WE must criticise Mr. Wanamaker for obviously not living up to the precept to turn the other cheek. He smarts under the smiting of Mr. Roosevelt and, therefore, tries to establish a merit system independent of the civil service commission. He says "this can be done more fairly and conscientiously in a great department like this from within than from the outside." This is clearly from spite, for Mr. Wanamaker's successor can overturn his system at a word, while if it is put under the civil service commission he would be powerless to disturb it. Another instance is Mr. Wanamaker's comments on the bill to regulate the appointment of fourth-class postmasters. He says it may be doubted whether members of congress will give up the privilege "of furnishing the department with desired and welcome information touching the qualifications of candidates," that is, will give up their usurped power of appointing their henchmen fourth-class postmasters. Wanamaker says, "I fancy that the surrender of this power * * * is a long way in the future." It seems inconsistent that he can say of his new promotion scheme that it takes out of any man's hands the power of promoting "under the influence of social or political friendships," and yet can look complacently and without protest upon the appointment of over 50,000 postmasters under the same influences. The obvious reason is that this bill is from the "outside," and is supported by those who have had occasion to smite Mr. Wanamaker to bring him to a proper sense of his shortcomings, not only as a public officer, but as a man.

NO FACT is in these days more prominent than that the merit system has conquered its way and is steadily coming to its own. Against every kind of opposition

it has reached the control of original admission to thirty-two thousand high-salaried places in the federal service, this being under the civil service commission. In addition we have the spectacle of cabinet officers originally unfriendly but now thoroughly stampeded by the onward march of the competitive system, running races with each other to get the system introduced throughout their departments. Thus Secretary Tracy has revolutionized the navy yards. Mr. Wanamaker has made the despised civil service reform stone the head of the corner in his department, and now brags that he is the original maker of that stone. Now comes Secretary Foster with an admirable set of rules for promotions on merit in his department, devised by Mr. De Land. Lastly comes Secretary Noble with the most stringent and refined set of rules yet established.

Nobody denies that Mr. Croker asserts truthfully that Tammany Hall is the only organization in the city recognized by the democratic party of New York, nor that Governor Hill is the actual democratic leader in the state. Nor will anybody deny that Mr. Platt is the republican leader in New York, and Mr. Quay in Pennsylvania, nor that the attempt to justify the appointment of Mr. Elkins is an evidence of decline in the true standard of the public service. It is a time when parties do not represent the actual division of political opinion, and when both parties degrade the political standard, and it is therefore a time of greater political independence than ever.—*Harper's Weekly*, January 2.

AT no time since between 1850 and 1860, have voters shaken off the shackles of party as they do now. It is to be encouraged by every means. We may continue to be ruled by the Platts and Quays, the Hills and Gormans, but not if the independents do their duty and work each over against his own house.

IS THE REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE A MORAL QUESTION?

There was a striking illustration of the tragedies which spring from the spoils system in the recent death of Col. Bario, of Connecticut, late an inspector in the post-office department. He served with honor in the civil war, and had been colonel of the second regiment Connecticut National Guard. In 1886 he was appointed a post-office inspector, and soon won the reputation of being the best in New England. So shrewd and successful did he prove that he was often sent for from New York, and even as far away as Ohio. Through his work in his special field, the United States district attorney had been enabled to convict forty Connecticut postmasters of selling stamps on credit to a firm of New York architects, for which offense one of the firm was fined \$5,000 and sent to jail for one day. He secured the evidence that resulted in the indictment of the New Orleans lottery men, and he broke up the infamous Connecticut "card game," the "one

dollar time-piece" scheme, the "Scriptural fake," and other notorious swindles. Recently he had been engaged in collecting evidence against five postmasters of New Haven county, who are charged with selling postage stamps on credit in violation of law. He was devoted to his work, and was in every way an official who had the confidence of his superiors and earned a permanent tenure. On Friday of last week, as a New Year's gift, came the announcement from Washington that he must summarily surrender his office, solely because he was a democrat in politics. The United States attorney, the United States commissioner, and the New Haven postmaster, met last Monday to confer regarding the offending postmasters, and awaited the arrival of Inspector Bario. Here is the story of what followed:

"I never knew him to be tardy before," said Attorney Sill.

"Nor I," said Postmaster Sperry.

"Then they began talking about his removal by the President, the news of which had only reached them that morning.

"It's a shame," said Mr. Sperry, who is one of the most prominent republicans of the state, "and it will break Bario's heart. I never knew a man so wrapped up in his duties as he."

"Nor I," said Mr. Sill; "and I'd give more for Bario than for all the other inspectors in New England put together."

"Let us write to Washington," said Postmaster Sperry, "and remonstrate against his removal."

"The other gentleman acquiesced, and sat down and wrote to Washington. It was decided to ask District Judge Shipman, recently appointed to the circuit court of appeals, United States Commissioner Marvin, and Postmaster Bennett of Hartford to write similar letters, and their willingness to so write was doubted by none. Then they speculated again on the inspector's tardiness, and it was not until an evening paper was handed in which announced his sudden death at noon on Saturday that they knew the reason of his failure to report.

"He has been removed by a higher power than the President," said Mr. Sill."

The case of Colonel Bario illustrates not only the tragedies involved in the spoils system, but also the singular indifference of the public. It is enough to kill many a man to be summarily removed from a place in private service which he knows he has filled capably, faithfully, and satisfactorily, and which he desires to retain. The shock of summary discharge from the public service under similar conditions is often quite as hard for a high-spirited man to bear. The public would be filled with indignation against the private employer who would thus disgrace a meritorious subordinate. Yet it looks coolly on while the public employer rewards capacity, industry and fidelity with removal. Americans are not a heartless people in their relations "between man and man," but when it comes to the relations between the people as the state and its employes they witness the most shocking spectacles of inhumanity with an equanimity worthy only of savages.—*New York Evening Post*, January 9.

For a President to manipulate the federal service to secure a re-nomination is a bold assumption of royal power,

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent, whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.—[Letter of Acceptance, 1884, Grover Cleveland.]

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Senator Quay was asked if it was true, as reported, that his second choice for the Presidential nomination is Gen. Alger, and he replied: "I am for Secretary Blaine. He is my choice."

"But who is your second choice, Senator?"

"I have no second choice."

"Do you think Blaine will be a candidate?"

"I really don't know; but if Mr. Blaine is not a candidate, I don't think he will refuse to accept the nomination if it is tendered him."—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times, December 30.*

* * *

It looks as if there was to be a general shaking up of Senator Quay's office holding lieutenants in Western Pennsylvania by order of the President. There are allegations concerning the mismanagement of affairs in the office of Internal Revenue Collector Samuel D. Warmcastle so serious that the collector will visit Washington to-morrow to ascertain just what the special agents of the treasury department have discovered about him and his subordinates. The statement is made that Warmcastle is to be removed. The friends of the President want the office in the hands of a man in harmony with the administration, in view of the fact that the district embraces nearly half the counties in the state, and its influence will therefore be important in the selection of national delegates. Congressman Dalzell is also determined that the collector shall not use his office offensively for Quay in the senatorial contest next year.

The office of United States District Attorney Walter Lyon will also be shaken up. The allegation is made that it is run too expensively. It is said that Lyon maintains three assistants, at an expense of \$5,000 annually, though there is only about half as much to do as there was when the district attorney had but one assistant. Lyon is another Quay lieutenant and presided at Quay's state convention in 1890, when Delamater was nominated for governor.

It is possible that the post-office department will be asked to make inquiry as to the offensive partisanship of Assistant Postmaster Albert J. Edwards and Custodian W. W. Colville. Charges made last spring against Postmaster John A. Gilleland of Alleghany, will also be revived. Gilleland is a Quay man. The allegation being made that he was incompetent, an investigation was ordered, and a report was filed sustaining the charge. Through the influence of Congressman Bayne this report was ignored at the time.

Altogether the future does not appear to be promising for Quay office holders at this end of the state.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times, December 5.*

* * *

Congressman Dalzell's ambition to succeed Senator Quay is said to be at the bottom of Dalzell's alleged desire to remove Samuel Warmcastle from the office of collector of internal revenue for this district, which includes twenty-four counties. This is the gist of an article in this morning's issue of the *Commercial-Gazette*, the Pittsburgh organ of Quay. A special agent was sent from Washington to make an investigation, and the *Commercial-Gazette* says that he was frequently visited by ex-Revenue Collector Frank P. Case and Congressman Dalzell. Case set up the delegates for Dalzell in his congressional campaign, and wanted another term as collector. He is now city assessor. The report of the special agent does not reflect criminally upon Collector Warmcastle, who was for many years a high official of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and is highly respected by the business element here. It is said the

report censures him for carelessness in selecting subordinates, failure to keep a strict watch over them, and devoting too much time to private matters. Collector Warmcastle and Senator Quay will both be in Washington to-morrow and a conference will be held. In this connection, the position of Chris Magee on the senatorial question is much debated. It is said that he would like to support Dalzell, but dare not, because Quay is alleged to have had a hand in terminating the rate war between rival street car lines here, one owned by Magee, the other by the Elkins-Widner syndicate of Philadelphia, and who have always been close to Quay. A termination of the war helped Magee financially.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Evening Post, December 5.*

* * *

Internal revenue collector Samuel D. Warmcastle of the twenty-third district, expects to be out of office within the next few days. He returned from Washington this morning where he had been for two days putting in a defense to charges against him. He said this morning that he would probably resign. Then he went down to Beaver and had a conference with Senator Quay, and on his return said he would await the action of the President, in whose hands the case now is. The charges against Mr. Warmcastle are that he did not turn over the funds in his care as soon as is required by the internal revenue laws and that he paid employees for full time when they were sometimes engaged in political work instead of serving the Government. Mr. Warmcastle has been Senator Quay's principal lieutenant in western Pennsylvania, but the ex-national chairman now concedes that his case is hopeless, and has not gone to Washington to try to save him. C. L. Magee who until recently was Quay's bitterest political enemy in Pennsylvania, but who became reconciled to him in the late state campaign, is now in Washington trying to induce President Harrison to allow the collector to resign. Mr. Warmcastle's expression to-day indicates that he will succeed and that the collector will be saved the disgrace of dismissal.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times, December 12.*

* * *

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 23.—The President to-day issued an order for the removal of Samuel D. Warmcastle, collector of internal revenue for the twenty-third district of Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh).

* * *

President Harrison will not have a delegate in the next national convention from this city unless Senator Quay and those who represent him in Philadelphia recede from their present position. The only opportunity President Harrison's friends had of making an attempt to elect delegates in his interest was brushed aside yesterday by the republican campaign committee.

About a week ago it became apparent that the Quay people were opposed to the election of Harrison delegates, and machinery was put in motion to reduce their chances of success to a minimum. The office holders who, of course, would be loyal to President Harrison, depended on the special primaries, when they would make an appeal to the people for their delegates to the convention. The Quay people yesterday deprived them of this opportunity, by securing the passage of a resolution that the primaries to elect delegates to the national convention be held on Jan. 12, when delegates to the conventions to select candidates for other offices will also be elected.

There was not a dissenting voice to the resolution, though Marshal Leeds and Joseph L. Nobre, who are candidates for delegates to the national convention, in opposition to the Quay people, were at the meeting. It was learned that Marshal Leeds had a conference with Collector Cooper previous to the meeting, when the rules were carefully examined to deter-

mine whether the proposed action of the campaign committee was illegal or not. It was found that the committee had power to hold the primaries when it pleased, which accounted for Marshal Leeds's and Joseph L. Nobre's silence.

Elated with the success of their plans, which in their minds placed beyond a doubt the possibility of the election of any Harrison delegates in this city, the Quay people have partly decided upon the delegates who shall go from this city to the national convention.—*Public Ledger, December 1.*

* * *

While President Harrison has not yet declared himself a candidate for renomination, some of the principal members of his cabinet are hard at work endeavoring to secure the election of delegates to the national convention who will, by their votes in that body, support their chief for renomination.

Postmaster-general Wanamaker, who, for a long time after his acceptance of the position held by him was on terms of political intimacy with Senator Quay, since the latter declared against Harrison for nomination, has been busy arranging his forces and the signs of the times point to a battle royal in the several counties of this state between the Wanamaker and Quay forces for the election of national delegates. It is well known that Marshal Leeds, who received his present appointment through the influence, mainly, of the Postmaster General, has taken his coat off and is battling for a seat in the national convention against David H. Lane and Jacob Wildermore, the slated candidates of the Martin-Porter combination.

Despite the refusal of the postmaster-general and mayor to give out the inside history at to day's chat, Joseph L. Nobre, Gen. Snyder, Thomas Lindsay, and other "anti-combine" workers, declare that there is a well-developed movement under way to have Harrison candidates for national delegates put in the field in every district of the city. Word has been received from the western part of the state that the removal of Collector of Internal Revenue Warmcastle has been understood by the federal office-holders of that section to mean that they are to go to work in earnest in their districts and endeavor to have delegates elected who will favor the President for renomination. It is also understood that the friends of Congressman Dalzell, who is in line with the Wanamaker programme, will lend their best efforts to defeat the candidates for seats in the national convention who have been slated in the western districts by Senator Quay's orders. The postmasters located at the county seats of the respective districts have been given the "tip," and as the country cross-road postmasters within their counties are virtually under their control by reason of the system of supervision now in vogue, they are expected to direct their attention toward securing the election of friendly delegates.

Congressman and President of the State League of Republican Clubs John B. Robinson, who has declared himself a candidate for the succession to Senator Quay, has been publicly indorsed for the position by Collector of the Port Thomas V. Cooper, who, as editor of the *Delaware American*, last week declared himself in favor of Robinson's elevation to the senate. It is a known fact that Collector Cooper, who now holds the best office in this state within the gift of the President, controlled the politics of Delaware county until he and Robinson met in the political arena, the result ending in Robinson's favor, since which time "Fighting Jack," as he is termed, has been in undisputed control. A close friend of Cooper's said to-night while discussing the subject: "It has been given out that Collector Cooper will not be able to get a delegate for the President's renomination. Let me say to you that the southeastern counties will be in line for Robinson for senator, and they will also name delegates to the Minneapolis convention who will support the President for a second term."—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times, December 27.*

I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be for ever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens. * * *—[Senator Benjamin Harrison.

A decidedly uneasy feeling prevails among the federal office holders who are just now so unfortunate as to have their residences in the second and fifth congressional districts. They are with one accord loud in their protestations of devotion to the interests of President Harrison, and each and every man asserts in emphatic terms that his loyalty can not for an instant be questioned.

Only a few days ago they were hesitating. They feared to obey the orders issued by the ward combine to work for such delegates as could be depended upon to follow the instructions of Senator Quay, and disliked to openly participate in a movement having for its object the snubbing of the chief magistrate of the nation. It was only a week ago that the administration demonstrated its willingness to assist the two men who had the courage to wage war upon the powerful ward combination. W. H. Brooks, collector of internal revenue, was suspected of being wedded to the Quay leaders, and was notified that he was no longer custodian of the United States buildings. Marshal W. R. Leeds, who wants to go to Minneapolis as a Harrison man, was given the place and the patronage attached to it. This was intended as a warning, but as it did not have the desired effect, four gaugers were "suspended" because of their known indisposition to work for Charles W. Henry, the administration candidate in the fifth district. The announcement of this decided action by Secretary of the Treasury Foster, caused a sensation, and there was at once a stiffening of the backbone of the Harrison men. The move had a decided flavor of Ohio methods, but it was effective, and the weak-kneed federal office-holders began loudly to assert their allegiance to the cause. On Saturday came the announcement that at least a dozen custom-house employes had been booked for dismissal, and that started a panic among the many men suspected of trying to carry water on both shoulders. It was asserted that when Charles W. Henry went to Washington last week, he had in his pocket a list of office-holders whose loyalty was questioned. The four dismissed gaugers were on his list, and it is said that the doomed custom-house men were also included. Rumor has it that the post-office had also been scrutinized by the twenty-second ward man, and that quite a number of men who serve under Postmaster Field are to be asked to walk the plank in the very near future, unless the result of Tuesday's primaries shall show that they have done good service.

* * *

Finding that the frankly given warning was not having the desired effect, and that some of the Federal office holders were not looming up as strongly in the fight for national delegates as the friends of President Harrison deemed desirable, extreme measures were resorted to to-day, and quite a large-sized basket full of heads fell under the official axe. A telegram from Washington stated that twelve employes of the internal revenue department had been suspended for "reasons satisfactory to Secretary Foster." The names of the men removed were, however, not made public, and an air of mystery was thrown around the affair. Internal Revenue Collector Brooks stated early in the day that he had heard of no removals or suspensions, but late in the afternoon he admitted that six gaugers had been notified that their services were no longer required. The identity of the unfortunates was not positively established, but it was stated on apparently good authority that four of the suspended men are Dan Ahearn of the eighteenth ward, John S. Todd of the Twenty-fifth, Meschert of the Nineteenth and Hecksler of the Twenty fifth. The other two are personal friends of David Martin, Senator Quay's chief lieutenant. This activity on the part of the administration leaves no room for doubt as to the sincerity of the fight being made to prevent the Quay men from capturing a solid delegation to Minneapolis from Philadelphia, but the Beaver man's henchmen are not standing still, and the screws have been put on such employes of the city as are suspected of taking an interest in the plucky

fight being made by United States Marshal Leeds and Henry to prevent the snubbing that President Harrison's opponents are fixing up for him. Three employes in the city's gas works, who owe their appointments to ex-Sheriff Leeds, were to-day warned that their places could easily be filled with men more zealous in behalf of the ward combine. This action is said by the Leeds men to have been taken in order to scare off men who are running for delegates to the convention in the interest of Leeds. Philadelphia dispatch to New York Times January 9.

* * *

Collector Thomas V. Cooper was seen at his Media home to-day, and in response to some direct questions, said:

"This trouble would not have originated at all but for the early call for the election of national delegates. It is several months ahead of the ordinary time, and this fact seemed to indicate a desire to elect a delegate who would oppose President Harrison's renomination even if Mr. Blaine was not a candidate. The friends of the administration, of course, opposed this, contending that if Mr. Blaine is not a candidate, President Harrison's renomination shall not be opposed. In short, they are averse to having the delegates carried over bodily to a third man, as they are convinced that the sentiment of all the people is in favor of Blaine or Harrison. There is no other meaning to the contest than this. There is no hostility to Mr. Blaine whatever, in any sense of the word. All of the combine delegates are now willing to say that if Mr. Blaine is not a candidate, President Harrison's renomination is inevitable, and they will support it. The mischief, was in calling the delegate elections in advance of the accustomed time, and in widely advertising the fact that this step was taken for the purpose of injuring President Harrison's chances. However, this is now disclaimed by the combine, but the disclaimer has not been half as well advertised as the original purpose, and therefore the friends of the President feel that if the views of the combine have really been changed, they ought to show the fact decidedly by at least admitting two delegates out of ten who, it is well known, will vote for Mr. Blaine if he is a candidate, but who will assuredly resist any attempt to carry the Pennsylvania delegates from President Harrison if Mr. Blaine is not a candidate.—Philadelphia Dispatch to N. Y. Times, Jan. 11.

* * *

In the fight for delegates to the national republican convention the Harrison forces to-day suffered an important defection in the desertion to the Quay column of Internal Revenue Collector Brooks, who until to-day had been counted on as a supporter of Charles W. Henry, the Harrison-Wanamaker candidate in the fifth congressional district. The friends of Henry yesterday made a strong effort to get an open declaration from Brooks in favor of their candidate, but Mr. Brooks hesitated. The significance of this hesitation on his part was definitely demonstrated to-day when Mr. Brooks, with deliberation and emphasis, declared: "I am no longer interested in Mr. Henry's candidacy. My independence and manhood will not permit me. I have been and am loyal to President Harrison. If I were not, I would not now be revenue collector. The moment my loyalty wavered to the President, that moment I would surrender my position."

"What is the reason, then, for the change in your sentiments regarding Mr. Henry's candidacy?" he was asked.

"I do not propose to shelter myself behind the men in my department and assume a position that would be regarded as selfish, unmanly, cowardly or dishonest," was his reply. "I do not propose to permit the men in this department to suffer for their independence. I never have been an object to be coerced by any power, and I do not propose to begin now."

"When did you make up your mind in this direction?"

"I made it up yesterday afternoon, immediately upon being notified of the suspension of the four officers in my department. I determined if this course was to be pursued against federal employes under me I would not by imputation be misunderstood or placed in any uncertain position. I therefore wrote to Mr. Henry last night telling him that I could no longer interest myself in his candidacy, and asking him to call upon me when I would explain my position more in detail."—Philadelphia dispatch to New York Times, January 10.

* * *

The result of Senator Quay's talk with the President last Friday is now known. He was turned down and can get no satisfaction from the President. His farce comedy protests against the use of the federal officials to forward the political fortunes of the administration were received with an icy smile by the President, but otherwise went unheeded. Mr. Harrison seems to have had no terms to offer the Pennsylvania senator. He was in no mood to make a compromise. Under the circumstances he felt that the only thing for Quay was to make a complete surrender. As the President has recently pointed to gentlemen who called on him in regard to Pennsylvania affairs, the administration has done everything up to the present time that Quay has asked. He has controlled the appointments in Pennsylvania. He has got many of his friends and henchmen into the departments in Washington, and friends of his have been given fat places in other branches of the public service. In spite of all this Quay has missed no opportunity to show his contempt for Harrison and his administration, and of late he has been openly antagonizing Harrison's renomination. At the same time he has gone on urging the appointment of his man Graham to the revenue collectorship at Pittsburgh. All went well as long as the President contented himself with simply "turning down" Quay's requests, but when Mr. Harrison buckled on his armor and took up the cudgel in his own behalf by striking back at Quay's official friends in Philadelphia who did not bow obedience to his dictates, Quay grew angry.—Washington Dispatch to Philadelphia Times, Jan. 13.

* * *

There were many smiling faces in the rooms of the republican city committee last night. The ward combine had captured almost everything its members wanted and the fact that their victory had been gained by the most outrageously fraudulent methods did not detract one jot from the keen enjoyment of the organization. All the leaders were on hand and when United States Marshal Leeds, fresh from the scene of his crushing defeat in the second congressional district, strolled in with the returns from his own ward and looking crestfallen, there were many unkind whispers about the rain and the valiant marshal's cherished whiskers.

The Harrison forces were routed at every point. Policemen, firemen and city employes of every degree, had obeyed the orders of the combine, and by main force controlled the polls in the eighth, ninth, tenth, thirteenth, fourteenth and twentieth wards, where Leeds were fighting against terrific odds. In many instances they took possession of the voting places, inside and out, and the Leeds men had practically no earthly chance. The same tactics were used in the up-town wards, and David Martin's faithful henchmen gave the followers of Charles W. Henry but little show.

* * * In the twelfth division of the fourteenth, John Lacey, who resigned from the police force and was placed in the custom house in order to work for Leeds, was defeated by about fifty votes.

Despite the plucky fight made in behalf of President Harrison, by Ex-Councilman C. W. Henry, he was heavily outvoted. The police and fireman were openly against him, and the hundreds of city employes who live in his district sturdily stuck up for the combine, and literally snowed the twenty-second ward man under. Internal Revenue Collector Brooks was unable to carry his own division for Henry, while Naval Officer Tom Powers, made a

splendid showing in his ward. John Keller, a custom house man, turned in his division, the seventh of the eighteenth ward, for Henry, and the Quay men took everything else.—*Philadelphia Times*, January 13.

* * *

It was announced to-day that Senator Quay had finally determined to oppose the present administration, and that he would do so by offering a resolution charging that federal officers had recently "interfered with the politics of Pennsylvania," and directing that the senate committee on reform in the civil service should make an investigation "for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent federal officers have interfered with the primaries and conventions."

Senator Quay is simply angry with the present administration because President Harrison has not taken up his fights in Pennsylvania and made them his own party quarrels and personal strifes. For many months after the inauguration of 1889, President Harrison recognized the requests of Senator Quay for political appointments, and in every way possible tried to show his appreciation of the senator's party services. Finally the latter's course in and out of congress drew him into many embarrassing personal and political complications, which resulted in a division of the republican party in the state, and a bitter personal strife. Naturally, the President did not feel that the personal affairs of Senator Quay or any other person should be the guiding star of federal affairs within any state, and while he has practically brought about a standstill in Pennsylvania's federal allotments, it can not be truthfully said, as is charged by Senator Quay, that the President has in any way used the federal patronage or his prerogatives to destroy the senator's political influence.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 15.

IN OHIO.

The one important event of the day has been the general protest of Mr. Foraker's friends against the alleged interference of the office-holders of the national administration in the interest of Senator Sherman. Congressman Enoch, of the twelfth district, and Wm. Binkley, of Sidney, have both taken occasion to criticise this influence. Mr. Binkley, who is one of Mr. Foraker's leading managers, is particularly severe. "It is simply outrageous," said he, to-day, "that this army of federal office holders should invade Columbus and attempt to dictate the senatorship. It is a shame upon our citizenship that the national administration should lend its influence to a state affair of this kind and permit all the appointees to come here under government pay and take a hand in the matter. The disposition of all the local federal appointments in this state has been under a referee system, Senator Sherman appointing the referee in each locality and that man dictating the appointments in his section of the state. To-day we find these referees and all the men who have profited under their appointments here working for Sherman's re-election. These men are reinforced by a multitude of office-holders from Washington until there are three or four federal office-holders on the ground to every member of the general assembly."

A visit to Senator Sherman's headquarters found his followers confident of success and disposed to make merry over the complaints of Governor Foraker's friends of the impropriety of office-holders expressing their personal preferences in the contest. "The friends of Governor Foraker complain, Senator, that undue outside influences are being exerted in your behalf, and point particularly to the array of federal office-holders who are working in your interest. Have you anything to say to this?" "I can only say," replied the Senator, "that all the former office-holders under Governor Foraker are for him also. Nearly everybody that ever served under him seems to be laboring in his behalf. I don't see that

there is any difference in this respect."—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Jan. 1.

* * *

The Sherman men are making the argument that the newspapers are a reflection of public sentiment, and that a great many papers favoring the return of Mr. Sherman to the United States Senate, the sentiment of the people must be for his election. The fact is, that the most influential papers of the state are championing the cause of ex-Governor Foraker. If from the list of Sherman papers are taken those which owe official preferment to him, the remainder, representing his free, untrammelled support will be sadly small.

The postmaster and revenue collector editors, who are earning their salaries, are numerous enough. A list of the papers supporting Senator Sherman's candidacy has been published. Among them are to be found those mentioned hereafter:

The Cincinnati *Times-Star* is edited by Mr. Taft, whose father was minister to both Austria and Russia, and whose brother is now solicitor general of the United States.

Charles F. Johnson, managing editor of the Cincinnati *Volksblatt*, was appointed consul-general at Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

Thomas H. Beers, editor of the *Ashtabula Gazette*, was late supervisor of the census.

T. J. Howells, editor of the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, is postmaster at Jeffers.

W. L. Hunt, editor of the *Belmont Chronicle*, is postmaster at St. Clairsville, and was formerly a supervisor of the census.

John Hopley, editor of the *Bucyrus Journal*, is postmaster at Bucyrus.

A son of the editor of the *Delaware Gazette* has for many years held official position at Washington.

J. O. Converse, editor of the *Geauga Republican*, is postmaster at Chardon.

D. D. Taylor, editor of the *Guernsey Times*, was for twelve years postmaster at Cambridge, and was succeeded by his brother, who has held the place ever since.

Geo. U. Harn, editor of the *Mansfield Herald*, was appointed one year ago, through Senator Sherman, as sugar inspector.

E. R. Alderman, editor of the *Marietta Register*, is postmaster at Marietta.

Mr. Ichas, associate editor of the *Newark American*, is postmaster at Newark, and his partner, Captain Wm. C. Lyon, was postmaster before him.

D. L. Flickinger, brother of the editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, is statistical agent for Ohio, a position secured by S. J. Flickinger, the editor, by application made through Senator Sherman.

Mr. Martin, editor of the *Ottawa Gazette* is postmaster at Port Clinton, and is said to be the only Sherman man in the town.

The editor of the *Painesville Telegraph* is postmaster at Painesville.

D. J. Richards, editor of the *Zanesville Times-Recorder*, was made postmaster at Zanesville.

F. S. Purcell, editor of the *Logan Republican*, is postmaster at Logan.

Pietro Cunco of the *Wyandot Union* is postmaster at Upper Sandusky.

The editor of the *Pike County Republican* is postmaster at Waverly.

The late editor of the *Circleville Union-Herald* was appointed postmaster at Circleville.

The late editor of the *McConnelsville Herald* was appointed internal revenue agent.

One of the owners of the *Sidney Gazette* is postmaster at Sidney.

One of the editors of the *Holmes County Republican*, is postmaster at Millersburg.

C. L. Poorman, editor of the *Bellaire Tribune*, was appointed to office through Senator Sherman, but resigned.

The editor of the *Youngstown Telegraph*, is a broth-

er of E. J. Halford, private secretary of President Harrison.

Geo. A. Keepers, editor of the *Monroe Gazette*, is postmaster at Beallsville.

The editor of the *Marion Independent* has a son holding official position in Washington.

A son of editor Tripp, of Carrollton, is postmaster at that place, and the father's paper is a Sherman organ.

General C. H. Grosvenor is a World's Fair commissioner, and the *Athens Herald* is for Sherman.

Several relatives of Editor Bickham, of the *Dayton Journal*, hold federal places.

It is said that Secretary Foster is interested in the *Toledo Commercial*.

It is not hard to understand after the above statement, why Senator Sherman has a considerable newspaper support.—*Columbus Dispatch to Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*, December 9.

* * *

Mansfield News, owned by W. S. Cappeler, appointed railroad commissioner by Gov. Foraker.

Mt. Vernon Republican, edited and owned in part by Col. Charles Baldwin, appointed penitentiary manager by Gov. Foraker; also a member of the governor's staff.

Zanesville Sunday News, owned and edited by Charles U. Shryock, appointed member of the Zanesville board of elections by Gov. Foraker.

Columbus Express and Sonntagsgast, edited and controlled by L. Hirsch, appointed supervisor of public printing by Gov. Foraker.

Toledo News, edited and controlled by A. D. Fassett, appointed commissioner of labor statistics by Gov. Foraker.

Zanesville Courier, edited by R. B. Brown, appointed trustee of the soldiers and sailors' home at Sandusky by Gov. Foraker.

Ironton Register, edited by Edward Wilson, brother of Col. Henry D. Wilson, appointed on the staff by Gov. Foraker.

New Philadelphia Advocate, edited by W. J. McElvaine, who received recognition during the administration of Gov. Foraker.

Scioto Gazette, edited by Gen. S. H. Hurst, appointed dairy and food commissioner by Gov. Foraker.

There are doubtless others of the same sort, but these are enough to show that Governor Foraker's friends are subject to the same charge that they make against Sherman's friends. It would also be interesting to continue the analysis, and disclose the number of Foraker advocates who are such simply because they have a grievance against Sherman. One of these is A. B. Clark, editor of the *Newark Tribune* and *Granville Times*, who wanted to be postmaster at Newark when Capt. W. C. Lyon was appointed. Another is C. E. M. Jennings, of the *Athens Messenger*, who blames Sherman for endorsing Grosvenor's recommendation of Wood, of Athens, for census supervisor when he (Jennings) wanted the place. These are only samples, but they help to show that, if motives are to be subjected to scrutiny and analysis, the Foraker men will suffer with the rest. The sword is two-edged.—*Columbus Sunday Morning News*, December 6.

* * *

How did Sherman come so near to failure and Foraker so near to success? The question is fully answered in a remarkable review of the senatorial controversy which has just been published by Gen. H. V. Boynton, the veteran and well known Washington correspondent, whose sturdy republicanism, high personal character, and intimate knowledge of Ohio politics entitle him to speak with authority. The explanation of the mystery is found in the existence of "a republican Tammany organization in Hamilton county [Cincinnati]," which General Boynton characterizes as "of a lower order of political morality and worse than any similar organization in either party anywhere else in the United States." The *Evening Post* has more than once of late

years referred to this republican machine in Cincinnati, but we have never before seen it so clearly and fully described. As a study in municipal government, and as an example of the baneful influences which a city ring may exert upon state and even national politics, General Boynton's statement merits the closest attention.

"The boss of this Cincinnati Tammany," he says, "is George Cox, an illiterate saloon-keeper of one of the most notorious dives in the most notorious part of the city, known as 'Dead Man's Corner,' because of the many murders committed in and about it. It has had a gambling-house attachment and a department devoted to even viler uses." It was while running this saloon that Cox entered politics, and he soon became a power in city affairs. A fellow-feeling drew Cox and Foraker together, when the latter came to the front ten years ago, and they have been hand-and-glove ever since. When Foraker became Governor, he appointed Cox to the lucrative sinecure of coal-oil inspector, and the saloon-keeper went through the form, so familiar in this city, of nominally putting the establishment out of his own hands and into the hands of his former barkeeper. It is this man Cox who was "the acknowledged leader of the Foraker forces, and without his countenance the governor would have had no chance of success." The second in command in this republican Tammany is a confidence man, who deals in bogus remedies for the alleged cure of consumption—a person who has no standing among Cincinnati physicians, and who advertises only at a distance, manufacturing his worthless stuff by the barrel for sixteen cents a quart, and selling it to gullible invalids all over the country at five dollars a quart. He, too, early became a favorite of Foraker's, and was appointed to office by the governor.

So absolute has become Cox's control that Gen. Boynton declares it to be "now impossible for any aspirant to be nominated by the county republican convention in the city unless he first seeks out the local boss and pays him spot cash"—save where it happens that he deems it discreet to allow a few representatives of decent politics to go on the ticket to allay the suspicions of the body of honest voters. The way in which Cox "set up the pins" for his pal Foraker is thus described:

"In the last campaign the candidates as a body, from those aspiring to the legislature to those seeking judicial nominations, were obliged to visit this boss at his headquarters and pay in advance. The sums ranged from \$200 up to \$2,000. As an example, the cash price paid for nomination as sheriff was \$2,000, and immediately after the election the boss coolly demanded that he allowed to name sixteen out of the twenty-one appointments in the sheriff's office. Every man on the Hamilton county republican legislative ticket, without an exception, was selected in advance by this boss, George Cox. Doubtless this will seem amazing, but it is true, without a qualification."

This is the way it was done: Shortly before the convention, Cox called on the postmaster and collector (both Sherman men) with a list of five names as his personal choice for the legislative ticket, and asked them to select eight from another list of sixteen, all of whom were represented by him, and believed by the postmaster and collector to be for Sherman, this concession being due to the unquestionable fact that the republicans of the city were overwhelmingly for Sherman and against Foraker. Eight names were accordingly selected from the sixteen, but the thing turned out to be a confidence game on Cox's part. "Every man of the sixteen, as is now known, had made his pecuniary and political peace with Cox, and the latter had taken a pledge from each one in advance that, in case of nom-

ination and election, he would do such a favor for Cox as the latter might name. So strong was his pledge that those who knew of it among Cox's press supporters made bold to announce, in double leads, the morning after election, and before a man of those elected had been consulted, that the Hamilton county delegation was solid for Foraker for senator to succeed John Sherman."—*New York Evening Post, January 7.*

IN INDIANA.

—Editor Wheeler will be the next postmaster at Crown Point, Ind.

* * *

The anti-Blaine element and administration supporters held a second conference here last night. A large crowd of the faithful from all parts of the state were here. There was a good sprinkling of postmasters and revenue collectors, and the seventh district was especially well represented. They were here to prepare plans for opposing the anti-Harrisonites next month when the election of the central committee takes place.

The rivalry between the two factions threatens to break out in open warfare long. The anti-Harrison men claim that Harrison tried to take the breeze out of their sails in the Jeffersonville district by appointing one of their number a collector at that point. They also say they are perfectly willing to furnish office-holders enough to take all the wind out of their canvass, if it can be done by appointments. The postmasters in a meeting here some time ago decided to sit on the fence during the political row, but their actions last night were in direct opposition to that decision.—*Indianapolis dispatch to New York Times, December 24.*

* * *

A bitter fight for supremacy is being waged in this, the twelfth congressional district of Indiana, between the Harrison and anti-Harrison factions.

The leader of the antis is Mayor G. W. Wilson, of this city, a member of the governor's staff. He represents the young republicans of the district, and his platform is anything to beat Harrison. He is opposed by Harry C. Hanna, a young attorney, who is an intimate friend of Postmaster Higgins, who is counted for the administration. Wilson is immensely popular, and as 90 per cent. of the republicans in this district are original Gresham or Blaine men, and with the leading republican papers of this city openly fighting Harrison, the chances for the administration candidate are slim indeed. In this extremity Postmaster Higgins sought advice from Washington, and the answer came promptly. It was in the shape of an order to assess the federal office-holders in this district to the tune of \$2,500, and to spend this money where it would do the administration the most good. Mayor Wilson was not slow in discovering the facts, and is using the information to good advantage.

It is said that several of the post office employes refused to pay the assessments, and say they will resign rather than be mulcted of half a month's salary. Postmaster Higgins, when asked about the truth of the report, refused to talk. A district convention has been called by the republicans for the 9th of January, to meet in this city, when the fight will be settled.—*Fort Wayne Dispatch to New York Times, December 24.*

* * *

The Harrison republicans are very active all over the state putting the machine in shape to capture the new state central committee next week. Dan Ransdell, marshal for the District of Columbia, is now "fixing" the Ninth district. He was at Lebanon and Frankfort Saturday. The anti-Harrison men are very

active, also. In the Evansville, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne and Kankakee districts the "antis" could elect committeemen without trouble if they could agree among themselves. In the Fort Wayne district, where there are no Harrison republicans outside of the office-holding class, half a dozen "antis" are running for committeemen. It is said that the Harrison managers have been scheming for some time to induce at least two "antis" from each county to come out for committeemen. In many counties alleged "antis" are doing fine work for Harrison under the direction of Dan Ransdell. The Fourth district is about evenly divided, but Internal Revenue Collector John O. Cravens and his numerous deputies, together with the distilleries at Lawrenceburg and the postmasters, will pull Chairman Gowdy through for re-election as committeeman. Gowdy lives in Rush, which is now in the new Fourth.

The New Albany district is slightly anti-Harrison, but the postmasters, who generally run country stores, have a big pull with the republican ex-soldiers from the fact that they sell their goods on the "trust system" until "next pension day."

U. S. District Attorney Smiley N. Chambers can be relied upon to "fix" the Second, or Vincennes, district, for Harrison as easily as he assisted to quash the thirty indictments for illegal voting in Judge Woods' "court."—*Indianapolis Sentinel, December 28.*

* * *

The unpopularity of the Harrison administration in Marion county, was fully demonstrated at last night's primaries to elect delegates to the district convention which will be held January 21, for the selection of a state central committeeman. Although the game was small, the contest was one of the bitterest and most hotly contested in the history of republican primaries in the city. From early morning the federal officers of high and low degree were out hustling and spending "boodle" freely among the boys. Among those who were out during the day setting up the pins, were Ed. Thompson, Al. Moore, Billy Patterson, George Harvey, Dave Wallace, Shel. Woodward, Oscar Wilmington, Billy Leonard and Dick Craft. Among the many interesting incidents which occurred last night was the defeat of Otto Gresham for delegate in the sixth ward, the selection of Martin Moran, recently released from jail under a heavy bond for attempting to murder John Cain, his victim still lying at St. Vincent hospital in a precarious condition, and the election of the ward healer Al. Moore, now holding a federal position, as committeeman in ward eleven.—*Indianapolis Sentinel Jan. 10.*

* * *

R. C. Bell of Fort Wayne, was at the Grand Hotel to-day. He told a *News* reporter that there was a red-hot canvass on at Fort Wayne over the election of a member of the republican state committee. "Billy" Watson and Editor Leonard, of the *Gazette*, and Captain White are manipulating the Blaine forces against the administration as represented by Postmaster Higgins, Colonel Robertson and Judge Taylor. Senator Bell thinks the anti-administrationists have the best of it.—*Indianapolis News, January.*

* * *

"Take, for instance," said a second ward republican, "Clint Lowe, Gene Saulcy, Al Moore, Ed Conway, Bill Davis, George Harvey, Ben Bagley, Marshall Woods, Ed Nolan, 'Billy' Patterson, Ed Thompson and others I might name. They are doing some rapid work crystallizing things for the Saturday primaries. The primaries will result in a cut and dried slate—prepared in the post-office. Then there is Con Kelley, who is emigrant inspector at Chi-

cago. He is on 'detail duty' here and he has to have his finger in the pie. These individuals have important duties theoretically, and should be compelled to keep hands off and let the rest of our people have a word or two to say in selecting the delegates."

[Clint Lowe, P. O. Supt., Union Station.

'Gene Sauley, Deputy Coll. Internal Revenue.

George Harvey, Deputy Coll. Internal Revenue.

Ed Conway, Deputy U. S. Marshal.

Marshall Woods, Post-office clerk.

Edward Nolan, Warehouseman U. S. Customs.

Billy Patterson, Supt. of Mails.

Ed Thompson, Postmaster.

Al Moore, Deputy U. S. Marshal.

Bill Davis, Post-office clerk.

—*Indianapolis News*, Jan. 7.

* * *

The result of the general skirmish, Saturday, between the Blaine and Harrison republicans in Indiana is not reassuring to the administration men. In the fourth, Chairman Gowdy, with the assistance of Internal Revenue Collector Cravens and deputies of Dearborn, seems to have captured a majority of the delegates. In this city the post-office gang and the "Slick Six" got the best of the antis. Money was spent freely by the administration people to bring out the vote. One man alone was paid fifty dollars to bring a gang of toughs to the sixth ward meeting, where the antis were defeated by thirty votes. Nearly all the federal officers were out working, a number being elected delegates. In the fourth ward Deputy Internal Revenue Collector Harvey presided. Surveyor of Customs Hildebrand was denounced by the gang for his inactivity. The federal officers not only managed the primaries in the interest of Harrison, but when they were in the minority they held "rump" meetings after the regulars had adjourned. In the fourth ward Collector Harvey declared his set elected when the anti-Harrison set had secured a majority of seventy-five votes.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, Jan. 11.

* * *

The "antis" have secured absolute proof that in all the large cities of the state, assessments were levied upon the mail carriers to raise money to elect Harrison delegates. A few days ago the *Fort Wayne Gazette*, republican, published the correspondence between Chairman Daugherty, of Allen county, and his son, a clerk in the U. S. pension office in this city. Nicholas Ensley, the pension agent, comes from the Twelfth district, and was anxious to see his own district go right. He ordered young Daugherty to write his father that he must call the election by primaries instead of by mass convention. Chairman Daugherty, a one-legged soldier, who was refused the post-office to provide for a stay-at-home republican, is an "anti," and he replied that he would call a mass convention. The next mail brought another letter from his son that if a mass convention was called Ensley would discharge him. R. T. McDonald, who has spent more money for the success of the g. o. p. than all the republican officeholders of Fort Wayne, and who thoroughly hates Harrison, told Chairman Daugherty to go ahead with the mass convention and that if Ensley dared to discharge the young man, he (McDonald), would give him a better job with the Fort Wayne electric light works, of which he is the general manager.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 19.

IN NEW YORK.

The bouncing of Postmaster Flood would not have occasioned so much surprise last summer as it does now, for ever since his appointment he has been apprised that a pickle was in store for him should the time ever come

to use it. But when Mr. Fassett was made collector of the port of New York, republicans generally hoped that the then leader of the senate would bury the hatchet. But notwithstanding that Mr. Fassett was highly honored, he did not forget that as secretary of the national committee he could not name the postmaster in his own town, and evidently smarted under the well-published fact that ex-Congressman Thomas S. Flood outgeneraled him in the distribution of the spoils. That there was a feeling not less than a factional tug-of-war became more and more apparent day by day, and the strain continued until the holding of the caucuses last fall, when Mr. Fassett secured control of the county convention. How that was done is also a matter of record. There were several contesting delegations; dual conventions were held, and the matter was finally disposed of at the state convention, the Flood men not receiving the slightest recognition.

Dr Flood has been aware for a long time that government officials were sent here to trump up a case against him on any pretext, no matter how slight; but he also knew that the office had been honestly conducted, that the complaints were less than during any of his predecessors' terms of office, and he therefore felt sure that his tenure of office would be measured by at least a full term.

Finally a case was made against Postmaster Flood. It was mainly to the effect that he did not devote personal attention to the office, not being there more than one hour a day some days. In speaking of the charges Dr. Flood said: "Of course you know the so-called charges preferred against me were all nonsense and without any foundation whatever. They were merely a pretext for my removal. I will say one thing, and I can say it with a feeling of pride, and that is that the Elmira postoffice will compare favorably with any office of its size in the state, and I have its affairs in such perfect order that I have always been ready to turn the office over to a successor within sixty seconds and everything be found all right."

In regard to the charge of spending only one hour a day in the office, Mr. Flood said: "That is false and is a mere pretext. Every day I personally opened all the post-office mail, superintended the business, mapped out the work, and, besides, I did a great deal of labor at my house, where I employed a typewriter at my own expense, who worked almost exclusively on post-office matters."

"During the June and September floods," he continued, "I worked night and day to give the people good service, and I think I have no reason to be ashamed of my official stewardship. In fact, the whole trouble grew out of a deal between Tom Platt and Mr. Harrison. It was consummated at the time when Fassett was appointed Collector of the port of New York—*Elmira Dispatch to New York Times*, December 26.

* * *

There is a possibility that the plan of Mr. J. Sloat Fassett of Elmira, to disgrace his political foe, Dr. Henry Flood of the same city, will come to naught. Dr. Flood was recently removed from the office of postmaster of Elmira, and Lewis G. Rathbun was appointed in his place. Everybody in Elmira knew at the time that politics alone was at the bottom of the doctor's removal. Against him Fassett has borne a grudge for a long time. Before the last state convention in New York, when Fassett was nominated for Governor, Dr. Flood had been threatened with removal. Fassett held the threat over him in the hope that it would be the means of disarming the opposition of Flood and his numerous friends. After Fassett received his crushing defeat he prepared to make good his threat against Flood. Just before the beginning of the holi-

day adjournment of congress he sprang his mine. A postoffice inspector appeared at the Elmira postoffice and made a hurried report; then Flood received notice of his removal. No reason whatever was given by the President or by the postmaster general for the action. Dr. Flood did not propose to submit quietly. He sent this letter to Mr. Wanamaker:

ELMIRA, N. Y., Dec. 25, 1891.

To Postmaster General:

SIR: The associated press dispatches report that Mr. L. G. Rathbun's name has been sent to the senate for confirmation as postmaster at Elmira, N. Y. I am informed from outside sources that there are charges on file in your office; also that there is an inspector's report. You have not informed me of such charges or inspector's report, nor have you given me an opportunity to be heard. I respectfully request and demand that a copy of all charges and the inspector's report (complete), be sent to me by return mail. Yours respectfully,

HENRY FLOOD, Postmaster.

Six days later Dr. Flood received this letter:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 31, 1891. }

To Henry Flood, Esq., Elmira, N. Y.:

SIR—In answer to your letter received on the 26th. You have been rightly informed that Mr. Lewis G. Rathbun has been appointed postmaster at Elmira, and that you have been removed, for the reason that you were drawing a salary of \$3,100 while giving very little personal attention to the duties of the office. You were present, during a part of the time at least, when the inspector visited the office, because you made up a shortage in your accounts.

Your demand for a copy of the inspector's report can not be complied with, because this administration adopted the course laid down by President Cleveland, to regard such reports as confidential papers, and to neither allow them to go out of the office nor to permit copies of them to be made. Very respectfully,
JOHN WANAMAKER, Postmaster-General.

The reference to an alleged shortage showed plainly the flimsy ground on which the removal had been made. Dr. Flood remembered that at the time of the visit of the post-office inspector, Capt. Brockway, the superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory owed the post-office \$100 for postage stamps. In dealing with the reformatory superintendent it has been the custom of the Elmira postmaster to permit the stamp account to run a few days to accommodate the system of auditing accounts which prevails at that institution. Stamps might be purchased on Monday and the following Saturday payment be made. This custom was probably well known to the instigator of the investigation, for the inspector appeared on the scene at the time when Capt. Brockway was in arrears for stamps. Dr. Flood made good the amount due the office, as he was always prepared to do. He did not realize at the time that his removal would be brought about on the basis of this transaction.

Since the doctor's removal, his friends have been very active in his behalf. Fassett has disclaimed any share in ousting him, but the evidence does not support his statement. Harrison removed Flood to satisfy Fassett and Platt. Apparently he thought that he could do so, without calling down upon himself any adverse criticism. He now finds that he was mistaken. Flood's friends are beginning to make life unpleasant for him. They know that the removal was contrary to the spirit of the civil service system and are impressing that fact upon him. He seems to have acted on the assumption that Platt and Fassett were still men of influence in New York state politics. Gradually the fact is dawning upon him

that he has been laboring under a delusion. To-day ex-Congressman Flood, of Elmira, the brother of Dr. Flood, and ex Assemblyman Jonas Van Duzer, the postmaster at Horseheads, called upon the President and protested against the outrage. They gave him facts and figures to prove that they understood thoroughly the reason for the doctor's removal. Mr. Harrison was quite gracious at first, but soon he grew very nervous, and declared that he knew nothing of the matter. Mr. Wanamaker, he said, was responsible, and he advised them to see Wanamaker. They told him of Wanamaker's letter, and reiterated the demand of Dr. Flood to be confronted with the evidences of his guilt, if any there were. Mr. Harrison tried to smooth the matter over, and finally promised to see Wanamaker himself about it. He referred to the Chemung county row, and asked plaintively why it could not be stopped.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, January 9.*

There was a caucus of the Goodrich followers in the Kings county republican general committee last night in a room over the Criterion Theatre, Brooklyn. The object was to fix up a slate to be voted for by the delegates to the committee meeting on Tuesday night. State Committeeman Israel F. Fischer presided over the caucus, which was attended by about fifty republicans, among them Naval Officer Willis, Port Warden Leavcraft. This ticket had no sooner been reported than Election Commissioner Cotton stated that he could not stand by Henry for treasurer. He had promised to vote for James W. Birkett for that office, and he would keep his word. Then Joseph Benjamin got up and protested against the whole ticket. "I represents the one-man power that has controlled us for three years," he said, referring to "Boss" Ernst Nathan [Internal Revenue Collector] "and the people over our way are tired of it. They have an idea, and a well settled one, that this one-man power is too closely allied with the democracy. If you elect this ticket the sixteenth ward will give a democratic majority of over 1,000 next November."

Still the caucus went ahead and adopted a resolution pledging its support to the ticket. This means 250 out of 392 delegates to the committee on Tuesday night.—*New York Times, January 10.*

The Kings county republican general committee held its usual noisy annual meeting last evening in the Criterion Theater, Brooklyn, and the Nathan faction succeeded in electing all the officers for the ensuing year and in retaining control of the organization. This means that Harrison delegates will be sent to the next national convention if Nathan can bring that event to pass. It required half an hour more to get rid of the routine business, and then Henry D. Hamilton of the twentieth ward rose and nominated Mr. Goodrich for a second term as president. This was seconded by delegates from half a dozen wards, and James M. Fuller tried to have the nomination made by acclamation, but there were cries of "Don't cram him down our throats." This roused Charles B. Morton, who said that he bore no ill will to Mr. Goodrich, but that he felt compelled by the wretched condition of the party to oppose the nomination of any more Nathan men. "We see our city in the hands of the democracy," Mr. Morton continued, "and we want to know the cause of all this. The men who assume to rule our party do not know what to do. Self-assumed leadership has produced these effects. There is too much bickering and interference by alleged leaders. The politician or the federation of politicians who tries to dictate can not get our support and we won't let them control our votes. It's time the buying and selling of votes was stopped. The present system is obnoxious. A conspiracy has been formed in this city to foil the wishes of a majority of the republicans of this county in the next national convention." This brought out great cheers

and cries of "Give it to him!" "Pound Nathan!" The self-constituted boss stood against the wall and never blinked. Joseph Benjamin, who denounced Nathan at the caucus on Saturday night, seconded Mr. Newins' nomination. He was not against Mr. Goodrich, but he was against the influences behind Goodrich. *Republicans, he said, would not vote their party ticket because they desired to show their independence of Nathan* (Internal Revenue Collector). If any one would go through the heavy republican wards, he would find, Mr. Benjamin said, that the voters were sick and tired of the present machine. Joseph M. Farrington spoke to the same point and added that the present leaders were too closely allied with the democratic managers. He then mentioned the name of Blaine, and the delegates cheered and yelled themselves hoarse. Nathan didn't move a hand. He put forward Israel F. Fischer who pleaded for Goodrich for the sake of harmony, and he was greeted with jeers. This ended the talking, and the roll was called. The big vote for Goodrich encouraged the Nathan crowd to put through the slate adopted on Saturday night without more ado, and Naval Officer Willis rose and read off the following list of candidates, and on his motion, they were elected by acclamation: Andrew Jacobs, George Nason, Charles Bell, W. S. Ryan, Warren C. Treadwell, W. H. N. Cadmus, George England, John F. Henry. Some one tried to have the resolutions considered, but the crowd wanted to go home, and the meeting ended in an uproar.

* * *

The action of some of the leaders of the Republican party in causing the removal of Dr. John L. Van Alstyne from the board of pension examiners will cause the party a great deal of trouble. Dr. Van Alstyne is a staunch republican and a veteran of the late war, and so incensed are the members of the Grand Army of the Republic over his removal that they are determined to defeat the republican ring. *The Grand Army men allege that Col. George W. Dunn, postmaster and member of the state republican committee, is the instigator of the scheme to remove Dr. Van Alstyne, and they propose to have his scalp.* For the first time in the history of this county, the republican party leaders can not count on the soldier's vote. It will not be a surprise if this county is placed in the democratic column next fall in the presidential election.—*Binghamton Dispatch to New York Times, January 10.*

AT LARGE.

George Rundstadtler has been appointed to a position in the postoffice here, and thereby hangs a neat little political tale. He was a member of the city republican committee when the recent faction fight was on. The Bain faction, representing the element in the republican party favorable to the Harrison administration, needed him in order to have a quorum. He held a position in the office of the recorder of deeds. Recorder Herbs told him if he met with either wing of the committee, he must resign his official position. R. C. Kerens and John C. Orrick, law partners of Secretary Noble, agreed to pay Rundstadtler \$30 a week or find him a position if he would sit with the committee. He did so. Pressure was brought to bear on Postmaster Harlow to make a place for Rundstadtler, but he did not want to be placed in the position of taking sides. It is now said that orders came direct from Washington that Rundstadtler must be provided for in order to relieve Orrick and Kerens of the burden of his support. Accordingly, Rundstadtler is now in a snug position in the post office, and has resigned from the committee.—*St. Louis Dispatch to New York Times, December 5.*

* * *

Hardly had the democratic convention adjourned in Baton Rouge before the republican state central committee was called to order in New Orleans. The fight in the republican camps is as real and bitter as on the other side, while the lottery issue is assisting the similarity by being one of the chief disturbing elements. Ex-Governor Warmoth has, until now, been the acknowledged leader of the party in the state. As collector of the port

he represents the national administration, and just now is trying to control the Louisiana vote for Harrison. Warmoth is backed by almost the entire white republican element and a great part of the colored vote, but Internal Revenue Collector Wimberly and Superintendent of the Mint Smythe, with a patronage equal to that of the custom house, and better for political purposes, not being tied up by civil-service rules, combined with P. F. Herwig, one of the wealthiest men in the state, and Ex-Governor Kellogg, have been making big inroads into Warmoth's strength. In consequence of this, when Mr. Herwig called the state central committee to order to day at noon, and a test vote was taken on the filling of a vacancy at large, the Warmoth candidate received only 26 votes, while the opposition polled 47. The announcement of the vote caused great commotion, and this was repeated and exaggerated into a tumult when Philly Robinson, a colored member, arose and addressed the meeting. He held \$120 in bank bills in his hand, and said this had been given him to desert Warmoth and vote with the anti-administration faction. There being other charges of bribery, Collector Warmoth left the hall and was followed by his supporters. These adjourned to the custom house, where they were called to order, and their numbers being re-inforced by other bolters, forty-eight members, a majority of the committee being present, business was proceeded with. They decided to hold a convention to nominate a state ticket on the third Wednesday in February.

The anti-Warmoth faction continued in session at the original place of meeting. It is probable that they will also call a nominating convention, with the result that next April there will be two republican tickets as well as two democratic tickets, in the field for state offices. The original intention of the Warmoth faction was to put up full ticket, making anti-lotteryism a main point in the platform. The opposition faction want to take the Louisiana delegation to the national convention uninstructed, and probably have it support Blaine. When Mr. Herwig, who is a large holder of lottery stock, joined their ranks, they added to their purpose an intention to thwart the plan to put up a state ticket, and to defeat the anti-lottery portion of the platform.—*New Orleans Dispatch to New York Times, December 20.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

A correspondent from Denison University, Granville, Ohio, writes the CHRONICLE:

The gross brutality of the spoils system receives a fresh illustration in the recent discovery that the asylum for the blind at Columbus, Ohio, has been making no provision whatever for the special treatment of the eyes of its inmates. Can anyone conceive of such a state of affairs if the trustees of the institution had been chosen simply on the basis of fitness for the position, and if they, in turn, had applied the same test in the appointments devolving upon them? If the people of this land could only realize the inhumanity of entrusting to political bummers the care of those who are afflicted with mental or physical disease the reform, in that line, at least, would be swift and sure. We can well afford a serious consideration of the question whether our treatment of criminals and unfortunates is not as far beneath the just demands of our own civilization as the treatment of Russian political exiles is beneath the civilization of Russia. The spoils system is not only corrupt from a business standpoint; it is cruel and brutal from the standpoint of humanity.—W. H. J.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 36.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1892.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

A PRESIDENT who, upon charges made by an inspector not belonging to a class enjoying or worthy of public confidence for impartiality, dismisses an officer from a place so important as the postmastership of Elmira, and refuses to let the disgraced official see or know the nature of the charges, is, in this country of open courts and public trials, a bold man.

IN the past it has generally been useless to warn the democratic machine. It is nevertheless true that the nomination of Hill or Gorman as the presidential candidate of the party would be followed by such a crusade against the nominee as has never been known in this country. Both of these men are in the position of Dudley except that their advice has been acted on. Nor will the nomination of any man who might be the tool of these men help the matter.

THE civil service commission has provided for a physical examination of applicants for the railway mail service. It can be taken before any qualified physician, but the successful applicant may be subject to a further physical examination. The probable object of this reservation is to guard against the leniency of friendly doctors. It has been demonstrated that the duties of this service require men physically sound and likely to remain so. Others should not try for this branch of service.

THE common council of Rochester has been wrestling with the New York civil service law, like its much-discomfited sister council of Buffalo, and has been badly worsted. It wanted to give a job to one Belknap, and did so over the mayor's veto, the latter's objection being that the proposed job-giving was in contravention of the civil service law. An action was begun by a taxpayer to restrain payment of the salary. The case went to the court of appeals, and that court has just decided that the employment of Belknap was illegal, as he had not come into the service after competitive examination, as provided by law.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY has the notorious distinction of having a professor—Collin—who has written an elaborate defense of Hill, the indefensible. If the university permits this to go unpunished, parents who want to make good citizens of their sons will hesitate about sending them to Cornell. Another public institution, *The North American Review*, has published an article in defense of Tammany Hall purporting to have been written by Richard H. Croker, an "illiterate extough." This kind of sensationalism only finds its parallel in the *Police Gazette*.

QUAY did well in his libel suits in Pennsylvania against those who charged him with sharing with Bardsley because the latter sent him a check for some eight or ten thousand dollars. Two editors of the *Beaver Star*, where Quay lives, were fined \$600 each and sent to jail for six months. Somehow the country looks on with a broad grin. Is this meant as an insinuation that Quay is not "vindicated," and that the "slick" way in which the court machinery worked is a great joke on the incarcerated editors? It must be confessed it would look better if Quay had sought "vindication" first against those rich people who very particularly charged him with stealing some hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Pennsylvania state treasury, which Don Cameron made up to the treasury out of his private means.

THERE is nowhere in any constitution, state or federal, or in any state or federal law, any authority by which an appointing officer or any administration may use the public service in any manner for personal or party purposes. We challenge any one to point out such authority, yet hundreds of thousands of state and federal offices are constantly used for such purposes. There is no precedent for such a practice except in feudalism, aristocracy, monarchy, and imperialism. The country is saddled with bogus lords affording "protection" to contemptible vassals, each of whom "plows his lord's land or carries out his dung."

IN this country, the one thing that prevents the people from getting little more than nominal value for the enormous amount of money raised by taxation and

expended for municipal purposes is the practice of giving the subordinate places to persons because they are republicans, or because they are democrats. So long as this practice continues, party machines will see nothing but spoil in any public employment.

ONE of the Mahone blackmailing cases has been tried at last in Washington, the jury finding for the accused. Whatever the evidence there could have been no other result after the charge of the judge which was, in substance, as follows :

Justice Bradley gave the case to the jury shortly after 2 o'clock. He referred to the act as a broad, comprehensive one, and said that whatever may have been the policy of congress in passing the act unless the act was declared unconstitutional it should be sustained.

It may be a matter of doubt if congress contemplated such a trivial case, yet in its terms it is so broad as to cover this case.

"For any political purpose," is the language of the law, and the man who pays the money as well as the man who receives it is a violator of the law. It is singular, to say the least, that although the law provides that offenders shall be dismissed from service the offenders are now in the employ of the government. It looks like trifling, but some one doubtless wants the law vindicated. If the question was on the constitutionality of the act he would, perhaps, have something to say.

The late Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States had held the act to be unconstitutional—as an abridgement of the rights of the citizen.

The object was a good one to protect the employes of the government. The law was, however, on the books and should be enforced.

He then directed the jury that they were to consider the evidence and determine if the law had been violated.

Those concerned with the enforcement of the law in this case perhaps feel proud of their achievements: The judge of his charge; the jury of the promptness with which it took the wink from the judge; the prosecutor of his success in securing failure; the President of his cold shoulder to any prosecution of blackmailing of the stripe charged.

AS WAS to be expected, Congressman John F. Andrew, of Massachusetts, regards his position as chairman of the house civil service committee seriously. He grasps the whole scope of civil service reform, and takes it as a matter of course that his committee will push forward this reform in every direction. The steps which Mr. Andrew believes now practicable are the extension of the classified system to post-offices with twenty-five or more employes,

to the heads of divisions in the various departments, and to the superintendents of postal stations in large cities. He says that the present labor service system of Massachusetts has been tried "with remarkable success," and should be applied to the entire federal labor service, Secretary Tracy having already introduced it in the navy-yards, the system to be so incorporated in the law that succeeding administrations can not upset it. Mr. Andrew is a democrat, and, filled with these and other wholesome ideas which he frankly expresses, he may bring his party to such aid of civil service reform as to make it no longer possible to say that, as a party, it is a spoils party.

WE have read with interest *The Public Service*, published at Washington, by a company largely composed of members of the civil service. The project of enlarging the paper and putting it more into the field of the diplomatic and consular service is under consideration. Whatever is done we hope that the present uncompromising stand of *The Public Service* in favor of civil service reform will not be modified.

DAVE HILL.

The democratic friends and some of the opponents of Hill are unable to speak of him without mentioning "his splendid services to the party." The *Atlanta Constitution*, for instance, calls him "that unconquerable democratic leader."

It is astonishing that any honest democrat can mention Hill in any such terms, or can ever mention him at all without denouncing him as a scoundrel. The sum of his "splendid services" is the capture of the New York legislature. The county board of canvassers counted out the elected republican candidate of Dutchess county and counted in Hill's man. The county clerk, as clerk of the board, refused to sign the certificate, and Hill, as governor, removed him and appointed one Emans in his place. The certificate was sent to the secretary of state. The republicans took the case before a democrat, Judge Barnard, of the supreme court, who declared that the certificate was based upon an illegal and erroneous count, and restrained the board of state canvassers from canvassing it, and ordered the county board and the new clerk Emans to forward to the state board a certificate of the election of the republican candidate. This was done, Emans signing the certificate and forwarding it to the state board by mailing one copy to the governor, one to the comptroller, and one to the secretary of state, as the law requires. After he had thus ended all lawful connection with the return, some one telegraphed him that Judge Ingraham had granted an order restraining him from forwarding them. No such order was served upon him, but Emans

took the train for Albany, went to the secretary of state, and that official gave him back his copy. Emans then went to the governor's office and got a messenger-boy to find the governor's copy and give it to him. Isaac H. Maynard, deputy attorney-general, went to the comptroller's office and got one of that officer's messengers to give him the third copy. After this extraordinary theft from the official files of the state, two other copies equally authentic were offered to the secretary of state and the comptroller, but were refused because they had not come by mail. Next, the court of appeals, the highest court of the state, affirmed the decision of Judge Barnard that the certificate of the Dutchess county board in favor of Hill's man was based upon an illegal and erroneous count. This certificate had reached the hands of the secretary of state, but not by mail, and immediately after this decision, and with full knowledge of it, Hill's board of state canvassers canvassed it and declared Hill's Dutchess county candidate elected to the senate. This gave the democrats a majority in that body.

These are the splendid services for which Hill is now being praised. He has publicly chained himself to this transaction by declaring that his messenger did right in stealing the returns filed with him as governor. Now, if any one can see any difference between this whole transaction and Sim Coy with his returning board altering tally-sheets, it would be well to point it out. There is no difference. Hill, in every fiber, is of the Sim Coy stripe. His methods are Sim Coy methods. His natural abilities are not greater than Sim Coy's. Were Hill put forward by the east as a candidate for the presidency, the eternal fitness of things would only be satisfied by the west seating Sim Coy by his side as a candidate for the vice-presidency. The fact that the Coy conspiracy which altered tally-sheets was punished by imprisonment, while the Dave Hill conspiracy, which, in violation of the constitution and the laws, pushed aside the government of the state of New York, chosen by the people, and crowded into its place a bogus government, which is now there, does not affect the question; it only goes to show corrupt prosecuting officers and venal juries. Given an honest jury and a fearless and able prosecutor, and this whole conspiracy, Clerk Emans, the state board, the secretary of state, the messengers, Isaac H. Maynard and Dave Hill would receive the same lesson the Coy conspiracy received at Indianapolis.

A POLITICAL BUCCANEER AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

[Compiled from the New York Evening Post.]

David B. Hill began his political life in Elmira, New York, nearly thirty years ago as a justice of the peace. Nearly all his friends and workers were, and are, the dregs of the community. He never mingled in respectable society. He has always had a trick of "downing" an opponent in his own party by

a temporary coalition with the opposite party. He personally bought votes, and since Hill began his career, Elmira has become one of the most politically corrupt cities in the United States. Says one witness:

"I personally saw Hill hand an envelope to an old man who had the palsy. The man was unable to open it and handed it to one of my clerks. I saw the clerk open it and take out a two-dollar bill and hand it to the old man."

In 1856 the Chemung canal overflowed and damaged adjacent property. No one thought of holding the state responsible. Years afterwards Hill's law firm stirred up the matter and agreed to take the case for nothing if they lost and for nearly all if they won. In 1869, and later, bills were passed by the assembly to pay nearly six millions of these claims, and when the last batch was passed, Hill was a member of the assembly. One of the awards was for \$11,445 to James A. Locke, whose whole estate was not worth that amount. In 1875 Governor Tilden's Canal Commission exposed the nature of these claims. Locke testified that he first learned from the lawyers Smith & Hill that he had been damaged by the state. "Tell us," said the questioner of the commission, "in what manner, and by whom, was this question first presented to you of making a claim?" "I think it was by Smith & Hill," replied Locke. "You got your information in some way?" "I got it from them," replied the witness.

Elected to the assembly, Hill became one of the most useful agents of Tweed, and finally went into partnership with Tweed, publishing the *Elmira Gazette*. Hill voted for Tweed's bills to consummate the plot of robbing New York city. He opposed the impeachment of Tweed's judge, Cardozo, and apologized on the floor of the assembly for Tweed's judge, Barnard. Hill has always kept up his Elmira fights and trades. He invariably appears the Sunday before election, and all that day and the day following, his office swarms with heelers. Hundreds go away with the envelopes that constitute the secret of Hill's influence.

Mr. Hill succeeded to the governorship on January 1, 1885, when Mr. Cleveland resigned the office because of election to the presidency. He at once began to work for re-election in November following, and, in order to strengthen himself with patronage, he sought to gain control of the work of constructing a new aqueduct for New York city. The building of the aqueduct had been authorized in 1883, and begun in 1884 under a commission of three members, all honorable and able men, with the mayor, comptroller and commissioner of public works, members *ex officio*. The commissioner of public works, when Mr. Hill became governor, was one Rollin M. Squire, an unprincipled adventurer from Boston, who had been thrust into the office in the last days of 1884, in accordance with a disgraceful compact between a mayor who was leaving office and a mercenary board of aldermen. Mr. Hill opened communication with Squire, and entered into an alliance with him by which they mutually agreed to stand by

each other through thick and thin. The two worked together for Mr. Hill's re-election, which was accomplished in November following.

Soon after the election Squire went to the governor and told him that, in order to get the office of commissioner of public works, he had signed a pledge to administer that office in all respects as one Maurice B. Flynn, a contractor, wished him to; that he supposed this pledge had been destroyed, but had discovered that it was still in existence and was about to be made public as a means of getting him out of office. The governor advised Squire not to resign, but to hold on to his office, assuring him, Squire subsequently testified, that "he would support me (Squire) through it all, unless I should do something so bad that a criminal court would convict me." The governor kept this promise faithfully, though after making it he was shown a copy of the pledge which Squire had signed. Knowing the existence of this pledge, he entered into a compact, or "deal," with the republican leaders of the legislature to pass a bill so re-organizing the aqueduct commission as to put Squire in virtual control of its work. The partners to this "deal" on the republican side were Speaker Husted, Senator Hoysradt and Hamilton Fish, Jr., and on the democratic side, Governor Hill, John O'Brien, aqueduct contractor and chairman of the democratic state committee, and William L. Muller, a former law partner of Governor Hill. They had a bill passed which provided for the appointment by the governor of three new aqueduct commissioners at a salary of \$5,000 each, and the removal of the mayor and comptroller as *ex officio* members, leaving Squire as the sole official representative of the city on the commission. After the bill had passed, the governor appointed Hamilton Fish, Jr., one of the new commissioners, thus keeping his bargain with the republicans. Before he had given his approval to the bill he was shown a copy of Squire's pledge, and then the pledge itself, as proof of Squire's character, and as a reason for refusing to put such great power in his hands, but he declined to be influenced at all by it.

One of the first acts of the reorganized commission was to open bids for the work of constructing an important section of the new aqueduct. The bid of O'Brien & Clark, the former the John O'Brien alluded to above, was \$54,000 higher than the lowest bid. Gov. Hill sent his friend Muller to members of the commission asking them to vote to accept O'Brien & Clark's bid as a personal favor to himself, and a majority of the commission acceded to the request. As soon as they were awarded the bid, O'Brien & Clark, in defiance of law, at once sold out their contract to one of the lower bidders for \$30,000 clear profit. The full meaning of this transaction will appear later on in this narrative.

The new commission went into power in May, 1886. In August following, William M. Ivins, having obtained possession of the

pledge which Squire had given to Flynn, published it, and Mayor Grace at once began proceedings for Squire's removal, basing the demand for it upon this pledge. The governor was forced to accede to the demand by public sentiment. At the time of doing so, the governor made public denial that he had ever seen a copy of the pledge before its publication.

In 1888 the scandals about the doings of the aqueduct commission became so great that an investigation was ordered by the senate. It was shown by unimpeachable testimony that in the campaign for his own re-election in 1885, Gov. Hill had drawn two notes, one for \$10,000 and the other for \$5,000, the proceeds of which had been used to defray campaign expenses. The first was drawn to the order of William L. Muller, and was indorsed by Muller, and by John O'Brien and Heman Clark, the two heaviest contractors for aqueduct work. The note was cashed by O'Brien, and charged to him on the books of the firm. The second note was indorsed by Muller and Alton B. Parker, and was cashed by John Keenan, the alleged "boodle-holder" in the Broadway railway scandal. Keenan was afterwards repaid by John O'Brien. Mr. O'Brien contributed \$500, Alton B. Parker \$500, and other friends of the governor similar amounts. It was to pay these notes that the contract was awarded to Clark & O'Brien, though their bid was \$54,000 above the lowest, for Mayor Grace and Squire testified that they were asked to vote in favor of that bid in order that the governor's notes might be paid. The testimony also showed that both notes were finally paid by O'Brien & Clark, presumably out of the \$30,000 profit made on that bid.

It was also shown by the testimony during the investigation that Gov. Hill had heard of the Squire-Flynn pledge several months before it was made public; that Squire told him of it in December, 1885, and again in January, 1886; that a copy of it was shown him in March, 1886, and the original in May, 1886. Yet, after all this knowledge, he had entered into a compact with Squire, had addressed him in letters asking for patronage as "Honorable" and "My Dear Sir," had united with the republicans of the legislature in passing a bill to put the aqueduct work into his control, and had been profiting in many ways, including the receipt of \$15,000 of public money, from his association with him. Yet when the pledge was made public, he was forced to remove Squire as a dishonest official, thus admitting that the pledge was *prima facie* proof of his worthless character. For their friendly services in his behalf the governor subsequently appointed John O'Brien receiver for the Broadway railway, and made Mr. Muller a commissioner of claims.

In 1887, Hill cultivated the liquor interests by vetoing a reasonable high license bill. He vetoed a similar bill in 1888, and in that year he also vetoed the first ballot reform bill. In 1888 he was re-elected governor, although Cleveland failed to carry the state. Of this

the *New York Tribune* said, "*Hill succeeded only because he was able to sell a presidency for a governorship.*" In 1889, Hill vetoed another ballot reform bill, and in 1890 still another.

Elsewhere in the CHRONICLE is described the overturning of the elected legislature of New York by Hill upon the Coy system. His whole public history shows him to be a man that stops at nothing, and who panders always to the lawless and degraded.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A GORMAN HENCHMAN.

We have the demoralizing spectacle of democrats professing morality and yet praising the unscrupulous work of unscrupulous David B. Hill. As if this were not enough there is also similar praise for Gorman, either himself a presidential candidate or a democratic Warwick along with Calvin S. Brice. It is not safe to desist in the effort to keep awake the moral senses of those honest partisans whom Gorman has put into a lethargic state by his fight against the Force Bill. With whom Gorman consorts, what manner of citizens his work requires, are very well indicated in the following sketch, from the *Baltimore Sun*.

Charlie Goodman, a man who has been in the hands of the police a number of times, and who has also figured in Baltimore local politics, shot and killed John T. Duncan yesterday afternoon. The shooting occurred in Louis Steigerwald's saloon, 105 North Eutaw street, at twenty minutes before 6 o'clock.

* * *

Charles Goodman was born in Baltimore and is about fifty years old. His early life was spent in the southwestern part of the city, and when still a young man he obtained a reputation as a fighter and was frequently arrested on charges growing out of his belligerent nature. His principal occupation for many years was that of a saloon-keeper, and at different times he conducted saloons at the corner of Green and Baltimore streets, at General Wayne Inn, on Green street, near the old western district police station, on Paca street, near the Crescent Club, and at the corner of Holliday and Fayette streets.

While running a saloon at the last-named place he had a fight with John Keleher and came near being killed. Pistols were drawn, and a bullet struck Goodman in the forehead and plowed along the scalp to the top of his head.

The first serious charge laid against Goodman was in 1870, when he assaulted Nathaniel Cole, a gate keeper at Camden Station. He was arrested for the assault, and after he was released he followed Mr. Cole to his home, on Pratt street, near Parkin, and struck him on the head with an iron plate. Cole was seriously injured. Goodman was tried on the charge of assault with intent to kill, and, being convicted, was sentenced to four years in

the penitentiary. He remained there until December 16, 1872, when he was pardoned upon the condition that he would leave the state. He accepted the condition and went to Washington.

He had not been in Washington long before he got into a quarrel with Lemuel Weeden. They had a bloody fight in a room, and before they could be separated Goodman was shot in the shoulder and wrist and the furniture in the room was wrecked. While Weeden was under arrest, and before he was taken to the police station, Goodman drew a pistol and shot him. The wound was not dangerous. Goodman escaped while being taken from the jail van to the court-room. He made his way to Cincinnati, where he was arrested a few weeks later, and was started on his return to Washington in charge of a Cincinnati officer who volunteered to deliver him to the Washington authorities. He professed to be willing to return and stand a trial, but, watching his opportunity, he jumped from the train near Sir John's Run. The train was running at a speed of more than thirty miles an hour at the time, and it was thought his desperate leap had killed him. The train was stopped and the officer ran back and found Goodman lying beside the track with a broken leg. He was taken to Washington.

During the civil war Goodman was a staunch Unionist and served as a soldier. Friends in Washington, who knew of his army record, interested themselves in his behalf with President Grant, and he escaped a term in the penitentiary at Albany. He returned to Baltimore, and in January, 1873, was arrested for violating the terms of his pardon. He was afterward granted a full pardon. The wound in his shoulder continued to give him trouble, and he placed himself under the care of Dr. W. H. Crim, who took several pieces of shattered bone from the shoulder.

In 1879 Mary Lizzie Kuhns, a minor, was arrested in the western district by Lieutenant (then patrolman) Fullem, charged with being drunk and disorderly. The charge was dismissed and she was arrested upon a ticket-of-leave from the Maryland Industrial School for Girls and returned to that institution. Goodman had her brought into court on a writ of habeas corpus. Upon his promise to marry the girl she was released from the Industrial school and they lived together until nine months ago. They had numerous quarrels. On one occasion Goodman shot the woman in the arm, and at another time she stabbed him in the abdomen, inflicting a wound which confined him to bed for six weeks.

Among other things Goodman was interested in politics and was a member of the Crescent Club. During the political campaign of 1889 he created a sensation by deserting the regular ticket and appearing on the stage with the fusionists at the Concordia Opera House on the night of October 26 with Mr. John K. Cowen and Bill Harig.

He made a speech, in which he said that he had been taught revolution for four months past in the Crescent Society by its president, J. Frank Morrison. Then he said: "Mr. Cowen sent for me and accused me of what I knew I was guilty of. He asked me in a very abrupt way if I was not a ballot-box stuffer. He asked me if I would come to this meeting and confess my political sins. I said I would." Goodman said he did good work for Mr. Gorman in 1879, and told how he made an expedition to Howard county at the election in 1879 with forty repeaters, all armed, and scared the colored voters by firing pistols. Two days later the following record of Charlie Goodman was published as an advertisement in *The Sun*.

Charles Goodman, October 17, 1866—Arrested on bench warrant for threatening to shoot Samuel Warner.

October 17, 1866—Snapping a pistol and threatening to shoot Samuel Warner.

December 11, 1866—Assault with intent to murder.

February 21, 1867—Rioting.

February 27, 1868—Assault.

October 2, 1868—Assault on D. A. Jenkins.

December 9, 1868—Larceny.

December 26, 1868—Assault on Samuel C. Wade.

August 31, 1869—Assault.

September 9, 1869—Assault (two cases.)

September 7, 1869—Assault with intent to kill A. C. Williamson.

February 20, 1870—Assault with intent to kill; sentenced to four years in penitentiary. Second case, same charge, setted.

January 2, 1873—Returning to state contrary to terms of pardon. Afterward pardoned again.

December 19, 1873—Assault and destroying property.

December 19, 1873—Destroying property.

May 2, 1874—Assault to kill; returned non est until September 2, 1876, when return of cipi was made; case setted December 22, 1877.

August 26, 1878—Assault.

December 20, 1878—Cruelty to animals.

November 26, 1880—Sunday law.

June 17, 1880—Sunday law.

January, 1881—Sunday liquor.

September 28, 1883—Assault to kill.

January 17, 1885—Assault.

October 24, 1885—Assault.

October 30, 1885—Assault to kill.

Not long after the election of 1889 Goodman was appointed to a position on the Chesapeake and Ohio canal [Gorman spoil.—Ed. CHRONICLE] where he remained until a short time before the election of 1891, when he returned to Baltimore and rejoined the regulars.

The association at once protested against a policy which, however gratifying it may be to partisan rapacity, is evidently hostile to Indian interests,—a policy which removes responsibility for the right management of the service from the department in Washington, where it belonged—a department that could be held accountable for results—and diffuses it among a multitude of irresponsible men fifteen hundred to three thousand miles distant; which subjected the Indian to local influences in many cases manifestly hostile, and confused the selection of agents who possess almost autocratic powers over him to localities often permeated with a hostile sentiment. But protests against this policy—the

spoils system in a concentrated and most objectionable form—were even less effective than our remonstrances under the previous administration. The proscription of agents appointed under President Cleveland was conducted with such neatness and dispatch that so long ago as last winter but a single democratic agent owing his commission to him remained in the service! If we are correctly informed, there is to-day not one such agent left to bear witness to the fact that there ever was such a thing as a democratic president! The policy complained of was not long in giving proof of its evil nature by its evil fruit. Agents of intelligence and high character, in cases known to us, were removed to make way for the henchmen of local politicians—men who were manifestly inferior to their predecessors, whose administration has witnessed a steady decline in the condition of their agencies, and where in two instances serious complaints have been made by the leading progressive Indians on the reservations.—*From the last Annual Report Indian Rights Commission.*

One objection is frequently raised to the reform system which has weight with many friends of pure government; that is, that the system will create a bureaucracy. There is a certain measure of plausibility about this to the extent that continued office holding tends to produce routine methods. But whenever my mind inclines to be impressed by this argument, it is promptly recalled to the conditions under the spoils system by a pen picture drawn by Josiah Quincy in the early part of the century:

"Why, sir, we hear the clamor of the craving animals at the treasury trough here in this capitol. Such running, such jostling, such wriggling, such clambering over one another's backs, such squealing because the tub is so narrow and the company so crowded."

And lest this may seem the idea of an old-fashioned theorist and purist, I say to you that only two years ago I read what purported to be the utterances of a prominent politician, in which, as I remember it, he used the same figure of speech, and complaining of the slowness of removals, demanded that the hungry hogs be given speedier access to the swill-trough.

The alternative is presented—a "bureau" or a "trough." Which is the most desirable? For my own part, even if the danger is what it is pictured, which I do not believe, I prefer a bureaucracy to a troughocracy.—*From an Address of Charles Clayton Allen, President of the Civil Service Reform Association before the Office Men's Club.*

William G. Low, brother of President Low of Columbia, has sent to the college an offer, which has been accepted, to give a prize of \$100, for the best essay on civil service reform. The award will be made in the spring.

LEMOORE, CAL., February 3, 1892.

Civil Service Chronicle: I think my subscription expired with the year past. As I desire not to lose one number of your high-charactered little journal, I herewith enclose postal note. W. S. CUNNINGHAM.

PHASES OF HILLISM.

Heretofore it has been the custom in Newburg to call the primaries for the county convention, which elects delegates to the state convention, about ten days before the date of the latter. Under the new ballot-reform law forty-eight hours' notice is required. Our citizens observed in town on Sunday a number of employes of Sing Sing prison, who owe their positions to the fact that they are heelers of Warden "Bill" Brown. Politicians of both parties promptly concluded that some of Gov. Hill's dirty political linen was to be washed, and that Brown had sent his heelers to prepare the laundry. Before night all the Newburgers whom Brown has taken care of in Sing Sing, to the number of a dozen, were here to the neglect of their official duties. They have remained over to-day and will be with us to-morrow. In the meantime people are asking: "Who is running the prison?" and "What is going to be done about it?" Everybody knows what this battalion of heelers is here for, namely, to carry the primaries which have been so suddenly called to-night to be held to-morrow and Wednesday, in the interest of Gov. Hill, and to elect Hill delegates to the Saratoga convention, who in turn will elect a state committeeman for Hill. The fact was further emphasized this afternoon when Brown himself swaggered into town. Within five minutes he was surrounded by his henchmen, the most prominent among them being "Dave" Crawford, "Tommy" Ray, the notorious "Gil" Crissey, who was chief clerk of the post-office when Brown was postmaster; "Jack" Glynn, "Teddy" Ford, and the noted "Ed" Brown, who was made purchasing agent at the prison at a salary of \$1,200 a year and perquisites—a merry lot taken altogether. They obsequiously reported that "things was fixed," as they expressed it. Brown's programme is to hold the primaries in the first and second wards to-morrow night, and in the third and fourth wards Wednesday. The better class of democrats deprecate this sudden call, and express their disgust that the politics of this county should be in the hands of "such a man as Brown," as the general expression goes. Heretofore the rule has been to call the primaries about ten days before the meeting of the state convention, but Brown, inspired with the fear of opposition, anticipated the old custom and set the call three weeks before the date of the convention.—*Newburg, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, Aug. 24, 1891.*

* * *

Warden Brown of Sing Sing prison has had a hard time of it this week, and his face wore anything but a contented look as he stepped into the court-house in this city to-day, accompanied by his right bower, Clerk Gilbert R. Crissy of Sing Sing prison. The democrats of the first assembly district of Orange county were in session there to elect delegates to the state convention. Brown and his Sing Sing horde were here two weeks ago, at the time of electing delegates to the several conventions, and intimidated the anti-Brown following to such an extent that there was a fight in only one ward, and that he finally captured.—*Newburg, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, Feb. 14.*

* * *

When Chairman Watson announced the result on a motion to allow only delegates to vote, one of the Hill men walked up to him and, shaking his fist in his face, yelled, "It's a lie! It's a lie!" Another Hill man sprang forward to attack Watson, but was seized by others and held back. A fight seemed imminent. The crowd surged back and forth, overturning chairs and tables, and gesticulating wildly. When Chairman Watson appointed the secretaries another riot occurred, the crowd pushing and pulling each other about and driving the chairmen from their seats. Then Bancroft, the Hill chairman, appointed a committee on credentials, despite the protests of the anti-Hill men, who cried: "Give us a fair show!" This committee reported, of course, in favor of the Hill delegation from Penfield, and then the Hill faction went ahead and elected a delegation to the state convention.—*Rochester, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, August 25, 1891.*

The unanimous acquiescence of the democratic state committee in Senator Hill's plan for a mid-winter convention, Boss McLaughlin, of Brooklyn, joining with the other members in voting for it, shows that Mr. Hill has overcome all opposition to himself inside his party machine. How he has overcome it is not known, but it is a curious coincidence that the submission of McLaughlin to his wishes was accompanied by the appearance in the senate at Albany last night of a bill which, if it becomes a law, will restore to McLaughlin the control of the Brooklyn bridge which Tammany took away from him some time ago. The loss of the bridge has been the chief cause of McLaughlin's hostility to Mr. Hill, and he has more than once made the return of it a condition of his further support of Hill's plans. If the proposed Bridge Bill is allowed to pass through the Hill-Tammany legislature, that fact will be pretty conclusive evidence that McLaughlin has got his "terms."—*New York Evening Post.*

* * *

All this programme was foreshadowed in these dispatches, a few days ago. Gov. Hill keenly realizes that his chances are desperate, and in spite of precedent and of the protests that he has received from prominent democrats, in spite of reason and of sound judgment, he is determined to force on the party a "snap" convention in midwinter, when many of the roads are impassable, and when it will be well nigh impossible for the people of the country districts to attend the primaries where the delegates will be chosen, thus enabling the "bosses" to choose their own delegates in their own way and without opposition.

Coming within twenty-four hours after Gov. Flower had affixed his signature to the enumeration bill, the real significance of the hurry to pass that measure now becomes thoroughly manifest. For a week before the convention is held, and during the time it is held, the 5,300 enumerators who are to be selected by Secretary of State Frank Rice will be engaged in their labors—a formidable army of politicians who will exert no little influence, even in those counties where the honest and well-grounded opposition to Hill is strongest. The passage of that bill, the gag-law that was applied in the senate, the precipitate haste of Gov. Flower to sign it without giving to it that attention and scrutiny which a bill of its importance demands, stand forth now in the light of a conspiracy against the state, and in the interest of as desperate a gang of freebooters as ever ran a political machine.—*New York Times, January 22.*

* * *

The names of the enumerators for all the other sections of the state were transmitted to Senator Hill at his headquarters in this city for his personal inspection, before they were agreed upon. If the senator approved of the lists, they were turned over to the secretary of state, with the former's indorsement. In case any of the appointees were found unsatisfactory by Senator Hill, who wants none but political hangers-on or ward heelers to serve as enumerators, the names of the undesirable candidates were stricken from the lists, and the local leader was directed to select others. Evidently Hill is not easily satisfied in this particular, for it is said that the secretary of state has been kept busy revising the "official" lists of enumerators, in accordance with instructions received continually from the senator.—*New York Evening Post, Feb. 10.*

The fact that Secretary Rice refused to give out the names of the enumerators shows, moreover, that this census is to be taken by a close corporation, which works on the principle that the census is not the public's business.—*New York Evening Post, Feb. 16.*

* * *

The county democratic convention was held at Horseheads to-day, and was one of the liveliest ever held in this county. Alexandria C. Eustace, the State committeeman and civil service commissioner, as was expected, worked things under the instructions of his party boss, Senator D. B. Hill, to suit himself. John

B. Stanchfield, one of Hill's lieutenants, was chosen chairman. The committee on contested delegates reported in favor of the Eustace delegates. This occasioned a bitter feeling, and the anti-Eustace men expressed their feelings in the most vigorous language.—*Elmira Dispatch to New York Times, Feb. 7.*

* * *

The early call of the New York State Democratic Convention to choose delegates to the national convention is in a measure having the effect it was intended to have in Connecticut. The call for the state convention here has not been issued, but the Hill men are as industriously at work all over the state as if the Connecticut convention was to be coincident with the one in Albany. They have picked out their candidates for delegates to the national convention in every county in the state, and are strengthening their lines in all directions. Here in New Haven the candidate for county delegate who represents Hill and Hillism is Alexander Troup, who has more than once been repudiated by the democrats of his own town, and who will be repudiated again. In published communications Troup has declared that he wears no man's collar (perhaps he doesn't since William H. Barnum died), and that if chosen as a delegate he will act for the best interests of the party. He dare not say that he is opposed to Cleveland—he filled a federal office under Cleveland—and he is careful not to say that he is opposed to Hill. But it is not necessary that he should announce his preference. Everybody knows that he is working for Hill. He believes in and practices the Hill kind of politics. He is a spoilsman of the spoilsmen, holding rigidly to the motto "to the victors belong the spoils." He publicly scoffed at President Cleveland's civil service reform declarations while holding an office in the Cleveland administration which Chairman Barnum demanded for him. And if he can not have all the spoils he is willing to divide.—*New Haven Dispatch to New York Times, Feb. 8.*

* * *

Tammany shows its customary defiance of decent public sentiment by forcing the board of police justices to appoint the Hon. John P. Keating clerk of the court of special sessions. Keating was indicted by the grand jury in 1890 for extorting money from prisoners as warden of Lullow street jail, and was compelled to resign that position. There was never any doubt about his guilt. Henry S. Ives testified that he had, while confined for fourteen months in the jail, paid Keating \$10,000 for special privileges. Another civil prisoner testified that he had paid Keating twenty dollars for the privilege of going about the city in charge of a keeper. The indictments against Keating were dismissed on the recommendation of the Hon. John R. Fellows, and Keating was soon after appointed to a city court clerkship. Now he goes a step higher and secures a place with a salary of \$6,000 a year. He owes his steady progress, in spite of all exposures as to his character, to the friendship of the Hon. Richard Croker, he being the Tammany leader in Croker's district.—*New York Evening Post, Jan. 26.*

* * *

Gov. Flower's appointment of Isaac H. Maynard as a judge of the court of appeals is recognized by the democratic press as so indefensible that they receive it in silence. There is nothing in his career to commend him for this exalted position. He has been a politician of the "pernicious activity" kind for nearly twenty years. He began as a member of the assembly from Delaware county, and though his skill as a politician was sufficient to get him elective office in that county he has never been able to command popular support in the state at large. He was elected county judge and surrogate there in 1877, and his service on that bench constitutes his entire judicial experience. He was the democratic candidate for secretary of state in 1883, and was defeated, running behind his ticket. He then secured the appointment of deputy attorney-general at Albany, and in 1885 Secretary Manning appointed him second comptroller in the treasury department at Washing-

ton. Secretary Fairchild promoted him to the post of assistant secretary, and in that position he originated the bogus "sugar fraud" charges against officials in the New York custom house and used them as an excuse for making fifteen removals. We charged him with the responsibility for this performance, and he telegraphed to us denying the charge and demanding proof. An investigation was held by a committee of the senate, and the charge was sustained, Mr. Maynard failing to appear in his own defence. The "sugar frauds" were subsequently shown to be entirely bogus, the officials removed and assailed by Maynard were exonerated, and the Boston *Advertiser*, which repeated Maynard's charges against one of the accused, has recently paid \$1,000 damages as a compromise to prevent further legal proceedings in a suit for damages in which the jury gave a verdict of \$12,500 against the paper.

* * *

After his departure from the treasury department with this record, Mr. Maynard was appointed again deputy attorney-general at Albany. When the democratic state convention met last summer, he appeared before it as Governor Hill's candidate for attorney-general, but found so little encouragement for his claims that he left town before the balloting began, and his name was not presented to the convention. When Governor Hill began his campaign for the control of the senate, after election, Mr. Maynard acted as his ally and agent in instigating the county canvassing boards to the various fraudulent proceedings which culminated in the theft of the Dutchess county-seat by the state board of canvassers. He was the recognized "counsel" of the Onondaga and Dutchess county canvassing boards, in which the most outrageous frauds were committed. His activity in this work is universally admitted to have constituted his chief claim to the present appointment, and Governor Flower is generally regarded as using a court of appeals judgeship as payment for a political debt.—*New York Evening Post*, Jan. 20.

* * *

The favored candidate for superintendent of public instruction was a man that not more than five members had ever heard of before last Saturday and whom less than five had ever seen. He has made no canvass, written no letters, applied for no support. Beyond the confines of Erie county he had no reputation. There whatever reputation he had was that of a politician. At the eleventh hour, when the other half dozen candidates imagined the contest would be awarded on its merits, the name of Mr. Crooker of Erie is sprung, and the members of the legislature are informed by Lieut. Gov. Sheehan and Senator Hill that they must support him. Many of the members are indignant and express their feelings openly. Others are angry and conceal it; all are disgusted more or less, but hesitate to say so. * * * James F. Crooker has been superintendent of education in Buffalo for ten years or more. The office is an elective one, its term being two years. Mr. Crooker is and always has been, a staunch democrat, and Buffalo is, in the main, a republican city, but Mr. Crooker has been re-elected so many times that the republicans have about made up their minds that it is useless to nominate a man against him. This condition of things is not due to Mr. Crooker's popularity, but to his adroit disposition of the immense patronage at his disposal. Early in his career Mr. Crooker catered to the local political bosses in the distribution of his "patronage." He then formed an alliance with "Jack" White, the republican boss of the first ward which has never been broken. For years it has been a public scandal in Buffalo that "Jack" White could get anybody that he chose into the public schools as a teacher. White is an illiterate but shrewd man, who has represented his ward in the common council for the last sixteen or eighteen years consecutively. He is one of the few men who control the republican machine in Erie county, and he openly works for Crooker's election, no matter who the candidate of his own party may be. So powerful is he that no republican leader has even suggested that he be disciplined. He is a Barney Biglin sort of a man and his followers cling to him because he "takes care of them."—*New York Times*, February 10.

Gov. Hill's action, it is well understood, was political. *The fish commissioners have the appointment of fifteen fish and game protectors, and strong efforts have been made to convert the protective system into a part of the political machine.* The commissioners have ignored politics; they have been governed in their appointments solely by an earnest desire to maintain an efficient service. Their only purpose has been to protect the game and the fish and to increase the supply. As public-spirited officers, serving without pay, they have acknowledged allegiance to neither democrat nor republican; and they have never considered an employee's politics, nor the political bearing of his employment in their service. This independent attitude they have maintained in the face of constant importunings by those in authority to appoint, for political reasons, unworthy applicants. This step—the summary ousting of a faithful, upright, and independent public servant from a position of trust to make the office and its incumbent a subservient factor—is an unmistakable and shameless declaration that the fish-culture interests of the state of New York are to be sacrificed to political ends. We are to have, not game protectors, but ward heelers; the increase of the food-fish supply is to be subordinated to the satisfying of partisan greed.—*Forest and Stream*, January, 1892, on Removal of Fish Commissioner Eugene G. Blackford.

* * *

Senator Hill's endeavors to turn the state fishery commission into a political machine have at last been rewarded with success. It was only a short time ago that, as governor, he removed from the commission its most valued member, Eugene G. Blackford, and appointed in his place David G. Hackney, a professional politician, whose only recommendation for the place was that he was a political friend of Hill's. At that time Henry Burden, of Troy, another valuable member of the board, prepared his letter of resignation. He was induced to put off sending it, but a day or two ago he decided to remain a commissioner no longer and sent the following letter to Gov. Flower:

* * * "In the two and one-half years that I have been on the commission, the question of politics has not entered into the few appointments we have had to make, and I think I voice the sentiment of all my former associates on the board that it should be kept out, as we recognize the fact that its efficiency would be destroyed if other than fitness and merit should control our appointments. I regret to say that our freedom of action has been somewhat hampered of late by politicians and state officials high in authority. The work of the commission is of such a nature that it can not be made a political machine without destroying its usefulness.

"As we receive no salary, I had a personal pride that our work should be conducted as one would his private business, that is, to give the people the best possible results with the means at our command. In view of the above facts, I can not consistently longer remain a member of this board."

Mr. Burden has taken the greatest interest in his duties. He is an enthusiastic fisherman, and anything relating to fish or fish culture is his delight. It was largely through his efforts that the legislature empowered the construction of the three fishways in the Hudson river. He had charge, also, of the Sacondaga fish hatchery, and he was interested in the construction of a fish car for the distribution of fish. His intention was to have it fitted with a shad hatching plant.—*New York Times*, January 20.

* * *

There is not a decent man in the city, of either party, who is not ashamed of the exhibition of Hill's boomers at Albany. A gentleman who has known the ex-governor for twenty-five years, and who was present when the rabble called upon him, says that Mr. Hill has broken his anti-swearing record; that when he was accosted by the hungry mob he caused the air to become blue with copper-lined oaths, his wrath being generally turned upon the managers of the excursion. A large crowd was at the station to "view the remains" of wrecked humanity as the excursion train rushed into the station here at nine o'clock this morning. The toughs were in a stupor, many of them hatless, and there were few whose

cheap hats were not smashed into the appearance of Chinese lanterns. Several fights had taken place, and cuts and bruises adorned the faces of some of the men. At the station a lively scrimmage took place, and several of the mob were locked up. The banners looked as if they had been through a cyclone, and as a whole a more woebegone aggregation of mortals never stepped off a train in this city. An inspection of the empty cars revealed a disgusting state of things. The floors and seats were completely littered, and empty bottles were everywhere to be seen. It is scarcely necessary to say that the senator is sorry that he chartered and paid for the train that carried his political puppets to the state capital.—*Elmira Dispatch to New York Times*, Feb. 24.

FACTS DISCERNIBLE AFAR OFF WITH THE NAKED EYE.

"We make no excuses, offer no apologies, ask no suspension of judgment. We say, investigate, scrutinize, take our word for nothing; but afar off, or near at hand, with glass or naked eye, examine what has been done in great things and little things, and on such examination pass judgment.

* * * —Attorney General Miller, at Philadelphia, February 12, 1892.

Senator Quay is as frank and open in his methods as Senator Hill. He says of the Pennsylvania delegation, which he is now "packing" for personal use in the National Republican convention, that it will not be committed to any candidate, but will go to Minneapolis as a "Quay delegation," and that when he gets on the ground with it he will look the field over, and see what to do with his men.—*New York Evening Post*, February 15.

* * *

It affords the *Ledger* as much satisfaction to announce this morning the withdrawal of Mr. John Field's resignation of the office of postmaster of Philadelphia as it will give gratification to his fellow-citizens, especially to those of the active business community, to be authoritatively informed of its withdrawal. A few months ago it became an open secret that the practical politicians, who had strenuously opposed Mr. Field's appointment, were encroaching upon his official authority, and interfering with his sagacious and efficient management. The pressure of this political force became greater and greater upon the postmaster, until, at last, he was obliged to recognize that he was no longer untrammelled, no longer able to conduct the affairs of the post-office in accordance with the same just and intelligent principles as those upon which his business as a merchant was conducted. Recognizing then that, in respect of his own good fame, he could not continue to occupy a position of public trust in which his capacity for usefulness to the community of business was already impaired and likely to be destroyed, and his own good faith likely to be impugned, Mr. Field tendered his resignation of it. Subsequently, on Saturday evening, Mr. Field was induced to withdraw his resignation. It is scarcely necessary to assure those who know him that he has consented to remain postmaster only upon condition that he shall be in fact and deed the postmaster, with absolute authority to conduct the affairs of the office in harmony with his sense of duty to the public, and with his long and honorable record of devotion to the welfare of his fellow-citizens, regardless of the selfish interests of the practical politicians.—*Philadelphia Ledger*, February 1.

* * *

The republicans of Pennsylvania are choosing delegates to a state convention which is to nominate a candidate for justice of the supreme court.

Among the delegates already elected in Philadelphia are three appraisers who were indicted for their complicity in the Bardsley frauds. Two magistrates in the same city have also been nominated for re-election by the republicans who admitted before the council's committee that they permitted Bardsley to retain portions of the costs and fees when a settlement was made with him for the delinquent mercantile taxes of 1890, the reason for their payment of tribute being the outrageous costs which they had themselves piled up, one of them having charged \$8.76 for each dollar taken in, and the other extorting \$36 for the collection of \$1.—*New York Evening Post*, Jan. 21.

John Collins, leader of the fourth assembly district, started the discussion. He said that something should be done at once to get the republican workers something to do. He raised the old cry and declared that it was an outrage that so many democrats were retained in the federal offices. He said that he had gone to Secretary of the Navy Tracy, to get him to put some democrats out of the navy yard and that while the secretary didn't absolutely refuse to do so, he left it to be inferred that he would do nothing of the kind.

Mr. Collins complained bitterly that democrats were employed in the post-office, in the public stores, and in the custom house as well as in the navy yard. He believed that the necessities of the republican party made it imperative that a change should be made and that at once. He also complained that those who were most successful in getting places for republicans were men who did not mingle with the men who got the votes and who did all the hard work for the republican party. Every man who got a job had some big republican back of him. "This social line must be broken down," exclaimed Mr. Collins dramatically, thereby giving warning to the "silk stockings" that the "short hairs" were getting mad.

Several other members of the executive committee also spoke in the same vein. The discussion was very animated at times. One speaker said that Bernard Biglin employed sixty men and that none of them belonged to the republican organization. He thought that all republicans should do what they could to secure employment for republican workers in or out of the federal service. It was charged that not only were democrats employed in the federal offices, but they were also employed by republican commissions and officers.

George W. Wanmaker, therepublican leader of the seventeenth assembly district, advised the appointment of a committee of five to go to Washington and call on Secretary of the Treasury Foster with a view to ascertaining what could be done toward getting the democrats out. Another leader said: "This committee should call on everybody and get every democrat out." Mr. Wanmaker insisted that the republican workers should be provided for. He said; "Unless this is done we shall go under in 1892."

John H. Gunner, leader of the republicans in the twenty-second district, also argued on this line. He said that he had succeeded in getting a sweeper appointed in the post-office, and that when he made an effort to get this

sweeper promoted, instead of being promoted the sweeper was discharged. Then, to appease Mr. Gunner, Postmaster Van Cott appointed a woman scrubber. The postmaster was informed by Mr. Gunner that he had no woman in his district that could vote. —*Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Republican County Committee, New York Times, November 19.*

The republicans of Brooklyn will have the satisfaction of seeing Quarantine Commissioner John A. Nichols and Port Warden William H. Leaycraft put out of office. The former was appointed ten years ago by Gov. Cornell, and he has been holding over ever since by grace of Thomas C. Platt and the latter's senators. Although the salary is not a large one, Nichols has managed to become a well-to-do man since he came from Baltimore fifteen years ago, and rumor has it that he made his money in the rag-disinfecting ring, in which E. B. Bartlett and he were interested. It was these men who took Ernst Nathan under their united wings, and put him forward as a local boss. The result has been apparent, and there are very few republicans who will shed tears over Nichols's decapitation. Leaycraft was also appointed by Governor Cornell in 1882, and he has been holding over through Platt's friendship. His office is run on the fee system, and Leaycraft claims to have netted between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year out of it. His work has never been exacting, and rarely requires his personal attention. His time in winter is spent in Albany as a "cavalryman," and is said to be very popular with the legislators, and to have exercised considerable "persuasive" powers. It is hinted that he and Israel P. Fischer, republican state committeeman, are going to organize a firm to deal in legislative privileges. They have both made arrangements to be in Albany all winter.—*New York Times, January 3.*

Port Warden William H. Leaycraft has begun to realize that he must soon walk the plank and make room for some good democrat, so he is spending all his time in Washington trying to hunt up a profitable job in the treasury department. Reports received by his friends indicate that he will succeed. Leaycraft is very much like Major "Billy" Barker, not only in personal appearance, but in his ability to get a job at almost any time. He is the boss of a very small section of Brooklyn, the thirteenth ward, and is always on the side of the candidate who has most clearly followed Iago's advice to "put money in thy purse," and he has done as much as any other man except Ernst Nathan to give the democratic ring 20,000 majority in Kings county. Yet he can always get a job.—*New York Times, February 7.*

An effort is being made by some senators who want certain appointments to the circuit and district courts to delay confirming the judicial nominations pending till the President has not only filled the circuit court vacancies existing, but also the vacancies which may be created by appointments to circuits. The purpose of such a movement is plain. It is to force the President to yield to the demands of senators in making appointments, or suffer the penalty of an alliance with democrats for the

purpose of defeating pending nominations.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, January 12.*

Patronage, spelled with capital letters, has been an engrossing topic in Washington to-day. How could it be otherwise, with ten stalwart patronage-hunters from New York city in town? Mr. Jacob M. Patterson mustered his braves quite early this morning. The number had been increased by several New Yorkers who did not get here with the main body last night, and comprised representatives of ten out of the twenty four assembly districts in New York city. This is the way the delegation lined up at the Arlington Hotel previous to the opening of hostilities:

J. M. Patterson, tenth district.
M. J. Healy, first district.
Charles F. Murray, third district.
John Simpson, sixth district.
John R. Nugent, fourteenth district.
R. A. Greacen, fifteenth district.
George W. Wanmaker (not Wanamaker), seventeenth district.
Bernard Biglin, eighteenth district.
Michael Goode, twentieth district.

All these men had come to Washington to further a preconcerted plan to ask the administration for more patronage for republicans in the city of New York. About 11 o'clock the procession started for the White House. The President had been warned of the coming invasion and was fully prepared to receive the place-seekers. They were ushered into his presence without delay, and in about fifteen minutes he was made fully acquainted with the object of their call. Mr. Patterson acted as spokesman and introduced the gentlemen to the President. Mr. Harrison was already acquainted with Mr. Biglin and one or two others of the party. They had been to see him before on similar errands. The position of the New York republicans was fully set forth by Patterson and Biglin. The party, they said, was on the eve of a great struggle. They believed that victory could be won in the state of New York if the republicans adopted the right tactics. The democrats were torn by dissensions, and the recent acts of David B. Hill had done much to make republican success possible. In the city it was hard to contend against Tammany and its enormous resources in the shape of party patronage. Patronage was necessary to party organization, and party organization was necessary if victory was to be had at the polls. There were in the employment of the government in New York city many democrats who were appointed by the last administration. Their places ought to be filled by republicans. The sight of democrats holding office under a republican administration was repugnant to old-time republicans, who believed that victory should carry with it all the spoils consistent with good government. While the delegation believed in the civil service law (everybody looked solemn at this juncture), there were many places which this law did not cover, and these were the ones the republicans coveted.

The interview came to an end at last, and the delegation marched from the White House to the treasury department, Secretary Foster had been apprised of its coming and was "in." For fifteen minutes he listened to the tale of woe. However much he may have sympathized with the object of the visit, he was exceedingly circumspect, and no man in the party could say afterward that he had promised to do anything definite. "He talked about the outlook for the party, and even discussed the subjects of turning the democrats out, but he didn't say positively that anything would be done," said the republican quoted above. "He promised to talk the matter over with the President, and we had to be content with this." The delegation went back to the Arlington, and spent the remainder of the day there comparing notes. Theodore Roosevelt, of the civil service commission, is the man whose scalp they deem necessary to the furtherance of their plan. Nothing about Mr. Roosevelt was said to the President or to Secretary Foster, but some very broad hints were let fall. On this subject one of the delegation, who has exercised a controlling voice in its movements, said to-night:

"Mr. Roosevelt alone stands in the way of republican occupancy of the offices we have come to Washington to see about. *The civil service commissioners, it is well known, have the power to make many rules which can be used to the detriment of the party in power if they so elect. Mr. Harrison could meet all our demands and strengthen himself with the party if he would remove Roosevelt and put in a man who would be willing to change the rules to suit the occasion.* These are plain words, but they express our feelings exactly. Mr. Harrison needs only to look between the lines of our argument to-day to recognize our position as regards the civil service commission. If he does this, and acts as we would like to have him do, he will be more favorably regarded by the members of the party at large."

The republican who made this utterance was certainly in earnest, and there can be no question that he stands high in the ranks of the New York City members of the party. Perhaps the President did not "look between the lines." If not, this will be sufficient notice to him to do so.

The offices which the delegation is after are greater in number than the general public imagines. To begin with, Mr. Patterson wants to be one of the commissioners provided for in the law controlling the construction of the new custom house in New York. There are five of these commissioners to be appointed by the secretary of the treasury, and they are to superintend the construction of the proposed new building. They are to be known as United States building commissioners and are to receive "a fair and reasonable compensation," to be fixed by the secretary. Ex-governor McCormick of Arizona, now of Long Island, is another candidate for one of these commissionerships. There are many chief clerkships at \$2,500 a year, which the republicans regard with covetous eyes. These are now filled by democrats who are protected by the civil service law. It is claimed that they were placed on the classified list of the service some time before Mr. Cleveland retired from the presidency. Other places which are demanded are those of the paymaster, the superintendent of weighers, superintendent of laborers in the public stores, and superintendent of warehouses. Then there are any number of deputy collectorships which the democrats now hold, carrying salaries which would handsomely support republican families. Many of the "hold-overs," it is said by the delegation to-night, are not protected by the civil service rules and might just as well be put out to make room for republicans and thus strengthen the hands of the administration. The leaders of the delegation professed to feel confident after their visits to the President and secretary of the treasury, that their mission would prove successful. Barney Biglin said he believed that the administration was disposed to do "what was right," and he believed that in good time the rank and file would have no cause to complain of its action in regard to the offices at its disposal. He expressed the opinion that the republicans would win in New York state and the nation next fall. "You may say for me that I believe that Mr. Harrison will be the republican nominee, and that he will be elected."—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, February 5.*

* * *

Ex-United States Marshall Louis F. Payn left here for New York this afternoon sore in spirit. He had come to Washington full of hope that he might carry away with him the fat contract he has been seeking for several months for his brother-in-law, Edward S. Mellen, for labor at the public stores in New York City. He had the indorsement of Thomas C. Platt, and Senator Hiscock had promised to aid him. Mr. Payn was duly introduced to Secretary Foster, and his plea and that of the big man from Syracuse were received. Then Mr. Foster refused to give him the contract. The refusal was so plainly the result of long consideration that Mr. Payn did not tarry in the presence of the Secretary. * * *

All the New York republican patronage seekers, with the exception of Jacob M. Patterson and Bernard Biglin, left Washington for home this afternoon. These two gentlemen remain to see if they can not carry back with them the promise of Secre-

tary Foster to make Patterson one of the five commissioners to supervise the erection of the new custom house and the appraisers' stores. They called upon Mr. Foster again this afternoon and pressed the claim to the best of their ability. If they get away with their personal baggage they will do well. The district leaders expressed themselves as not any too well satisfied with the outlook for more patronage when they departed.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, Feb. 6.*

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue and compel his cabinet advisers to pursue the civil service policy pure and simple and upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly—either have that kind of a civil service, or for God's sake let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal, method of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. * * * —*Senator Benjamin Harrison, 1886.*

There is much excitement in political circles here. Some days ago, Signal Officer B. H. Bronson, who has been stationed at Charlotte for a number of years, and has always been non-partisan, received a letter from the war department charging him with being a partisan, and with affiliating with democrats. Bronson wrote the department, demanding its informant. To-day he received a letter in reply, refusing to give the author of the charges and saying that to do so would implicate the republican party.—*Charlotte, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, June 7, 1891.*

* * *

Gen. C. J. Langdon, Elmira, N. Y.:

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 19th inst., is just received. I had already examined with some care the papers on file in the postmaster general's office relating to the Elmira postmastership, which were forwarded to the committee on post-offices and post-roads at the request of the chairman of the committee.

The charges against Dr. Flood, and upon which it is pretended his removal was based, are of the most trifling character, and are wholly unsupported by any evidence in corroboration of them. If charges of a similar character were made by any individual in some matter not affecting the government of the United States, they would not stand a moment's scrutiny. They deal only in vile innuendo, and would not bear the light of the most superficial investigation. They were sufficient for the postmaster general of the United States; they would not be sufficient for any fair man.

The inspectors, and there were two of them, commenced their work as early as May last, although Dr. Flood's final removal was not requested until December 9th. The result of their efforts was as follows:

They discovered an apparent shortage of \$39, which upon explanation is shown to be no shortage at all.

The statement by two letter carriers that when some question was coming up as to voting a twenty thousand-dollar loan, and upon one other occasion, Dr. Flood asked the carriers to canvass their routes.

That he belongs to a corrupt political ring.

The statement by another physician that on one occasion—date not given—the doctor was about to amputate a limb without first applying tourniquet, thereby endangering the

patient's life, and that his assistant interfered to prevent it.

That the doctor belonged to a social club, where there was some drinking, and that it was "suspected" he was gambling.

The course pursued in the removal of Dr. Flood is in exact accordance with the methods of the post-office department, as they have been elsewhere exemplified. Every good citizen familiar with the management of the office deplors them, but they are chargeable to the official who sanctions them, and not to the political party to which the official belongs. The republican party is not to be measured by the conduct of its postmaster general; if it was, it would be in a bad way indeed.

I understand the removal of Dr. Flood is an incident to a factional fight in the county in which Elmira is situated. If the true reason had been given for Dr. Flood's removal there might be justification for it, inasmuch as the office is not, as it should be, under civil service regulations. There are no charges against the character of Mr. Rathbun, who is named as Dr. Flood's successor, and it may be our duty in such case not to inquire further than as to the fitness of the new appointee. Without, therefore, touching the question of Mr. Rathbun's confirmation, I cordially join with you in your expression of disgust at the unworthy methods employed to effect Dr. Flood's removal. With regards, yours very truly. EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

Washington, January 21.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

(CONTINUED.)

John A. Bell testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. Roosevelt.) What is your position in the office? A. I am dispatcher here.

Q. How long have you been in the service? A. I came in the office, I think, this month a year ago.

Q. What ward do you live in? A. I live in the seventh ward.

Q. Are you a member of the republican club in that ward? A. Yes, sir; I am a member of the seventh ward club.

* * *

Q. Mr. Bell, do you know of any collection of money for use in the primaries on next Monday? A. Well, I don't know particularly about what the money is to be used for. I know that Mr. Gladfelter handed me some money to hand to the treasurer of the organization the other day.

Q. He gave you five dollars, wasn't it? A. Yes, sir; he handed me a five-dollar note.

Q. Do you remember when that was? A. Well, I couldn't say positively the night, but it was one night this present week; two or three nights ago.

Q. Was it down-stairs in the basement? A. Well, I couldn't positively tell you where it was he handed it to me. I am generally very busy, you know.

Q. But it was in this building somewhere? A. It was around the building somewhere; yes, sir.

* * *

Q. You have not, then, contributed? A. I haven't given him a cent.

Q. Have you contributed through anyone? A. No, sir; not a cent.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. I, No. 37.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WITH this number the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE enters upon its fourth year, the first number having been published in the first month of Harrison's administration. The volume will cover the four years of that administration, that being deemed the most fitting arrangement considering the purposes of the paper. That period will cover the time it was originally intended to continue the publication. It may be said that the CHRONICLE has met with an appreciation from leading men in all sections of the country which is an ample reward for the steady and extended labor which has been freely given for three years.

WE have received from a professor of Cornell University a note, not for publication, protesting that our criticism of Professor Collin last month for his advocacy of Hill and Hillism shows a lack of appreciation of the fact that Cornell professors hold their positions, and would only hold them, with the understanding that they are to have the utmost latitude of expression of opinion. We so understood it and should regard any other holding as a sacrifice of manliness. The right to the freest expression of opinion however is well defined and limited. It does not, for instance, embrace the right of advocating the establishment of more gambling houses in Ithaca. There is nowhere any pretense of denying that securing a democratic majority in the New York senate was Hill's work; it is this of which his friends are the proudest. A few years ago we had a returning board in session at Indianapolis. Under the lead of Simeon Coy, a local politician, a conspiracy was formed and carried out to the extent that the figures of a number of the returns were erased and other figures substituted with a view to giving candidates of Coy's party a majority which the people had not given them. For their part in this conspiracy Coy and the chairman of the board were sent to prison. Now, we challenged last month and we challenge again any one to show that the Hill conspiracy by which his party got control of the New York senate differs in any essential criminal element from Coy's conspiracy. Are we to under-

stand that a professor of Indiana University would be within the limits of the utmost latitude of expression of opinion were he to become a public champion of Coy? Clearly not, and neither is Professor Collin within such limit.

Since the foregoing was written we have received the following extract from the *Cornell Daily Sun* of February 17, quoting from an address of Professor Collin before the History and Political Science Association on the "Machine in Politics":

"It is the duty of every true citizen who has any spark of patriotism about him to assist the machine in one way or another. No one should feel himself above the work of political fighting. *The man who sells his vote for money is more to be respected than the man who stays away from the polls and does not vote.*"

We commend the last statement to the notice of our readers with the remark that it seems powerful cumulative evidence of fundamental unbalance. We repeat again, that parents will not desire their boys to be in the path of such notions of citizenship. The political ethics of the Hills and Quays will not long be tolerated in the teaching of any university.

THE *Indianapolis Journal* divides its time between a silly adulation of President Harrison and declarations that independence in politics is disappearing. In the meantime with ceaseless industry it works its notary seal in London to the tune of forty or fifty thousand dollars a year. This is the unseen but perfectly well-known rudder that guides its course and makes it an object of goodnatured pity. President Harrison is not helped by its adulation, and independence in politics was never so great and growing as it is to-day, and it is nowhere more flourishing than in the *Journal's* own city. Parties at present are small minorities composing the party machines in each community. These machines have no object in the world except to quarter their members upon the people. Let each citizen look around him and see if this is not so. Blind adherence to a party leads to the Quay grip upon Pennsylvania and the Tammany grip upon New York. It is the duty of every citizen to look with cold-blooded indifference upon mere party success, and this duty is now being performed as it never was before. Party machines can and do control nominations, but the voters have absolute control of the elections.

THE late Oscar C. McCulloch was an example to the clergy. He saw that blind adhesion to a party was the way not to secure good government. He recognized that to keep civil government advancing, great reforms are always necessary. He knew the stupendous corruption of the spoils system and he was its uncompromising enemy. In every election he made his vote count with complete indifference to mere party success. He was a leader of the people. How this course does contrast with the course of a large number of his brother ministers who occupy comfortable pulpits and consider their duty done when they have preached their creed. They are but dilettante citizens and always break down in a crisis. They then take their cue from the politicians of their party and labor heavily to make the worse appear the better matter.

ONE of the curious phases of politics is the attitude of the democrats towards Hill. It is true that one of them shows a complete grasp of his character by the remark that Hill can not break into the White House with a jimmy, and there are doubtless others of equal moral courage, but they are exceptions. All the corrupt elements of the democratic party are for Hill. A large majority of the rest are against him, and this majority is now struggling apparently helpless in the hands of the Hill machine. Its protest in New York may be taken as a fair example. Naturally we should expect to see the acts by which a bogus majority was secured in the New York senate, brought by these protestants with minute detail to the notice of every democrat in the state, with indignant insistence, that the party should make an outcast of the man who, if the boasts of his friends are true, is fit for the penitentiary. A statement of the facts of Hill's "splendid services to his party" ends the argument, and those democrats who should make it would command the respect of the country. Instead they are making a great noise because Hill had a state convention held in February. There is no indication that their conscience is roused because a state government has been stolen or that they do not mean to vote for Hill if his machine rides them down. Frederick R. Coudert and Everett P. Wheeler, and their associates, have the appearance of being indifferent to acts that are subversive of free government.

As the readers of the CHRONICLE know there are yet left in Pennsylvania some men not deadened to the duties of citizenship, who, sacrificing personal ease, financial profit and other worldly perquisites, are struggling to free themselves and other fellow-citizens from Quay's dictatorship. There are signs that they are making headway, for there has lately appeared an occasional press report with the startling charge purporting to be written by Clarkson, but said to be written by Quay's late private secretary, now in Clarkson's employ, that all these charges against Quay emanate from a conspiracy of Tammany to ruin him. A few days later the story becomes more lurid with the further detail that Tammany threatened to kill Quay. This is pretty slippery ground on which to hope to stem the rising tide against Quay; yet it will avail somewhat. His henchmen will with forced soberness applaud him as a hero, and a class of very ignorant, or very bigoted republicans, will grasp this as an excuse for casting another ignorant and bigoted vote. Quay as a martyr is a grotesque spectacle.

It will be remembered that Eugene Higgins cut some figure during Mr. Cleveland's administration. Of late years he has lived the best he could on Maryland spoil, but he seems embittered and reckless. He says:

"Civil service reform is a fiasco. It is one of the greatest outrages that was ever perpetrated on a too-confiding public. Let me give you an example: When I was a clerk in the treasury department (you remember mine was the first appointment Mr. Cleveland made), one of the positions of watchman in the building became vacant. There were two candidates for the position, one a sturdy young fellow of twenty-two and the other a consumptive school teacher. The young man was the son of a western farmer who had been one of the most useful supporters of the democratic party in his section of the country. There was a civil service examination, and the school teacher got the place and its salary of \$1,800, while the young fellow, who needed the money to support his father in his old age, did not get the position. Do you think that was right? Well that occurs every day. I am down on civil service reform, and I do not care who knows it."

The difficulty with Higgins's story is that watchmen in the treasury are not and never were paid \$1,800 a year, and they are not and never were examined.

WE ask the readers of this paper to examine the work of Tammany for one month; note the manifold directions of its activity, and consider how monstrous is its power for evil. New York is most vitally concerned to cut herself out from this mesh of wickedness, and so also is the whole country. Tammany's last exploit was the arrest of Mr. Godkin, of the *Evening Post*. He has the supreme satisfaction of knowing that he has got through Tamman's thick hide at last.

THE VICTOR AND THE SPOIL.

(Compiled from Indianapolis papers.)

The Indianapolis fire department is now composed of 116 men, classified as follows:

Chief and assistants.....	2
New firemen employed within the past two years.....	51
Men in the service two years and upward...	45
Out of active service.....	11
Tower men.....	3
Line men.....	3
Driver of coal wagon.....	1

Total..... 116

* * *

President Morrison, of the health board, was seen by a *Journal* reporter and said:

"About Sept. 24 the Price Baking Powder Company wrote me asking for a full analysis of their baking powder, and offering to pay all the expenses connected therewith. I answered, saying that if they wanted a full private analysis of their powder they would have to make a private contract with chemist Latz, if they desired to make such analysis. I then wrote Latz a note, inclosing the note of the Price company to me. In my note to Latz I stated that if he entered into any agreement with the baking powder company I would request that he make his fees reasonable, as we did not wish to be placed in the position of driving any concern into the position of making an expensive analysis by a man who was acting for the health board and at the same time doing private work. This was suggested by a remark made to me by Mr. Harry Gates to the effect that he had been compelled to pay a good round sum in excess of a fair charge to Mr. Latz for a re-examination of his powder, and that such examination has done him no good whatever.

"When the result of the various analyses came in the ordinary qualitative analysis of various brands was followed by a complete quantitative analysis of the Price powder, together with a puff of the same. This latter was neither desired nor tolerated by the board, and all of that part of the report was suppressed. The board fully recognizes the right of Dr. Latz to take private contracts, but is fully determined that the results of such private analyses shall not be embodied in its public report."

Dr. Martin, of the Indiana Chemical Company, which employs Latz, through whom it is understood that the latter was employed to analyze the Price baking powder, was also seen. He was very surly at first and professed to be in entire ignorance of Mr. Latz's business, but he finally softened a little, and admitted that he knew of the correspondence, though declining to say anything about it on the plea that it would not be fair to the health board, which had suppressed the Price analysis. All attempts to see chemist Latz proved futile.

* * *

John Maloney, an attendant at the central

hospital for the insane, visited Wachstetter Bros.' saloon, 154 West Washington street, Thursday afternoon. He had twelve dollars, and very soon began spending it freely at the bar, repeatedly paying for drinks for strangers in the room. Among other things he did was to buy one dollar's worth of beef steak at a butcher shop and distribute it among several loafers in the saloon. His money was soon exhausted, and later in the evening he caused the arrest of the Wachstetters, charging them with robbing him. Judge Buskirk continued their hearing yesterday morning. -

* * *

Dr. J. E. Curtis, of the Central Insane Hospital, does not deny that he charged the attorneys who applied for a certificate of the death of Charles Fisher a fee of \$10 therefor, but says he had a right to make the charge, since this is a service which he is not required to render in his official capacity. He is very anxious for an investigation.

* * *

One day, about six weeks ago, a *News* reporter was in Coroner Manker's office when his deputy, Isaac Dunn, was taking the statement of M. R. Mansfield in an inquest. Mr. Mansfield is a railway conductor, and his train on the Vandalia struck an escaped inmate of the Insane Hospital and killed him. It was in the inquest of this case that he was called to testify. When he had concluded his testimony and signed the written statement, Dunn said: "I suppose you want your fee?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Mansfield, "if there is anything coming to me. I went to Terre Haute the other day and got nothing for my long ride."

"Well, here," said Dunn, tossing out two quarters. "I guess I'd better pony up. Put your John Hancock on this please," indicating a small piece of paper bearing a dozen or more names.

Mr. Mansfield signed his name, took the fifty cents and left, remarking that he had made the cigars off his visit.

The next day the *News* reporter called upon Mansfield at his home upon Bellefontaine street, and asked him if he knew what witness fee he was entitled to?"

"No, I do not," he replied, "I suppose fifty cents was all I was entitled to. That is all I got."

"Mr. Dunn didn't tell you that you were entitled to seventy-five cents, did he?"

"No, sir, he did not. I've never had any experience in court, and didn't know whether I was entitled to any fee or not. My brake man, B. E. Reynolds, only got the same as myself."

Saturday afternoon Dunn filed his bill for witness fees, together with his personal bill and Coroner Manker's bill, with the county commissioners. The fee bill was passed, and when passed Dunn receipted for sixty-eight witness fees, among them those of Mansfield and Reynolds. The warrants which he received were for seventy-five cents each. On June 6 he receipted for fifty-nine witness fees.

This morning the county commissioners considered Coroner Manker's bill, which for July was \$469.20. The coroner is allowed \$10 per day for the first day of an inquest, and \$2.50 for each succeeding day. The commissioners reduced the bill to \$400. Dunn's bill as clerk was \$93, but the commissioners cut it to \$81.

Deputy Dunn returned this afternoon, and gives this explanation: "Fees are payable at the county auditor's office between the 10th and the 15th of each month. I tell witnesses that they are entitled to seventy-five cents. If they want cash I sometimes offer them fifty cents, and they are often glad to accept, rather than return or wait. This statement I made to Mr. Mansfield, and if he says to the contrary I am sure he must be mistaken. I frequently, as a matter of accommodation, pay the full fee. The utmost there is in it as a matter of speculation is eight or ten dollars."

* * *

The county commissioners yesterday considered the bill of Dr. Manker, coroner, for the month of November. It aggregated \$420 for ninety-three days' work. It struck the board as singular that so many days could be crowded into one month, and a reduction of \$90, leaving the amount \$330, was made in the bill, after which it was allowed. This gives the coroner fifty-three days' service, which, while it may be within the meaning of the statute regulating coronial fees, still distends a month of time.

* * *

A. G. Smith held up his right hand this morning and made oath to support the constitution of the United States and of Indiana during his term of service as attorney general. "*I have appointed Leon Bailey to be my deputy because he is a warm personal friend, and because his experience especially fits him for the duties of the position,*" said Mr. Smith to The News to-day. "The duties of the place are not so heavy but that Mr. Bailey can have time to attend to the work of the city attorneyship, to which he has been elected. The salary of the deputy attorney general is \$2,000 per year. I have not yet determined whom I shall appoint to the clerkship in my office; probably no one for some time." Thus Mr. Bailey will be city attorney and deputy attorney general, and from the two offices will draw the comfortable combined salaries and fees, amounting to about \$5,000.

* * *

The appointment of the above officers is to take effect January 1, thus, for the first time, making the terms uniform. The appointment of a night watchman was left open. There are so many candidates, and the pull to reappoint Eden is so strong, that some trouble in agreement turned up. Commissioner Hunter is for Eden, but Commissioner Farrell is dead set against him. Commissioner Stout was therefore made to feel the brunt of the pressure, but he would not commit himself. The boiler-makers of the city are pressing James Sullivan, one of their number, for the place. He is known as a faithful democrat, whose

usefulness in his trade has become impaired by age. He has an invalid wife and six children. These facts are set forth in his behalf, but it is not believed Eden will be beaten. Albert Sahm is said to be for him, and so is Tom Taggart, but he denies having any interest in the matter. But the auditor's office is the only one which Eden is free to enter. The rest are all closed to him by order of the head officials. The matter may be settled this morning.

* * *

It leaked out to-day that a week ago last Saturday Thomas Lyons, a prisoner sentenced to the penitentiary for two years, escaped from the deputy sheriff who had him in charge between this city and the penitentiary, and has not since been heard from. And Lyons is a one-legged man too.

The sheriff's office had arranged to keep this escape a secret, and but for the brakeman on the train from which the prisoner escaped the attempt at secrecy would probably have been successful. This morning a *News* reporter surprised the deputies in the sheriff's office by unfolding the facts to them. The brakeman's story is that at Guernsey, just this side of Monon, the prisoner, who was sitting on the front seat, while the deputy sheriff was in the rear of the car, got up and jumped off the train and disappeared. At Monon the deputy got off and took the return train to Indianapolis. The brakeman said the deputy told him that he was to have left Indianapolis with the prisoner on the noon train, but he and the prisoner had "lashed up" and had missed the train. The brakeman said the train was scarcely moving when the prisoner escaped, and that the deputy made no effort to get off and capture the prisoner. "Yes, a man did escape," said Chief Deputy Corbaley. "The person's name was Thomas Lyons, who had been sent up two years for burglary. It is also true that he is a one-legged man. The person from whom he escaped is John A. Anderson, a bar-tender. Anderson came back here and reported that the train was running twenty-five miles an hour. His story does not agree at all with the one told by the brakeman."

Anderson, it seems, did not get back here until Monday, and by that time the prisoner might have been in Halifax, unless he thought it safer to be very near bar-keeper Anderson. A good many persons will want to know why the sheriff has been allowing bar-tenders and other irresponsible (officials) men to take convicts to prison—or rather to let them go free. The administration under the present sheriff has been one series of disgraces, and this is the crowning one. Prisoners run away from the jailors, the jail is kept in a lousy, foul condition, the sheriff himself figures in disgusting episodes and finally allows a bar-keeper to balk justice in the way described. And it is even true that this same sheriff has the audacity to ask a renomination.

* * *

There is dissatisfaction over the commissioners' appointments at the court house. It is

charged that Mr. "Billy" Eden, who has been reappointed night watchman at the court house, does not attend to his duty. It is said that there are many nights in every month when he is not around the building at all. This week he took a prisoner to Michigan City, and he often goes out of the city and is gone several days. Fifty dollars per month is allowed for this service, and democrats say a man could be employed who would give the valuable court records protection and all of his time.

* * *

There is likelihood of another bet getting into court. The trouble comes about this way: John Woodard, who was recently released from the penitentiary, went to Sheriff King the other day and asked permission to escort a prisoner to Michigan City. The sheriff, knowing his face but not remembering his record, wrote him an order to Turnkey Emmett, telling Emmett to let him (Woodard) escort a prisoner to the penitentiary. Woodard put the order in his pocket, and said something to his friends about the trip he was going to make.

Joe Littler didn't believe Woodard had an order from King, and offered to bet Woodard that he wouldn't take the prisoner up. The bet was made, \$35 on a side being put up. After the money had been put in the hands of a stake-holder, Woodard presented his order to Turnkey Emmett, who, knowing him, refused to recognize the order, and tore it up. Woodard now wants his money back, and says he will bring suit before 'Squire Feibleman to replevin it.

* * *

The board of trustees and superintendent of the southern Indiana hospital submitted their report to the governor yesterday.

The water supply was entirely inadequate. To remedy this deficiency, wells were dug which now furnish 300,000 gallons a day. The cost of this water plant was \$7,500. To provide against fire, and for use in the boilers, a lake was excavated covering an acre of ground and fully four feet in depth. A contract was let for the construction of a sewer to Pigeon creek, but this necessary work was stopped by the auditor's action in refusing the funds to carry on the work.

* * *

"Is Dr. Metcalf in?"

"No, sir," came the reply of a female clerk in the office of the state board of health this morning.

"When will he be in?"

"Well, that is hard to say. He ought to be down to tend to the mail pretty soon."

This was after 10 o'clock.

"How long has it been since he has been at the office?"

"He was here yesterday afternoon and a while in the morning, but his practice often keeps him away?"

The reporter turned from the door of the handsome quarters furnished by the state for the secretary to tend to his business in, and walked over to the city dispensary, where he

found a young man taking a patient's name and residence in a quarto record book.

"Is Dr. Metcalf in?"

"No, sir," answered the young man.

"When will he be in?"

"It's hard to say about that."

"Who is in charge of the dispensary during his absence?"

"I am, sir."

"How often is Dr. Metcalf here?"

"Oh, he manages to drop in a few minutes every morning and afternoon."

Reporters are not the only ones who ask such questions. Visitors and those having business at both the state health office and the city dispensary ask those questions and get the same answers. As secretary of the state board of health Dr. C. N. Metcalf gets \$1,500 per year, and as superintendent of the city dispensary he gets \$70 per month. So far as public observation goes, he doesn't give proper attention to the office, and probably if the city health board had the authority it would accomplish his disconnection with the city dispensary in a jiffy. Metcalf seems to be responsible to no one for his management of the health office's affairs. The two offices he holds have been reduced to a minimum of usefulness from sheer want of direction. It is highly discreditable that these offices should be at the mercy of peanut politics. Metcalf can not be interfered with by the health board until his term expires. His deputy, Dr. Berg, at the state board, is almost as infrequently seen as is his superior.

* * *

Three weeks ago the daughter of John O'Mara died from a malignant attack of diphtheria. Contrary to the law Mr. O'Mara allowed the funeral service to be held thirty-six instead of eighteen hours after death, and had them publicly instead of privately. The board of health held a special meeting on the case, and decided to prosecute O'Mara. The matter was reconsidered, however, and nothing was done beyond quarantining the children of four families who attended the services. Last Friday Mr. O'Mara was appointed sanitary officer by the new democratic board of health to succeed Leonard Crane.

* * *

Are councilmen and other city officers violating laws? Some of them are employes of corporations doing business with the city. Others have for years done business at their shops with corporations so profitably that they could not afford to "break" with them by voting against anything the corporations demanded.

Perhaps some things can be explained. Last night Mr. Davis, who is chairman of the committee on public property, presented two bills for expenses at Garfield Park. One was for about \$450 for fencing, and the other for \$50 worth of supplies furnished by the South Side Foundry. This foundry is owned and managed by Thomas Markey, who is a member of the city council.

"FREE AND UNPURCHASED SUPPORT."

"No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the arrangement of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed."—President Hayes, June 22, 1877.

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.—[Letter of Acceptance, 1884, Grover Cleveland.]

I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens. * * *—[Senator Benjamin Harrison.]

* * *

—The new secretary of the republican central committee is a mail carrier. Does this indicate that the postoffice is to be made republican headquarters? We do not believe that a person in the government service should occupy such a position.—Logansport Pharos, February 26.

—At the republican state committee meeting the P. M.'s were on hand in force. There was P. M. Thompson of this city, P. M. Higgins of Fort Wayne, P. M. Greiner of Terre Haute, P. M. Godfrey of New Albany, P. M. Ellis of Muncie, P. M. Crockett of South Bend, P. M. Bennett of Warsaw, P. M. Byerly of Goshen, P. M. B. Wilson Smith of La Fayette, P. M. Fearis of Union, P. M. Hendricks of Greensburgh, O. M. Tichner of Princeton, and so on ad infinitum.

After all the other federal officers had crowded into the room, including District Attorney Chambers, Assistant Cockrum, Marshal Dunlap, Collector of Internal Revenue Cravens, Deputy Collector Harvey and Pension Agent Ensley, the creatures of the noble army of P. M.'s, the members of the committee were graciously allowed to crowd in and occupy seats, while they were being instructed as to their duties, when as a mere matter of form they should meet in executive session later on in the afternoon.

"You might have heaved a brick into that

conference and never missed an office-holder," said a disgusted Blaine man in the Denison office yesterday afternoon. Those who didn't have offices had relatives in office. Of this class were J. A. Coutts, of the *Kokomo Tribune*, whose father is postmaster at Andrews, and J. W. Hess of this city, whose son Herbert has a fat seat in the departments at Washington.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 29.

—The tenth congressional republican convention was held here to-day to elect a member of the state central committee. The list of office-holders in attendance were two national bank examiners, fifteen postmasters, a pension agent or two and mail carriers innumerable. Ex-Congressman Demotte, the postmaster at Valparaiso, and his son-in-law, who is a post-office inspector, labored hard to secure an indorsement of Harrison's administration.—*Logansport Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 21.

—The republicans of the eleventh congressional district held their convention in this city to-day to elect a member of the state central committee. Resolutions were reported by a committee, of which Warren G. Sayre [Indian land commissioner] was chairman, warmly indorsing the administration.—*Wabash Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 21.

—The republicans of the second congressional district met in mass convention here to-day for the purpose of selecting a member of the state central committee. Smiley N. Chambers of Indianapolis [United States District Attorney] made several fiery speeches.—*Shoals Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, January 21.

—The committee on permanent organization, through W. Wilson, of Warrick county, reported that Warren G. Sayre (Indian land commissioner) of Wabash, had been chosen by the committee for permanent chairman. Mr. Sayre, upon taking the chair, spoke at some length. He said that he believed the prospect of the republican party continuing in power was never brighter. This was so because the party deserved it. It was a party of progress. He said he had a suspicion that this convention was fairly friendly to the President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison. The President's Bible the last three years, had been the platform put out by the convention of four years ago. Mr. Sayre said many pleasant things about the President, and was frequently applauded. As Mr. Sayre is an appointee under President Harrison, there were some smiles when he alluded to the high grade of the appointments. On the call of the roll the Third district, through Marcus L. Sulzer, of Madison, placed in nomination Newland T. DePauw, of New Albany. Although Mr. Sulzer a short time ago was opposing the administration, he talked out plainly for Harrison as the only man the republicans could afford to nominate for President. A few months ago Mr. Sulzer was appointed to a special Indian agency.

After the resolutions had been read ex-Congressman White took exception to the resolu-

tion endorsing Harrison. * * At this point Captain White's voice was drowned in hisses. J. B. Cheadle came to Captain White's assistance, and told the convention that Captain White was a republican who four years ago received 1,400 more votes than Mr. Harrison. Captain White then proceeded amid hisses.

"What has President Harrison done?" asked Mr. White.

"Everything!" shouted the convention.

Attempt after attempt was made to drown Captain White's voice, but he went on. * * Ed Conway arose in the midst of the uproar and asked that Captain White be allowed to go on. "Let him run down," said Mr. Conway. "A republican who is against Harrison is a novelty, and I move we hear him through."

Order was finally restored, and Captain White went on. * *

At this point Assistant District Attorney J. B. Cockrum got the floor, and insisted that this was a republican convention, and not a place where a man could come loaded with personal bile and spit it out.—*Indianapolis News*, March 1.

—Mr. R. T. McDonald, of Fort Wayne defeated candidate for delegate to the republican national convention, has appealed to the chairman of the national republican committee for a new deal. His appeal, addressed to Hon. J. S. Clarkson, is as follows:

"The convention to elect delegates to the national convention held in this congressional district yesterday, was without jurisdiction on account of unfair apportionment. The delegates declared elected did not have a majority of the votes of the convention. The whole proceedings were dominated by a tyrannical office-holders' machine. I propose to test the validity of the election of the delegates and the validity of the convention.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March.

—The arraignment of the democracy by Smiley N. Chambers, United States District Attorney, in his speech before the Columbian Club, Saturday night, was such a powerful philippic that the *Journal* this morning prints it almost in full. Mr. Chambers said:—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 21.

THE MOUTH.

Charles J. Bonaparte writes of Political Corruption in Maryland in the *March Forum*.

The *North American Review* follows its article on Tammany by Boss Croker by another written by Dorman B. Eaton.

The eighth annual report of civil service commissioners of Massachusetts has been issued. For the thousandth time the facts show that competitive tests favor those with the common-school education. Of those examined, 1,084 passed the requirements and were placed on the eligible lists. Of these, 1,055 have had a common-school education only, and 29 have attended college. Also the average age of those who passed was 37.28, and of those who failed 35.34. Again we commend to the Indianapolis Board of Public Safety the labor service of Boston.

Rev. W. H. Kaufman, Milbank, S. Dak., would like the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for October, 1889, to complete his file.

A MOUTH OF TAMMANY.

Curious and unusual things are being done these days by the democrats who operate under the orders of the Albany Regency. The legislature, in providing for the enumeration, authorized Secretary of the State Rice to appoint one enumerator for each election district, and it was naturally supposed that the secretary would at least make a show of appointing them himself. So far as this city is concerned, however, he has adopted a very curious course. He has notified Tammany Hall, through Richard Croker, that the Tammany organization should send the names of 887 enumerators to him before Feb. 1, in other words, he authorizes Tammany to dispose of that many appointments, 887 being the number of election districts in this city. The Tammany committee of twenty-four met yesterday afternoon, and the acting secretary, John C. Sheehan, read Mr. Rice's letter. Each leader was then authorized to send the names of the enumerators for each election district in their several assembly districts in to the committee's secretary as soon as possible. Richard Croker advised the leaders to leave the selection of the men to the captains of the election districts, and he suggested that each captain select a man thoroughly acquainted with his election district to make the enumeration. The enumerators can easily be made useful for political purposes.—*New York Times*, Jan. 20

Frank A. Lewis, assistant superintendent of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, and Justice Divver are anxious to know who gave information to the gamblers at 522 Sixth avenue and thus spoiled the raid that was made on that place Wednesday afternoon, Feb. 12, 1892. Mr. Lewis had suspected for some time that gambling was going on at this place. He visited it and found the room crowded with men and boys, who were gambling. Then he went before Justice Divver at the Jefferson market police court and obtained a warrant. It was decided to serve the warrant at 4:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, as the place was generally crowded at that time. When Sergt. Coombs and six policemen reached the place they found no one there but a man who was industriously writing in the express office in front of the gambling room. There was nothing to suggest that gambling had ever been carried on in the building. Mr. Lewis said it was a shame that a warrant could not be obtained without the person who was concerned getting information about it. Justice Divver said he could not understand it. He had made every effort to discover who had given out this information, but he had been unable to do so.—*New York Times*, Feb. 12.

[Patrick Divver, commonly called "Paddy," is the Tammany leader in the second assembly district. He is the keeper of a sailors' boarding house and is the proprietor or has interests in several liquor saloons. He is an ex-member of the board of aldermen, a race track frequenter, and the friend and confidant of gamblers. He is on terms of intimacy with "Johnny" Matthews and "Jake" Shipsey, two members of the sporting and gambling fraternity, whose particular methods of gaining a livelihood are unknown to the frequenters of Paddy Divvers' and other rum shops on Park Row, where they are generally to be found.—*The "New Tammany" New York Evening Post*.]

Mayor Grant's eagerness to punish the *Staats-Zeitung* for daring to oppose his candidacy for reelection is carrying him to extraordinary lengths. Not content with taking as a site for the new city building the property upon which the *Staats-Zeitung* building stands, the mayor declares his intention to ask the legislature to pass a law which will enable the city to take possession in a more speedy manner than would be possible under the usual condemnation proceedings. In other words, he means to force the newspaper to abandon possession of its property without any regard to its own interests or convenience. If such a law were passed, it would be an unspeakable outrage upon private rights. The *Staats-Zeitung* must be printed every day, and in order to move to new quarters it must have new presses built. The old ones can not be moved without stopping the publication of the paper. The con-

duct of the mayor and his Tammany associates in deciding to take the property is indefensible from every point of view. The site is not a desirable one for a city building, and it will be a great mistake to place it there. They are using their power as city authorities to erect a great municipal building upon a most unsuitable site, simply that they may "get even" with a newspaper which presumed to oppose their continuance in office.—*New York Evening Post*, February 24.

The democrats in the legislature apparently mean to do everything possible to convince the people that their party is unfit to be trusted with power. The senate yesterday passed the McCarren East River Bridge Bill, which gives a company the exclusive charter for the construction of two bridges between this city and Brooklyn, and the power to build a three mile elevated railroad on this side, neither bridges nor railroad to pay anything to either city, neither city to have any authority over bridges or railroad, and the foot-path on the bridge not to be free. Senator Brown declared that he had received from responsible men an offer of \$500,000 for this charter, and that he would give \$250,000 for it himself, and yet the senate insisted upon letting the company have it for nothing. Meanwhile the assembly was passing what is known as "The Huckleberry Road Bill," which provides for the consolidation of all the street car roads in the annexed district, gives the consolidated company a monopoly of the street railroads across the Harlem, releases it from all provisions of the present general law for the payment of percentages to the city, makes the city take care of the street between the car tracks, and in short, as the *Sun* correspondent says, "does everything that the promoters could ask, except to make the city lay their tracks and furnish them with cars and motive power."—*New York Evening Post*, February 25.

The latest "grab" of the Tammany-Hill combine at Albany is for the lower part of Fifth avenue, from Washington square to Forty-second street, for a street railway. The bill embodying it was introduced, in violation of the rules and by stealth, by a Hill member of the assembly from Ulster county. He took it to Mr. Hill's speaker of the assembly at the latter's house after the assembly had adjourned, and induced him to consent to an illegal way of getting it on the assembly files. Then the Hill speaker had it referred to the committee on cities, which has a Tammany chairman and a Tammany majority, instead of to the committee on railroads, to which it properly belonged. The chairman of the latter committee protested in vain. The Hill speaker insisted that the bill should go to the Tammany committee. That it contains a job, and a most outrageous one, nobody questions. The Hill-Tammany organs of this city, which are being severely tried just now, hasten to denounce it and to say it must not pass, but unless the Hill-Tammany combine shows more regard for public sentiment than it has shown thus far in its legislative conduct, the bill will follow in the wake of the bridge and elevated railway extension and "huckleberry" jobs, pass both houses, and go to the Governor.—*New York Evening Post*, February 27.

Attention has been directed lately to the very low voice of the reading clerk of the assembly at Albany, which renders it difficult for members to know what kind of bills or amendments are going through that body. When McCarren's amendment to the East River Bridge Bill was passed unanimously, or nearly so, it is stated that hardly anybody in the chamber knew what it was, the clerk's voice was so indistinct. This is quite explainable as the clerk himself is a lobbyist and the tool of Chairman Murphy. Last year a bill known as the McKnight Bill, changing the law regarding elevated railroad damage suits, was slipped through so adroitly that at least one hundred lawyers who were watching for elevated railroad bills were utterly deceived and never knew of the McKnight Bill till it had become a law.—*New York Evening Post*, Feb. 29.

When William F. Sheehan caused to be passed through the Legislature in one day a bill creating a commission that would appoint a superintendent of education of his own choosing to succeed James F. Crooker, the new superintendent of public instruction, it caused a strong protest from all classes and all parties not strictly of the Sheehan stripe. Politics was the only reason for the change, which was at first intended to meet the emergency of the recent vacancy. It worked so well, however, that it is understood another bill has been prepared placing the appointment of the superintendent for a full term in the hands of the commission, with the mayor left off.

This would give Sheehan control of the school department for at least four years. * * The mayor is to be left off the commission presumably because he has connected himself with the anti-Hill element of the party and is an active and effective worker in behalf of decent politics.—*Buffalo Dispatch to New York Times*, March 2.

* * *

The action of Mayor Grant in appointing police commissioner John R. Voorhis to a police justiceship and John C. Sheehan as police commissioner is pronounced by Tammany Hall men as "good politics." Voorhis's political career is a remarkable one, and he has, since 1873, been more or less of a power. In 1873 he was picked up, unknown, by Mayor Havemeyer and made an excise commissioner, and every mayor since has appointed him to one place or another. Voorhis's appointment is regarded as a fine political move. The appointment of Sheehan is said to be in the nature of a personal reward for good work done and a favor to Lieut.-Gov. Sheehan. The appointments are far-reaching and by the transfer of the two men already in office the Tammany organization accomplishes much and brings under its absolute control two departments where there are many places and much money to be expended. The placating of the New York democracy is said, however, to be the chief reason for Voorhis's appointment, and, furthermore, it removes the possibility of Voorhis as a mayoralty candidate next fall. The New York and "Voorhis" democracy cast about 20,000 votes in the last election, and should Mr. Voorhis be a candidate for mayor, these votes taken away from Tammany would place it in a position to be defeated. Whether the New York democracy will practically dissolve on account of the preferment of its leader is not yet certain. Mr. Voorhis's chief lieutenant, ex-Assemblyman John Martin, has been provided with a lucrative clerkship in the legislature, and this could not have been accomplished had it not been approved by the Tammany legislators. Police Justice Voorhis, however, says his party will live and grow. It has for several years been favorable to Tammany, not on the ground that it had nominated the best men, but that the members were all democrats. Recently Mr. Voorhis declined to go into an anti-Tammany combination with the Stecklers and others, and this did much towards securing his appointment. The appointment was offered to him three times, once previous to the election and twice since.—*New York Evening Post*, March 2.

* * *

Returning to a consideration of Voorhis, it is curious that on the very day of his appointment to be a police justice the *World* published a long interview with him in his capacity as president of the police board, in which he illustrates as naively as grimly, his native unfitness for the place. It was all about a policeman of the name of Gallagher, who committed the misdemeanor of brutally kicking and cuffing an aged woman who sells newspapers at the corner of Anu street and Broadway. For this he was hauled before a court and after trial and conviction was sentenced to the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island for a term of six months. But, strange to say, he remained, as this report said, a policeman in good standing of the city of New York, and his pay continued. The late president of the police board, now by the favor of Tammany made a police justice, was interviewed regarding these facts and is represented as having justified them, but we are informed that Gallagher has now been removed from the force for "absence from duty," the absence being caused by his imprisonment. As a sample of the commissioner's talk, take the following extracts:

"Would you let his conviction in a criminal court count against him?" asked the reporter.

"No," said the commissioner; "no, I do not think we should. There often have been cases where parties have been convicted and punished before police courts or juries where, in the opinion of the board, they have been convicted unjustly. We do not take the conclusion of a jury as to a man's innocence or guilt. We draw conclusions from the evidence put before us. Policeman Gallagher's trial has already taken place before us; but as a matter of justice to an accused officer we thought that for a reasonable time we would suspend the judgment of this board. * * *

"We do not consider the time before our judgment is a matter of life or death," added the Commissioner. "It is better to err on the side of the weak and the unfortunate than to take advantage of him in his deplorable situation.

"Weak—and—unfortunate!" gasped the reporter. "Mr. Voorhis, what about the old woman who was assaulted?"

"It would not make any difference to her," replied the commissioner, "whether he was on the Island a day longer or not. She has had, I suppose, her satisfaction. She is, from what I hear, inclined to be crazy."

"Crazy! Then is not that all the worse for the officer?"

"I did not say crazy," said Commissioner Voorhis. "She is a singular creature, from what I have been informed. I have never seen her. This case has been made a great deal of. Simply that this woman has been selling papers at one place for a great many years is something that I attach no importance to."

It does not seem to be necessary to add any comment to this man's exhibition of his notions of official duty and the revelation of his ideas of justice and humanity, except to say that there is every reason to believe they agree with the notions and ideas prevailing in Tammany.—*New York Times*, March 2.

* * *

A. R. Conkling made an able and convincing argument in the assembly to-day in support of his motion to reverse the unfavorable report of the judiciary committee on his bill to prohibit the payment of assessments or contributions to organizations or persons by candidates for judicial offices. The bill has been held in committee for six weeks, and all efforts to get a report upon it proved unavailing until to-day, although Mr. Conkling agreed to amend it so as to make its provisions less stringent and radical. In urging his motion to-day Mr. Conkling declared that the measure had the unqualified endorsement of the press, bar, and bench of the state, all of which viewed the reform as most necessary. No particular surprise was manifested when the assembly refused by a tie vote of 51 to 51, to reverse the committee's unfavorable report upon the bill. This vote sufficed to kill the measure, but Speaker Bush seemed to think it advisable to place himself on record against the proposition to put a stop to the auctioning off of judicial nominations that now so generally prevails, so he voted "no" along with the Tammany men.—*New York Evening Post*, March 7.

* * *

Mayor Grant to-day accepted the resignations of Inspectors H. B. Masterson and Michael Hahn of the bureau of weights and measures, who were charged with fraud and malfeasance in office. The charges were brought about a week ago, and Comptroller Myers began an investigation. He found that the charges were true, and so reported to the mayor yesterday afternoon. It appears that Masterson, who is a Tammany man, collected large fees and kept them, and turned in small ones. To make up a proper-looking amount he put in a large number of fictitious names. Hahn was recommended by the grocers' union. He collected sums for January and February, and when the charges were preferred last Wednesday Hahn came to the comptroller's office and turned in a larger amount than the sums which were sworn to. The acceptance of the resignations by the mayor was much criticised this morning.—*New York Evening Post*, March 9.

Police Justice William Watson is in trouble again. He made an alliance with Alderman Pickering not long ago, and induced the latter to introduce a resolution providing for a courtroom for him (Watson) in Bennett's Casino. But the democratic leaders, Adams and Suter, heard of it, and they frightened Pickering into withdrawing his proposed ordinance. They even induced a lot of ministers to protest against having a courtroom in such a place as this Casino, which would have been raided long ago if its owner had been devoid of a pull. Pickering is a weak vessel and he deserted Watson, so that the latter has no courtroom, and has to draw his \$5,000 a year and do no work. This is objectionable to him, he says. The fact is that he hoped to build up a political following when he got a courtroom of his own, and Adams and Suter were afraid he would. *New York Times*, March 12.

* * *

It was pointed out in *The Times* a year ago that the men who were behind the bills appropriating money for the construction of new regimental armories in Brooklyn were engaged in nothing more nor less than a bunko game. They went to Albany and submitted their bills, arguing at the time that the money they asked for was absolutely all that would be needed. * * * Now the exposure has come, and every one appears to have been very much surprised at it. The report of the experts appointed to examine the condition of the new thirteenth regiment armory was expected, and every one knew that it was going to show that a great deal of money had been wasted, but no one thought it would disclose such a state of corruption as it did. These experts declare very positively that the building will cost \$505,260 when it is finally completed instead of the \$300,000 appropriated by the legislature. This is about 75 per cent. more than the original appropriation. If this course should be pursued in reference to all public constructions, the result would be beyond the wildest imagination. But there has been a scandal about this thirteenth regiment armory from the start. The first step in that direction was the selection of Rudolph L. Daus as architect. He is a young man with little experience, but he is a protegee of Hugh McLaughlin, and the latter's backing secured him this job, although Col. Austen and ex-Mayor Chapin were opposed to him and his plans. Up to the time of his selection only \$146,000 had been spent on this project, and that went for a site. This left \$300,000 for the building, and plans were invited on that basis. Those of Daus were accepted, although the members of the regiment did not like them at all, and ex-mayor Chapin tried very hard to have another set selected. The McLaughlin influence was too strong, however, and Daus triumphed. But when his specifications were published and bids called for it was found that the building could not be erected for less than \$409,000, exclusive of the architect's commissions. Corporation Counsel Jenks decided, however, that the commission could not spend more than the appropriation—\$300,000. Here was a chance to get rid of Daus and his plans, and ex-Mayor Chapin tried to have new plans put in, but again McLaughlin was able to force the commission to decide merely to strike out what they thought would be unnecessary and so reduce the cost. But the method of reducing the cost was a most peculiar one. "We understand," said the experts in their recent report, "that this method was knowingly adopted by the commission, yet it was to cut out features absolutely essential while adhering to a somewhat expensive exterior." For instance, these wise men cut down the drill-room to one-half its proper size, they put a wooden partition at the rear instead of a brick wall, and they decided to put no plaster at all on the walls of the drill-room or the Memorial Hall. They put a miserable little 150-horse power boiler in to heat the entire building, and made no provision whatever for heating the big drill-room. Yet they thought it necessary to select for that one boiler the most expensive they could find. But the most remarkable discovery made by these experts was in reference to what was not provided for at all in Daus's original plans and specifications. He had submitted his idea of what the armory building should be like, and that idea was adopted and contracts made for the erection of some sort of a build-

ing, and yet there was absolutely no provision made for sidewalks to surround that building or even for a fence or for iron slats to keep people from falling down the areaways. As the entire appropriation had been used up, where was the money to come from to pay for these very necessary things? But this was not all. Daus had made no provision for lockers in the armory, for a rifle-range equipment, for gun racks, for lighting fixtures, gas or electric, or even for a kitchen. The state law in reference to armories requires, in so many words, that the plans for an armory shall provide for these very things. The cost of these omissions, the experts reported, would be \$60,100.—*New York Times*, March 13.

* * *

The *New York Evening Post* has been looking up the records of the men who composed the grand jury which exonerated District Attorney Nicoll from the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst's charges. It finds that nearly one-third of them are leading lights in the Tammany organization. Tammany isn't caught napping when there are charges against any of its bosses to be investigated.—*Buffalo Express*.

* * *

"Don't tell me I don't know what I am talking about. Many a long, dismal, heartsickening night, in company with two trusty friends, have I spent since I spoke on the matter before, going down into the disgusting depths of this Tammany-debauched town. And it is rotten with a rottenness that is unspeakable and indescribable, and a rottenness that would be absolutely impossible, except by the connivance, not to say the purchased sympathy, of the men whose one obligation before God, men and their own conscience is to shield virtue and make vice difficult. Now, that I stand by, because before Almighty God I know it, and I will stand by it, though buried beneath presentments as thick as autumn leaves in Vallambrosa, or snowflakes in a March blizzard. Excuse the personal references to myself in the case but I can not help it. I never dreamed that any force of circumstances would ever draw me into contacts so coarse, so beastly, so consummately filthy as those I have repeatedly found myself in the midst of these last days. I feel as though I want to go out of town for a month to bleach the memory of it out of my mind and the memory of it out of my eyes. I am not ignorant of the colossal spasms of indignation into which the trustees of Tammany ethics have been thrown by the blunt and inelegant characterizations of a month ago.—*Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst*, March 13.

* * *

The notorious women of Capt. Brogan's precinct now carry on their trade in the sight of the men and women who ride on the Broadway cars. While Broadway is torn up the cars of that line, instead of turning with the street at Fourteenth street, go down University Place by Washington Square and through Wooster street. Some time ago the *Sun* found it necessary to call the attention of the officials at police headquarters to the fact that vice was so openly flaunted in the fifteenth precinct that Capt. Brogan could not go to or from his station without being compelled to witness the orgies that occurred in the vile dens. Inspector Steers took hold of the matter, and for a time the standard of decency was raised. It was only for a time, but long enough to show that the police can maintain public decency when they try to.

Now, every passenger who travels on the Broadway line must close his or her eyes as the car goes through the street, or else must be a witness to the atrocious conduct of pretty nearly the lowest creatures that live in New York. Inspector Steers has a chance to distinguish himself again. If he had been on a Broadway car with a *Sun* reporter yesterday, he would have seen, at No. 245 Wooster street, a bleary-eyed woman, partly dressed, with the marks of a Saturday night's debauch visible, sitting at the window. The blinds were closed, but the slats were opened, and she hissed her invitation loud enough for the men and women who were returning from church on the car to hear. He would have seen a young girl in one corner of the car look curiously at the creature in the window. Her attention had been attracted by the hiss. He would have seen her ask

her mother, who sat beside her, a question, and he would have seen a look of horror on the mother's face.

He would have seen a woman in the window of the house next door, and next and next. In house after house on either side of the street these creatures sat and called and beckoned and insulted men and women in the very presence of policemen of the fifteenth precinct. The only effort made to hide the sights of vice were the closed shutters, but in every house where the shutters were closed the slats were open and the women were in plain sight.

In two alleyways between the Park and Bleecker street, there were women of the character of the women in the windows, and they called to passers-by who were on their way from church. The streets were filled with children. There are many respectable people living in the street in houses side by side with these dens. This weather it is impossible to keep children off the street, and they watched and watched the women and wondered.

This was on Sunday. The scenes on week-days are worse still, and just as many, if not a great many more, respectable people ride on the Broadway cars during the week. In the early morning young women pass on their way to business down town, in the afternoon mothers and their daughters, who are at all other times shielded from evil, or even the suggestion of it, and in the evening again the young women who earn their own living. After dark women from the windows come out on the steps of the houses or walk the street and lay hold on men who walk by, and these things are witnessed there by the men and women on their way to and from the theaters in the cars.

The police of the fifteenth district are responsible for this condition of affairs. They could keep the street decent if they wanted to.—*New York Sun*, August 10.

* * *

My attention has been called to the political tirade delivered yesterday. It is hard to believe that a sane man, and especially a minister of the gospel, would so far forget himself as to talk in a manner that would cause anxious and loving mothers to look with alarm on the face of the daughters who accompanied them, and to find thereon the blushes of shame caused by his improper remarks.—"*Jimmy*" *Martin of the Police Board on the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst's Sermon*, in the *New York Evening Post*, March 15.

* * *

"Boss" McLaughlin of Brooklyn has got his pound of flesh. [The first complication was created by the action of Tammany Hall in stealing a march upon boss McLaughlin of Brooklyn and running away with the patronage of the Brooklyn Bridge. As McLaughlin puts it, "*they might just as well have broken into my bedroom at night and stolen my watch and pocketbook from under my pillow.*" He regarded the bridge as his personal and peculiar property, to be used for his own emolument and that of the Kings county democracy. When Tammany committed the theft McLaughlin demanded its return, and called upon the governor to enforce the demand. The governor declined to honor the call, and then the serious trouble began.] Gov. Flower this morning sent to the senate the nomination of Alfred C. Chapin, ex-mayor and the present congressman from the third district, to succeed Isaac V. Baker, Jr., as a member of the railroad commission. Mr. Baker is the only republican left on the board. Many democrats of position believe that this board, the most important in the state, should remain non-partisan and have so signified to Gov. Flower. The governor, himself an old railway man, with a thorough knowledge of the dangers and risks to invested property by the establishment of a strictly partisan board, has not, according to Albany rumor, looked with favor upon these exactions from influential democrats. To Edward Murphy, Jr., chairman of the democratic state committee, was given the post of superintendent of public works and the superintendent of buildings; to Lieut. Gen. Sheehan the superintendent of public instruction; to Richard Croker, "boss" of Tammany Hall, the health officer of the port of New York.

Having satisfied the demands of Hill, Croker, Murphy, McLaughlin, and Sheehan, Gov. Flower is now manifesting a disposition to take care of his own. The long expected port warden and harbor-master nominations came in with the rest. The majority of those displaced were appointed to office by Gov. Cornell eleven or twelve years ago, and have held on because a republican senate refused to confirm the nominations of a democratic governor. The governor's old friend and long continued tooter, Thomas M. Lynch, succeeds port warden Isaac W. Edsall. Lynch is a Watertown man, a saloon-keeper in New York, formerly represented the twenty-fourth ward in the board of alderman of that city, is wealthy, independent, and a blind worshiper of the governor's. Another ardent friend of Mr. Flower, who has received reward for past services, is ex-congressman Nicholas Muller.

The name of Col. Michael C. Murphy, who has been appointed a port warden, is familiar to every one who followed the course of politics in this state for twenty years past. He is about sixty years old. For three years past he has been practically an invalid, owing to a cancer in the stomach. Many times his life has been despaired of, but surgical operations have greatly improved his condition.

John McGroarty, who has been reappointed port warden, is a Brooklyn saloon-keeper. He was born in the ninth ward in 1838, and has run a saloon next to the Academy of Music in Montague street, Brooklyn for fifteen years and has accumulated a fortune. His place has long been one of the headquarters of the sporting members of the local political ring. It was in the basement of this resort that a disgraceful fracas over a woman occurred several years ago at 3 o'clock in the morning. The Emerald ball was in progress in the Academy of Music and McGroarty's saloon was in full swing up stairs and down stairs and in the basement. In the latter portion of the premises were a man and woman drinking champagne. The woman was a well-known character, whose husband was killed by her son. Detective Patrick Carr of the Brooklyn central office joined the drinking party and a row ensued. Champagne bottles were hurled by the woman and her companion, a man got his head broken, the woman hid, and Carr vanished in the excitement. The man with the broken head was carted away, and although the news of the row reached the first district police station, it did not get on the blotter. It leaked out, afterward, however, and detective Carr was allowed to resign, a police sergeant was reduced to the ranks and the officer on the beat was severely punished. McGroarty got off without so much as a complaint against his place, although it was open in direct violation of the excise laws.

Thomas M. Lynch, who has been appointed a port warden, is a saloon keeper and an ex alderman. He was defeated for re-election as alderman at the last election. His Nassau street bar room is a popular resort for down town politicians. His claim for the appointment probably lies in the fact that, like Gov. Flower, he is a Watertown man and has been able to do many small services for Mr. Flower.

Port wardens get fees that will aggregate upward of \$3,000 a year. The position is a substantial sinecure. There are nine port wardens. Three must be nautical men and one must be a resident of Brooklyn. Their pay comes from fees levied on all vessels entering this harbor. Two of the nine must live at quarantine and board all incoming vessels that are detained by the health officer. They have the appointment and licensing of pilots, and are called upon to decide whether owners or insurers are liable for damages to cargo.—*New York Times*, March 16.

* * *

The committee on civil service examinations in this city has submitted to the executive committee of the civil service reform association of New York a carefully prepared report touching the enforcement of the municipal civil service rules. These rules apply to 7,098 persons, who are divided in the classified service of the city as follows: 3,503 in the police department, 1,013 in the fire department, 287 in the department of public works, and 2,295 miscellaneous.

The committee present the following conclusions: "First—That the civil service rules now in force, while excluding the absolutely unfit, present but a slight and wholly inadequate barrier to appointments upon other grounds than merit.

"Second—That the fact that few or no requisitions are made upon the civil service board for clerks would justify the suspicion that the law is invaded or openly set aside when it proves to be an insurmountable obstacle to favoritism."

The report is signed by C. W. Watson, A. R. Macdonough, Edward Carry, Seth Sprague Terry, and Alfred Bishop Mason.—*New York Times*, March 16.

* * *

Persons who are interested in the methods which Mr. David B. Hill pursues in his chase after the presidential nomination are just now making a quiet investigation into the facts surrounding the pardoning of William Conroy, a murderer who was serving a life sentence in the state prison. Conroy is an ex-policeman, and the same influences which secured his appointment on the police force are expected to aid in helping along the cause of the man who used his high office as chief executive of the state to liberate the murderer. In order to avoid an airing of the pardon as long as possible, Mr. Hill put it off until his last hours in the governor's chair, the order having been issued on the afternoon of December 31 last. Conroy was convicted on December 16, 1883, of murder in the first degree for killing Peter Keenan on November 3 of the same year. Conroy was on patrol duty at the time of the killing. He had been drinking more or less during the day, and when he was told that "Tom Murphy had left a drink in Cody's saloon" for him he hastened to accept the generous offer. In the saloon were eight or ten men, all of whom were invited by the policeman to drink at his expense. Afterward he disputed about the payment for the drinks, and offered to fight anybody in the place. No one accepted the challenge, and Conroy rushed into a rear room and began plying the inmates with his club. When they ran out for safety he stepped back into the main saloon again and, putting his club back in its socket, pulled his pistol, took deliberate aim at a group composed of Mrs. Cody, a man named Cantwell, and Peter Keenan, and fired. Keenan fell mortally wounded. The drunken policeman calmly walked out, and, meeting two other members of the force who had been attracted by the shot, he started to assist them in carrying the wounded man out. It was suggested that an ambulance be called, but Conroy said this was unnecessary. He took hold of Keenan and made the dying man stand up and walk to the station. On the way, it was shown by the evidence, he clubbed his victim several times. When the couple arrived at the station the sergeant at the desk promptly sent for an ambulance and Keenan was taken to Bellevue, but before he arrived there he was dead. The murderer was stripped of his uniform, and, as his act had aroused general indignation, the case was rushed to a trial at once. The jury, after deliberating seventeen hours, found the defendant guilty, and on December 21, 1883, he was sentenced to be hanged. An appeal was taken, however, and the general term of the supreme court reversed the verdict on the ground that the necessary premeditation to establish murder in the first degree had not been shown. The court of appeals, while upholding the reversal, did it on different grounds, holding that the facts were sufficient to justify the verdict, but that Judge Cowing, before whom the case was tried, had erred in refusing to admit certain testimony bearing on Conroy's mental state, counsel for the defense having put in a plea of insanity.

Conroy never faced a second jury. When the time for his re-trial came he pleaded guilty in order to escape the gallows, and accepted the life sentence, which David B. Hill commuted for him, thanks to the "pull" of the gentleman on whom the senator relies for his presidential boom.

Nothing was known in the district attorney's office yesterday of the manner in which Conroy's pardon had been secured, and William F. Howe, who was the murderer's lawyer, said the first he knew of the affair was when he saw it recorded in the newspapers.—*New York Times*, March 17.

There is an unaccountable amount of "hitch" and delay in the Central Park menagerie investigation by the commissioners of accounts. Superintendent Conklin is probably trying to get his "pull," which has somehow become weakened, into good order again, and the commissioners seem disposed to give him plenty of time. There is nothing particularly new in the condition of things at the menagerie. Mr. Conklin has for years been nursing it as if he owned it. Everybody has known that animals belonging to Barnum's show and to importers and dealers in animals had been kept there at public expense, and those belonging to the city have been used at the discretion of the superintendent for show purposes outside the park. If he has bought animals himself and kept them there, or has sold or given away those belonging to the collection, or swapped with other dealers without anybody's consent, it is only in keeping with the theory upon which he has always seemed to act, that the whole establishment was at his disposal.—*New York Times*, March 20.

* * *

Every resident of this city has an opportunity to-day to do something toward saving Central Park from despoliation by the placing of a race course along its westerly side. The job the Tammany politicians "put up" to rob the people of the city of a large slice of their finest pleasure garden for the benefit of a few hundred owners of race horses and a limited number of contractors has worked to a charm up to this time, *Senator Plunkitt's iniquitous bill providing for it having been railroaded into a law by the assembly and the governor, and an obedient board of park commissioners having demonstrated their entire willingness to do the dirty work placed in their hands.* The only apparent way effectually to undo the evil work that has already begun is by a popular expression of indignation such as will call the politicians to a halt and demand the immediate repeal of the law.—*New York Times*, March 20.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

(CONTINUED.)

Mr. Charles H. Ray testified as follows:

Examined by Mr. Roosevelt.

Q. Your name, Mr. Ray? A. Charles H. Ray.

Q. Position? A. United States assistant weigher.

* * * * *

Q. Mr. Ray, have you contributed to any person within the last week or so for political purposes? A. No, sir.

Mr. Roosevelt. Understand, you have a perfect right if you wish.

Mr. Ray. That's all right; I tell you, sir, I did not contribute.

Q. Have you been asked? A. No, sir; not directly.

Q. Have you been indirectly? A. The treasurer of our association in the seventh ward—it is not a political association in any way, shape, or form—he said that we would have to have some money, and I said I was willing to give anything. We have a costly—

Q. Who is the treasurer? A. Charles A. Allard.

Q. And in office? A. No, sir; I know what the law is, and did not intend to put myself in the law.

Q. You then, as a matter of fact, contributed? A. I contributed one dollar.

Q. Have you not been spoken to before, so that anyone who said his name was on a certain list was a contributor? A. I told you, y' understand—Mr. Allard y' understand—that I was invited to his house. I thought I had a

perfect right to go to a neighbor's house. I am a republican; I know I was straight. I belong to a club. I thought I had a right to outside of my business hours. I thought I had a right to give my money as I pleased. I am an old-stock republican, and I have loved the party all my life. The democrats would turn me down every time and would not put me in, and I could not stand back. I would give freely if I was not prohibited by law.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Mr. Ray, what is the name of this club? A. We call ourselves "The Young Men's Republican Club of the Seventh Ward," in opposition to the Stone Club.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. The Stone Club is the same as the Henderson Club? A. Our club is the administration club.

Q. The administration club—that's what the fight will be to-day? A. A great many people are in the post-office and the custom-house, and I think it would be ungrateful if we went back on Mr. Johnson or Mr. Marine, and he never hinted at such a thing, and if he would say it to anybody he would say it to me. They have tried to crush me and keep me out of here, and I was a voter when he was in his breeches—

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Mr. Ray, let us see if we have you down straight. Your name came to be on this list by your saying that you were willing to give him some money? A. Certainly; he did not call on me.

Q. Has anyone brought the list around here? A. I have not seen it. I was out on duty, as the books will show, from last Wednesday week to last Tuesday. If the list was brought to this custom-house I didn't see it.

Q. When did this meeting at Allard's house take place, do you remember? A. Tuesday evening, 17th of March, I went up there.

Q. On the 17th of March? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that correct? A. I think it is.

Q. Now, was there a Mr. Bell, an employee of the post-office, a member of that club? A. I don't know that he is a member of the club at all now. He was down there when we first started. It's a social organization, you understand. We have people in it as are against us and some are with us—its a social organization. And Mr. Bell has not attended that club since before last September.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Mr. John Bell, do you mean? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you attend a meeting at Mr. Bell's house when he was absent? A. No, sir. (Witness here objected to being cross-examined by Mr. Bonaparte. Mr. Roosevelt said it was perfectly proper for Mr. Bonaparte to cross-question.)

Mr. Ray. That's all right. I am willing to do it. I will answer you truthfully. I was not there. No, sir.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy — *George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.*

OL. I, No. 38.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1892.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE are able to give the full address of Mr. Curtis before the National League of Civil Service Reform Associations at Baltimore, April 28th. It is a complete statement of the circumstances under which the irrepressible spirit of progress acts in political matters, and under which civil service reform is now waging its war, and it is couched in terms which make its reading a rare pleasure. Progress is everywhere the Golden Fleece to be won only by hard contention. Distrust of political power is the safeguard of democracy. The demand for civil service reform is the cry of that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, for a still further restriction of executive power. It is but another successive step in the development of liberty under law. The superstition of divine right has passed from king to party and the old fiction that the king can do no wrong has become the practical faith of great multitudes in regard to party. Patronage has but to capture the primary and it commands the party organization. Devotion to party success for the spoil which it brings, has become a greater evil than any which party proposes to remedy. Party is no longer a combination of citizens for public ends; it is a trading company seeking the advantage of the leading partners. Party machines no more favor civil service reform than kings favor the restriction of the royal prerogative. Civil service reform will nevertheless succeed through party action because party machines defer to public opinion and independent votes. Already planted, it grows like a vigorous sapling. The futility of theoretical objections is shown by conclusive experiment, as when the first steamship crossed the ocean before Dr. Lardner had finished demonstrating that it was impossible.

It is impossible in any synopsis to give an adequate idea of this address. It must be ranked as perhaps the greatest utterance that has ever been delivered against the spoils system.

The following resolutions, recommended by the committee on resolutions and read by Carl Schurz, were adopted:

The National Civil Service Reform League gladly acknowledges that notwithstanding all violations of

pledges and inconsistency of official action, the increasing pressure of public opinion upon public officers secures a faithful observance of the reform law of 1883, a greater reluctance to remove honest and efficient employes for political reasons, a deeper sense of shame in extorting political contributions from public employes, and the league congratulates all good citizens upon the constant and certain progress of reform.

The present administration entered upon its duties with unprecedented promises from its party of thorough reform by extending the reformed system to all grades of the service to which it is applicable, by observing the spirit of the reform in all executive appointments, and by repealing all laws at variance with the objects proposed by reform legislation. To fulfill these extraordinary pledges the President has appointed an admirable commission, which has enforced the requirements of the law, and has awakened in the southern states confidence in its honest operations so that the quotas of appointments may be equalized among all the states, and has everywhere stimulated a wholesome apprehension in official circles of the danger of violating the reform law. The President's judicial appointments are a sign of progress in the right direction. He has included some additional hundreds of places in the Indian service within the classified system, and has authorized open competition for promotion within the departments. The secretary of the navy has placed the entire labor system of the navy yards under reform rules, and the postmaster-general has introduced competition for promotion in the department at Washington and the classified post-offices. These are all measures of reform which the league recognizes with pleasure and warmly commends.

REPUBLICAN PROMISES BROKEN.

Much has been accomplished for reform by the force of public opinion, by the fidelity of the civil service commission, and by the action of the secretary of the navy during this administration, but the solemn promises of the republican platform of 1888 have been broken, the voluntary pledges of the President are unfulfilled, and the claim of the republican party, however strong may be the sympathy of individual republicans to be distinctly the party of civil service reform, is not sustained by the course of the administration, and against this gross breach of pledged faith with the people of the United States the National Civil Service Reform League earnestly protests.

But with these exceptions the administration has done nothing to fulfill the pledges of extending the reformed system to all grades of the service to which it is applicable; the spirit of the reform has not been observed in all or in many executive appointments, and no effort has been made to repeal all laws at variance with the objects of reform. The post-office service, including the employes of 60,000 post offices, the custom-houses and other executive offices, with the exception of the places within the classified system, have been ravaged by party removals; political assessments, although happily greatly restricted by law and public opinion, have not been restrained; the power of patronage has been boldly exercised by the administration in factional quarrels, as in New York, and the earnest recommendation of the civil service commission for the removal of employes who have violated the civil service laws, as in Baltimore, have been wholly disregarded by the President.

ARBITRARY POSTAL REMOVALS.

The national postal service contained on the first of March 1892, 106,459 persons out of a total in the

entire executive, judiciary and legislative departments of 175,884. The arbitrary removals in the post-office service for political reasons alone wantonly impose upon the country the loss, delay and expense which necessarily result from replacing efficiency and experience by ignorance and inexperience. The practice is an antiquated political tradition against which reason and good sense protest. It is a wrong which should be corrected by law, and we commend warmly as measures of great advantages to the public service the correction proposed by the Honorable Sherman Hoar in his bill providing for the removal of postmasters solely for cause stated, and by the bill introduced by Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, providing for the appointment of fourth-class postmasters without regard to political considerations.

The league also regards as a public measure of great value and importance the bill introduced into the house of representatives by the Hon. John F. Andrew of Massachusetts, providing for the selection, by merit, under equal conditions for every applicant, of the labor force of the government in every department. Eminent public officers testify to the admirable practical working of this system in the cities of Massachusetts, where it has been established since 1885, and there is no reason to doubt that it would be of the utmost benefit in the national service.

FOUR YEARS' LAW OPPOSED.

Believing that the power of removal should be vested in appointing officers, subject only to a sound discretion, the league holds that such officers should be relieved, so far as practicable, of every temptation and every facility for the partisan exercise of such power. It, therefore, renews its demand for the repeal of the act known as the four years' law, which, by prescribing a fixed term of office, were designed to facilitate political removals, offering the opportunity, which is eagerly embraced, for a monstrous abuse of the power of appointment.

The league calls attention to the fact that at the recent trial of persons charged with illegally assessing government employes for political purposes Justice Bradley charged the jury that the retention of the accused in office by the government was reason for considering them innocent, and at the same time the government failed to remove them till they were criminally convicted. Thus, while the President does not remove until the offender is convicted, and the offender is not convicted because he is not removed by the President, the law is made of no effect.

The league regrets that no punishment whatever should have been inflicted upon those employes of the Baltimore post-office proved by their own admissions to Commissioner Roosevelt to have violated both the spirit and the letter of the civil service law; it finds no satisfactory explanation for the President's silence and inaction on the subject; it declares the reasons given officially for this failure to vindicate the law (in so far as any reasons have been given) utterly insufficient, and it expects of Congress a thorough investigation and exposure of the entire transaction.

THE house is inquiring into the scandals of the federal service in Baltimore, set out in Mr. Roosevelt's recent report. The committee will find it an easy task to show that federal offices in Baltimore have been extensively used for personal and party ends, that the law relating to the black-

mailing of employes has been openly violated, and that a multitude of facts showing this disgraceful state of affairs has been laid before the President, and that he has paid no attention to them. The Baltimore district attorney has not brought the matter to the attention of the grand jury, and the law breakers are still in office. Criminals drawing pay from the public treasury, a district attorney in silent league with them, and the President looking on with indifference, do not make a pleasing sight.

EX-CONGRESSMAN ALLEN, of Michigan, has been in Chicago soliciting funds from government employes. He "struck" Mr. Oliver T. Morton in his office in the federal building, but Mr. Morton has a way of striking back at blackmailers. Allen now denies the charge, as might be expected; that is an old and convenient dodge. One curious distinction may be noted. When the person who figures as United States marshal at Chicago was questioned, he took the ground that Allen only talked with Mr. Morton "as a republican." The millenium of evil-doers has arrived if a criminal or his friends may answer that he has not committed crime but has only acted in a capacity.

THE resignation of Civil Service Commissioner Thompson is a loss to the public service. Being of the minority party he was not the spokesman of the commission in its contests with the hungry crowd that sees the public service slipping away from its clutches, but he was not the less an admirable officer. He had no favoritism for members of his own party, nor any blind side toward blackmailers who try to squeeze money out of government employes. He believed in fair play and in the enforcement of the law. It is saying much in these times to say that he was not afraid, either of the President or of any office-holder under the President. Those who are familiar with the dishonesty and the cowardice which has had to be fought down by the advocates of the merit system will understand that in mentioning these qualifications we are paying Mr. Thompson the very highest compliment.

COLLECTOR BEARD, of the Boston custom house, has given to the public a report of his office for the two years, ending March 1, 1892. During this time, in the classified service of 219 places, eleven changes were made by removal, eleven by death, twelve by resignation, and one by promotion to an excepted place. The reduction of annual expenses is \$69,630. At the end of the report is this remark:

"Collector Beard submits to the public the foregoing statement as illustrating his idea of a practical

business administration of the civil service, and believes that the facts herein presented save him the necessity of making ostentatious professions of devotion to civil service reform."

Ostentatious professions should always be avoided and it is to be hoped that Collector Beard will neither make them individually nor join in party platforms which make them upon any subject. But he has not made any professions of devotion to civil service reform. He has, on the contrary, disapproved of it, while compelled by public opinion around him to conduct his office upon its principles, and now the results confound him. The merit system has again conquered its ill-wishers.

DEMOCRATS over the country are holding their conventions and declaring that the tariff must be the issue in the approaching presidential election. Nevertheless they had better be preparing an answer to the question how, if their candidate is elected, will he proceed with regard to the some hundred and forty thousand places in the federal service now operated as spoil. What will he do with regard to the civil service law? If it is said that he will enforce it is it meant that he will enforce it as it was enforced in Indiana by the last democratic administration? Democrats have had too many lessons from those who are fighting the spoils system to be justified in supposing for a moment that they will sit down quietly and let a question of importance, but of minor importance, like the tariff be the one great question which bears upon a president's qualifications. The tariff question has been with us for a hundred years and it will be with us a hundred more. It can wait and the country will prosper. The work of destroying the spoils system can not wait.

THE democrats of Indiana have held their state convention and adjourned without saying anything about the introduction of the merit system into the state and municipal service of Indiana. In the meantime we have two great prisons, four great hospitals for the insane, a large institution for the blind, one for the deaf and dumb, fire and police departments in several large cities, and other departments of state and municipal service running upon a system of personal and party favoritism which is essentially and incurably corrupt.

THE annual examination for under-physicians in the Indianapolis city hospital and dispensary was held this month. These examinations are competitive and the one this year lasted five days, being oral and written. There is not a person in Indiana who will say that this method of choosing

physicians is not practicable, or that it is not fair, or that it is not free from personal and party favoritism, or that it is not in every way a thorough success. This was brought about by the medical profession and that same profession can bring it about that similar appointments in our four insane hospitals and in all of our state institutions shall be relieved of the incubus of partisan politics.

PARTY AND PATRONAGE.

An Address at the Annual Meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League in Baltimore, April 28, 1892.

BY GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

If Charles Lamb had been an American by birth, as he is certainly an American by affectionate literary adoption, he would have added, probably, to his list of Popular Fallacies the pleasing delusion that a republic is a self-adjusting system of liberty and equal rights, and that to upset a throne is to set up justice. When Voltaire was insulted by the London mob for being a Frenchman, an offence which John Bright said is forgiven by John Bull only with the greatest reluctance, the Frenchman turned upon the steps as he entered his door, and with exquisite sarcasm appealed to the nobleness of the English character and complimented the mob upon their institutions and love of liberty. Voltaire knew that in England the surest appeal was to the national self-complacency, a virtue which is not wanting to the English-speaking race wherever it is found.

But although we may justly claim that a republic upon the whole secures fairer play for every man than any other government, it is not necessary, as in a disputed election, to claim everything. However it may be in Maryland, in New York the establishment of a republic by our fathers, while it has secured a fairer general chance for all men, has not yet developed universal political virtue or absolutely honest government. Like all excellent human devices, the administration of government must be constantly and carefully repaired and improved. If a locomotive upon a railroad must be watched with incessant care and be scrupulously oiled and burnished, in order effectively to do its work; if even a chronometer must be regularly wound if it is to report accurately the time of day; if a slight derangement of the machinery brings the huge humming factory to silence, it is a fond delusion that popular forms of government alone will secure honest and equitable administration.

In the nineteenth year of our constitutional union Fulton essayed with steam to force his little vessel, the Clermont, up the Hudson river to Albany. It was an experiment in mechanics, but no more an experiment than the republic in politics. Incessant care, comprehensive observation, intelligence, discretion, shrewd modification of details, perpetual deference to the hints of experience, a thoughtful care which has not yet ceased, all these have developed Fulton's struggling, doubtful Clermont pushing its way upon a smooth stream to Albany in thirty-two hours into the magnificent marble palace that crosses the turbulent ocean in five times thirty-two hours. Much more was necessary to this marvellous development than the invention of the steam engine, and the application of steam to navigation. Very much more is necessary to honest government, to the security of liberty, the equality of rights, and the general welfare, than a republican form of government. Among the Zulus to-day a republic would hardly prosper. In Bourbonized France a hundred years ago a republic was a saturnalia of wrong and blood. Wendell Phillips, seeing only the cause and the result, the inhuman tyranny that produced the French revolution, and the relaxed grasp of despotism that followed it, called it "the most unstained

and wholly perfect blessing Europe has had in modern times." However that may be from the orator's point of view, the French republic of 1793, the fierce outbreak of a people imbruted by unspeakable oppression, was itself an awful revenge in kind. Even great as is the progress and marvellous the recuperative force of the French people, and fair their future prospect, the republic is built upon volcanic ground, and may yet reel with earthquake shocks.

If Mount Blane, the sovereign Alp, has not a charm to stay the morning star, the American republic, greatest and best of all republics, has no more power than the Roman republic by its name alone to secure freedom and wise progress. It is but an instrument, and its beneficent efficiency depends upon the intelligence, character and conscience of the people who wield it, and upon the promptitude and skill with which it is kept in repair and adjusted to the changing conditions of its operation. The demand of reform in methods of administration of government, therefore, is not revolutionary, nor Quixotic, nor surprising. It is the sign of a healthy and progressive political life. It is not exceptional, but on the contrary it is familiar in every kind of human activity. It is the impulse of the instinct which constantly seeks something better;

"The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow;"

the instinct which stimulates medical science to discovery of more certain relief for the physical pain and suffering of mankind, which produces endless mechanical inventions, increases the knowledge of occult forces and their practical application to human convenience, arrests the vast and needless waste of vitality that lesser knowledge can not stay; which lightens labor and lengthens life by greater command of time and space.

Why should this beneficent inspiration be lost to the sphere of politics which is not a less universal concern than all these? When human ingenuity is busily improving sewing-machines, and type-writers, steam engines, telephones and electric lights, and every mechanical and industrial process, why should methods of administration and government not be supposed susceptible of improvement? As the Arabian Nights and the old fairy stories are but delightful prophecies of our modern world of larger intelligence and shrewder wit, where we are wafted from place to place upon an enchanted carpet and in a chair of magic, where Ispahan converses with Istamboul, and a drop of elixir deadens pain, so Plato's republic, and Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and Harrington's Oceana, and all the ideal commonwealths of the poets and philosophers are but vague forecasts of states not further from ours than ours from those of early history.

Yet the world is not a garden of the Hesperides where we have only to raise our hands and pluck the golden fruit of progress. Progress, on the contrary, is everywhere the Golden Fleece to be won only by hard contention, by taming fire-breathing bulls of stupidity, by slaying dragons of malignity, and by victoriously withstanding hosts of slanderers and liars sprung from the teeth of venomous serpents. If the application of humane discoveries of science and the advance of the comfort and convenience of modern civilization have been resisted as stoutly as if they were a pestilence or a consuming cloud of locusts, it is not surprising that every political reform is ridiculed as visionary and denounced as incendiary. This has been so universally the welcome of improvement in every department of human interest that it may be said almost that the presumption is in favor of every proposed reform, and that reputed quacks and tiresome fanatics are probably new Columboes and Galileos and Jenners, the latest benefactors of mankind. It is this jealous distrust of progress which led so sagacious a statesman as Lord Shelburne to say: "The moment the independence of America is agreed to by our government the sun of Great Britain is set, and we shall no longer be a powerful or respectable people," and even Richard Henry Lee called the framers of the American constitution "visionary young men." They were very positive, but it was only their highly rhetorical way of saying "here is a change," and

change to certain conservative temperaments means only mischief. But the challenge of conservatism to the spirit of progress has this advantage, that it compels every change to prove its right by showing its reason.

The uncertain fortune of reform in politics, fluctuating between sudden success and long delay, is well explained by a remark of Fisher Ames, that "the only constant agents in political affairs are the passions of men;" and by what Gardiner, the latest and masterly historian of the great civil war in England, says of the Presbyterianism of Prynne, that it enlisted on the side of the average intellect of the day, "which looked with suspicion on ideas not yet stamped with the mint mark of custom; the feeling which unconsciously exists in the majority of mankind, of repugnance against all who aim at higher thinking or purer living than are deemed sufficient by their contemporaries, and who usually, in the opinion of their contemporaries, contrive to miss their aim." But existing order consists always of ideas which are stamped with the mint mark of custom, and the hope of progress, therefore, lies in the ideas which are not yet authenticated at the mint. The Bourbon despotism in France, the Stuart abuses in England, the supremacy of the Crown in Colonial America, had the mint mark of custom. Had no other coinage been demanded these coined abuses would have remained the sole currency. Political progress, and with it larger liberty and higher general welfare, are secured only by bringing fresh bullion to be stamped with the mint mark. In the ever-spreading tree of political life it is distrust of the established order, not acquiescence in it, which is the irritation of the stem that shows the spot where the new growth will spring.

In the legal security of liberty progress has been always effected by regulating the executive power which is the final force in all politically organized communities. The Great Charter, the Grand Remonstrance, the Petition of Rights in England, were all declarations against the arbitrary exercise of executive power, and steadily diminished by jealous popular care, this power gradually became mainly the arbitrary control of patronage. For this arbitrary control the English tory had always a plausible plea, and in the middle of the last century, when England had been freshly reminded by Culloden and the romantic enthusiasm for Prince Charles that the Hanoverian throne was not yet secure, David Hume in his essay upon the Independence of Parliaments, made a better argument for patronage under the British Constitution than could ever be made for it under ours. It was essential, he said, to the balance of the constitution. The House of Commons did not assert its supremacy over the other branches of the government only because it did not think it its interest to do so. The patronage of the crown, he said, with the aid of honest members alone maintained the royal power. That is to say the King bought votes enough to supplement the votes of his friends. "We may call this influence," he says, for Hume was an honest man, "by the invidious appellations of corruption and dependence, but some degree and some kind of it are inseparable from the very nature of the constitution, and necessary to the preservation of our mixed government."

Mr. Lecky points out the coincidence of Hume's view with that of Paley, who attributes the loss of the American colonies to the want of royal patronage extensive enough, as he says, "to counteract that restless, arrogating spirit which in popular assemblies, when left to itself, will never brook an authority that checks and interferes with its own." This is the tribute of the moral philosopher to the necessity and reasonableness of the spoils system, a tribute which is echoed in the political gospel according to Tammany Hall as recently set forth under the name of the political moralist, Mr. Richard Croker, in the *North American Review*, a plea, I may add, which was promptly and thoroughly exposed by our friend and associate, Mr. Dorman B. Eaton.

Our fathers were largely children of the Englishmen who with great gyves of reform bound the royal prerogative; and the American Declaration of Independence in legitimate succession from Magna

Charta and the Grand Remonstrance was an arraignment of the abuse of executive power. Our colonial politics were, in large part, a contest over patronage between the royal governors and the colonial legislatures. The destruction of the statue of George the Third in the Bowling Green at New York, at the beginning of the Revolution, was symbolic of the instinctive distrust of executive power by the colonists. The crown was the emblem of executive oppression, and when the republic began in the formation of the first state constitutions during the revolution, the chief distinction of those constitutions was the attempted restraint of that power by distribution between the legislature or the council and the governor. With the same jealousy the framers of the constitution in establishing the national government limited the executive power of appointment. They provided that only with the advice and consent of the senate should the President appoint certain specified officers, while the congress should provide at its pleasure for the appointment of others. The constitution thus reserves to the senate a practical veto upon the appointing power and to congress the designation of the methods of appointment of all inferior officers.

The people had assumed their own government, but as they could not administer it directly it was administered by agents selected by party or the organized majority, but under such restrictions as the whole body of voters, or the people, might impose. The crown had vanished. There was no king or permanent executive. There were a president and a legislature elected by the people for limited terms. But the practical agency of the government was party, and whoever was elected president, party remained in the administration as permanent as a king and with the same control of the executive power. But executive power, whether in the hands of a king or a party, does not change its nature. It seeks its own aggrandizement and can not safely be trusted. Buckle says that no man is wise enough and strong enough to be vested with absolute authority. It fires his brain and maddens him. But this, which is true of an individual is not less true of an aggregate of individuals or a party. A party or a majority needs watching as much as a king. Indeed, that distrust is the safeguard of democracy against despotism is a truth as old as Demosthenes. Like a sleuth-hound distrust must follow executive power however it may double and whatever form it may assume. It is as much the safeguard of popular right against the will of a party as against the prerogative of a king. Distrust is, in fact, the instinct of enlightened political sagacity which sees that the peril of popular institutions lies in the abuse of the forms of popular government. The great common-place of our political speech, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, is fundamentally true. It is a scripture essential to political salvation. The demand for civil service reform is the cry of that eternal vigilance for still further restriction of the executive power.

Civil service reform, therefore, is but another successive step in the development of liberty under law. It is not eccentric nor revolutionary. It is a logical measure of political progress. In the light of larger experience and adjusted to the exigencies of a republic in the nineteenth century, instead of a monarchy in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the spirit of the wise jealousy of the constitution, in the interest of free institutions and of honest government, it proposes to restrict still further the executive power as exercised by party. It is a measure based upon the observation of a century during which government by party has developed conditions and tendencies and perils which could not have been foreseen in detail, although at the beginning of party government under the constitution, Washington said of party spirit, "it exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy."

The experience of a century has justified Washington's words. The superstition of divine right has passed from a king to a party, and the old fiction of the law in a monarchy that the king can do no

wrong, has become the practical faith of great multitudes in this republic in regard to party. Armed with the arbitrary power of patronage party overbears the free expression of the popular will and entrenches itself in illicit power. It makes the whole civil service a drilled and disciplined army whose living depends upon carrying elections at any cost for the party which controls it. Patronage has but to capture the local primary meeting and it commands the whole party organization. Every member of the party must submit or renounce his party allegiance, and with it the gratification of his political ambition, and such is the malign force of party spirit that in what seems to him a desperate alternative he often supports men whom he distrusts and methods which he despises lest his party should be defeated. He takes practically the position that party loyalty requires him to support one party with bad measures and unfit candidates rather than risk the success of another party with good measures and suitable men.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy. In order to secure and maintain party power, a corruption has been introduced which involves not only the whole system of our politics, but the character of the people. It is a corruption so general and so familiar that an amendment to the constitution is proposed in congress, which contemplates the election of senators of the United States by the popular vote of state instead of the legislature, and the argument gravely urged for the amendment is that it is harder to corrupt the whole people than to buy a legislature. Familiar incidents of the last presidential campaign, the collection of an immense sum of money by party managers to be spent without audit or accounting of any kind, and the general public conviction that it was a simple corruption fund not only spent for illicit purposes, but by which high office was bought, and the equally general conviction that if the other party could have procured the same sum of money it would have done the same thing, show how widespread the evil has become.

A New York morning paper of the highest character recently published the remark of a conspicuous politician whose name was given, that, "two-fifths of the democratic voters of the state are represented in conventions by delegates selected by the heads of the various departments in New York and King's county," that is to say in the cities of New York and Brooklyn. An evening paper of the same day, speaking of the republican nomination for the governorship in Rhode Island, said, "it is notorious in the state that every republican candidate must pay for this honor, and the price has heretofore ranged from \$20,000 to \$40,000. * * * It has frequently happened that a second assessment has been necessary when the election by the people has failed and the choice has fallen upon the legislature." These statements are not disputed. They are read languidly by many readers as illustrations of the rottenness of politics. They are read with alarm by many others as signs of a taint that will rot the whole system if not extirpated. The wrong is not peculiar to any party, for its source is the party spirit which Washington foresaw. The poet indeed solemnly rebukes the kettle, but when traders in mules denounce traders in blocks of five for political corruption, we instructively recall the legendary Roman augurs and the stage direction in Robert the Devil, "infernal laughter."

This monstrous development of the party system in a republic, while it might have been vaguely anticipated, could not have been definitely foreseen. The American who had served under Washington in the field and had voted for him as President, although he may have seen in the malice of the opposition newspapers the adder tongue of faction, would have smiled to hear the suggestion that in Republican America, the party proscriptions and excesses of Athens and Rome and Florence, without the slaughter, might be revived and repeated. Still less would it occur to him that a civil service which a

century ago in the whole Union included only two hundred and nine post-masters and a handful of other officers, whose tenure was their fidelity and efficiency, would suddenly rise like the Afrite from the casket in the Arabian tale, into a gigantic and towering form, but still the supple slave of reckless party power. The increase of the population, the vast alien addition to the native stock, the universal extension of male adult suffrage, the growth of great cities of heterogeneous citizenship, the opening of enormous opportunities of contracts and political money making, the vast consolidations of capital not hesitating to attempt for their purposes the bribery of legislatures, the paralysis of the national conscience for a generation in the defence by a great political party of a huge moral wrong, and finally a long and relentless civil war, all these were yet to come, and their relation to an enormous increase of public patronage, and their influence upon the party system, could not be foretold.

These results, however, are now evident. What our fathers could not guess, we can see. Party which is properly simply the organization of citizens who agree in their views of public policy to secure the enactment of their views in law, has become what is well called a machine, which controls the political action of millions of citizens who vote for candidates that the machine selects and for measures which the machine dictates or approves. Servility to party takes the place of individual independence of action. So completely does it consume political manhood that like men suddenly hurried from their warm beds into the night air, shivering and chattering in the cold, even intelligent citizens who have protested against their party machine as fraudulent and false, and an organized misrepresentation of the party conviction and will, declare that if their protest against the power of fraud and corruption does not avail and the party commands them to yield, they will bow the head and bend the knee in loyalty to fraud and corruption. The despotism of the machine is so absolute and the triumph of the party so supersedes the reason and purpose of party, that we have now reached a point in our political development, when upon the most vital and pressing public questions parties do not even know their own opinions, and factions of the same party wrangle fiercely to determine by a majority what the party thinks and proposes. Meanwhile so completely has the conception of party, as merely a convenient but clumsy agency to promote certain public objects, disappeared, that one of the chief journals in the country recently remarked, with entire gravity, that it found "no fault with conscientious independence in politics," which was like announcing with lofty forbearance that, as a philosophic moralist, it found no fault with truth telling or honest dealing.

The recent vivid and detailed picture of political corruption in Maryland, which we owe to the distinguished president of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, one of the earliest, most steadfast, and most effective advocates of reform, and its companion-piece depicting political corruption in Pennsylvania, by our devoted and undaunted friend of political reform, Mr. Herbert Welsh, whom ravaged Indians bless, show how completely in two great states the two great parties of the country by base and dishonest methods pervert their power from promoting the public benefit to fostering their own aggrandizement. I am not forgetting Burke's apothegm that we can not draw an indictment against a nation. I am not arraigning the individual citizens who compose the great parties as guilty of bribery and corruption. As individuals they deprecate and denounce them. But as partisans they sustain the bribers and corrupters. The drivers of the machine are necessarily few, but they are also the drivers of the party, and substantially they are the party. The individual partisan forced to excuse himself can only say that it is bad business, but that his party machine is no worse than the other. This was the plea of Thaddeus Stevens, the leader of his party in the house of representatives, who is said to have asked in a contested election case, "Which is our damned rascal?" in order that he might vote for the right wrong. So far as the mere fact is concerned,

however, the plea that the other machine is equally bad is undoubtedly sound. When Theodore Parker delivered his tremendous discourse on Daniel Webster, to which Rufus Choate's eulogy at Dartmouth College was the magnificent but pathetically futile reply, a fervent admirer of Webster declared, energetically, that Parker's discourse was the most outrageous deliverance he had ever heard, "and the worst of it is," he said, "that it is true." When the supporter of one party machine defends himself with the rueful apology that the other party machine is quite as bad, the worst of it is that it is true.

If I am telling the truth, it is plain that when the control of patronage passed from royal prerogative to popular party, the spirit and purpose of its exercise did not substantially change. A hundred years ago in England the king bought votes in parliament; to day in America party buys votes at the polls. The party system has subjected the citizen to the machine, and the first great resource of its bribery fund is patronage. It is the skillful annual expenditure of sixty millions of public money in the national arena, and by that of thirty millions in the municipal contests of New York alone, not by educational arguments and appeals to reason, that the machine or the managers of parties attempt to secure or maintain their ascendancy. Tammany Hall defends itself as Hume defended the king. The plea of both is the same. The king must maintain the crowd against the parliament, and he can do it only by corruption, said Hume. Party is necessary, says Tammany, but party organization can be made effective only by workers. Workers must be paid, and the patronage of the government, that is to say, the emolument of place, is the natural fund for such payment. This is the simple plea of the spoils system. It places every party on a wholly venal basis. Under its control party is no longer a combination of citizens for public ends; it is a trading company seeking the advantage of the leading partners. It is the selfishness of the individual, not the public spirit of the citizen, upon which it rests. And this view has various consequences.

If public money may be properly given as a private reward, the givers may decide upon what terms it shall be given. This is frankly asserted by Tammany, and in this it speaks for every party machine. It asks plainly, why should not a judge who is elected by us for a term of years, with a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year, and who except for us could not be elected, pay to Tammany the very moderate commission of ten thousand dollars for his election, which Tammany guarantees? This is the doctrine of political assessments in the custom house and post-office, and every branch of the service. It is rent paid for the place. It is tribute to the party for the personal favor of appointment. "Why should not a man pay for benefits? Why should not those who are elected to well-salaried offices," asks Tammany, "pay the expenses of the election? Who are so much interested in the election as its beneficiaries?" It inquires, and it asks candidly, because the truth that the people ordain elections for their own benefit and not for the private advantage of the candidates Tammany not only does not believe, but when stated does not comprehend. And this view of Tammany is the view of not only of each party machine, but of a large majority of both parties. Tammany is called a gang of public robbers without political principles, an obscene fungus fattening upon the corruption engendered by a great city. But it is the natural spawn of the spoils system. It is the mirror in which party as now organized among us is reflected, and when party contemplates the image of that diamonded savage with his scalping knife of spoils it may well recall the title of Rossetti's picture, "How they met themselves."

The sophistry of the spoils extends itself readily beyond elections and appointments and assessments in the civil service not only into the whole political system, but into every department of the national life. It is undoubtedly true that whether there were a spoils system or not great interests of all kinds in the pursuit of their own advantage would always attempt to bribe legislatures, and that public officers and voters would still be bought at the polls.

But it is not true that such attempts would be made or would succeed under all circumstances. Cholera and typhus may not be wholly prevented by the wisest sanitary care. But cleanly, well-drained, and prudent neighborhoods are much less exposed to their ravages than those which are abandoned to foulness of every kind and degree. The spoils system is a moral pestilence bred of ignorance, carelessness, and knavery, which invites corruption as filth invites disease. A community which holds that a public office is a private benefit for which the recipient ought to pay, or that citizens of all parties in a free government may be justly taxed for the workers of a party, would hardly frown upon the proposition that the beneficiary of a law may properly pay for its passage. I do not say that the cases are exactly parallel, but the moral laxity and blindness in the one case would extend naturally and readily to the other. So long as it is held that the public money may be spent by a party for its own benefit, which means that in a country where party dominance should depend upon honest preference of its policy, the dominant party may properly pay sixty millions of dollars from the public treasury for votes so long it will be as impossible to stem the corruption which threatens us on every side as to stay the resistless plunge of Niagara.

We are approaching the third presidential election since the League was organized. Does any intelligent observer doubt that the party of administration controlling the vast salary fund of the civil service, which is practically a corruption fund, enters upon the campaign with an immense but wholly illicit advantage? Like every administration party it is justly entitled to every advantage that arises from a wise policy, from the honest and efficient conduct of affairs, from strict adherence, if it has adhered, to the promises by which it solicited public support, and from the faithful fulfillment, if it has fulfilled them, of voluntary executive pledges. To all these legitimate advantages the party is entitled. But so far as its administration has expended sixty millions of dollars in salaries with a view to the next election and to the continuance of the party in power, so far it has betrayed the principle of popular government, because so far it has deliberately bought party support with public money. The disposition of that fund was committed to it in trust for the public welfare, and every cent of it which this administration has spent to advance a party interest has been spent in betrayal of a public trust. If the national patronage fund were six hundred millions of dollars instead of sixty, it is not impossible that, in the present development of the party system, the party of this administration, as of any other, by the shrewd expenditure of that sum might maintain itself in power. But the offense is not measured by figures. The abuse of a trust of sixty millions is morally as great as abuse of a trust ten times as large.

It is not an abuse peculiar to this administration. There has been no administration since that of John Quincy Adams which has not done the same thing. It was long done amid general public apathy arising from the good-natured and careless feeling that it was the natural order of politics, the common law of parties. It grew up gradually amid general ignorance of its tendency and public indifference. The spoils system may plead that although a breach of the earlier tradition in national politics, it is really as old in New York and nearly as old in Pennsylvania as parties themselves, and that it has grown strong with the general acquiescence. But that is only to say that public evils and abuses do not arrest attention and arouse organized resistance until they are seen to be public perils. That is now distinctly seen, and this League is the living, active, aggressive witness of the happy awakening of the public mind to the fact that the prostitution of patronage to the maintenance of party power imperils liberty to-day in a republic no less than the arbitrary will of a king imperiled it in a monarchy.

In appealing to public opinion to bind the executive power still more closely by restricting the license of party in the interest of the whole people, we propose nothing which has not been often done. The very fact that party is a convenient agency and

that its disposition is to magnify its authority, is conclusive reason for vigilant observation of its conduct and for wholesome checks upon its action. Party is a clever servant like Steerforth's man Littimer in *David Copperfield*. But the cleverer he is the more insolent, if permitted, he is likely to become, and the more firmly he needs to be disciplined. Party is the servant of the people, but it is so clever that it tends to become practically master and bullies the individual citizen as the clever Littimer, setting the table and stirring the fire, overpowered with awe poor little shrinking David. Those who grovel before party as the courtiers in Siam crawl on their bellies before the king, forget that the people are really master and often break from their good-natured indifference to teach party its place. There is, for instance, in this country a public opinion which has the force of law that the judicial bench, the tribunal of ultimate appeal even in questions of elections, whether the judges are appointed or elected, shall be independent of party partiality and influence, and it is a happy fact that the bench is so absolutely non-partisan that the infrequent exceptions to the rule, when they occur, justly startle the community as with a shock that threatens the foundations of social order. Another illustration of this suspicion of party is the condition frequently imposed by law upon the executive appointment of commissions charged with important public duties, that the members shall not be all drawn from one political party. But the most striking illustration of a sane public sentiment which recoils from the abuse of executive power by the party and of the intervention of the people to correct it, is found in the political history of New York, the state in which the spoils system was introduced with the rise of parties under the constitution, and which for the first twenty-five years of the century witnessed the worst excesses of party tyranny.

When the state constitution was adopted in 1777, in order to curb the executive power, a council of appointment for all state officers was elected by one house of the legislature from the members of the other, of which council the governor was made president, with a casting vote. For some years before parties were definitely organized, its function was honestly discharged to the public satisfaction, and upon the true principles of the public service. Political removals were practically unknown until as parties arose under the constitution, the council of appointment was swiftly transferred into a clean-sweeping party machine, and for the first twenty years of the century its action was merciless. In 1820 the council controlled about 15,000 appointments in a state where there were but 145,000 voters. A change in its party majority inaugurated an orgy of plunder. The public service of the state after an election was looted like a Chinese city after its capture by barbarians. The party proscription was complete, and among a healthy and vigorous people it became also intolerable. The evil wrought its own cure. There was a general demand for the abolition of the council, and in 1821 one hundred and nine thousand votes against thirty-five thousand demanded its abolition, and the clean-sweeping party machine was destroyed by the unanimous vote of the constitutional convention. This was not a party victory; it was the act of the people regulating the executive power by curbing the arbitrary will of party. The appointing power was distributed among different agencies where it still remains, and as its abuse by party, although greatly reduced, still remained under the changed form, the people still further abridged it by the civil service reform law of 1883, a measure in direct and logical succession from *Magna Charta*, and all the great monuments of political liberty.

This is the law, which in its limited operation is an undisputed public benefit, that we would apply to every branch of the public service, national, state and municipal, to which it is applicable. By restraining the arbitrary power of party we would promote honest administration of the government. But when we say that our aim is honest government, we do not say that the civil service is dishonest. It is, therefore, no reply to our demand to allege that the percentage of loss to the government in the col-

lection of the revenue is inconsiderable. What we affirm is that the theory which regards places in the public service as prizes to be distributed after an election like plunder after a battle, the theory which perverts public trusts into party spoils, making public employment dependent on personal favor and not on proved merit, necessarily ruins the self-respect of public employes, destroys the function of party in a republic, prostitutes elections into a desperate strife for personal profit, and degrades the national character by lowering the moral tone and standard of the country.

Four years ago as the presidential election approached, the League stated in some detail the reasons for its dissatisfaction with the administration of that time. It tested the administration by the simple standard of reform, and all that it could say was that the scope of the classified service had been somewhat enlarged and that the rules and regulations had been revised and improved. It declared that the general party change in the service which had followed the inauguration of the new president was not demanded by the welfare of the service itself, nor by any public advantage whatever, and was due solely to partisan pressure for partisan objects which unfortunately the President had not resisted. But it will not be forgotten not only that the party of the President had not demanded reform—but that its controlling sentiment was hostile to it. All that was done under the last administration—and what was done gave the question of reform a place in practical politics which it will not lose until the reform is fully achieved—was done by the President alone. Except for his courage and fidelity to his personal convictions, the reform law of 1883 would have been practically nullified, and the reform ignored and discarded. Tried by the standard of absolute reform, he failed as President Grant failed ten years before, and for the same reason, the hostility of his party. But tested by the actual situation of to-day, notwithstanding the executive yielding to party pressure, the pure flame of reform sentiment not only was not extinguished during the late administration, but burned more brightly in the public mind as the administration faded—burned so brightly, indeed, that the opposition party in the platform upon which they carried the election made the strongest profession of reform faith and purpose that any party ever made.

The present administration came into power not with the usual vague platitude upon the subject, but with a definite promise of reform and the distinct pledge to fulfill its pledges. But it celebrated the success of its party with a wild debauch of spoils in which its promises and pledges were the meats and the drinks that were riotously consumed. Nevertheless, the reform law has been as faithfully observed as by its predecessor, and the scope of the reformed service has been greatly enlarged. The secretary of the navy, in the interest of the public, and he could have done his party also no greater service, has introduced the reform into the skilled and unskilled labor system of the navy yards. In his late speech in Rhode Island, a carefully and skillfully prepared defence of the administration and the strongest presentation of its claims to public confidence that probably will be made during the pending campaign, Secretary Tracy says: "I believe I am justified in saying that so far as its administration is concerned the navy has never been treated so little in the spirit of a party question as it is to-day; the regulations of the department within the last year have eradicated all political considerations from the employment of navy yard labor, and have made that employment dependent alone upon the skill and efficiency of the workmen."

A more signal illustration of the practical progress of reform can not be found, and when we add to this action of a republican secretary of the navy the fact that a democratic member of the house of representatives has unanimously reported from the committee of which he is chairman a bill to make the order of the secretary in one department the law in all departments of the government, it is plain that the beneficent flame of reform of which I spoke is in no danger of extinction. The President has

also somewhat extended the classified service, and has authorized open voluntary competitions for promotions, while the postmaster-general had already adopted the principle of competitive promotion in his department. It is the post-office department, however, the largest patronage branch of the government, which has been ruthlessly ravaged under this administration by the old abuse. At the same time, again, in the house of representatives bills have been introduced regulating the appointment of all postmasters upon reform principles.

Yet while the steady advance in one of the most fundamental of political reforms proceeds, the party platforms of the last year have barely mentioned it, and in the hot party campaigns of the autumn and of the spring, party orators have forbore even to compliment it, lest haply some vote might be lost. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency and this evident avoidance and silence, is, however, not difficult. Civil service reform proposes to restrict the arbitrary power of party. It does not, of course, contemplate the dissolution of parties or suppose that popular government will be carried on without the organization of citizens who desire to promote public policies upon which they agree. Indeed, the reform will necessarily promote the legitimate power of party by making it a representative of opinion to a degree which, under the spoils system, is impossible. But as party has now become largely a machine, oiled by bribery and corruption in the form of patronage and money, and as the result of elections is coming, in the popular belief, not to indicate the popular will, but to signify merely the preponderance of "buddle" on one side or the other, party machines no more favor civil service reform than kings favor the restriction of the royal prerogative.

But it is by party action, nevertheless, that reform must be secured. Why, then, do we anticipate success? Because party itself is finally subject to public opinion, and whatever the machine may wish it is at last obliged to conform to public opinion as a sailing ship to the wind. There is already a peculiarly intelligent and influential reform opinion, an opinion with independent votes, of which party machines are conscious, and to which they now formally defer. It is an opinion which is known to public officers who often share it, and, taught by official experience the practical value of reform, they introduce it cautiously into the administration. Once planted, like a vigorous sapling, it grows apace. The uniform and undeniable excellence of the result strengthens and extends the reform sentiment, and still further emboldens public officers to heed it. The futility of theoretical objections is shown by conclusive experiment, as when the first steamship crossed the ocean before Dr. Dionysus Lardner had finished demonstrating that it was impossible. The wiser and more independent sentiment of party perceives the advantage to be gained by becoming the instrument of reform, as the wiser Whigs forty and fifty years ago strove to make their party an anti-slavery party, and, failing, saw their party disappear. Undoubtedly if the Republican party, born of that failure, had proved that it meant what it said of civil service reform in its recent platforms it would enter upon the contest this year a more powerful party than it is. But its platform and the declarations of republican leaders and its observance of the reform law, like the same observance and the reform acts of the late democratic President, show in what way despite the party machines public opinion, as it is strengthened, prevails, and the good work is done. The vigorous young sapling must encounter gales and frosts and droughts, but still it grows, and swells and burgeons. So feeling its way gradually, irregularly, inconsistently, halting and stumbling, but steadily advancing, reform proceeds.

Party machines, truculent and defiant, resist, but like kings they yield at last to the people. The king whose arbitrary excesses produce the peremptory popular demand for relief ordains, however reluctantly, a restriction that limits his power. So the French Bourbon, Louis the Eighteenth, signed the charter of 1814, and the Prussian Hohenzollern Frederick William the Fourth, summoned the constituent assembly of 1848. They call their surrender a

motu proprio, an act of their sovereign will. But they know, and the world knows, that it is the will of a greater sovereign than they, the will of the people. Our appeal is now, as it has always been, not to party, but to the people who are the masters of party. As the English barons, in the phrase of an old English writer, cut the claws of John; as the English parliament taught terribly the English king that not he, but the English people was the sovereign; as the American colonies taught the English parliament in turn that the American people would rule America, so by every law and custom demanded by public opinion, which restrains the arbitrary abuse of executive power by party, the American people are constantly teaching American parties that not the parties but the people rule. We can not expect the king, nor the parliament, nor the party, to solicit the lesson or to enjoy the discipline. We can not expect their supple courtiers either in the palace or in the saloon, to demand that the king or the party shall be bound. But bound, nevertheless they are, bound by the people they have been, and bound by the same power they will be. The record of this year, as of last year, and of every year since the League was formed; even the reiterated pledges of platforms, although reiterated only to be largely broken; the most sweet voices of the stump, that sink into barren silence; the bills introduced that gasp and die in committee, on the one hand, and on the other the constantly larger scope of the reformed system in the public service, all reveal the ever stronger public purpose, and the constantly greater achievement of that purpose, to add in civil service reform another golden link to the shining chain of historical precedents which by wisely restraining executive power promote the public welfare.

THE BALTIMORE INVESTIGATION.

[Concluded.]

Q. You know the meeting to which we refer? A. No, sir, I do not. I have not been in Mr. Bell's house at any meeting when he was absent.

Q. No meeting when he was present? A. I stopped in one night. I stop in there often. He lives right above me—right in the neighborhood.

Q. Wasn't there a meeting there, Mr. Ray, about—somewhere—about this same time you mentioned—within a week or ten days ago, which was attended by different persons, some of them in the government employ, to consider ways and means for this coming campaign? A. We often talk—we have been talking some time together, among ourselves, and spend the evening in this way—talk over the administration. We took an interest in Mr. Marine. We were going to hold up the administration. And I think it is right, you understand. I never did anything during business hours, and had no hand in it, nor made any arrangements.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Why we are asking this is because we heard of this meeting up at the post-office, and I want to see if the information that we got up there is correct. Now, you were not present at any meeting at Mr. Bell's house? A. I stopped at Mr. Bell's house a couple of weeks ago. He was on duty. I went up there one night and stopped in and met several of our friends there.

Q. Mr. Bell was on duty that night? A. No, sir.

Q. He was there? A. For a short time.

I was in there for an hour. I went in there with a friend I knew. We walked down the street together but I haven't done nothing to collect money.

Mr. Roosevelt. There is no charge against you.

Mr. Ray. If there is a charge I will face the music, sir.

Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Is there not a Mr. Hammond connected with your club? A. I don't know him, sir.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Lingenfelter? A. No, sir; I don't know him.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Oeh? A. Well, I have met that young fellow. He has grown up later. I know more of the old stock.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Armstrong? A. No, sir.

Q. Is this Mr. Oeh a member of your club? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he present at this meeting at Mr. Bell's house? A. I didn't see him. I usually go about and stop in and see my friends sometimes.

Q. For the friends of the administration? A. I did not say for the friends of the administration, exactly. I have given no money after Mr. Lingenfelter called me up. I thought there was people trying to put a job up on me and trying to get me into a snap.

Q. Had you been asked to call at Mr. Bell's? A. I was told some one would be there.

Q. Who told you? A. Word was left at my house. My wife told me some one wanted to see me at Mr. Bell's house.

Q. Do you remember how many people were at Mr. Bell's house? A. About eight or ten, or a dozen.

Q. You say some of them are employes of the post-office and the custom-house? A. No, sir; none from the custom-house but myself.

Q. Did you see Mr. Bell or any other employe of the post-office? A. Yes, sir; I seen Mr. Bell there, and Mr. Bell stayed there during the time we were there.

Q. Was he there all that time? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you mean by saying he was was not there? A. I did not say it.

Q. Yes, you did. Was he there when you put your name down on that paper? A. Yes, sir; he was.

Q. Did he put his name down? A. I did not notice.

Q. To whom were you to pay the money? A. To Mr. Allard.

Mr. Ray was dismissed.

Special Deputy Collector Henry Lingenfelter afterward stated that Ray had told him that he (Ray) had made a contribution. By order of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ray was recalled.

Examined by Mr. Bonaparte.

Q. Mr. Ray, we want to see if we have got you quite straight about this matter. Have you given anything yourself for this political business? A. I tell you no, sir.

Q. You haven't given anything at all? A. No, sir.

Q. Well, you know what I am driving at is whether you have made any contributions yourself for political purposes in connection with this approaching primary election. A. I understand what you are driving at, and precisely what you mean.

Q. And you say you haven't given anything? A. Well—that is—you understand—I again tell you no, sir.

Q. You told us you had a conversation with Mr. Allard, who is the treasurer of your club.

Mr. Ray. I didn't say club; I said association.

Mr. Bonaparte. Well, call it association; to whom you said that you would put your name down on his list, but that nobody came around to collect from that list, so far as you know.

A. I could not look after anybody else. I told you nobody came after me.

Q. And you have not, either at Mr. Allard's house, or at your own house, or at Mr. Bell's house, or here, given anything yourself? A. No, sir; I have not. If you want an affidavit, I will make it.

Q. And you have not seen anyone give? A. No, sir; not a government employe. No one ever approached me in any way, shape, or form, neither about here, nor anywhere else, at all, sir.

Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Lingenfelder, you told us that Mr. Ray told you, I understand, that he had given.

Mr. Lingenfelder. He either said that, or that he had intended to give. As I recollect, he signed his name. He said he had not given, but he had intended to give. He had put his name down on a piece of paper in his own house.

* * * * *

Mr. Ray. I told Mr. Lingenfelder I was asked—I said I would contribute—by a friend outside of government employ, Mr. Allard—I say this much, I did not give my money. I was on duty outside of this building for a week nearly. When I come in I had not given, and I did not give.

Q. You put your name down? A. Yes, sir; on Mr. Allard's paper.

Q. You did? A. Yes, sir; for the expenses of the club, or organization—I do not term it "political purposes."

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. When was that you put your name down on the paper, Ray? A. About a week or so before I seen Mr. Lingenfelder. He went to one of our houses.

Q. Where was it that you put your name down—in your own house? A. No, sir; we were trying to raise contributions to defray the expenses of our club—

Q. Was it in your club room? A. No, indeed. We were trying to raise money towards defraying expenses.

Q. Where was it that you put your name down? A. It was in Mr. Bell's house.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. It was in Mr. Bell's house? A. Yes, sir; at night.

Q. Who else was there? A. I don't know.

Q. Was Mr. Bell there? A. I did not see him.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Where is Mr. Bell's house? A. About three squares above me.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Who else besides My. Bell and Mr. Allard were there? Was Mr. Oeh there? A. I can't say positively. He is one of the latter-day boys.

Q. There were no other employes of the custom house? A. Oh, yes; there were several of us there that night.

Q. Was Mr. Kimball there? A. No, sir; he belongs to the Sixth ward.

Q. Did all the people present put their names down on that list? A. I could not say.

Q. Who started the list? A. I don't know.

Q. Who asked you to put your name down? A. No one. We were anxious to get our club out of debt, and the money was put in a fund.

Q. Who started it? A. I can't tell.

Q. Were there any names down when you signed? A. Yes, sir; there were several names down, but I could not tell you who were ahead of me.

Q. You could not see who was ahead of you? A. No, sir; I signed with my glasses off. I could not.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. You went to Mr. Bell's house to a meeting there with a number of persons. Who they were you don't remember. And there was a paper that, somehow or other, was there for people to sign, but you don't know how it got there; and you signed it, but you don't feel quite clear how you came to sign it?

Mr. Ray. I signed it because I thought it was my duty to give my aid. I said I would be one of ten men to clean the debt up.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. You said you would be one of ten men to clean the debt up? A. Our club is a social organization and has nothing to do with anything bearing on this election. We have people of both factions in it, and we come together at night, or Sunday or Monday, or whenever we please.

By Mr. Bonaparte:

Q. Did Mr. Allard preside over that meeting? A. Which?

Q. That which met at Mr. Bell's house; who presided over that meeting? A. Now, there was no organized meeting. Some young man just took a paper; who it was I don't know.

Q. Took it around? A. No, he did not take it around at all. Nobody was asked straight out to contribute.

Q. Nobody was asked to contribute? A. No, sir.

Q. Did the young man put it down on the table? A. No, sir, it was on the table, and nobody put it there as I know of.

Q. Did everyone put down his name? A. I can't tell that. There is always some people who won't pay nothing.

Mr. Marine. Was this money that you subscribed for there at that meeting, was it to be used in the campaign in the Seventh Ward? A. I could not tell you that to save my life. I told you I did not pay any money.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. When are you going to pay the money? A. I ain't going to pay it at all, now.

Q. What did you put your name down for? Tell us frankly about this.

Mr. Marine. You had better just answer the question. You have said that when you subscribed you subscribed to the club and that it was for club purposes. What these gentlemen want to get at is this: they want to ascertain whether you are sincere in telling them that you really gave money for club purposes, that you did not really give for some other purpose.

Mr. Ray. No, sir; I am telling the truth. I gave \$5, you understand.

By Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Just answer me this question: Was the money you gave there for the purpose of that club or was it for other purposes? A. I could not tell you to save my life. I stated that we wanted to raise money for the club. Some said they were going into this fight and that it would take some money to pay the legitimate expenses, and after they asked Mr. Allard and another office holder, I told them I was willing to pay \$5.

Q. Who? A. Mr. Allard and some other gentlemen.

Q. Was Mr. Bell present? A. I don't know.

Q. Was Mr. Bell present when you told Mr. Allard that you would pay some money? A. No, sir. When Mr. Lingenfelder sent for me that day I refused; I did not give a cent.

Q. Do you recollect who it was that said that we were going into this fight and needed money for legitimate expenses? A. No, sir; I got a little mixed on that. Of course, we have two primaries in our ward, and some of them said we had some expenses to meet.

T. Sewell Plummer, employed in the Baltimore custom-house, testified as follows:

Examined by Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Your name? A. T. Sewell Plummer.

Q. Your position? A. Warehouse clerk and member of the local civil service board.

Q. For how long? A. Ever since the board was organized.

Q. How long have you been in the office? A. I have been in the office about 21 years.

Q. You have been approached, I understand, by a gentleman who asked you to contribute to the political campaign expenses? A. There was a man came to my desk. As soon as ever he approached I saw that he was a very ignorant man. I said to him, said I, "Do you know that you are violating the civil service act?" He said he did not know that that he was not, or had not passed the examination. I said, "That's a mistake. Any

man, whether he passes the examination or not, if he approaches a party in the custom-house to solicit money for political purposes is liable to the penalty of the law."

Q. Had he asked you to contribute? A. Yes, but he immediately left the building.

Q. Was he a post-office employe? A. Yes, sir.

Q. His name? A. Bell; John Bell.

C. S. Burns testified as follows:

Questioned by Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Your name? A. C. S. Burns.

Q. Your position? A. Entry clerk in the naval office.

Q. You are secretary of the local board of civil service examiners, are you not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been in office? A. Nearly five years.

Q. Appointed under the last administration? H. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been on the board? A. I came on the board in May of that year—five years ago last May.

R. Do you know anything about collection of names for political purposes? A. No, sir.

Q. So far as you know? A. No, sir.

Q. The bulk of employes now left in the office were appointed under the last administration? A. Yes, sir. There have been no changes in our office since the advent of the present administration. Mostly all the clerks are democrats.

Q. So far as you know, there has been no collection of political assessments among them? A. No, sir.

Q. Was there no collection in the fall of 1888, so far as you know? A. No, sir.

Q. Any voluntary contributions on their part this year? A. I know of none, sir.

Q. Any such voluntary contributions in the fall of 1888? A. I think there was.

Q. Perfectly voluntary? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they all took part? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Pretty general? A. Yes, sir.

Q. All give about the same amount? A. No, sir; according to the amount of salary.

Q. Was it about \$50 or \$60? A. It was a little more than that in 1888.

Q. How much larger? A. About from 6 to 8 per cent.

Q. Well, why did they happen to choose that amount? A. Well, I don't know that.

Q. What was the amount of your contribution? A. I made a contribution of 6½ per cent.

Q. Made entirely unsolicited? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you happen to select 6½ per cent? A. Well, that would make \$100; that was the understanding among the \$1,600 clerks.

Q. Did the employes of the custom-house generally contribute that proportion? A. Well, some gave less than that.

Q. The contributions, then, were general in 1888? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know if they were very general last year? A. I do not think so. I contributed.

Q. You're a democrat? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You contributed to the democratic fund? A. No, sir; to the republican fund.

Q. Why did you do that? A. Well, I thought it was my part to do so. I thought it was my part to support the administration. It was voluntary on my part.

Q. As a matter of fact, were there any contributions to the opposition, do you know?

A. I do not know, sir.

Mr. Roosevelt. I have heard just that view before, that the desk owes so much to the party.

Mr. Roosevelt then asked Collector Marine the following question:

You have not appointed or refrained from appointing by reason of politics? A. I have always understood that out of a certification of three you were at liberty to select.

Mr. Roosevelt. But not with regard to politics?

Mr. Marine. I have brought the men here and had a look at them. I have been careful to exercise a proper supervision, and if the candidate did not suit me I would not put him in. Of course, you will understand that my preference is to appoint republicans to office.

Mr. Roosevelt. Not in the classified service. There must be no discrimination.

Mr. Marine. Here is the way I have done it; I don't want to mislead you; I have never when I have had this list before me, for instance, if I did not know a man on the list, which very frequently is the case, and did know the others, I would take the man I did know in preference to the one I did not.

Mr. Burns was dismissed. Mr. Marine was asked to withdraw.

Capt. William Fensley, being called, said:

Examined by Mr. Roosevelt:

Q. Your name? A. Capt. William Fensley.

Q. What is your position at present? A. I am a night inspector.

Q. Do you recollect being present within the last week or two at a meeting where a number of office-holders were present—I think Mr. Kimball presided—where some money was raised, or they started to collect some money in reference to these primaries that are just taking place to-day? A. I was at that meeting; do you want me to be truthful?

Mr. Roosevelt: I would very much prefer it. About what date was that meeting? A. Well, I think it was on last Tuesday, two or three weeks ago.

Q. Were the other gentlemen employes of the custom-house and post-office? A. Now, I could not say. I suppose there were some. There was two or three there and more, and there was outsiders—to be frank with you, I only knew a few.

Q. What were the names of the post-office men who were there? A. Well, now, before I proceed any further, I see that you are going to interview me closely. Now, sir, in point of

law, a witness is not bound to incriminate himself.

Q. Well, who are the employes of the post-office building who were there? A. There was a gentleman there named Biddleman—

Mr. Lingenfelder: He is not in the post-office; he is in United States Marshal Airey's office.

Q. Well, at that meeting did you decide to raise funds in view of the coming primaries or for legitimate expenses? A. Yes, sir; there was some funds for to pay the necessary expenses of the house that we were to occupy for that day, and I was there this afternoon and saw where they had a private house for holding the primaries, which is legitimate.

Q. To whom did you pay it? A. Well, now, there was about a dozen persons there, and I don't know who I did hand it to; but I was appointed one of the officers to disburse the money and yet it was handed to another, for I had not been to the meeting; never had been to those meetings in that ward, not for a number of years, from the time I ran for council a number of years ago.

Q. Don't you recollect who you handed it to? A. I don't; I handed it to a gentleman who was sitting like Mr. Smith and he handed it to some one else.

By Mr. Rose:

Q. Didn't you hear his name? A. Well, perhaps I did.

Q. Don't you remember it? A. Well, let me see, I would not remember it now. I never seen the man before to know him.

Q. Besides Captain Biddleman who else was there that you knew? A. Mr. Kimball—

Q. Anybody else from the custom-house? A. No, sir; him and I were representing the custom-house.

Who else was there from the post-office—Captain Biddleman of the United States marshal's office—who represented the post-office? A. Well, there were several gentlemen there that I did not know, sir.

Q. Did you know anybody that was there besides Mr. Kimball, Mr. Biddle, and yourself? A. I knew a gentleman named Mr. Bond.

Q. Where is he? A. I don't know whether he is in the post office or in the custom-house.

Q. Do you know if he is in office? A. I don't know.

Q. Is it your impression that he is? A. No, sir; I didn't say that. I don't know.

Q. Mr. Bond was there. Who else? Who is Mr. Bond? is the first question. A. He keeps a coal yard.

Q. Who else? A. That is all that I knew.

Q. Was this gentleman, the custodian of the fund, was he an employe of the post-office? A. I don't know, sir; I could not say.

Q. Well, do you mean to say that you do not know the name of the man to whom you gave your money? A. I did not. He was sitting in the parlor of this house, and I was invited there.

[There is much more of interest in this investigation, but as the house is now going over the ground again, the object of repeatedly calling public attention to it has been accomplished.—ED. CHRONICLE.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE:

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—*George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.*

VOL. I, No. 39.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

A FURTHER examination of the address of Mr. Curtis before the League at Baltimore confirms our opinion expressed last month after a first reading. It is the greatest utterance that has yet been delivered against the spoils system. Its fundamental principle that the evil of party struggle for spoil has become greater than any evil which party proposes to remedy is absolutely beyond question. It now remains to get this principle thoroughly fixed in the minds of the American people. The circulation of this address is the most powerful means to this end now at hand. Every friend of the merit system should join in this work. Mr. John Hemsley Johnson whose post-office address is Baltimore, Maryland, is chairman of the committee having the distribution in charge, and all communications and contributions should be sent to him. The smallest contribution will be welcomed. It is to be hoped that every member of the Indiana civil service reform association will send money to Mr. Johnson for copies and distribute them among his neighbors. Civil service reform associations everywhere, and especially those that have not been able to find anything to do, will find this a most effective work.

THE paper read by Mr. R. Francis Wood, of Philadelphia, at a meeting of the National League in Baltimore, upon appointment of postmasters, grounds its discussion largely upon the last annual report of the postmaster-general and is an entertaining commentary upon that bumptious document. The following from Mr. Wood's paper defines the situation in his own state:

In the state of Pennsylvania, which seems to have been exceptionally favored in the distribution of offices, there were in 1891, 4,684 post-offices of all classes. If I may use the analogue which has been so well applied in the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, think what a fine retinue of knights and squires these furnish to Duke Donald of Lochiel and to Earl Stanley, the lord lieutenant of Pennsylvania; and what consideration must be given to nobles with such a following, if the lord paramount desires their aid in one of his quadrennial wars? Is it strange that our newspapers have contained almost daily for sometime past the news that one county convention after another has given its cordial endorsement to

Mr. Quay's candidacy for re-election to the United States senate; or can we wonder at the eulogies upon that gentleman delivered in the late state convention of his party? "As a dog turneth to his vomit, so a fool iterateth his folly."

To the young men who have followed Mr. Clarkson's suggestion and have formed a national league of college republican clubs, we take the liberty to repeat Washington's warning: "The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it." And again: "It exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifled, controlled or repressed, but in those of popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy."

And, since the machines of both parties are under the manipulating fingers of Quay, and Platt, and Clarkson, and Gorman, and Hill, and both machines exist only for spoil, and only by spoil, these young men would do well to heed another warning by a patriot as distinguished as Washington, Abraham Lincoln, who said to a friend a few days after the fall of Richmond, pointing to a crowd of office-seekers besieging his door: "Look at that. Now, we have conquered the rebellion, but here you see something that may become more dangerous to this republic than the rebellion itself."

As both parties are now constituted, it is a misfortune when party ties sit anything but lightly on the young college men of this country.

In the new Baltimore investigation, cabinet officers have distinguished themselves. Mr. Wanamaker testified that after Mr. Roosevelt made his report, he sent a special agent to look into the matter, and this agent reported that the accused office-holders had not been correctly reported by Mr. Roosevelt, and had had no chance to defend themselves, and were not guilty. He therefore had punished no one. It requires great self-restraint to repeat what Mr. Wanamaker swore to and not follow it with the declaration that he is willfully in collusion with law-breakers and criminals, and is shielding them from punishment. To note the difference between his acts and Mr. Roosevelt's acts in this Baltimore matter, is to note the simple difference be-

tween a sneak and an honest officer. With Mr. Roosevelt, every word that fell from the lips of the witnesses was taken by a stenographer, and was printed and laid before the President and Mr. Wanamaker and the public. The evidence of guilt is conclusive. The accused are convicted by their own testimony. To the same questions they would again have to make the same answers. Now comes Mr. Wanamaker and says that he sent a man to Baltimore who made a re-investigation and reported that the men were innocent. He shirks his official duty, and denies evidence which he knows is true, and dodges behind a report which he knows is false. Mr. Roosevelt followed him before the committee, and, as usual, crushed him in a way to make the whole country ashamed of its postmaster-general. We give the following specimen:

It is difficult to discuss seriously the proposition that a man when questioned as to something which has just happened will lie to his own hurt, and six months afterward tell the truth to his own benefit. The honorable the postmaster-general, in speaking of the accused men, says; "When they declare that they have not made such statements, and they do that under oath, you are bound to take their statements." It seems to me that if in a private business of large size an investigation into one of its branches should disclose that twenty-one men were cheating, the men being caught red handed and confessing their guilt, it would be very unwise to accept the oaths of these same men six months later that they were innocent and had lied when they made their confessions.

THE position of Attorney-General Miller on the subject of raising money on the pay of government employes is demonstrated by himself. The other day he told the committee which is re-investigating the federal offices of Baltimore that his attention had not been called to the Baltimore cases until within a few days, when a copy of Mr. Roosevelt's report had been sent him. Also, that he could not be personally cognizant of all violations of the law, "even violations of the civil service law." He did not know for what purposes the Baltimore primaries, reported upon by Mr. Roosevelt, were held. He was immediately followed upon the stand by Mr. Roosevelt, who turned to his letter-book and produced the following copy:

WASHINGTON, August 4, 1891.

The Attorney-General:

SIR—By direction of this commission I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of Commissioner Roosevelt's report of an investigation made by him at Baltimore in respect to alleged violations of the

provisions of the civil service law relating to political assessments by persons in the official service of the United States. A copy has also been sent to the President, the secretary of the treasury and the postmaster-general. The report will not be made public except with the consent of the President.

Very respectfully, HUGH S. THOMPSON,
Acting President.

To this Mr. Roosevelt added that he personally sent the report at the time. Mr. Miller is not capable of a falsehood in this matter. The report undoubtedly came to him in his mail, and if he noticed it at all, it was simply to throw it aside with a contemptuous feeling that he would not take the trouble to read it, and he has undoubtedly forgotten all about it. There was, however, a great deal of talk in the papers at the time, and it would be an unjust reflection upon Mr. Miller's intelligence to say that he did not at that time know that hundreds of public prints charged a wholesale violation of the law in Baltimore.

We believe that he has voluntarily given directions to the district attorneys to be on the lookout for trusts, but we venture to say that it never occurred to him that he had any duty to perform in connection with the use of public officers to provide funds or run primaries, and this, though twenty-five or twenty times that number should violate the law in a single city. Mr. Miller is at times very spicy, and, if he is on your side, entertaining. There is no doubt that the tone in which he said "even violations of the civil service law," made every spoilsman within hearing grin with delight. The sum of the matter is that efficient prosecution of violators of the civil service law can not be secured under this administration.

To the last statement there is one exception. Mr. George W. Jolley, the United States district attorney for the district embracing Owensboro, Kentucky, learning that the law had been violated, promptly called witnesses before the grand jury and six revenue officers were indicted for unlawfully soliciting and receiving money for political purposes. Before the house committee on the civil service, recently, Secretary Foster was asked and he answered in relation to this transaction as follows:

"THE CHAIRMAN. I have received a communication signed by C. C. Stewart and others, in which they refer to indictments in Kentucky, and say that parties who testified before the grand jury have been dismissed from the internal revenue service; while those who have been indicted have not yet been tried, and have been retained in the service. Are you aware of the truth or falsity of that?"

"MR. FOSTER. I have some knowledge about it which I do not care to make public at this time; but if it is true, these people have been wrongfully indicted."

At the same time Secretary Foster's attention was called to some cases in the rev-

enue service in Baltimore, brought out in Mr. Roosevelt's investigation, as follows:

"MR. BOATNER. These parties are charged, and two of them admit, in answer to questions, that they consider any sort of fraud in a primary as entirely justifiable. You are the head of this department, and of course your judgment will prevail in the conduct of the business of your department. As a member of this committee I desire to know whether it is consistent with the law and with the good of the public service to retain such men in office? * * * The question I ask is simply, whether, in your judgment, the collector of the port should dismiss these men upon their confession of having committed these acts?"

"MR. FOSTER. I should want to investigate the subject before answering."

This is a secretary of the treasury to be proud of.

THE civil service commission gave District-Attorney Jolley the facts upon which he started the investigation by the grand jury. A Washington dispatch of May 4 to the *New York Times* contained the following summary of those facts:

Similar charges were made by L. H. Axton, of Owensboro, Ky., against officials of the second internal revenue district. John Feland is the collector in that district. Axton told the commission that in July last Feland permitted assessments of from \$25 to \$50 to be made on officers under his control. Those who lacked sufficient funds gave their individual acceptances, according to Axton, in favor of William Feland, son of the collector and chief clerk of the office. He charged also that several hundred dollars were raised in this way to support the candidacy of John Feland, Jr., for county attorney.

The remaining charges made by Axton were that the collector authorized N. S. Roark to collect throughout the district for him, H. G. Overstreet and Gabe Crutcher being implicated; also, that in April last Collector Feland, his son William, and the clerks under him were concerned in a general assessment of the minor internal revenue officials for convention purposes, \$10 being the amount exacted from each person.

Axton enclosed in his communication to the commission a letter written by E. P. Adams, a district deputy under Feland, asking a fellow employee outright for a contribution of \$25.

John W. Lane made affidavit that he was directly solicited by Adams and also by Roark, the latter demanding a contribution of \$30. Lane said that he spoke to the collector in relation to the matter, and that the latter said he could do as he pleased, but that he (Feland) expected to do "his part."

J. S. Barnett submitted an affidavit reciting that he gave his check to Roark and that he was also solicited by C. N. Buchanan, to whom he gave his acceptance for \$25 in favor of William Feland. He charged also that William Feland deprived him of \$10 of his pay for political purposes.

An affidavit by I. O. G. Barnett was to the effect that he gave a check for \$10, payable to William Feland as a political contribution. Roark had asked him for the money.

It is against such facts as these, believed and acted upon by the grand jury, that Secretary Foster says he has information which he will not divulge, but which makes him believe that these indictments were wrongfully returned. There has never been any unanimity in the world like the unanimity with which the Wana-makers and Fosters of this administration put themselves in the position of apparently deliberately shielding wrong-doers and criminals.

THE *New York Evening Post* brings to light a "confidential" circular which is being sent to postmasters by the American Protective Tariff League, Cornelius N. Bliss president. After stating that its object is to show "the benefits of protection and reciprocity," the circular says:

"Will you have the kindness to at once give us a list of the patrons of your office according to the enclosed blanks? The effectiveness of our work will depend upon the care with which you prepare these lists. Give the names of intelligent voters only, and of those who may become voters before the election of 1892.

"(A) Under 'Our Friends' give at the top of each blank the names of two active, reliable, influential republicans to each blank used.

"(B) Next, give the names of republicans who ought to take an interest in the cause of protection.

"(C) Under the head 'Opposition' give the names of all doubtful voters and reading democrats; that is, give name of every democrat who takes a newspaper.

"Immediate reports will be gratefully received, but take time to have the lists as perfect as possible. If you need additional blanks, please inform us at once.

"Please do not fold the blanks, but return them to us by the enclosed post-paid envelope. Give the names at your post-office only. If you can not furnish this information, kindly consult some leading republican, so that the work can be done thoroughly and promptly."

Senators Hawley and Platt, of Connecticut, have written a letter indorsing the scheme, and, in effect, with irresistible force coercing the postmasters of their state. Probably other members of congress have done the same for their domains. Thus the use of public offices for party and private purposes has come to its full bloom. First, democrats are turned out and republicans become holders of the offices. Then, instead of being confined to an impartial discharge of their duties, they, though paid by taxing all, are set to rendering the most powerful aid to the dissemination of a party tenet which is offensive to one-half of the American people. And at the same time, these banded legions of federal office-holders are put under the control of an association of protected manufacturers, who have a direct pecuniary interest in the work they are calling upon the office-holders to do. Of course President Harrison could by a word stop this corrupt use of public office.

A RECENT instance of Hillism was the escape of O'Brien, a notorious bunko criminal, as he was being transferred from the Clinton prison to Utica. The warden after thirteen years of faithful service had been displaced by Boss Murphy for a local heel-er with no qualification for the office except usefulness to the Hill machine. He made changes in the prison service to further parcel out spoil. O'Brien was put in the sole charge of a keeper of two weeks' experience who is believed to have connived at the escape of his prisoner. The prison association of New York with the assistance

of the civil service reform association are taking advantage of the scandal of the O'Brien affair to urge a constitutional amendment necessary to get prison appointments under the civil service law. At the prison at Dannemora, of fifty seven prison officers fifty-one were democrats, and about forty were appointed through the influence of Boss Murphy at Troy and the rest were Smith Weed's men.

J. SLOAT FASSETT having been successful in getting Postmaster Flood removed is now charged with an attempt to dispose of another political enemy, Vanduzer, the Horseheads postmaster. Lately Wanamaker's post-office inspectors have been dropping in to see Vanduzer and they have been followed by captious letters from Wanamaker which Vanduzer considered the preliminary steps for his decapitation. He informed the postmaster-general at length of the situation in a letter which did not mince matters. Then he waited a week and went to Washington and called on Wanamaker who said he had not received Vanduzer's letter. Vanduzer was surprised and intimated that an investigation would be proper, but Wanamaker showed no desire to see the letter. Then Vanduzer withdrew and procured a copy which he saw safely to Wanamaker's desk. Finally, to complete his business with thoroughness and neatness, he saw Halford and related all the facts. According to the Washington report he talked to the President's private secretary as follows:

"Before Dr. Flood was removed the President told me he did not understand the merits of the case. I propose that he shall not be ignorant of the merits of this one. I do not propose to remain quiet and be blackmailed by either the postmaster-general or Mr. Fassett. If I am to be removed, I want the people of my district to know upon what grounds."

How Mr. Wanamaker must detest Vanduzer's indelicacy in letting not only him but the public know that he sees through the pious trick to oust him.

ANOTHER interesting tale of Wanamaker's department and his inspectors in Maryland was lately given in the *New York Evening Post*. The republican congressman had the post office removed from a good location to an inconvenient one where liquors were sold, though not in the same room. Complaint was made to Wanamaker and he referred the complainants to Clarkson. After several hours of waiting Clarkson saw the gentlemen and informed them in a discourteous tone that their complaints must be in writing. This was done and they went home to await the visit of the inspector. We quote the outcome of the visit:

"In three or four weeks after this interview the inspector came down. He sent for me, and said that as for my first reason, the office was within the number of rods from the railroad allowed by law, and that we

must put up with its inconvenient location; that we could not expect to have everything just as we wanted it; then, that for a post-office in a saloon it was very well arranged, and that liquors were hardly an objection, as they were sold down stairs. I reminded him that that did not prevent people under their influence coming up stairs, and asked him if it was not against the law to have a post-office in a place where liquors were sold. He said, 'Why, certainly it is,' and took from his pocket a copy of that section of the law and read it to me, adding that if that were enforced half the post-offices in the South would have to be closed,' and asked me if I was willing to do without one at ———ville. I told him no, and that argument had no force here, as we had another place for it that was satisfactory in every respect. He asked, 'Where?' I said at ———'s store, where it had been so satisfactory hitherto. But he said, 'He is a democrat.' I said, 'He votes that ticket, but is no politician.' The inspector replied, 'When it comes to a choice between a democrat and a saloon, the saloon will get it every time.' Then in answer to my third reason he required me to give him the particulars of their carelessness, etc., which I did. He said I had good reasons for complaint on that head; that he would reprimand the postmaster and threaten him, and he had no doubt that things would improve in that respect [as they have]. Then I said to him, 'I suppose there is no chance of a change of place for our post-office.' He said he thought not, unless our congressman, who had it put where it is, would request Mr. Clarkson to make a change, which he was not likely to do. I have heard nothing more since."

THE *Indianapolis Journal*, of May 6, has the following dispatch:

MADISON, May 5.—The new republican city council to-night ousted all the democrats in subordinate offices and put in the following good, trusty republicans: Sexton, Earnest Argus; street commissioner, Benjamin Mayo; attorney, Solomon J. Bear; market master, Anderson Benson; janitor, Paul Wolf; engineer of light station, Frank McKay; linemen, Mark Mollyne and Samuel Medlicott; commissioners, James Hargan, Salathiel Grayson, James D. Taylor, John Clements and Patrick Wade.

THE *Indianapolis Sentinel*, of May 11, publishes the following:

ANDERSON, IND., May 10.—[Special.]—The new democratic council assumed control of affairs last night for the first time in four years. In five minutes after the newly elected members had taken their seats Councilman Forkner introduced a sweeping resolution, which fired out every republican holding a minor city office and appointed in their stead tried and true democrats. The city attorney, chief of police, ten policemen, city engineer, street commissioner and a half dozen other offices were placed in the hands of democrats. There is a great howl going up to day from republicans and they threaten to retaliate by firing out every democratic teacher from the public schools.

The new appointees were ward bosses and party heelers. This is a good instance of the almost universal corruption which exists in our national, state and municipal affairs in relation to appointments to office. In these cases there was no pretense of inefficiency of those dismissed or of efficiency of those appointed. It was plain freebooting. In most cases there is a pretense of efficiency yet the governing motive in the selection for appointment is favoritism and the action of the appointing power is therefore corrupt. The magnitude of the evil is colossal and the effect upon individual citizenship is degrading in the extreme. So widespread is this corruption that every other public question is

dwarfed by the side of it. Party machines and managers as now constituted do not want this corruption removed or citizenship elevated. They like to enjoy this spoil and they have no means of political existence without it. They constantly attempt to distract the attention of the people by pushing forward some other question as the all-important one. That trick is now well understood. The one great object to work for now in American politics is the destruction of the spoils system. That can best be worked at from a position of cold-blooded indifference to mere party success.

A Boston Herald Washington dispatch, of April 12, says, regarding Mr. Andrew's bill "to exclude political influence in the appointment of labor under the authority of the United States:"

The federation of labor of the District of Columbia met last night, and, after a two hours' discussion of the bill by sections, voted to indorse it, with only one dissenting vote. It was also voted to appoint a committee to wait upon Mr. Andrew to urge the addition of a clause making it a penal offence for a public officer to violate the law if it is enacted.

Of the recent application of the system in the Washington navy-yard, Commodore Folger in his last annual report says:

It is perhaps unnecessary to state, and it is a fact which is generally acknowledged, that the gun factory at the Washington navy-yard has proved itself successful in the direction of economy and efficiency. Ordnance material of every description is now manufactured in this establishment cheaper than outside contractors will agree to undertake the work. This state of affairs is largely due to the methods which have been pursued in purifying the manner of making appointments, promotions, etc., in the labor force, and in the adoption of an administration based upon business methods, and it is believed that the merit system, which has become finally established, is satisfactory and beneficial both to the government and to the labor employed.

THE sale of the *Indianapolis News* by Mr. John H. Holliday is an event of great political interest. Mr. Holliday founded the *News* with a small capital, and carried it through all difficulties until it became a great newspaper, and sold, it is reported, for three hundred thousand dollars. It has been a great power in Indiana, with its 25,000 daily circulation and 100,000 daily readers. While not without mistakes, it has during its twenty years existence stood for the free exercise of the powers of citizenship unhampered by partisan bands. While the party papers of Indiana have ignored the facts, or have lied about them, the *News* has told the truth. Its stand upon public questions has been without fear or wavering, and with indifference to party effect. It has, in most cases, been right. It has been a persistent and powerful fighter of the spoils system in every phase.

MR. MORTON has published a statement in his usual clear and conclusive terms,

of the solicitation of money by ex-Congressman Allen in the federal building at Chicago. The feeling among the boys here is very ugly toward Mr. Morton, not that they question for a moment the truth of his statements, but for "blowing," as one of them put it. Merrill Moores, chairman of the republican county committee, talks of having Mr. Morton expelled from the Columbia Club, a "swell" republican organization of this city. The last seen of Allen, he was hurrying across-lots to Washington where he ran around to the President and other officers to deny what he had not yet been charged with. It was a case of the wicked making rapid time in anticipation of pursuit.

THE President has placed the employees of the fish commission, 132 in number, under the civil service law. This was done at the urgent request of Fish Commissioner McDonald, and swells the number of additions made by the President to the classified service during the three years of his term to between eight and nine hundred. How full this measure of performance is can be determined by reference to the platform upon which he was elected.

THE President turned the Virginia federal offices over to Mahone, the Pennsylvania offices to Quay, the New York to Platt, and he let Clarkson displace forty thousand postmasters with his friends and partisans. Yet, to a man, these bosses are now his bitter enemies. With this fullness of ingratitude, poetic justice punishes the President for forgetting his oath of office and his duties under the constitution.

THE HENCHMEN IN ACTIVE SERVICE.

"No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the arrangement of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed."—President Hayes, June 22, 1877.

FIELD SERVICE FOR A MONTH.

[From the New York Times.]

Appointments, removals and transfers were numerous at the custom-house yesterday, and the special treasury agent's office came in for the lion's share of the "shake up." It began with Special Treasury Inspectors Morton Britton and Ignatius Dugan, who were removed. Both of them are republicans. Britton had been a long time in the service, and had had to do with some important cases. Chief Wilbur speaks well of his work, but that didn't prevent the sending of an order from Washington for his removal. *It was gossip yesterday that some powerful influence had been exerted against him.*—March 5.

Collector Hendricks has had many sessions lately with the local republican leaders, who are hungering for that amount of spoils represented by what is known as the Briggs contract. They have long fought for this slice of government patronage, and now they are in a fair way to get possession of it very speedily. This contract is for the cartage of goods to the general order stores. *It is estimated to be worth \$50,000 a year to the holder.*—March 16.

Yesterday it leaked out at the custom-house that Ex-Sheriff Clark D. Rhinehart, of Brooklyn, was likely to come in for one of the shares, and that there was strong influence back of him. The story given to account for this new factor in the situation is rather a roundabout one, and has to do, more or less, with the factions in Brooklyn, where the friends of Secretary Tracy and Naval Officer Willis are arrayed against Revenue Collector Ernst Nathan. A month ago Gov. Flower ended the term of William H. Leaycraft as a port warden, an office which he had held since the time of Gov. Cornell. Leaycraft is leader in the nineteenth ward in Brooklyn, and is classed as a friend of Secretary Tracy. At one time he was looked upon as booked for an assistant appraiser-ship, but in the last few days it has been practically settled that he will not get the place. The New York seekers for the Briggs contract figure it out that it is as an offset to delay or failure to bring about Leaycraft's appointment that the scheme to give Rhinehart a slice of the contract and pacify his faction has been evolved. The result is that the leaders in this city are preparing to make the biggest fight they can to keep Rhinehart out, even if he has the support of Secretary Tracy. They are talking of all sorts of rash things if a Brooklyn finger is to be thrust into this particular custom-house pie.—April 9.

The Eleventh Assembly District Republican Association had a meeting last night at its headquarters, Broadway and Thirty-fourth street, which developed such a factional fight that the police were called in, and the meeting broke up in confusion. It is in this district that many republicans protested against machine methods which kept them out of the organization at the recent meeting of the republican county organization. The anti-machine men were in authority at the start last night.

Meantime "the machine" was on the sidewalk, unable to force its way in. Col. Bliss, Charles A. Peabody, S. V. R. Cruger, Alderman Morris, ex-Alderman J. C. O'Connor, and others were trying to get through the disorderly crowd on the stairs. Business was being conducted amid shouts and jeers and hisses. The leaders outside said it was a disorderly mob and they went for the police. Three or four officers came and crowded their way up the stairs.

"Put the Tammany democrats out," shouted some of the machine crowd.

"Put the Tammany police out!" replied some of the anti-machine crowd.

The officers said they could tell a Tammany democrat as soon as they saw him, and they at once began removing such as seemed democrats and passing them down the stairs. There were shouts and yells and a general scramble. The anti-machine men wore white buttons in the lapels of their coats. Some one had told the officers that these were the men to go, and there was a long line of white buttons passed down the stairs. Mr. Milholland stood on a chair and cried out that Tammany Hall had sent the officers to break up the meeting. Others joined in the cry and confusion reigned. When the hall had been cleared the leaders in the district took possession and decided to appoint a committee of five to investigate the trouble. Col. Bliss moved to adjourn and the meeting broke up. Several lively bits of repartee passed between Col. Bliss and Mr. Milholland and others. Col. Bliss said among other things that charges had been filed at Washington against Mr. Milholland for being an offensive partisan while holding a federal office.—March 23.

Considerable surprise was occasioned yesterday by the announcement that the official ax had fallen on the heads of three contract labor inspectors

attached to the immigration bureau on Ellis island. John E. Milholland is the chief of the contract labor bureau. This reduction of his force is said to be the outcome of his quarrel with Col. George Bliss and other leaders of the eleventh assembly district.—March 28.

The pretty republican row in the eleventh assembly district, wherein John E. Milholland, with a very good backing, seeks to overturn the Col. George Bliss dynasty, took on a new phase yesterday. Scared at the inroads on their strength which Mr. Milholland had been making, Col. Bliss and some of his followers got together and prepared a circular. The circular, which is a rather remarkable local political document, is as follows:

"Recent occurrences in the eleventh assembly district induce us to make the following statement to the republicans of the district and the state:

"A complaint was presented at the last meeting of the republican county committee charging unfair dealing in the republican association in preventing republicans from joining it and in keeping the roll of members inaccessible. The paper was signed by 39 of the 800 members of the association. Its statements are untrue. No person desiring to become a member has been prevented from so doing longer than was reasonably necessary to inquire into his claim to become such member. The member who presented the paper to the association has himself been found proposing for membership persons who were not eligible. More than a third of the names proposed were found to be those of democrats, persons not residents, or who did not desire to join the association.

"The roll of the association has been always accessible on proper application, but has been kept from those desiring to steal it.

"Prior to the regular meeting of the association on Tuesday last, a gang of ruffians took possession of the room, excluded the officers and proceeded to act as the association. How they were brought to that meeting, and how the gang was made up, is indicated by the following advertisement which appeared in the *Herald* of that day:

"I can give temporary employment to twenty-five men. Apply to store 438 Fourth avenue."

"The 'store 438 Fourth avenue' is kept by a former member of the association who was expelled under the constitution, and the 'temporary employment' was to capture a republican association's room.

"He was there with them. They were aided by gangs recruited all over the city and paid, or promised to be paid, for going there. The proceedings were openly conducted under the supervision of an officer under the national government, who was not and is not a member of the association, though he and his gang went through the motions of electing him a member.—March 31.

Mr. Thomas C. Platt still lingers in Washington. He met with a series of disappointments this morning which would have disheartened a less seasoned campaigner. First he called at the White House and was informed that the President was unable to see him, owing to the fact that he had an engagement which would occupy several hours.

Mr. Platt pocketed disappointment and started for the treasury department. Yes, Mr. Foster was in, but he was engaged. Would Mr. Platt kindly call in the afternoon? This was the discouraging message New York's republican boss received through the colored gentleman on guard at the secretary's door. Mr. Platt made a virtue of necessity, and a few hours later he was closeted with Mr. Foster. Before evening he contrived to get an audience with Mr. Harrison.

"As stated in *The Times* this morning, the object of Mr. Platt's visit is to try to patch up peace in the ranks of New York republicans, which has been destroyed by young Mr. Milholland's performance in the eleventh assembly district. When Milholland came here last week to explain away the charges made against him by Col. George Bliss, and substantiated by Col. S. V. R. Cruger, he found that he had

tackled an exceedingly difficult undertaking. The Union League Club influence had preceded him, and both the President and Secretary Foster were prepared to take him to task for his actions.

"Mr. Milholland asserted while here that he had smoothed the difficulty over, but later reports show that he was hauled over the coals in the liveliest possible fashion by his superiors. Soon after his return home, his force in the contract labor bureau was reduced and the public was informed that he had been rebuked.

"Now comes Mr. Platt to straighten out the difficulty if he can. He does not want Milholland to be disciplined further, and he wants Col. Bliss and the Union League Club to let the matter drop. He finds the President and the secretary of the treasury, who is his political right bower just now, anxious for peace and willing to sacrifice Milholland if it seems likely that such a course would prove advisable. Mr. Platt discovered that he had a good-sized job on his hands when he interviewed the gentlemen this afternoon. He has arranged for another session with Mr. Foster to-morrow."—*March 30.*

* * *

At 12:25 o'clock this morning information was received at *The Times* office from persons associated with the Col. Bliss faction in the Bliss-Milholland fight in the eleventh assembly district that Secretary Foster had demanded the resignation of John E. Milholland as supervising immigrant inspector as a result of his opposition to Col. Bliss. If the news is true, a big rumpus in the republican party in this city is very certain to follow. Nearly all of the big republican politicians here sympathize with Mr. Milholland. It will also intensify the interest in to-day's primary in the eleventh district, where the Bliss and Milholland factions will battle at the polls from 9 A. M. until 9 P. M. The election will be held at the Hamilton Club, Thirty-fourth street and Broadway.

The Milholland faction goes in under decided disadvantage. Col. George Bliss controls the organization, and particularly the inspectors of election. Many of the wealthy men in the district are with the Bliss faction.

Since Mr. Milholland has been making the fight against Col. Bliss the latter faction has called for help from the national administration and the official head of Mr. Milholland has been demanded. Mr. Milholland's refusal to sign the letter of withdrawal from the contest and his consequent decision to fight it out at the polls have aroused the Bliss people.

Cornelius N. Bliss said yesterday that it was simply a matter of Mr. Milholland's withdrawal. No compromise would be considered. He charged Mr. Milholland with not keeping faith. It was also declared that the whole matter of Mr. Milholland's removal from office was left by Secretary Foster in the hands of Cornelius C. Bliss, and the latter wrote to Mr. Foster yesterday demanding Mr. Milholland's removal.

John C. O'Connor, jr., chairman of the enrolled republicans of the eleventh district, stirred up a hornet's nest and stepped on a good many respectable republican corns yesterday by writing a letter which in most districts would help Mr. Milholland's cause. For instance, he made this remarkable statement in reference to the famous meeting of March 22:

"What else this gang of hirelings may have contemplated I know not, but I have been informed that prior to the assembly of these worthies it was arranged to overpower the secretary of the regular organization, take his books away by force, and also to pull the president from the chair and throw him out of the window. The window was on the third story. These acts became unnecessary, the officers of the association being unable to make an entry.

"This was the beginning of the Milholland movement. These are the people who comprise the Milholland element. You will readily understand that with the inaugurators of such a movement or the supporters of such people no conference is possible, nor, in my judgment, could any conference be held with them. They are beyond the pale of consideration, political or otherwise."

When asked last night about Cornelius N. Bliss's request for his removal, Mr. Milholland said.

"I have simply to say that I am not in the least surprised. The Col. Bliss crowd have been clamoring for my removal ever since I began the fight against the way in which they managed the district. They may convince the administration that it is its duty to interfere in this little assembly district row, and if they do, I don't think I shall worry much about it. I certainly shall not hesitate for an instant to keep up the fight, nor shall I or my friends, and I have plenty of them, recede one inch from the position that I have taken. I told Cornelius N. Bliss, when I met him at the personal request of Secretary Foster, that all the threats he or his friends could indulge in were wasted upon me, and that the only influence to which I would yield would be that which was presented by Chairman Brookfield, namely, the interests of the party.

"There is not a fair fighter among them. Their circular having proved a boomerang, they rushed off to Washington and tried to have me removed. They say now that they did not pretend to represent the Union League Club in making this request, and they did not threaten to cut off contributions to the campaign if I were not called down, but I say they did, and I can prove it by authority that they dare not question."—*April 15.*

* * *

Republican primaries were held yesterday in all the assembly districts of the city except the twenty-fourth, and men were selected to go to Albany to nominate as delegates to the Minneapolis convention those persons who were long ago selected by "Boss" Platt to perform that service.

In the eleventh assembly district John E. Milholland's effort to overthrow the regular ticket headed by Cornelius N. Bliss was a failure. There was, however, a lively fight all day long for supremacy, and the district was scratched over for voters by the ward-workers with great zeal and vigor.

The Bliss crowd set up a mighty cheer up stairs and down when the result was announced. John E. Milholland and his followers adjourned to their headquarters, on Sixth avenue above Thirty-fourth street, and there Milholland got on a table and made a speech. He accused the Bliss faction of unfair and illegal voting, and declared that the fight would go on.

He said that he had evidence in his possession to show that a number of the Bliss tickets were fraudulently voted.—*April 16.*

* * *

Last night Dr. L. L. Seaman, one of the best-known republicans in the eleventh district, sent a dispatch to President Harrison indignantly protesting against the interference of the administration in the Bliss-Milholland faction fight, as described on another page of *The Times*. Dr. Seaman also mailed to the President a letter in which he said:

"The newspapers say that Milholland's resignation is demanded, not for neglect of duty or any dishonorable act, but because he failed to arrange matters satisfactory with Bliss. What a text for democratic orators next fall! How they will ring the changes on it! It will be interpreted by the independent element of our party as an unwarranted interference in local affairs by the administration, a repetition of Hillism, an insult to a righteous effort to purify politics, and will be justly rebuked next November by a split in the party at the polls."

Ethan Allen wrote the following open letter on Mr. Milholland's removal:

"I can't refrain from uttering my protest as a republican against the action of the authorities in Washington in the most unwarrantable interference in the primary of the eleventh district yesterday.

"Mr. Milholland had as much right as any voter in the land to resort to fair means and an open fight for the supremacy of his views and wishes. It seems that he was repressed in his manly views by a cabinet minister, and removed from office because he interfered with the motives of a district boss, whose pocketbook at all times seems more powerful than his brains in party management.

"Boss Croker could have done nothing lower nor meaner than was expressed in the demands of this eleventh district republican magnate, nor could Tammany Hall have been more subservient than

was the pliant powers of a republican cabinet.—*April 17.*

* * *

There was no lack of interesting features about the republican congressional district conventions which were held last night for the purpose of electing delegates to the republican national convention.

Through the medium of the conventions, T. C. Platt found a way to get a sharp slap at the administration, Col. George Bliss, and Cornelius N. Bliss for the removal of John E. Milholland from his position as supervising inspector of immigrants. Secretary Foster removed Mr. Milholland from his position last Friday because the Bliss faction in the eleventh assembly district demanded it. Mr. Milholland's friends were seeking to overthrow the Bliss dynasty in the eleventh, and that is why he was removed.

The politicians began to ask what Platt would do about all this. His plan only came out at the convention in the sixth congressional district last night.

Mr. Milholland was elected a delegate to the national republican convention with H. O. Armour. Only five days had elapsed between his removal by the administration and his election as a delegate to the national convention at which the head of the administration expects plain sailing to a renomination.

This incident indicates the feeling of the Platt people toward the administration.

With the exception of the delegates chosen from the tenth congressional district, practically all the delegates can be counted on for Platt, and they will be for whatever candidate he may determine, be he Harrison or some other man.—*April 20.*

* * *

Thomas C. Platt is mad. There is no more doubt about this than there is about the more interesting fact that by the removal of John E. Milholland and Charles H. Murray the administration, and especially Secretary Foster, intended to make Platt mad.

Mr. Platt said yesterday that these removals were the funniest things he had ever heard of, because both men removed were delegates to the national republican convention. He calmly averred that there was no politics in Mr. Murray's removal, and yet he said:

"The persons who removed him had not got wind of Murray's election as a delegate to the national convention."

"How about Milholland?" Mr. Platt was asked.

"Mr. Milholland is all right."

"What will he get?"

"Even," said Mr. Platt.

"The administration is quite chummy with me," was another of Mr. Platt's repletions.

Speaking of Mr. Milholland getting even, if nothing else, Mr. Platt said, with fine sarcasm: "I suppose we will have to see Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss and fix it up with him."

When asked about the possibility of Mr. Milholland being reinstated, he said:

"Oh, the administration would never do anything as wise as that."—*April 23.*

* * *

The rupture between Thomas C. Platt and the federal administration is now so pronounced that many officials who are now holding their places in government offices here through the Platt influence are in dire fear for their heads.

It was announced last night that Secretary Foster had followed up the removal of John E. Milholland from the office of supervising inspector of immigrants by dismissing Charles H. Murray, who was counsel to the immigration department at a salary of \$8 a day. Murray is ex-supervisor of the Porter census in this city, a man for whom the administration had great use when the count in this city was attacked. He is the republican leader of the third assembly district, and is a protege of Platt.

Murray's removal is a direct slap at Platt, just as the Milholland removal was. It was made just before the congressional conventions were held in this city for the election of delegates to the national republican convention, although Mr. Murray declined to state positively last night just when he received the notification that his services would be dispensed with. He said no charges had been made against

him, and no explanation was given him whatever. He was simply notified by Secretary Foster that his services would be dispensed with after April 30—April 25.

* * *

The fight between the administration and Thomas C. Platt assumed new proportions yesterday when Immigration Commissioner Weber appointed George K. Gilooly, of Brooklyn, supervising inspector of the immigration bureau in place of John E. Milholland, removed. The appointment was credited to Secretary Tracy, and was another attack on Platt's control of the party in this state. It is rumored that a lot more of Platt's appointees are to go by the board, and the administration is about as unpopular with the machine politicians here as it is possible to make it.

There was something of a rebellion among the other inspectors when the department order making Gilooly supervising inspector was sent out by Mr. Weber. Department orders have to be signed by each of the inspectors to show that they have full cognizance of them.

When a copy of the order was sent to Major S. C. Osborn, he wrote under his signature "Under protest." Mr. Weber called him into his office and asked him what he meant.

Major Osborn said he meant what he had written, and that the appointment was unfair to the other men.

Mr. Weber said this was insubordination.

Major Osborn said he could not help that.

Then Mr. Weber read a lecture to all the inspectors, in which he told them substantially that he was boss there and any one who did not like it could get out.

Some of the other inspectors are in a highly indignant frame of mind. Several of them are the right-hand political workers of such men as Senators Higgins and Allison. Major Osborn is one of Senator Allison's men in Iowa, and Captain C. H. Gallagher is one of Senator Higgin's men in Delaware. Mr. Gallagher was a candidate for Mr. Milholland's place, and so was Colonel "Tim" Lee, who hails from Virginia.

These men are in such an indignant frame of mind that some of them are going to their senatorial patrons and try to get them to take a hand in the row. Some of them expect to be removed because they were friendly to Milholland and because of their action yesterday.

They declare that Gilooly is incompetent and has only worked about one full week since his first appointment, two years ago.

"He did so little work," said one of the inspectors last night, "that some time ago his pay was reduced from \$8 to \$4 per pay."—April 26.

* * *

The following document, which seems to indicate that the Milhollanders are extremely virtuous these days, has been sent to Commissioner Roosevelt at Washington, accompanied by the signatures of 200 or more eleventh district republicans:

"We, the undersigned committee, representing the republicans of the eleventh assembly district, New York, desire to call your attention to the action of certain office-holders of the administration at the primary election held at 107 West Thirty fourth street, in the eleventh district, New York, on the 15th inst.

"Not less than twenty of these individuals took part in this primary, not merely to vote, but labored at the polls from the time they opened at 9 o'clock in the morning until they closed at 9 o'clock at night, neglecting their government duties, and apparently with the approval of their superior officers.

"Four of these officers were inspectors of election on that day, namely:

"George D. Overin, inspector, custom-house.

"James W. Leeds, inspector, custom-house.

"George Finkenbauer, gauger's laborer, custom-house.

"Henry A. Hill, messenger, barge office.

"The rest devoted themselves throughout the day to the work of electioneering for the machine.

"Andrew Peddic, deputy collector internal revenue.

"J. C. H. Smith, watchman, public stores.

"William Graham, gauger's laborer, custom-house.

"John T. Mayers, laborer, public stores.

"Caleb Simms, messenger, custom-house.

"Thomas H. Brown, messenger, public stores.

"Samuel Stokely, messenger, shipping commissioners.

"Benjamin A. Levy, examiner, public stores.

"Sherman Williams, examiner, public stores.

"Edward S. Flow, messenger, public stores.

"Daniel Morrison, public stores.

"William H. Baker, laborer, public stores.

"Robert Edwards, laborer, custom-house.

"Joseph Kirwin, laborer, custom-house.

"James Reilly, laborer, custom-house.

"A. Munson, laborer, custom house.

"Pierre Bargae, messenger, Ellis Island.

"Besides their work on election day, most of these men have canvassed the district for weeks previous to the election, some of them neglecting their government work to do so.

"The facts above stated are so well known that we assume that a mere statement of them is all that is necessary to lay before you. If, however, you need further proof in the form of affidavits, we shall be pleased to furnish them promptly."—April 30.

* * *

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.—[Letter of Acceptance, 1884, Grover Cleveland.

* * *

John C. New, of Indiana, the President's able lieutenant of four years ago, who was rewarded with the consul-generalship at London, is said to be coming home to manage Mr. Harrison's campaign at Minneapolis.

The republican state convention met here to-day and was under the complete domination of the federal office-holders. Ninety counties are represented by more than average delegations.

Virgil S. Lusk was elected permanent chairman. It was then proposed to proceed to elect a new state committee, and an attempt was made by the Eaves faction to cut off discussion by calling the previous question. This precipitated a row that for two hours turned the convention into a howling mob.—Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, April 14.

* * *

The full list of delegates to Minneapolis from this state is as follows:

At Large—E. A. White, collector of internal revenue; John C. Dany, colored, collector of the port at Wilmington; Henry P. Cheatham, colored; Congressman Jeter C. Pritchard.

First District—C. M. Bernard and Hugh Cole, colored.

Second—C. A. Cook, United States district attorney; J. H. Hannon, colored, postmaster at Halifax.

Third—G. C. Scurlock and A. R. Middleton, both colored.

Fourth—John Nichols, chief of the mail and files division, treasury department; Edward A. Johnson, colored.

Fifth—Thomas B. Keogh, James A. Cheek.

Sixth—James H. Young, colored, inspector of customs, Archibald Brady, postmaster at Charlotte.

Seventh—Zeb V. Walser, deputy collector, and W. A. Bailey.

Eighth—L. L. Jenkins, postmaster at Gostonia, and Dr. J. A. Wilcox.

Ninth—C. J. Harris and R. W. Logan.

Except when otherwise stated the delegates are white men and hold no federal offices. Of the twenty-two, eight are federal office-holders and have been instructed for Harrison.—Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, May 8.

* * *

The republicans of Harrison county met in mass convention at Corydon to-day and appointed delegates to the state and district conventions. Hon. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney] was present and addressed the meeting.—Indianapolis Journal, April 10.

* * *

An enthusiastic meeting of the Richmond republican club was held this evening, it being the occasion of the second annual election of officers. After the business of the evening had been transacted the club was addressed by Hon. Smiley N. Chambers, of Indianapolis, on the political issues of the day.—Indianapolis Journal, April 12.

* * *

The republicans of this county held their convention here to-day. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney] was present and addressed the brethren on the tariff and other issues.—Greencastle Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, April 30.

* * *

The election for delegates to the republican state convention, which was held throughout the state yesterday, was attended by some disorder in this city, and marked the preliminaries of what promises to be a lively fight against the continued rule of the Higgins wing of the republican party here. In the three wards where contesting delegate tickets were run, the Higgins candidates won easily, but the feeling was more intense than was indicated by the poll of votes, and resulted in several spirited rows. One of these, between Letter Carrier Sylvanus, an ardent Higgins advocate, and County Constable Brown, led to a battle at republican headquarters after the election. In the melee the letter carrier was savagely assaulted by Brown and two other constables and brutally beaten. Saturday morning Postmaster David F. Stewart, one of the leaders of the Higgins forces, issued an address to the employes of the post-office, directing their attention to the civil service regulations prohibiting the interference of federal employes in political primaries. In the afternoon, Postmaster Stewart was elected a delegate to the state convention from the tenth ward, with one of his clerks as a colleague, while the employes of the post-office and federal officials generally were conspicuous throughout the city for their eager work at the polls.—Wilmington, Del., Dispatch to New York Times, May 2.

* * *

At the republican convention of this state the following office-holders were present: Postmaster Hart, Collector Beard, Appraiser Dodge, Assistant Appraiser Dunham, Clerk Pousland, and the examiner of drugs and two inspectors, all of the custom-house, and a few others not of the custom-house.—Boston Civil Service Record, May.

* * *

Yesterday's convention was an office-holder's convention, pure and simple. Nearly every district delegation was represented by two or more office-holders, many of them owing their places to the generosity of President Harrison and incidentally to the influence of Thomas C. Platt. The office-holders from New York formed a veritable army. The custom-house was well represented by all the most influential office-holders. Collector Francis Hendricks, Surveyor George W. Lyon, and Naval Officer Theodore B. Willis headed the list.

Then there were Dennis Shea, deputy collector; Charles H. Murray, ex-attorney for the bureau of immigration; John Collins, deputy surveyor; John Simpson, bureau of immigration; Major W. H. Corsa, clerk of the third judicial court; John W. Jacobus, United States marshal; George B. Deane, custom-house contractor; Clarence W. Meade, police justice; John R. Nugent, food contractor in the barge office;

Barney Biglin, luggage contractor; Gen. Denis F. Burke, internal revenue collector; Charles W. Anderson (colored), clerk in internal revenue office; John H. Gunner, deputy collector; Frank Raymond, deputy collector; J. Thomas Stearns, custom-house auctioneer.

From the city of Brooklyn came Andrew J. Perry, Wallabout land appraiser; J. J. Scheusser, assistant custodian federal building; Theodore B. Willis, naval officer; A. R. Booth of the navy yard, Jesse Johnson, United States district attorney; John Kissel, navy yard; George Buchanan, navy yard; G. N. Dick, internal revenue officer; Ernst Nathan, internal revenue collector; Jacob Mass, secret service bureau; George H. Mason, book-keeper post-office; John E. Smith, secretary to the naval office; John H. Fisher, internal revenue officer; Joseph Benjamin, Wallabout land appraiser.

From the country districts were the following: Albany, Postmaster Gen. J. M. Warner; Allegany, Postmaster Glenn of Cuba; Auburn, Gen. John N. Knapp and Congressman Sereno E. Payne; Columbia, County Judge J. Rider Cady; Cortland, Assemblyman James H. Tripp, who owes his nomination to T. C. Platt; Erie, Assemblyman Mason H. Clark; Onondaga, Postmaster Carroll E. Smith of Syracuse; Postmaster John I. Platt of Poughkeepsie, Internal Revenue Collectors Robert H. Hunter of Poughkeepsie and Charles E. Fitch of Rochester, and a score or more of country postmasters.—*Albany Dispatch to New York Times*, April 30.

* * *

The visit of the honorable the secretary of the treasury to Ohio has not been without fruit. That high functionary is able to report to his chief, as the result of the energetic and faithful performance of the duties for which he was selected, that the administration will be indorsed by the Ohio republican convention, and that the Ohio delegation will support the renomination of Mr. Harrison.—*New York Times*, April 25.

* * *

The republican factions are hard at it again. This time it is the registration for the primaries which forms the bone of contention.

In the old eighth the registration was held in the rear of Thomas Sheridan's saloon, Barclay and Federal streets. The Gary officers were Richard B. Evans and Dorsey Whittaker, and the Johnson man appointed was J. R. Wetherill, but the two other officers did not allow him to take his seat because he did not have his commission and threatened to have him arrested if he persisted in remaining in the room. Sixty-seven names were placed on the poll-books, and of these the Johnson men declare that at least eleven are democrats and can be readily proved so. [Johnson is postmaster.]

In the Ninth ward the registration place was at German and Eutaw streets. The officers were Frank Duhurst and John G. Kipp, both Gary men. John Walters, the Johnson representative, was not allowed to take his seat either. So he and some of his friends contented themselves with standing outside the whole time the officers were there and keeping tab on the applicants for registration who went inside. One of this party of watchers, a federal official, says that twelve men passed the threshold of the door, yet the books show that twenty-three were registered.

In the thirteenth ward the two factions had a free-for-all fight in the registration room. The officers here were Harry Lardowsky, James Robinson and Harry Hartzel, all Gary men. One of these will, however, be relieved next Monday night and John A. Whitney, a Johnson man, put in his place.

John F. Thomas, in the registered letter division of the post-office, went to the registration place, 551 W. Baltimore street, with about a dozen of his friends. They were all refused registration on the grounds that they had not been registered at the last primary. Mr. Thomas said he saw George Conrades, 876 W. Fayette street, registered by the officers while he was there. He knows that Conrades is a democrat.

In the twenty-second ward about the same state of affairs, it is said, prevailed. One of the registra-

tion places was at Quaker Lane and Gorsuch avenue. Here again there were only two judges, both Gary men. Arthur Flitten was the Johnson man, but he was not allowed to take his seat. Mr. Flitten and Mouitor Watchman, the latter secretary of the Twenty-second Ward Republican Club, are responsible for the statement that a man whom they recognized as a democrat registered three times under different names last Monday night. The man, they say, changed his hat with his name each time. It is said that he was quite indignant, because he began with a new stiff hat of his own, and wound up with an old slouch belonging to some one else, and did not get his own hat back. His arrest was ordered by the Johnson men, but the policeman on duty there would not take him in charge, as he thought no law covered the case.

United States District Attorney Ensor was applied to for relief but could not give any. Mr. Ensor took Mr. Watchman, who complained, over to State's Attorney Kerr's office, and Mr. Kerr now has the case under advisement. The man, in the meantime, has become very much frightened and has confessed all about the job, saying that he did not know he was violating any law.—*Baltimore News*, April 9.

* * *

The Baltimore republicans held their primaries to-day, and the administration men and anti-administration men had a lively time of it.

The administration leader was Postmaster Johnson, and the opposition was led by James A. Gary, the national committee man and a capitalist, who wants to go to Minneapolis. There were many exciting scenes. In the twelfth ward the Johnson men pulled a Gary judge bodily out of the window, and had him arrested because they said, he was using a registration book of his own make.

In the eleventh ward the hottest fighting of the day took place. Hiram Watty, the colored leader, in a little discussion at the registration office two weeks ago got into trouble and was assaulted. To-day he had his revenge. Last night he stowed away 150 negroes in one house and locked them up. This morning at 6 o'clock he marched them to the polling place. The window did not open until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, but they stood there ten solid hours and carried the day.

The result is not settled to-night because the Gary judges in some wards refused to sign the returns; but the Johnson men have probably carried two legislative districts and the Gary men one.—*Baltimore Dispatch to New York Times*, April 26.

* * *

The delegates to the republican state convention, which will be held to-morrow, have arrived. There is more bitterness than has been displayed in a republican state meeting since 1876, when the convention was in this same town, and when the Blaine crowd was out-general and defeated.

The direct representatives of the administration, the federal office-holders and their men, are clamoring, but they are whipped out of their boots.

The district conventions in Baltimore to-day were more cruptive than usual. In the third the majority made an open assault on the office-holding crowd, who retreated and held a convention all to themselves. The amusing part of the whole situation is that the men whom Mr. Wanmaker and Secretary Foster are apparently protecting against the effect of the civil service laws have been unmercifully defeated, and are trembling, not because they violated civil service rules, but for fear that their failure to carry the city and state will lose them their positions.—*Frederick, Md., Dispatch to New York Times*, May 3.

* * *

Mr. Gary had carried the state against the federal office-holders and had arranged for an uninstructed delegation, but Southern Maryland, speaking through Captain Potter, bluntly said that all its men would vote against Gary unless the delegates were instructed. There was a stormy scene, and Gary tried every means to escape the demand, but he was finally forced to yield. This work is attributed to Internal Revenue Collector Hill who was not present except through representatives.

In spite of civil service investigation at Washington, Postmaster W. W. Johnson, of Baltimore, was there at work to-day, openly managing his henchmen and directing administration politics.—*Frederick, Md., Dispatch to New York Times*, May 4.

* * *

The testimony of Postmaster-general Wanmaker and Secretary Foster before the investigating committee regarding the violations of the civil service law in Baltimore, emboldened the office-holders, and the following actively participated in yesterday's convention: W. W. Johnson, postmaster of Baltimore; Dr. Tuck, postmaster at Annapolis; Mr. Mulliken, postmaster at Easton; George L. Wellington, United States sub-treasurer; W. D. Burchinal, surveyor of the port of Baltimore; Mr. Hill, United States revenue collector, and Clay Dodson, deputy revenue collector. To the work of these men is attributed the unexpected result of getting the delegates instructed for Harrison.—*Baltimore Dispatch to New York Times*, May 6.

* * *

The republican state convention, which meets in this city to-morrow, will have a majority of members who have been chosen through the active and persistent effort of federal office-holders, under the direction of Senator McMillan. They have controlled the primaries through a greater portion of state, many of their employees being given a vacation to engage in this work, while the private secretaries of both McMillan and Stockbridge have been serving as field marshals.—*Detroit Dispatch to New York Times*, April 13.

* * *

The republican state convention held in this city to-day was merely a ratification of the slate prepared by Senator McMillan and made a winner through the activity of federal office-holders and their employees in Michigan.—*Detroit Dispatch to New York Times*, April 14.

* * *

There gathered in Springfield early in the week a number of gentlemen who are paid salaries by the United States to attend to certain specific duties, among which the running of state conventions and the supervision of "booms" are not included. These gentlemen are exercising their "pernicious activity" not in obedience to their official superior, the President of the United States—for he is in favor of civil-service reform and the faithful discharge of duty by government officers—but in obedience to the orders of a superior unknown to the law—the senior senator from Illinois. That high dignitary is not on the ground. He remains at Washington and instructs his deputies by telegraph. He sits at the Washington end of the wire and dictates the quantity of ginger in the instructions and the number of rounds of applause with which they shall be received. Persons not in the secret will think that all that is done is the spontaneous act of the republicans of Illinois, but he knows better.

One of the deputy bosses of Illinois is Col. A. C. Matthews, the second controller of the treasury. He has been absent from his post—possibly without leave, certainly without the approval of the President—for the last three or four weeks. During that time he has been endeavoring to convince the republicans of Illinois that they are boiling over with enthusiasm to commit themselves on the presidential question a month in advance. The chief deputy boss, Sub-Treasurer Tanner, is also on the ground. Although he has just been appointed to an important financial office in Chicago, he has spent his entire time for three weeks in the rural "destricts" collaring "enthusiastic" delegates, and by threats, promises and entreaties inducing them to join the spontaneous movement for "instructions" in favor of his chief.

Other deputy bosses are there—Collector Mamer, Collector Hogan, Collector Starr—forgetful of their duty to the government in their eagerness to discharge their duty to the chief boss. Postmasters, pension agents, large and small, gaugers, storekeepers and all the other federal officials and employees are at Springfield, neglecting their duty and outraging the civil service reform feelings of the President.

They have no business there, for they do not attend as republicans, but as deputy bosses, seeking to impose on the convention a policy which pleases the chief boss, but not the mass of the republican voters of the state. They went to the capital to intrigue and terrorize, to hold out to one man prospects of rewards from the chief boss and to threaten another with his displeasure.—*Chicago Tribune, May.*

* * *

The republican party in Cincinnati is now divided into two factions—the government building crowd represented by Amor Smith and McClung, and the George Cox-Foraker element, which seems to be in almost complete control. Both sides are after the delegates to the national convention at Minneapolis. The administration office-holders feel it to be their duty to show Harrison that they represent a majority of the republican voters in the city, while Mr. Cox and his followers are just as anxious to prove the contrary.—*South West, April 15.*

* * *

The refusal of the convention to instruct for Harrison was looked upon as the best indorsement the convention could give Collector Wennecker, now in expectation of removal, at the request of Secretary Noble, for his friendship to Filley.—*St. Louis Dispatch to New York Times, May 3.*

* * *

The republican county convention held here today to select delegates to the congressional district convention, which will send two delegates to the national convention, was one of the liveliest affairs of the kind that ever took place. It was controlled by Gen. George H. Sharpe, through his son, Severyn B. Sharpe is one of Mr. Harrison's office-holders.

In the further proceedings William M. Hayes made a speech accusing Noah Woolven, the Kingston postmaster, of writing letters to postmasters in the rural districts threatening them with removal if they did not send the right kind of delegates to the county convention.

In response to this the postmaster said Hayes was a liar, and also that he had lied in the convention last fall. Mr. Hayes in reply said he had one of Mr. Woolven's letters in his pocket. Mr. Woolven dared him to produce it. In further remarks on the motion, G. D. B. Hasbrouck characterized it as tending to a tyrannical and outrageous use of power, of which only one family, Gen. Sharpe and his son, would be guilty.—*Kingston, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, April 19.*

* * *

The republican convention to elect two delegates to the national convention was held here today. When the delegates assembled vigorous canvassing was in order. Delaware, Ulster and Greene each had a candidate, but it was soon seen that Gen. George H. Sharpe was general manager for both Ulster and Greene counties, through his wide-awake son, Severyn B.

Ex-Assemblyman James Ballatine, of Delaware county, declaimed loudly against office-holders running conventions. He didn't believe it right that a federal office-holder receiving a salary of \$700 a year and a postmaster should be forced on the party as their representatives to the national convention. He referred to Gen. Sharpe and Mr. Jacobs of Catskill. It had been agreed that the vote of each county should be cast by the chairman of each delegation. The result of this little game was that Gen. Sharpe of Ulster and J. Leroy Jacobs of Greene each received 18 votes, and George W. Crawford of Delaware 7.—*Kingston, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, April 26.*

* * *

A hot fight is on foot in the republican ranks between the supporters of Ernst Nathan, who holds the office of collector of internal revenue, and Theodore B. Willis, naval officer, and his supporters, over the choice of delegates to the national convention. Nathan, who represents T. C. Platt, and is more than suspected of close affiliations with the democratic leaders in the city, has shown a grasping desire to control the choice of all the delegates, after Willis and his friends had been assured that they would be recognized in the choice. The real purpose of Nathan is to secure the choice of such men as can be controlled in the interests of Platt, and can be used by him to support Harrison's renomination or the choice

of some other man, if it should be deemed desirable. The opposition desire the delegates to be firmly bound to support the President for renomination, thus insuring, in the event of his re-election, the continuance of Secretary Tracy in the cabinet. Nathan is accused of treachery, and if the opposition to him can only solidly combine, he will be defeated at the primaries. But the men, to get ahead of the Mephistophelian collector, must rise early.—*New York Evening Post, March 26.*

* * *

The merry little contest between Internal Revenue Collector Nathan and Naval Officer Willis is going right along, and each side claims to be ahead in the fight for delegates to the national convention. The real contest will be at the primaries and conventions in the latter part of this month, when the leader of each faction will ascertain how many Harrison delegates he can control. Judging from the result or the past week's work Nathan will come very near winning.

Ex-Senator Birkett was the first one taken out, but he was quickly followed by Michael J. Dady, William Buttling and Israel F. Fischer. The latter was a Willis man until recently, but the Nathan bait was too attractive to be resisted. It was an offer of a comfortable job when Harrison begins his second term.

Nathan is waging this fight in his usual way, by depending upon ten or twelve ward bosses instead of upon the enrolled voters who will cast the ballots at the primaries. He expects each of these men to carry his ward and send delegates whom he can control to the conventions.—*New York Times, April 10.*

* * *

The dispatch relates chiefly to Capt. George J. Collins, who is at present the postmaster of Brooklyn. He was passing through Washington on his way to Fort Monroe for a week's vacation and was interviewed. He told the reporter that he was literally running away from the Brooklyn republican politicians who are just now engaged in a bitter fight for the control of the delegation to Minneapolis. The fight is between Tom Platt and Ernst Nathan, internal revenue collector, on the one side, and Naval Officer Willis, backed by Secretaries Tracy and Elkins on the other. The former pretend to be favorable to Harrison; the latter undoubtedly are so. Capt. Collins declared that he was worn out and could hardly go through another week like the past, so that he had been obliged to ask a week's leave to escape the "onslaught." "I have been," he says, "threatened, browbeaten and persecuted simply because I refused for some time to take action with either faction and desired to preserve harmony among my fellow-republicans of Brooklyn." Capt. Collins, we take it, must be a man of very considerable consequence in Brooklyn politics, but he would hardly have been subjected to such strenuous treatment if he had only his own vote to give at the primaries, or even, we fear, for the influence his personal example might exert. The correspondent explains why Capt. Collins's decision is a matter of such moment to the leaders of the contending factions. He gives a statement of the "patronage" that the postmaster, now moved into a new building, has to dispose of. It is as follows: One assistant custodian, one engineer, one assistant engineer, four watchmen, one janitor, one assistant janitor, eight laborers, six firemen, and finally, twelve charwomen. Here are thirty-five places in all. Capt. Collins having decided to take sides with the Willis faction, it is assumed that these places will be given where they will secure the most votes at the primaries for that faction, and thus promote the nomination to the chief magistracy of the greatest republic of the world of Mr. Benjamin Harrison.—*New York Times, April 12.*

* * *

The latest developments in the Nathan-Willis fight for control of the local republican machine is the conduct of Postmaster Collins in climbing down on the Willis side of the fence. He has held aloof from the fight as long as possible and has received nothing but the reproaches of both sides. Then he went on to Washington and saw Secretary Tracy, and the result was

his declaration against Nathan. The postmastership is not usually worth fighting for, but just now, owing to the opening of the new federal building, he has the power to appoint about thirty-five subordinates, including twelve charwomen, and the great republican party in Kings county is not despising charwomen in these days.—*New York Times, April 17.*

* * *

The first step toward electing delegates from Kings county to the republican national convention will be taken on Thursday night, when primaries will be held in each ward and town.

From present appearances the fight on that occasion between the Willis and Nathan factions, one representing Secretary of the Navy Tracy, the other Thomas C. Platt, will be bitter.

A report was also circulated by the Nathan people that the employes in the navy yard had been ordered to get out at the primaries and work for Willis or take the consequences.

Naval Officer Willis returned from a trip to Washington on Saturday and, it is said, brought this order from the navy department. Of course, Mr. Willis denied this story, but there were politicians about town who knew men in the navy yard who had decided to do just what this alleged order called for, although until a few days ago they had not favored Willis.

George A. Buchanan, of the twenty-second ward, Brooklyn, was appointed a special treasury agent yesterday. He will serve under Special Agent Whitehead, who is in charge of the office at the custom-house. Buchanan's appointment is credited to the backing of Secretary Tracy, in whose interest he has been active in the squabble between the republican factions in Brooklyn. In fact, the fight across the river is becoming so lively and the demand for patronage is so great that the custom-house and other federal offices in this city are feeling the effects. Anything in the way of any office that is to be had these days is being sought by the Brooklyn leaders.—*New York Times, April 19.*

* * *

The republican primaries in Kings county were held last night, and neither of the factions, headed by Naval Officer Willis and Internal Revenue Collector Nathan, won the great victory which its leaders had predicted. The delegates elected to the assembly and congressional conventions, the former to be held to-night and the latter to-morrow night, will be about equally divided.

Nathan had a formidable combination to oppose, and was regarded as fortunate in having escaped an overwhelming defeat at the hands of men who have grown tired of the Platt management. As it is, he will go to the state convention with more delegates than Willis can control, and, will also name four of the eight delegates to the national convention.—*New York Times, April 23.*

* * *

The Willis-Nathan fight for control of the republican party in Kings county did not end with the primaries on Thursday night by any means. The various ward leaders were about yesterday working just as hard as ever, and conferences were held with Nathan and Willis all day long.

Willis said that when the conventions are held it will be found that he really won a great victory at the primaries and that some of the delegates who are now supposed to be Nathan men, will vote for his candidates.—*New York Times, April 23.*

* * *

I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be for ever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens. * * *—[Senator Benjamin Harrison.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.

VOL. I, No. 40.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

1888.

"The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because their candidate has broken his. We therefore renew our declaration of 1884, to wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.'"

1892.

"We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the republican party of the laws regulating the same."

WE have devoted much space this month to uncovering the motive power which successfully operated the republican national convention, beginning at Minneapolis, June 7. The spoils system was in its full fruition. The successful candidate was successful because through his henchmen he had the convention literally by the throat. One hundred and forty place-holders at the lowest estimate had votes. On the best authority at least three thousand other place-holders gathered around and bore down opposition. All these were led by a place-holder who makes thirty or forty thousand dollars a year out of his place and who came specially from London for this purpose. The whole was superintended by the President who had wires connecting the White House with the convention, and who, as the *Indianapolis Journal* puts it, was busy "sending and receiving communications from the

seat of war." It is to be hoped that our United States executive government has now reached its lowest point of degradation. It would not seem that political pirates and buccaneers could get or would want greater power.

It was not the fault of the President that Quay, Clarkson and Platt were opposed to him in the convention. It is doubtful if any man in the same length of time ever controlled such an amount of patronage as the President gave to each of these men. No doubt he now feels that they bunkoed him out of this spoil, but that is not the game with which the people are concerned. The matter which concerns the people is that before his election the President promised that the reform of the civil service "should be completed by the extension of the reform system already established by law to all grades of the service to which it is applicable." He also promised that "the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments." All this was promised "to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided." General Harrison was elected, but these promises have not been kept. Was that a confidence game, too?

THE Lord Paramount literally fought his own battle, and with his faithful henchmen he has completely overthrown the greater and lesser barons, Quay, Clarkson, Platt, Wolcott, Miller, Fassett, Pettigrew and others who were in rebellion. His position at the moment of final triumph is described by the Washington special of the *Indianapolis Journal*, dated June 10.

The center of attraction to-day was at the White House. All the morning the President and his able and faithful lieutenants were busily occupied, as they have been for several days and nights past, in sending and receiving communications from the seat of war.

THE *New York Evening Post*, of June 9, gives two interesting incidents of the convention from the Minneapolis correspondence of the New York Press. One is a message sent from Washington June 8th, by Mr. Foster, the President's secretary of the treasury, to the Utah member of the national republican committee as follows:

"Whatever you can do for us at Minneapolis will be duly appreciated and gratefully remembered in Washington."

The other was a letter seen in Minneapolis on the same date, from the President's son, Russell Harrison, to E. H. Studebaker, of South Bend, in these words:

"Mr. George A. Halsey, of New Jersey, who is a delegate to Minneapolis, is said to be inclined to favor Mr. Blaine. Will you please use influence with him to get him to support father?"

How platoons and companies of place-holders swarmed to Minneapolis needs little illustration. For example, Land Commissioner Carter, Assistant Postmaster-General Rathbone, United States Marshal Ransdell, Fourth Auditor Lynch and Register Bruce led the Washington contingent. Postmaster Johnson led a club from Baltimore. The President's brother, United States Marshal Carter Harrison, had charge of the Tennessee delegation. Postmaster Thompson and his assistants, Wallace, Patterson, and Woodward, and United States Marshal Dunlap, Pension Agent Ensley, Collector Hildebrand and United States District Attorney Chambers headed the Indianapolis place-holders, while those of New York were led by Postmaster Van Cott, Naval Officer Willis and Collector Hendricks. This was the way throughout the United States.

WHAT were the repeated communications for days and nights to the seat of war? What would the President have to say or authorize to be said to a halting delegate? Again, what was it in relation to tampering with delegates that the Harrison managers threatened the Blaine managers to expose? Would Messrs. New and Michener have us believe that the Blaine managers bought delegates and that they got them back by moral suasion? Why do strong Harrison men who were at Minneapolis come back to Indianapolis and talk that the "southern niggers" were bought three or four times before the final vote?

ON receiving the news of his renomination the President made a short speech to the reporters and others who gathered around him. The burden of his thought naturally would have been that he had fulfilled the promises upon which he was elected in relation to his greatest duty under the constitution—the management of the civil service. But he was clearly not examining himself upon that point.

The weight then greatest upon him was evidently expressed in his words: "I have felt great regret that I was unable to find a suitable place for every deserving friend."

It is proper for every civil service reformer to inquire whether the promises of the republican platform of 1888 have been kept. That part of the platform when adopted was known to have been written by George William Curtis for and adopted in the platform of 1884. It was therefore chosen with deliberation. Its promises are liberal.

At its late meeting in Baltimore the National League provided for a committee to investigate assessment of office-holders and for a committee to investigate the interference of office-holders in campaigns and elections. Upon the first committee Mr. Curtis has appointed John C. Rose, Baltimore, Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis, C.W. Watson, New York; and George A. Merser, Philadelphia, with one vacancy yet to be filled. Upon the second he has appointed Moorfield Storey, Boston; Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia; John C. Rose, Baltimore; and Edward Cary, New York.

MR. CHARLES A. LEWIS, of this city, has taken up, on a large scale, the distribution in Indiana of the address of Mr. Curtis at Baltimore. Any one desiring to co-operate may communicate with him. This is important in order to keep the distribution systematic. Mr. Lewis has had some whole counties listed, and will there completely cover the field. Will not some of our Fort Wayne, Evansville, and Terre Haute friends join in this matter? The price is \$18 a thousand, and orders should be sent to John Hemsly Johnson, Box 793, Baltimore.

HARPER'S WEEKLY of June 4, answering a correspondent in relation to the relative merits of Harrison and Cleveland, says:

"This is the test by which Mr. Harrison is to be tried. He had behind him what Mr. Cleveland had not, a strong reform sentiment in his own party, with the most vehement party declaration for reform, and the most unconditional party pledge to keep its pledges, with its own detailed and specific engagements, some of them made a year or two before in censure of Mr. Cleveland's course. Practically, Mr. Harrison has kept none of these pledges, although the reform, impelled by public opinion, has advanced decidedly during his administration. * * * The President has sustained examinations under the law as Mr. Cleveland did. He has supported the commission as Mr. Cleveland

did, except that Mr. Harrison has not adopted its most important recommendation, that for the dismissals in Baltimore. He has extended somewhat the classified service, as Mr. Cleveland did."

Many reformers will not balance the accounts in this manner. They will say that Mr. Cleveland amply supplied any lack of party pledges in favor of civil service reform with his own written pledges in different forms and shapes, and that he was elected in reliance upon his personal pledges, which the constitution gave him ample powers to keep. That a President is in no sense a trustee of his party with a duty to look out for its welfare, but that it is his duty to conduct his part of the government upon business principles without regard to party advantage. That Mr. Cleveland let his civil service commission go to the dogs. That it is impossible to compare favorably his administration of the civil service law with that of Mr. Harrison; otherwise, however, the two administrations are not greatly different. But they will also say that favorable comparison with the preceding administration is not the true test. That the question is, What ought the President to have accomplished? That the sum of all favorable allowances is insignificant by the side of the fact that in distinct violation of his own and his party pledges the President has refused to extend the classified service, and has divided more than 100,000 federal offices as spoil among his relatives and personal friends and among a pestiferous and dangerous set of political manipulators, and has shamelessly used the offices to secure renomination, and ought not to have his acts ratified by re-election. That Mr. Cleveland was defeated, and therefore his acts were not ratified. That he is undoubtedly sincerely in favor of civil service reform. That he can look for no future renomination or re-election. That he will probably profit by experience. That he knows that the democrats who wrung the most spoil from him before do not want him for president, and he will not be likely to yield to them again. That, in short, the advantage to civil service reform in the next four years would be much greater with the defeat of Harrison and the election of Cleveland. That in saying this they mean to be understood as expecting more of the latter than was expected of Harrison for the reason that the standard of requirement of abstention from spoil is constantly being raised and that it is about time that a president should comprehend that the use of any office as spoil is unconstitutional and is in violation of his oath, and that it is his first duty to devise and enforce plans totally exterminating the whole practice—and this without regard to what he or the platform has said.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"To the Victor Belong the Spoils."

THE LORD PARAMOUNT.

I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens. * * * [Senator Benjamin Harrison.]

Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes actuated by such a law as this. It would make us a nation of apostates at the foot of Sinai.—From a Sermon by Rev. Horace Bushnell, in 1840.

"I do not want federal office holders at the Minneapolis convention," was the order which the President issued last week, and forthwith Secretary Foster, Secretary Elkins and a number of other prominent officials announced their determination not to attend. If the President is really in earnest in this matter, there will be considerably over one hundred absent delegates. It is a fact that at the convention which is to meet to select the republican candidate for the presidency one man in every eight will be a federal office-holder, appointed by President Harrison who is himself a candidate for nomination.—Washington Post, May 22.

* * *

"I do not believe that individual disappointments will control the convention at Minneapolis."—From President Harrison's talk with the World's Washington correspondent, May 26.

* * *

The remark about "individual disappointments" indicates how thoroughly the President misapprehends the nature of the opposition to his candidacy, and also how wise is the American system of frequent changes in the personnel of the government. It is astonishing how quick and easy is the process by which a man comes to look upon the place he holds as his private property. He becomes accustomed to the exercises of power, and to the homage which follows in the train of high authority, and he soon regards it as little less than impious to suggest that he would better make way for another. * * Now I am what our mugwump friends delight to stigmatize as a "practical politician." I look at things as they really are. * * The charge against Mr. Harrison's supporters can not so easily be set aside. It is a much to be

regretted fact that the President has placed his campaign in the hands of those who hold office under him, and has even recalled men from their posts abroad. It will be a serious matter, if, by any chance, he should be nominated, should this fact give rise to the charge that he was forced to give his campaign to these men because he could get no others to assume the task."—*From Tom Platt's Answer, United Press Dispatch, May 31.*

* * *

"I do not look for a snap judgment on the part of the Minneapolis convention," said Mr. Miller. "There will be no 'stampede' of the delegates. I have no doubt that President Harrison will be renominated."

"Have you anything to say of the remarks of President Harrison printed in the *World* to-day?"

"No, although perhaps I may say that some of the 'individual disappointments' to which General Harrison refers are felt by gentlemen for whom much has been done. There are men for whom you can not do enough. Load them with favors, and like the often quoted 'daughter of the horse-leech,' they are not satisfied. Such men become disappointed. Disappointment may possibly develop a revengeful state of mind. When the President says that disappointment will not prevail at Minneapolis, I quite agree with him."

"The President says he has declined to call on his friends for assistance. What are his friends doing?"

"His friends, personal and political, need no requests, no stimulation. They are going before the convention and they will present his name for renomination. They do not anticipate any sensations or stampedes."—*From the World's Washington Correspondent's Interview with Attorney-General Miller, May 29.*

* * *

There are already many Harrison men in Minneapolis prepared to do missionary work among the delegates as soon as they arrive, and others are preparing to get away in a day or two. Nothing more has been heard of the alleged order which Mr. Harrison issued last week calling upon office-holders to remain away from the convention. There are more than 100 of these who will be seated as delegates. A prominent republican said this evening in regard to this matter:

"The President was not aware that so many men who draw pay from the government had been selected as delegates. When he discovered that the office-holding class was to have such a large representation he was very much dissatisfied. But, if he contemplated issuing any such order as was reported, it must soon have occurred to him that it would be not only impracticable, but decidedly hazardous at this stage of the game. So he decided to take no action. I think it was the wisest thing he could do under the circumstances. He would be playing into the hands of his enemies by adopting any other course."—*New York Times, June 1.*

President Harrison's telegraphic facilities for reaching the men who are engineering his fight have been increased. A wire has been put into the White House which will give instant communication with the leaders in Minneapolis. Expert operators have been employed and bulletins will be sent direct to the executive mansion by the telegraph companies. This and some other incidents would seem to indicate that the President is very much absorbed in the question. For some reason he saw fit not to go to Gettysburg to-day, as he had half promised to, but remained within easy reach of his wire. The arrivals of his friends and enemies at Minneapolis are duly noted.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, June 2.*

* * *

There are two sensations in the air here. The first is caused by the publication of the authorized dispatch of the associated press announcing that Blaine will write no more letters. This is interpreted to mean that he will put nothing further in the way of the men who are resolved to make him a candidate. It has frightened the Harrison contingent very badly. They had already begun to weaken, and they now show signs of staggering. Two of their most earnest workers are on the ground in the person of John R. Lynch of Mississippi, the colored orator, and Thomas Carter of Montana. *Mr. Lynch is fourth auditor of the treasury and Mr. Carter is commissioner of the general land office.* Mr. Carter, although an office-holder himself, is too shrewd and long-headed a politician not to recognize the gross folly of the President in using the creatures of his executive favor, and the White House family influence, to push his interests in Minneapolis. It was first arranged that "Prince" Russell Harrison should come on here and work with the Montana delegation for his father, but Mr. Carter made a personal visit to the White House, it is understood, to insist upon the President's putting his veto upon this scheme. His arguments prevailed and the young man was kept at home. Mr. Carter came here to look the field over and see what the chances looked like. He has made his canvass, and the result is that he has run up the danger signal. In response to this a car-load of office-holders will be poured into this city at once to direct and lead the forlorn hope. Most of them will come from Washington and be clothed with the insignia of Presidential authority. The arrangement, before Mr. Carter left Washington, was that these office-holders were to be kept at home unless the Harrison cause looked deplorably blue. Their release, therefore, wears an ominous aspect.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Evening Post, June 5.*

* * *

"Mr. George A. Halsey, of New Jersey, who is a delegate to Minneapolis, is said to be inclined to favor Mr. Blaine. Will you please use influence with him to get him to support father?"—*Letter of Russell Harrison to E. H. Studebaker, New York Evening Post, June 9.*

"Whatever you can do for us at Minneapolis will be duly appreciated and gratefully remembered in Washington."

"CHARLES FOSTER."

—*Letter of the President's Secretary of the Treasury to the Utah member of the National Republican Committee, New York Evening Post, June 9.*

* * *

President Harrison's two brothers—J. Scott Harrison, of Kansas City, and Carter Harrison, of Nashville—are here.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times, June 9.*

* * *

The center of attraction to-day was, of course, the White House. All the morning the President and his able and faithful lieutenants were busily occupied, as they have been for several days and nights past, in sending and receiving communications from the seat of war.—*Indianapolis Journal, Washington Dispatch, June 10.*

* * *

Word was given to a pronounced Harrison man in each of the delegations to notify only the members from his state who were known by him to be friendly, and wherever the chairmen were favorably inclined they were asked to make a careful poll and bring with them all those who were sure to go for Harrison. By a quarter to 1 o'clock this afternoon the dingy hall was fairly packed with delegates, the only outsiders present being a few members of the national committee, perhaps a dozen gentlemen who have been here from the first in General Harrison's behalf, and the Journal's correspondent. *The door was guarded by Sam Miller, son of Attorney-General Miller, Gerald Pierce, of North Dakota, and B. Wilson Smith, of Indiana, and each delegate as he entered the hall gave his name, state and preference for the presidency.*—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 10.*

* * *

The news which they received was said to be uniformly favorable. About noon the premises were invaded by a company of newspaper correspondents and other privileged individuals, who established themselves in the rooms and hallways of the upper story and awaited fateful tidings with as much composure as they could muster. The President, meanwhile, was in his private office surrounded by the members of his cabinet, who received every few minutes the successive telegrams from Minneapolis and made calculations from them. Secretary Tracy kept the tally-sheet, Secretary Elkins and Attorney-general Miller did the heavy figuring, and the other cabinet officers rendered whatever assistance they could. In the telegraph room across the hall, Private Secretary Halford took down the first draft of the figures as they came over the wire, and sent duplicates in to the President. The room was full of subordinate officials, newspaper men and other interested parties. Postmaster-general Wanamaker made excursions from one room to the other, and did some very accurate and business-like figuring from time to time.

For three hours or more, during the long struggle, characterizing the ballot, the most intense excitement prevailed in the upper rooms. Until about four o'clock it seemed to the White House people there would be no choice on the first ballot, and there were many speculations and criticisms in regard to the strength displayed by the McKinley vote. After Ohio and Pennsylvania had been passed, however, the probabilities of the President's immediate success dawned upon the company and caused a flutter of pleasant anticipation, in the midst of which, at exactly ten minutes past five, the record of the roll-call was momentarily interrupted as the telegraph instrument ticked out the words: "Harrison is nominated." At once there was a shout, and all those in the room, including the postmaster-general and Private Secretary Halford, rose and made a rush for the President's room.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 11.*

* * *

When he was congratulated last Friday night on his renomination, the most noteworthy thing the President found to say was:

"I have felt great regret that I was unable to find a suitable place for every deserving friend; but I have insisted that I did not disparage those I could not appoint to place." —*Indianapolis Journal June 11.*

* * *

The President is reported by a simple-minded organ as being "deeply grieved" at the action of Senator Chandler in declaring for Blaine, despite the fact that all the "good things" in New Hampshire had been freely at his disposal. In like manner he is said to be "much pained" at the ingratitude of ex-Minister Langston in turning on his "benefactor," and working among the colored men for Blaine, notwithstanding the patronage conferred upon him by Mr. Harrison.—*New York Evening Post, June 16.*

THE CHIEF HENCHMAN.

Allotments thus acquired, mutually engaged such as accepted them to defend them; and as they all sprang from the same right of conquest, no part could subsist independent of the whole; wherefore all givers as well as receivers were mutually bound to defend each other's possessions. * * * Every receiver of lands, or fendatory, was therefore bound when called upon by his benefactor, or immediate lord of his feud or fee, to do all in his power to defend him. Such benefactor or lord was likewise subordinate to and under the command of his immediate benefactor and superior; and so upwards to the prince or general himself; and the several lords were also reciprocally bound, in their respective gradations, to protect the possessions they had given. Thus the feudal connection was established, a proper military subjection was naturally introduced and an army of fendatories was always ready, enlisted and mutually prepared to muster.—*Blackstone.*

Counsel-General John C. New arrived Saturday afternoon on the City of Chicago. When asked his views on the presidential situation, he said: "Harrison will be renominated and will be elected. I am so certain of his being the choice of the convention that I shall have nothing whatever to do with influencing delegates to the convention in his favor. It is a mistake to say that my object in coming home at this time is to manage the canvass of President Harrison at Minneapolis. That has been said of every minister and consul who has got leave of absence and come home. It is natural that all of them, good republicans as they are, should desire to be at home and attend the convention. I should very much like to attend myself, for I believe my place is there. I have attended every national convention since 1856, with the exception of that of 1864. I feel all the more desirous to go this time, because I am the oldest member of the national committee.—*New York Dispatch to Indianapolis News, May 23*

* * *

Gen. John C. New took hold of the President's interests in earnest to-day. He spent most of the day at the White House in conference with Harrison and Elkins. To-night there was a meeting in his room at the Shoreham of a number of administration men. Mr. Elkins dropped in for a few minutes to see that the arrangements for an aggressive campaign were well under way. Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Rathbone was one of the gentlemen who met Mr. New. The conference continued until a late hour, and a number of people who called to see Mr. New were told that he was busily engaged.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, May 25.*

* * *

Consul-General New reached home yesterday afternoon to remain a few days before going to Minneapolis. Mr. New had but little to say yesterday regarding political movements which has not been already reported. When asked as to the probability of Robert T. Lincoln being named in the convention, he said he was authorized to state that Mr. Lincoln would not be a candidate. As to Mr. Blaine he knew nothing of his intentions except as they have been expressed in his letter and his interviews.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, May 28.*

* * *

John C. New, consul-general at London, one of President Harrison's most trusted political lieutenants, reached Chicago to-day, en route to Minneapolis. He will probably remain in Chicago until Wednesday. Speaking of the permanent chairmanship of the convention, Mr. New said: "Mr. Harrison's friends have no candidate. Any one of several names suggested would be acceptable. Major McKinley, who has been mentioned, would suit very well." The executive committee of the republican national committee will be here to-morrow, and Mr. New may have some suggestions to make to them as to the appoint-

ment of a temporary chairman of the convention, which is in the hands of the committee.—*Chicago Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, May 30.*

* * *

The early opening of the Harrison headquarters is a surprise to the Blaine men, who expected to be first when they came in with the national committee to-morrow. In short, the President's friends have stolen a march on the Blaine boomers, and their sudden arrival means fight from start to finish. It is said that their unannounced arrival and quick opening of headquarters was at a telegraphic suggestion from Washington. President Harrison had got his back up and the men sent here and to come to-morrow are the same ones who did so much for Harrison's nomination in 1888. Gen. Michener and John C. New will be in command.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 1.*

* * *

About the time that this group of anti-Harrison men arrived, Gen. John C. New, consul-general to London, arrived with Harry S. New and a few of Harrison's Indiana friends. These men diluted a little the flood of journalists that had crowded through the corridors of the West Hotel without much admixture of statesmanship and politics for twenty-four hours. The managers had not been here long before they began to talk sharply about one another.

Gen. New finds something in Col. Conger that exasperates him. Col. Conger has said, in an interview, that Harrison's interview, in which he spoke of the opposition of the disappointed, placed him on an equal footing with Blaine regarding an instructed delegate. Gen. New does not like that. He says:

"Col. Conger knows better, and ought to tell the truth. He understands English well enough to know that the contents of the President's letter bears no resemblance to the Blaine epistle, and means moreover that Mr. Harrison wants a renomination.

"The trouble about Col. Conger is that he has a political sore toe and is showing it all over because his man was not appointed postmaster at Akron. The President chose to take the advice of the Ohio senator instead of Conger, a private citizen. Hence Conger's attitude of opposition to the President. I don't approve of Col. Conger's conduct, nor of the opposition to Harrison by a man who hasn't brains enough to see straight over his eyeglass."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times, June 2.*

* * *

John C. New, and A. L. Conger of Ohio, Blaine leader, had an encounter in one of the corridors of the West Hotel last night. They had been talking at one another through the newspapers, but had not met before.

"I know what is the matter with you, Conger," said New. "You didn't get your man appointed postmaster at Akron. That is all there is to it, and that is the only explanation of your anti-Harrison attitude."

Conger replied indignantly, and the words ran pretty high, though both men kept their tempers.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Evening Post, June 3.*

* * *

The Harrison men were stirring at seven o'clock, and an hour later they had begun their work in the state delegations. The admirable organization of the President's forces compels the admiration even of his enemies. For more than a week the whole convention membership has been blocked out by state delegations and each block has been put in charge of a trusted lieutenant of John C. New. These lieutenants have reported to Mr. New three and four times a day, and as often they have talked with the Harrison men in their delegations and reported immediately any sign of weakness. The greatest argument which Mr. New has used from the beginning of the canvass is the table of votes by states. It was made up as soon as he arrived in Minneapolis, and it has been revised every day. To every doubtful delegate the Harrison men have displayed this table, urging him at the same time to "get into the Harrison bandwagon." The table has been the strongest argument to bring recruits, and the strongest argument to hold doubtful Harrison men in line. On every man who was not sworn to support Harrison right through the fight, the idea has been impressed as strongly as possible that it was only necessary to hold the assured Harrison strength together and his nomination on the first ballot was certain. The final coup came yesterday when Mr. New brought his forces together in caucus for a showing of strength. This meeting was held less for the purpose of giving Mr. New assurance of Harrison's strength than for the purpose of holding the Harrison men in line just before the test vote was made. As soon as the meeting was over the Harrison men spread the story of it through the corridors of the hotel and about the state headquarters. It created an enthusiasm which undoubtedly had its effect on the first ballot in the convention last night. The second ballot showed the moral effect of the first for it increased the apparent strength of Mr. Harrison and gave renewed confidence to his managers. They found when they started in this morning that it needed little encouragement to hold their men in line.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Evening Post, June 10.*

* * *

John C. New, who has figured as largely as anybody in Harrisonian councils, was in fine spirits. He said that the President has given the country a splendid, safe, honest and courageous administration. He had the people with him and he would be elected. *Mr. New said he had made a hard fight and had to meet men who were skillful opponents, but he had nothing to say against them.*—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 11.*

* * *

The evening trains brought back to the city a goodly number of tired pilgrims. They

have practically the same story to tell. They are all for Harrison now, or, at least, with few exceptions, they say they are. Hon. John C. New, who arrived to-day, says the prospect for victory was never better. After calling on the President Mr. New visited the state department, and left Washington at 4 o'clock for New York. He sails on Wednesday for London.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 14.*

* * *

The battle at Minneapolis has been fought over and over several times to-day at the White House. The door to the President's private room has been swinging inward at frequent intervals, and the victorious generals have been telling the President just how it was brought about that they and their brother office-holders carried the Harrison banner to victory.

Col. A. M. Hughes, the chairman of the Tennessee delegation, was there to-day. Two members of the Virginia delegation and Col. John C. New have also reported. Colonel New, it is announced, will soon go back to his duties as consul general at London, which position, it will be remembered, he left, as he said, on a short leave of absence "to attend to some private matters," some weeks ago.

Colonel New's meeting with the President is said to have been unique. For the first time in all the excitement of the past two weeks the President is said to have shown some signs of melting and to have displayed some emotion. At all other times he has been as cool and calm and unmoved as the Washington Monument. He is said to have listened while Colonel New told him how Platt, Clarkson and Quay, and the others of their crowd, had set up the Blaine image and commanded all the people to fall down and worship, like the scriptural king who built the great golden image in the plain of Babylon.

There is a story that the President, drawing from his store of scriptural knowledge, carried the incident to its climax by recalling that the old king after it was all over, was forced to "eat grass as oxen," and it is gossiped that up in the White House there was a good laugh at the figure of Platt and Quay thus humiliated. Colonel New having completed his matters of personal business is scheduled to return no later than the last of this week.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, June 14.*

* * *

Gen. John C. New, United States consul-general at London, who came to the United States "on a little private business" a short time ago, was at the Gilsey House yesterday. Very few persons called upon him. Those who did were not members of the New York delegation to Minneapolis.

"I met Tom Platt on the street when I went out this morning," said Gen. New, "and he said it was all right."

"With regard to supporting the republican ticket?" Gen. New was asked.

"Oh, yes. Mr. Platt said he was in favor of the ticket—now."

"Will Mr. Platt do any active work for Mr. Harrison?"

"It doesn't make any difference whether he does or not. Mr. Platt and myself have been in conventions for twenty years. We have fought together for our man. We have, politically speaking, starved for our man. But that is all past. Mr. Platt's dice on this occasion were not loaded. He made a mistake. But he told me he would support the ticket."

"Will the men who supported Blaine at Minneapolis stand up for the ticket during the campaign?"

"Well, I saw a telegraphic interview with Mr. Clarkson, who still remains in Minneapolis, in the *Philadelphia Press* yesterday. In that interview Mr. Clarkson showed more temper and less judgment than I should have expected of him. He said, for instance, that Harrison was only nominated by the aid of copious promises of offices by myself and Mr. Depew, and that the men who already held office were given assurance of four years' further tenure of their jobs. Mr. Clarkson even said that the mission to St. Petersburg was to be one of the rewards of Harrison's best worker.

"Didn't I work pretty hard for Ben Harrison at Minneapolis? Well, I'm going back to London to-morrow morning. I was offered the St. Petersburg mission three years ago. If I wanted to go to Russia couldn't I have gotten the assignment?"

"Mr. Clarkson says that the St. Petersburg mission was offered to three men when he first took hold of the national committee," said the reporter.

"Mr. Clarkson said so, did he? Have you figured up where Mr. Clarkson will be, politically speaking, a year hence, when the republican party will once more resume its regular business of making history? Some of the newspaper men compared Mr. Clarkson at Minneapolis with Puck, Cupid, Ariel, and so on. The newspaper men struck it about right. Mr. Clarkson has a wand that doesn't wield. In Iowa they worship false gods occasionally. Mr. Clarkson might get into the Iowa legislature some time for that reason."

"Is there any possibility of the republican split healing before November?" Gen. New was asked.

"Split? There hasn't been any split. The fellows that shrieked for Mr. Blaine will be out-doing themselves, two months hence, in the style of their bell-crowned high white hats. There wasn't any bitterness. There wasn't any split. The men whom I have mentioned as being insane on the Blaine subject have lost their grip utterly unless they fight for the republican nominee."

"Shall you be in this country between now and November?"

"My private business may call me here within a short time."

"It has been said that in your interview

with Mr. Harrison yesterday a certain scriptural king who ate grass was mentioned."

"I never saw any pasture lands at Bar Harbor," said Gen. New, "and I have been there several times. But I want to say that there was not the least sort of an alfalfa tone to my conversation with Mr. Harrison yesterday."

"Were you in any wise responsible for the result at Minneapolis?"

"No, sir. As a citizen of Indiana I did my duty. Chauncey Depew touched all the buttons. He's the only man in America that can touch a button and secure results without his actual presence."

Gen. New and his daughter will sail for Europe this morning.—*New York Times*, June 15.

* * *

Gen. John C. New, United State consul in London, who helped to manage the Harrison campaign at the Minneapolis convention, sailed yesterday for his post by the steamer City of New York. He was accompanied by his daughter, and wore in the lapel of his coat a new badge with a silver grandfather's hat attached. There was no delegation to see him off, but on board he met the Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, who is a passenger on the same steamer. Gen. New hopes to come over again when the campaign becomes lively.—*New York Times*, June 16.

UNDER-HENCHMAN CARTER.

It is only a few weeks since Senator Pettigrew (Rep. S. D.), because of alleged neglect at the hands of the administration declared that he would so fix matters that the eight delegates to be selected would be opposed to the renomination of the President. His challenge was accepted by *Land Commissioner Carter*, who went to South Dakota, and the liveliest political skirmish the state has known for some time took place. The result was the complete defeat of Pettigrew. The eight men selected are pledged to the support of Harrison. Pettigrew himself will not deny this. *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, May 29.

* * *

Soon after noon *Land Commissioner Thomas H. Carter* arrived at the West Hotel from St. Paul. He has come from Washington with his wife and baby on his way to Helena, and will interrupt his journey long enough to see the convention get under way. He is a strong arm to the Harrison men, better perhaps than Clarkson and Fassett together, and almost a match for Platt and Fassett.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 2.

* * *

All day Harrison men were being sent out to buttonhole delegates and others, and principally *Land Commissioner Carter* and Mr. Michener were on hand to receive the assurances of those who came in. Mr. Carter said: "We are perfectly serene. The people at headquarters are absolutely confident. They have received assurances that their delegations are going to stand firm."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 6.

I have just seen *Land Commissioner Carter* who is looking cheerful. In answer to my question as to how things were going, he said: "We are as strong as ever. The Harrison line is without a break anywhere. We have our own notions of the action of the national committee in slating men for the temporary organization who have no right to be there, but it has not yet reached the point where it will hurt us. We know our men, and can count our votes on paper in plain figures. We can whip those fellows, and we are going to do it. We shall waste no time or energy on side issues or preliminaries. When the fighting begins we shall all be there and the other fellows won't."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, June 7.

* * *

The chief of President Harrison's triumvirate in Minneapolis is *Land Commissioner Carter*. After consultation with the other two, Michener and New, he summed up the situation in their headquarters to-day just before leaving for the convention for the day's battle. Carter and Michener had been in conference several times before since daybreak with Senator Cullom and other prominent Harrisonians, and they have arrived at an understanding as to the policy to be adopted before the convention in regard to the Blaine tactics of the day. Mr. Carter said:

"We fully realize that the opposition to the President dare not go to a vote between the President and Mr. Blaine, as the President would defeat him by 100 majority on a square vote. Under these circumstances we expect that the opposition will employ means at their command to put off the ballot on candidates. We do not intend to interpose any objections to the employment of all the time that any reasonable person may consider necessary for the investigation of questions at issue on credentials and the perfection of permanent organization, but when it becomes obvious that dilatory tactics are being employed to keep the convention from expressing its free voice, we are satisfied that the convention will take the matter in hand and dispose of all frivolous and dilatory opposition in very short order."—*Minneapolis Dispatch, New York Evening Post*, June 8.

* * *

In answer to further inquiries Mr. Depew said he and the President had talked over the fight at Minneapolis as a matter of history. History is always an interesting subject, said he, especially when it is inside history. There were some men who had done excellent work at Minneapolis and had not received due credit for it in the newspapers, and Mr. Depew took care that the President was fully informed with relation to these men. Among others he mentioned were Michener of Indiana, "Long" Jones of Chicago, and Thomas H. Carter [laud commissioner] of Montana, all of whom rendered valuable services.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 19.

AN ARMY OF FEUDATORIES.

"Large districts or parcels of land were allotted by the conquering generals to the superior officers of the army, and by them dealt out again in smaller parcels or allotments to the inferior officers and most deserving soldiers. * * The condition of holding the lands thus given was that the possessor should do service faithfully, both at home and in the wars, to him by whom they were given," and, on breach of this condition, "by not performing the stipulated service, or by deserting his lord in battle," the lands reverted to the lord. The vassal, upon investiture, took an oath of fealty to the lord, and in addition did homage, "openly and humbly kneeling, being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands, both together, between those of his lord, who sat before him, and there professing that he did become his MAN from that day forth, of life and limb and earthly honor, and then he received a kiss from his lord." Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

United States Marshal Ransdell will go to Minneapolis to help out Harrison.—*Washington Dispatch to Courier Journal* May 27.

* * *

B. W. Smith, postmaster of *La Fayette, Ind.*, talked warmly for Harrison, and it is astonishing how many Harrison votes the letter of resignation made in *La Fayette* yesterday.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 6.

* * *

Postmaster C. R. Higgins, of *Fort Wayne*, who has been an industrious hustler for Harrison, as in duty bound, is known as an incorrigible wag. The other day, when the news of Mr. Blaine's resignation was received at the Harrison headquarters, an eloquent silence fell upon the boomers therein assembled. It lasted for half a moment, and until broken by Mr. Higgins's exclamation: "Well, I have got no use for a man who will resign a good office until he has a sure thing on a better one."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 7.

* * *

Higgins is postmaster at *Fort Wayne, Ind.*, and *Greiner* is postmaster at *Terre Haute*. Higgins is for Harrison: Greiner is supposed to be for Blaine, and wears a Blaine badge. Higgins meets Greiner, falls into an argument with him about the merits of the candidates, and Greiner is convinced, takes off his Blaine badge, and becomes a Harrison convert. This happens several times a day in localities discreetly selected.—*New York Times*, June 6.

* * *

Col. D. S. Alexander, of *Buffalo*, United States district attorney, and formerly of *Indianapolis*, arrived yesterday. After an hour's conference with General Clarkson, he said: "I believe

Mr. Harrison will be nominated, and I feel certain Mr. Blaine's name will not go before the convention in any form. Clarkson, Quay and Fassett are not sweating the dye off their suspenders to nominate Blaine. They are working for the defeat of Harrison, and there is now a movement on foot of which you will hear within twenty-four hours, by which it is hoped to nominate a third man whose name I am not at liberty to give you. Blaine will not be heard of in the convention."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 7.

* * *

At a meeting of the Ohio delegation this afternoon twenty-nine votes were pledged for Harrison, against seventeen for Blaine. The boasted Foraker strength did not pan out. Immediately after the meeting Col. D. S. Alexander [United States district attorney], of Buffalo, formerly of Indianapolis, met Governor McKinley, and asked him what he would do about the effort of the opposition to the President to force a McKinley boom. "It will not materialize," was the reply. "I shall take occasion to suppress it."—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 7.

* * *

Business about the federal building this week is quiet almost beyond precedent. Judge Baker, District Attorney Chambers, Assistant District Attorney Cockrum, Marshal Dunlap, Postmaster Thompson, Assistant Postmaster Wallace, S. G. Woodward, chief of the money order department of the post-office, and others perhaps of those having offices in the building are at the republican convention at Minneapolis.—*Indianapolis News*, June 9.

* * *

The Columbia club delegation [of Indianapolis] arrived this morning. The patriots looked quite natty, and have been on dress parade all day, admiring themselves immensely. These office-holders are the leading features in this kid-gloved galaxy of youth, beauty and virtue. U. S. Marshal Dunlap, Pension Agent Ensley, Assistant District Attorney Cockrum, Postmaster Thompson and three of his assistants, Wallace, Woodward and Patterson, are among the party, and even Collector Hildebrand came along. [All Indianapolis office-holders.] Among other arrivals of the day were D. S. Alexander, U. S. district attorney at Buffalo, formerly of Indianapolis, and Harrison's private secretary during the campaign of '88, and Judge Taylor, of Fort Wayne, Mississippi river commissioner.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 6.

* * *

Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] and Hugh Hanna are in charge of the public Indiana headquarters.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 6.

* * *

Dan Ransdell [marshal District of Columbia] said: "We are in excellent shape, and I firmly believe the President will be nominated on the first ballot. The opposition has the noise here to-night, but we have the votes."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 7.

For the first time the Columbia Club went wild for Benjamin. Rhody was lifted upon the shoulders of U. S. Marshal Dunlap and Postmaster Thompson and carried through the lobby at the head of the procession, which the Columbians instantly formed. Rhody waved a huge picture of Harrison at the end of a fifteen-foot pole. For fifteen minutes the Columbians circled about Rhody and Ben's picture like Indian ghost dancers, singing:

Every mother's son from Maine to Oregon
Is a son of a gun if he don't vote for Harrison.

Suddenly Rhody jumped off the shoulders of Dunlap and Thompson and made a dash for a colored delegate who happened to be so unfortunate as to catch Shiel's eagle eye. Placing his arm around the negro's neck, Rhody disappeared toward the bar, and the ghost dance broke up. Then a quartet, consisting of Bruce Carr, O. H. Tripp of North Vernon, Postmaster De Motte of Valparaiso, and Postmaster Greiner of Terre Haute, went from one street corner to another repeating the refrain of the song, "Every mother's son," etc.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 9.

* * *

The Harrison men at the Indiana headquarters were wild with enthusiasm this afternoon. They say their faith in the Harrison boom has developed into positive knowledge. The following message was sent whizzing over the wires to the White House expressive of the feeling which permeated the Harrison contingent:

E. W. Halford, Washington, D. C.:

The Harrison delegates have just had a meeting in Market Hall, presided over by Chauncey M. Depew. A roll-call by states showed 521 votes for the President, not counting contested seats. He will be nominated at the first opportunity to ballot.

D. M. RANSELL,

[Marshal District of Columbia.]

—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 9.

* * *

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney], was then introduced. He looked as if he had done a hard day's work, and his voice was husky. When the applause that greeted his appearance had subsided, he said:

"One week ago, yesterday, my fellow citizens, we left this city for the great convention, carrying with us, as we felt then, and now know, the best wishes of all of you, that victory might be ours."—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 12.

* * *

Ever since certain republicans set about to defeat the nomination of Chase for governor, some people have been busy creating the impression that President Harrison and the Indiana republicans at Washington do not desire to see Governor Chase nominated. The report has been circulated until the story has been accepted as true by many of the politicians. But things have taken a different turn the last day or two, since the arrival here of Dan Ransdell, United States marshal for the District of Columbia. The friends of the governor who were

at Minneapolis called the attention of the administration people there to the report that was in circulation, and asked that something be done to counteract the injury the governor's cause was suffering. When the matter came up, Mr. Ransdell, so it is said, stated to some of Chase's friends that he was for Chase, and that, if it was necessary, he would come to Indiana and remain until after the state convention and do something to help along the governor's cause.

Mr. Ransdell did come to Indiana, and he will probably remain until after the state convention, and he is urging that Chase be nominated at Fort Wayne next week. Mr. Ransdell said to-day:

"I have heard that some one is circulating the report that the administration, which, I take it, is intended to mean the President and the Indiana republicans in office, is opposed to the nomination of Chase. This story is without foundation."—*Indianapolis News*, June 17.

* * *

The Brooklyn republican delegates and others who purpose to attend the Minneapolis convention will start on Thursday by a special chartered car over the Pennsylvania railroad. They have arranged for a trip of ten days, including five days in Minneapolis and one day in Chicago. In the party will be Naval Officer Willis.—*New York Evening Post*, May 28.

* * *

The custom-house will not lack for representatives at the Minneapolis convention, although the customs officers on the list of delegates and alternates are not many. Naval Officer Willis is a delegate and Deputy Collector Shea is an alternate. Collector Hendricks will be one of the spectators of the proceedings. So will Surveyor Lyon, Deputy Collectors John H. Sunner and Frank Raymond are going, too, along with Gen. Dennis F. Burke, assistant appraiser. Others to make the trip will be Gen. Wheeler, chief custodian of the custom-house and Edmund C. Lee, who once did valiant battle with the General for the possession of the office now held by the father.—*New York Times*, May 28.

* * *

Federal office-holders make up the major part of the state delegation to the national republican convention. The state convention broke up in a big row, and two sets of delegates for the state at large were sent, both claiming to be regular. The first delegation is headed by James Hill (colored), postmaster at Vicksburg. His associates are, A. F. Wimberley, late internal revenue collector for the district of Louisiana and Mississippi, who was removed by the President for participation in the attempt to re-charter the Louisiana State Lottery Company; W. E. Mollison, colored, chancery clerk of Issaquena county, and John McGill, formerly mayor of this city, whose defeat in January, 1888, was the subject of investigation by the senate of the United States. These delegates are uninstructed.

The other side's delegates are, John R. Lynch, colored, fourth auditor of the treasury; W.

H. Gibbs, postmaster at this city; George M. Buchanan, of Holly Springs, deputy collector of internal revenue, and George W. Goyles, colored, a member of the house of representatives from Bolivar county. This delegation is instructed for Harrison.

The district delegates are:

First District—H. C. Powers, of Starkville, collector of internal revenue for the district of Louisiana and Mississippi, and Mr. Shannon, a fourth-class postmaster.

Second—John S. Burtin, United States marshal for the northern district; Frank B. Hill, colored, deputy collector of internal revenue.

Third—A. G. Pierce, colored, deputy collector of internal revenue, and Wesley Creighton, colored.

Fourth—S. S. Mathews, late United States marshal for the southern district (removed under charges, and now deputy postmaster at Winona), and W. D. Frazee, assistant United States district attorney.

Fifth—W. H. Mounger, of Jasper; J. J. Garret, colored, of Yazoo.

Sixth—Fred W. Collins, United States marshal for the southern district, and George F. Boyles, colored, of Natchez.

Seventh—E. E. Perkins, colored, postmaster at Edwards, and E. E. Eugharth, postmaster at Rodney.—Jackson, Miss., *Dispatch to New York Times*, May 30.

* * *

Senators Felton of California, Powers of Montana, Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Jones of Nevada, Dubois of Idaho, and Gallinger of New Hampshire, are the recent departures from that end of the capitol. Every one of them is a pronounced Blaine man. They will find at Minneapolis Senators Stockbridge and McMillan of Michigan, Hansbrough of North Dakota, Washburn of Minnesota, Cullom of Illinois, Quay and Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Hiscock of New York. Possibly Aldrich of Rhode Island and Higgins of Delaware will join them.

This large crowd of anti-Harrison men will be to some extent offset by Marshal Dan Ransdell, Commissioner Thomas H. Carter, Director of the Mint E. O. Leech, Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Rathbone, and other office-holders who will join Consul-General New and the other Harrison workers.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 2.

* * *

The Harrison delegates from Kings county left town at 1:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon and started for Minneapolis on the Pennsylvania railroad. In the party were Naval Officer Willis, * * * They were all positive that Harrison would be renominated, practically without opposition. They will stop over in Chicago to-night.—*New York Times*, June 3.

* * *

Nine carloads of delegates and visitors to the Minneapolis convention left the Grand Central Station at 10:20 o'clock this morning. Few of the republican leaders were in the crowd. Platt, Depew, Fassett, Chairman Brookfield of the state committee, and the

other men who will dictate the action of the New York delegation had already started for Minneapolis. The most prominent man on the train was Collector Hendricks. Among the delegates and visitors were: David Fricdsam, George Hilliard, ex-Coroner John R. Nugent, Michael Goode, Deputy Collector Dennis Shea, William Henkel, ex-Police Justice Jacob M. Patterson, John Reisenweber, Charles F. Bruder, Collector Francis Hendricks, John S. Kenyon, secretary republican state committee, Deputy Collector Frank Raymond, H. Henry, M. B. Bryant, William C. Roberts, Internal Revenue Collector Ferdinand Eidman, William I. Martin, Henry Gleason, Internal Revenue Collector Michael Kerwin, Judge Rooney, Wilbur F. Wakeman, Robert W. Taylor, Deputy Surveyor John Collins, Isaac T. Stoddard, David F. Porter, Deputy Collector John H. Gunner, R. M. Lush, T. W. McGown, Secretary William H. Bellamy of the republican county committee, Col. E. A. McAlpin, president of the state league of republican clubs, Charles B. Page and W. V. Ruppert, of this city.—*New York Evening Post*, June 3.

* * *

John R. Lynch [fourth auditor of the treasury], the well-known colored politician from Mississippi, was at the Palmer house talking for Harrison. "The Blaine boom is wind," he said. "Harrison's treatment of the colored men has been very satisfactory, and there is no concerted movement on their part to secure the nomination of any other man."

In contrast with Lynch, ex-U. S. Senator William Pitt Kellogg, of Louisiana, "the colored man's friend," is at the Auditorium. Mr. Kellogg heads the Louisiana delegation, and he has a long, sharp knife which he expects to use in crippling the Harrison forces. He declares that Harrison has practically given nothing to the colored men of the north, but that Bruce [register of deeds] and Lynch, of Mississippi, where votes do not count, got all they wanted.—*Chicago Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 3.

* * *

Special Treasury Agent Miles Kehoe, one of the delegates at large from Illinois, left for Minneapolis this afternoon. He says the Blaine boom will not last longer than Sunday next, and Harrison will have a clear field before him when the convention meets. Post-office Inspector Stuart, Maj. John Burt, of the immigration department, Assistant Treasurer John Tanner, and other federal officials, will leave for Minneapolis Saturday night.—*Chicago Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 3.

* * *

United States Marshal S. S. Mathews, of Winona, Miss., was a conspicuous figure at the Grand Pacific. "Our four delegates-at-large," he said, "are instructed for Harrison, and a majority of the others are favorable to the President. It must be said, however, that there is a remarkably strong undercurrent of enthusiasm for Blaine."—*Chicago Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 3.

* * *

Contrary to the belief generally held, there are but three federal office-holders in the delegation,

Collector Feland, United States Marshal Burchell and Surveyor of the Port Collier. To the *Times* correspondent Col. Bradley expressed the belief that Blaine would not allow his name to go before the convention, for the reason that, however much he might desire the nomination now, his letter removed him from the field of candidates, and that he could not permit his name to be used without being palpably guilty of a breach of faith.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 4.

* * *

The city's delegation on the special included Collector Hendricks and Postmaster Van Cott, who are for Harrison and who thought it too hot to talk politics; Jacob M. Patterson, chairman of the republican county committee's executive committee, who said that the delegates were going to Minneapolis to do the best they could; Deputy Collectors Denis Shea and Frank Raymond, who thought it was pretty hot for men of their size to go traveling, a belief that was shared in by John H. Gunner, another deputy collector, and John D. Lawson.

Deputy Surveyor John Collins helped to swell the office-holding contingent that went out to shout for Harrison if their official heads seemed to demand it. John Reisenweber, Charles F. Bruder, Michael Goode, Wilbur H. Wakeman and William Henkel were also aboard.—*New York Times*, June 4.

* * *

The New York delegation to the republican convention at Minneapolis left here on a special train of eight cars, from the Grand Central depot, at 10:20 o'clock this morning. Most of the prominent leaders of the party started a few days ago. Among those who started to-day were Collector Hendricks, Secretary Kenyon, of the republican state committee; Jacob Patterson, W. H. Bellamy, Deputy Collectors Frank Raymond, Denis Shea and John H. Gunner, Internal Revenue Collector Ferdinand Eidman, Deputy Surveyor John Collins. On either side of each of the eight cars in the train is a strip of white canvas with the words, "New York Delegation, National Republican Convention," printed in large, black letters.—*New York Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 4.

* * *

There were some bets made during the evening, of which the largest was \$1,000 even on Harrison's nomination against the field. Marcus Johnson, revenue collector at St. Paul, took the Harrison end of the bet, and Delegate Eustis, of Minneapolis, a Blaine man, the other end. *Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 4.

* * *

The first of the New York delegation to arrive was John W. Dwight, of Dryden, the advance guard of the Blaine forces. Dwight, Fassett, Armour, Frank S. Witherbee and Collector Frank Hendricks, who is not a delegate, and who is the only loyal Harrison man in the outfit, have rented a palatial residence and installed a French chef for the entertainment of their friends.

Edward C. O'Brien, who holds a position under the administration, followed Dwight by a few feet, and off set the former's sinister slurs against Harrison by declaiming on his excellent qualities and the fine record he has made. Then followed Fassett, who took much pleasure in firing a number of case shot into the administration, a part of which he once was.

The majority of the New York delegation—and they are all expected to arrive on Sunday morning—will occupy the quarters secured for them several months ago by Dwight Lawrence at the West. Messrs. E. B. Bartlett and Naval Officer Willis, of the Brooklyn contingent, will occupy two rooms, the six other delegates having found quarters in private houses.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 4.

* * *

Chauncey I. Filley, a member of the national committee and delegate-at-large from Missouri, made another lightning change last night. When he reached Minneapolis the Harrison sentiment seemed very strong. Mr. Filley immediately announced that under instructions from the Missouri convention he would vote for Harrison. Following the Blaine boom's lively impetus received last night Mr. Filley this morning says he is going to vote for Blaine in spite of his instructions.

"When instructions were given for Harrison," he said, "they were given under the impression that Blaine would not accept the nomination. There were 137 office-holders in our convention who instructed us for Harrison, but Blaine is the choice of the people of Missouri." Mr. Filley adds that all of the district delegates from his state vote for Blaine.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, June 4.

* * *

Leaders of the anti-administration forces held a secret conference to night lasting several hours. There were present Chairman Clarkson, Senators Washburn, Stockbridge, Quay and Hansbrough, Secretary Fassett, Conger, of Ohio; H. C. Payne, of Wisconsin, and Chauncey Filley, of Missouri. The statements previously published purporting to give the delegates unplaced were placed before the gentlemen, and were carefully considered. The roll of delegates were canvassed, state by state, and their preferences, so far as could be determined from the information at hand, were tabulated. When the meeting was over, Senator Stockbridge stated that the gentlemen of the conference were of the opinion that Harrison could depend upon 347 all told, of whom 144 are federal office holders, while there were opposed to him 551 delegates.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 4.

* * *

Utah has come to Minneapolis with a lively contest which the convention will have to settle. United States Marshal Parsons, of Salt Lake City, who heads the Harrison crowd from the territory, is confident that their claims will be upheld. Naturally he is "satisfied with the candidacy of President Harrison."—*New York Times*, June 5.

Emmons Blaine went to Minneapolis to-night at 6 o'clock. He disappeared as completely as though the earth had swallowed him, when the first whisper of the news of his father's action began to get abroad. No information concerning the son could be obtained, either at his office or his residence, except that the first train this evening bore him to Minneapolis. A thrill of excitement ran through the crowded rotunda of the Grand Pacific at the reception of the intelligence from Washington. Hundreds of politicians were in the great apartment, and in a moment all else was lost sight of. "Such a thing was never before known in American politics," exclaimed Justice Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court. The distinguished jurist checked his astonishment and comments suddenly, however, and refused to discuss the bearings of the matter in connection with the Minneapolis convention.

"It is too late. He should have done it before," almost shouted the celebrated Webster Flanagan, United States collector at El Paso, Tex., who became famous with his convention query of "What are we here for, if not for the offices?" When seen he said that the general verdict was that the news meant business now from the word go.—*Chicago Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 5.

* * *

Within a few moments after the reception of President Harrison's acceptance of Mr. Blaine's resignation, Mr. Wolcott, the eloquent senator from Colorado, was called upon for his views in reference to the sudden change of the political situation. He said: "It does not change the situation materially, except to accentuate the result which the President in his interview and Secretary Miller and Foster in theirs, attempted to inflict upon him. His friends have realized for some time that the President sought to aggrandize the effects of the wisdom and sagacity of the secretary of state, but it appears that they not only desire to ignore him, but because he did not seem disposed to 'write a letter' every few minutes, they saw fit to throw mud. The resignation may be of some help here, as it leaves vacant another office to be peddled for Harrison votes. The assistant postmaster-general, the chief of the bureau of engraving and printing and scores of heads of departments fill the lobbies, and promise offices and favors promiscuously, but they are having no effect."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 5.

* * *

Webster Flanagan [collector at El Paso] of Texas ("What are we here for?"), says that his delegation and most of the southern delegations are for President Harrison.—*Indianapolis News*, June 6.

* * *

Ex-Governor Warmouth, of Louisiana, a man of strikingly handsome presence, says: As a federal office-holder, I feel a little diffident about expressing myself. But if I might dare to speak, I would say that Louisiana is for Harrison, and that the electoral vote of that state will

be cast for him this fall. Of course you know that we have a contesting delegation. * * The sugar, rice and lumber interests are very strongly for Harrison and the republican ticket because of what the McKinley bill has done for them." Hon. John R. Lynch, the colored leader of Mississippi, was temporary chairman of the convention that nominated Blaine, but he is not for the plumed knight this time. He has been a member of congress from the "Shoe-string" district of his state and is now an appointee of the Harrison administration as fourth auditor of the treasury. "It is an unfortunate thing," he said to-day, "that the delegates to this convention should be called upon to decide between Blaine and Harrison."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 4.

* * *

Fred Douglass [late minister to Hayti], notwithstanding his age, is actively at work in the Harrison cause addressing the colored men and stiffening the lines where they are inclined to waver.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 7.

* * *

Ex-Senator Bruce [register of deeds], Auditor Lynch and other colored men are working for Harrison. An effort was made to win over Mr. Langston to the President's support, but he told the committee in an outspoken, vigorous manner that he was on the other side. He claims that Virginia will vote for Blaine with the exception of four or six delegates. Others give the President at least eight votes from Virginia.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 7.

* * *

Nearly all the southern delegates were named by the federal office-holders. They were selected, of course, in Harrison's interest, and most of them were instructed for him. If he can hold them he will be nominated. As his people have offices to promise in addition to plenty of cash to pay down, they ought to be able to hold their own at the auction. John C. New and Dan Ransdell and Michener, it would seem, should be as handy at this sort of business as Quay, Clarkson & Co., but there are indications to-night that the latter have got the start of them and that Harrison will lose a large number of his colored delegates. If so, it is all up with him.

Ben Thornton is at the head of a force of colored detectives employed by the Harrison managers to watch "the coons," as they are usually styled by the republican politicians here. Thornton is a pretty good detective, but he has the biggest contract on his hands that he has ever undertaken.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 7.

* * *

There sat at the head of several delegations from the south certain federal office-holders, who voted their delegations as if they had been so many cattle. Talk about plantation manners! When one of these delegates arose the chairman called to him:

"Sit down, blank you, sit down!"

The delegate sat down. When another

started to leave the hall, the chairman, turning sharply, exclaimed:

"Where in thunder are you going?"

And the delegate returned and took his seat. One body of these southern delegates was herded in the top floor of a hotel at night and marched to and from the convention with about the same volition that a chain-gang moves. It was not pleasing to the winners that such a condition helped on the victory. The recollection of how certain southern delegations were handled leaves a sore spot for the side which won.—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat [Rep.]*.

* * *

When the Louisiana contest was heard, ex-Senator William Pitt Kellogg and ex-Gov. H. C. Warmouth [collector at New Orleans] headed their respective forces. Kellogg, who appears as the regular delegate, prevailed before the sub-committee, beating Warmouth, who led the contesting delegation in every district except the sixth, where the sub-committee split the two votes evenly between each faction. In the third and fifth districts the Warmouth men withdrew their contests, and in the first, second and fourth districts they lost the fight. This is a Blaine victory.

Wright Cuncy [collector at Galveston], the colored national committeeman from Texas, licked his competitors from the Lone Star state, who are known as the "lily whites." The point he worked to advantage was that the contestants were an anti-negro organization and therefore hostile to the principles of the republican party. The point was well taken, the committee deciding not to admit the so-called "lily-white" delegation to the convention. It appears that the color-line was drawn in the selection of delegations, which action the committee regarded as un-republican, and they decided, therefore, that the paper presented was not admissible as a communication from a republican body.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 7*.

* * *

An amusing story is told of an interview between Carter Harrison, United States marshal for Tennessee, and brother of the President, and Crawford Fairbanks, of Terre Haute. Fairbanks came as far as Chicago on the train bearing Postmaster Greiner and other republican patriots from Terre Haute en route to the convention. On the same train was Carter Harrison in charge of the Tennessee delegation. Greiner introduced Fairbanks as a republican and a Harrison boomer. Fairbanks played the part well and was soon engaged in a confidential chat with Harrison over the situation.

"The only thing I fear," said Fairbanks, "is that the Blaine crowd will buy our niggers away from us."

"Yes, that's the danger," replied Harrison. "We picked out the most reliable ones we could find but they're mighty uncertain. We shall have to watch them every moment, and even then they are liable to give us the slip."—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 7*.

The Blaine men are greatly exasperated because of participation in the convention of so many office-holding delegates. They are constantly referring to the fact. In the arguments that take place office-holders are flatly insulted as "hirelings" who are "earning their money for their masters," and weatherbeaten old politicians like Senator Teller talk of their "ubiquitousness" with a horror that would be more impressive if it were not humorous. They would be glad to have all the office-holders for Blaine, however. There are 100, more or less, of business appointees in the roll of delegates. Some of them will be glad to vote for Blaine. Then there are shoals of postmasters, revenue officers, customs officers and others in the Harrison vote, all inclined to be fearful of the result should their man be defeated in the convention. A republican ax will kill a republican should Harrison go out as remorselessly as if he were a democrat. *Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times, June 6*.

* * *

"The promises of the Blaineites are potential, those of the Harrisonites real. The Harrisonites have got the offices. There is where, in the contest for delegates, the Harrisonites have got the advantage." So spoke a shrewd observer. There is a force in the fact that there is already a good deal of loud talk at the number of office-holders here, and it is not confined to the Blaineites. They are the first and fourth assistant postmasters-general, the commissioner of the land office, the commissioner of the navigation office, the director of the mint, the superintendent of the bureau of engraving, the marshal of the District of Columbia and collectors of internal revenue and postmasters not to be named, not counting the 147 office-holders who are delegates. It is making comment among the President's friends that these office-holders should be apparently in charge of his interests. Sam Miller, son of the attorney general, is here. Maj. George Steele is here, and apparently full of business. Horace Speed [United States district attorney for Oklahoma] is at this point descending on the greatness of Oklahoma and Harrison, with Harrison in the lead.—*Indianapolis News, June 6*.

* * *

There was the usual collection of notables just behind the chairman's platform. Senator Carey and Senator McMillan sat side by side under the gallery. Assistant Postmaster-General Rathbone was in his accustomed place.—*Evening Post, June 6*.

* * *

Postmaster Brandt, of Des Moines, afterward presented resolutions adopted by the Tippecanoe club in Iowa. No action was taken on the resolutions.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 7*.

* * *

The Harrison managers have summoned to Minneapolis an officer of the post-office department, who has under his orders twelve detectives, who are tracking the Blaine agents about to see that they do not corrupt the Harrison delegates. Our dispatches to-day report that the Harrison managers not only employ

these detectives, but have served notice upon the Blaine managers that if they continue their policy of trickery and delay, a complete exposure of the detectives' discoveries will be made in the convention. There seems to be nothing to add to this picture.—*New York Evening Post, June 9*.

* * *

The first Alabama case called was from the eighth district, and here the report of the national committee was approved with substantial unanimity. The anti-Moseley delegates were permanently enrolled. A fight was made on Hendricks and Fitzpatrick, the representatives of the faction headed by Stevens and Goe of the *New Idea* and known as the anti-Moseleys in the Third Alabama district, but a poll showed 27 Blaine to 21 Harrison votes, and they were also enrolled. In the fourth district it was also demonstrated that there was a good working majority and Bland and Wilson, the anti-Moseleyites, were sustained in their right to seats. The fifth district was also carried, but when it came to the delegates-at-large and the contest over one seat in the first district the administration forces mustered strong and executed a skillful coup d'état. They surprised the other side and carried the day temporarily for the Moseley or office-holders' faction by a vote of 24 to 23. In describing how it was done one of the members of the committee said: "A couple of fellows suddenly jumped over to the other side, one sneaked and another was absent."—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 9*.

* * *

There was quite an exciting time this morning in the meeting of the Missouri delegation and Kerens was chosen committeeman by a vote of 19 to 13 for Filley, one for Maj. Warner, and one absent. In the present political fight Filley has been for Blaine and Kerens for Harrison. The Missouri delegation is a little slow on going on record about the presidential nomination, but the probabilities are that Harrison has twenty-one or twenty-two out of thirty-four delegates. The trouble got very hot before the meeting was over. Major Warner and District Attorney Reynolds, both of whom are for Harrison, came to blows. Both are impetuous, hot-headed men, and a row of words terminated in Major Warner shooting out his fist with such effect that Reynolds was knocked down. Afterward a reconciliation was effected.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 9*.

* * *

Ex-Senator Platt was of the same opinion as Mr. Clarkson regarding the importance of the Harrison gathering. He characterized it as a pow-wow of office-holders, office-holding delegates and alternates, together with a number of outsiders. "About one third of those present were Blaine curiosity seekers," he said, "while the whole number present was less than 450."—*Indianapolis Journal, June 10*.

* * *

John A. Sleicher [civil service commissioner New York], of New York, had a point to make against one vote in that delegation, but Mr. Fassett explained it away.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 10*.

Then Webster Flanagan [collector at El Paso] of Texas, came to the edge of the platform to speak for the Lone Star state.

"What are we here for?" cried some facetious individual.

"To nominate Benjamin Harrison," quickly responded the doughty Texan.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 10.

* * *

Neil McGroarty, ex-councilman of the old sixteenth ward, who, until a short time ago, was a rampant anti-Harrison man, now has nothing to say. Mr. McGroarty's reticence is due to his appointment to a lucrative position in Revenue Collector Craven's office.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 10.

* * *

Carroll E. Smith [postmaster], editor of the *Syracuse Journal*, explained the policy of the Harrison forces to-day as follows:

"If there is a fight in this convention, the Harrison men will not be found in it. We don't propose to make a contest on anything but the nomination, and we have that to a certainty. Nor do we propose to allow the impression to be spread broadcast over the country, for effective use in the doubtful states, that the republican party is split beyond redemption. It is our policy to conciliate and not to antagonize the members of our own party. If the Blaine forces desire to fight, I trust they will fight among themselves. They can't involve us. We can afford to be magnanimous."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 10.

* * *

When the vote of Texas, cast by negro office-holders, secured Harrison's renomination, the Harrison delegates and office-holders in the galleries cheered for a few minutes.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11.

* * *

A huge six-by-eight portrait of the President was borne down to the grand stand, and Fred Douglass [late minister to Hayti], the leader of the colored race, led the mighty ovation by mounting a chair and waving his hat high in air, his white hair swung to the breezes.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11.

* * *

A little flutter of applause greeted the report by Senator Quay that the Hon. David Martin [collector of internal revenue], of Philadelphia, had been selected as Pennsylvania's member of the national committee. Martin was Quay's candidate and his selection indicates the continued sway of the senator in the Keystone state.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11.

* * *

Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, seems to have an unique way of "talking out in meeting" that is not pleasing to the republican bosses. We extract the following from his brief but instructive remarks at Minneapolis:

"I hold in my hand, Mr. Chairman, a list of 130-odd office-holders who are delegates to this convention, nine-tenths of whom live in states

where there is a hopeless democratic majority. [Applause.] The trouble in this committee as to these contests comes not alone from these men, but comes from the government office-holders who swarm the corridors of the hotels and fill these galleries, haunting the delegates who ought to be in Washington and elsewhere attending to other business. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman—[Cries of 'sit down.'] I won't sit down. I will speak. [Applause.] We republicans from republican states would like to have a little voice in naming a candidate for the presidency. Possibly the office-holders will name him, but we don't believe it. We from the republican states ask the office-holding contingent who are bringing a solid south against us to at least conduct their side of the case in common decency and common honesty, so we won't be ashamed to vote the republican ticket."

In connection with this, the following figures of the vote nominating Harrison may prove of interest:

	For Harrison.	For all other Candidates.
Solid South (including Delaware).....	245 1-6	69 5-6
New Jersey.....	18	2
Alaska (ice-wagon district).....	2	
New Mexico.....	6	
Utah.....	2	
Total	273 1-6	71 5-6

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 14.

* * *

This morning Platt, Quay, Clarkson, Miller and Wolcott were in consultation nearly an hour considering the proposition of Senator Wolcott to exclude from the convention 142 federal office-holders. The convention is operating under the rules of the fifty-first congress, which provide that members shall not vote upon measures in which they have pecuniary interests. These 142 delegates holding office under Harrison, Wolcott claimed, were financially interested to the extent of their annual salaries, and voting to continue Harrison in office four years they were also voting to continue themselves in office. Platt and Miller opposed this bold proposition, and it was only after great pressure was brought on Wolcott that he desisted from offering a resolution to oust the federal office-holders.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11.

* * *

Three months ago an assessment was made on the office-holders by the national committee for the purpose of organizing the campaign. This money was used for Clarkson, Platt *et al.* to buy off Harrison delegates, but they encountered a big obstacle in the state. The majority of the delegates are office-holders under Harrison and they could not be bought. The remainder took the Blaine money, but were brought back by the Harrison men. There were 5,000 federal office-holders in the city to draw upon.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 11.

Field Marshal Lew Payn was more outspoken than most of his colleagues of the Blaine persuasion.

"Why is President Harrison so unpopular?" asked the reporter.

"Because of his unrivalled ability for offending every one. For weeks previous to the convening of the convention, Secretary of the Navy Tracy, and the office-holders, big and little, throughout the state, were at work day and night to secure a Harrison delegation. They distributed patronage, promoted men, and removed others who could not be won over to their schemes. Never in all my experience have I seen such a shameful interference by the administration for the sole purpose of capturing a convention."—*New York Times*, June 11.

* * *

The vast majority of the returning delegates who passed through Chicago to-day did not leave the depots, being anxious to reach their homes as soon possible. *The Young Men's Republican Club of Baltimore*, headed by Postmaster W. Johnson, escorted the Maryland delegation into the city and immediately scattered to various parts of the city for a brief rest before leaving at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning. "Our club was for Harrison," said Postmaster Johnson, "and we are consequently happy."—*Chicago Dispatch to Journal*, June 12.

* * *

The nomination of Harrison was very coldly received by the republicans here. *The only member of the party celebrating to-night is Postmaster Patterson.*—*Memphis Dispatch to New York Times*, June 11.

* * *

At the meeting of the republican city central committee last night, William R. Williams, who was an enthusiastic Blaine man, offered a resolution congratulating the delegates on concluding their work. It was adopted. But when W. F. Otis, a federal employe, made a motion that the congratulations of the committee be extended to President Harrison, it failed to pass. Three cheers, proposed for Blaine, were given with a hearty good will.—*Newark, N. J., Dispatch to New York Times*, June 13.

* * *

Postmaster Cornelius Van Cott said, in speaking on the topic last night: It seems to me that Mr. Hendricks [collector], is pre-eminently the man to take charge of the republican campaign in this state this year. He has no enemies in the party and his judgment is magnificent. You can not quote me too highly in the praise of ex-Senator Frank Hendricks. I know him well. I was in the state senate with him.—*New York Times*, June.

* * *

Dan Ransdell, United States marshal for the District of Columbia, will arrive in Indianapolis this evening, and will probably have some advice to give the republicans as to the nomination of a governor at Ft. Wayne. Mr. Ransdell is at Lebanon to-day, visiting his mother.—*Indianapolis News*, June 15.

To-day's victory places Chauncey M. Depew at the head of the republican organization in New York State, with *Collector Francis Hendricks, of Syracuse*, as his second in command. Mr. Hendricks was one of those "pernicious office-holders" who was here on the ground, and it is due to his skill and sagacity that the Blaine delegation was no larger. He was so quiet and unobtrusive and modest that the Blaine leaders underestimated his power as a politician and his skill as a leader.—*New York Times, June 11.*

COMMISSIONED HENCHMEN.

Delegates to the Minneapolis Convention.

It assumes, however, that official patronage can be made a strong factor in securing the renomination and re-election of a President, which is very doubtful. It must be remembered, also, that a President who would prostitute the office in this way would be just the kind of man that the people would turn out at the end of four years. In the present state of public opinion on this question, it would be sure defeat for any President to have it known that he had used the power and patronage of his office to secure his renomination or that he was using it to secure his re-election. The people are not easily hoodwinked about such matters, and they can not be trifled with at all.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 14, 1892.*

Take New York, for instance. In that state Mr. Theodore B. Willis, the native officer of the port, openly exerted the power of his official position to secure the delegation for Harrison, if possible, and succeeded in having himself elected from the fourth district, with a subordinate as his fellow-delegate. Geo. H. Sharpe, of the board of appraisers, testifies his appreciation of the good care bestowed upon him by going as a delegate from the seventeenth district, and E. C. O'Brien, who fell into the commissionership of navigation after he had fallen out of a senate office, and who has been an ardent Harrison man ever since, is also fixed in a delegate's position. Then there is S. W. Allan, of Auburn, who is one of the commissioners of the World's Fair by appointment of the President; Charles H. Murray, who was supervisor of the census in New York City, and Jacob M. Patterson, who said, when he was here a few days ago, that he had been promised an office. There are said to be also a number of other office-holders on the delegation. In the Nebraska delegation the interests of the President will be watched by C. H. Gere, the postmaster at Lincoln, while another friend of the administration is found in the Minnesota delegation, of which ex-Representative Darwin S. Hall, who was provided with a place in the Red Lake Indian commission after he had been defeated for congress, is a member.

Michigan's delegation contains a federal postmaster, Gen. J. H. Kidd, of Ionia, but as he is an earnest friend of General Alger, his presence is hardly a victory for the administration. In New Hampshire, Delegate George T. Croft is postmaster at Maplewood, while Henry B. Quimby, of Lakeport, is a relative of General Batchelder. The latter, by the way, was appointed quartermaster-general by the President, and is now adding his efforts to those of others to secure Mr. Harrison's renomination. The head of the New Hampshire delegation is Frank Churchill, of Lebanon. His brother is the post-

master at that place. Even in far-off North Dakota the interests of the administration were not neglected. John A. Percival, the receiver of the land office at Devil's Lake, found a resting-place in the delegation along with Thomas Marshall, who has a large number of contracts with the government for surveys, and to whom a special agent was sent direct from delegates who were elected. In Kansas, Cyrus Leland, Jr., one of the delegates from the first district, is the internal revenue collector for the state.

While the list of office-holding delegates from northern states is by no means complete, it affords some idea of the endeavors which have been put forth to secure men who might be relied upon to vote for the President. It is in the south, however, where the republicans naturally acquiesced in rather than resented federal manipulation that the delegations show such an array of office-holders as to present a remarkable spectacle. Georgia leads the list with twenty-two office-holders out of twenty-six delegates. Here is the list:

A. E. Buek, United States marshal.
*W. A. Pledger, railway mail service.
W. W. Brown, railway mail service.
M. J. Doyle, postmaster.
*S. B. Morse, custom-house employee.
*B. F. Brimberry, postmaster.
*C. B. Barnes, internal revenue service.
*Chas. E. Coleman, railway mail service.
*E. S. Richardson, railway mail service.
A. J. Laird, postmaster.
John T. Sheppard, internal revenue.
*C. C. Wimbush, custom-house employee.
E. A. Angier, assistant district attorney.
R. D. Lock, postmaster.
*Frank Disson, post-office employee.
W. T. Blackford, internal revenue service.
Madison Davis, postmaster.
S. A. Darnall, internal revenue service.
J. M. Barnes, postmaster.
*J. H. Devreux, custom-house employee.
*W. H. Matthews, deputy collector internal revenue.

In Alabama there are two sets of delegates, one of them representing what is known in that state as the Moseley faction, in honor of Robert A. Moseley, Jr., who is the federal collector of internal revenue. While Collector Moseley is not personally on the delegation, he has not allowed it to lack for want of other office-holders. Here is a list of them:

William H. Smith, special United States assistant attorney.
D. Baker, postmaster, Mobile.
Charles O. Norris, mailing clerk, Montgomery.
Henry Boyd, postal clerk, Selma.
Julian H. Bingham, register United States land office.
Benjamin W. Walker, marshal southern district.
T. A. Miller, postmaster, Tuscaloosa.
Owen T. Harris, special receiver public lands.
M. F. Parker, postmaster, Cullman.
James Jackson, assistant United States attorney.
Robert L. Houston, postmaster, Birmingham.
A. L. Matthews, mail carrier.

The anti-Moseley wing will send only one office holder, Alfred H. Hendricks, a postal clerk at Opelika.

There is also a contesting delegation from Mississippi, but the office-holders are in both. In the regular delegation there are the following:

James Hill, postmaster, Vicksburgh.
H. C. Powers, internal revenue collector.
Dr. John Burton, United States marshal, northern district.
F. P. Hill, deputy revenue collector.
A. G. Pierce, revenue collector, fourth district.
W. D. Frazee, assistant district attorney.
F. W. Collins, marshal, southern district.
*John R. Lynch, fourth auditor treasury department.
†George M. Buchanan, deputy revenue collector.
W. H. Gibbs, postmaster, Jackson.

Two more of the eighteen delegates from Mississippi, a state which is counted in the Harrison column, are A. T. Wimberly, the internal revenue collector, who was recently deposed by the President, according to the statements made at the time his successor was nominated, because he opposed the sending to Minneapolis of a delegation friendly to the President, and S. S. Matthews, the United States marshal, who was recently dismissed.

In Texas, N. W. Cuney, the collector of customs at Galveston, leads the delegation with Deputy Internal Revenue Collector John W. Rector and L. M. Daniel

*Colored.

†Contestants.

recently appointed an alternate on the World's Fair commission, among his numerous office-holding colleagues. In Arkansas, Henry M. Cooper, internal revenue collector, is the most prominent office-holder on the delegation. Delaware's small contingent contains George V. Massey, who was appointed a World's Fair commissioner by the President, while North Carolina comes to the front with the following:

E. A. White, collector internal revenue.
*John C. Dancy, collector customs, Wilmington.
C. A. Cook, United States district attorney.
*J. H. Hannon, postmaster, Halifax.
John Nichols, chief division, treasury department.
*James H. Young, inspector customs.
Archibald Brady, postmaster, Charlotte.
Florida has eight delegates, and of these four are office-holders, as follows:
*Joseph E. Lee, collector customs, Jacksonville.
E. R. Gunby, collector customs, Tampa.
John F. Horr, collector customs, Key West.
Henry S. Chubb, deputy collector internal revenue.

In the proportion of office-holders to delegates, South Carolina makes even a more generous showing than Florida. Of the eighteen men who will go from the Palmetto state to Minneapolis, eleven are drawing pay out of the United States treasury through the kindness of the President. The instructions, therefore, to vote for him are borne with easy grace. The office-holders are:

*E. A. Webster, collector internal revenue.
E. H. Deas, deputy collector internal revenue.
G. J. Cunningham, United States marshal.
*C. H. Fordham, deputy collector internal revenue.
*S. E. Smith, postal clerk, Aiken.
J. P. Scruggs, deputy collector internal revenue.
J. F. Ensor, deputy collector internal revenue.
*J. E. Wilson, postmaster, Florence.
T. B. Johnson, collector customs, Charleston.
J. H. Ostendorf, deputy collector customs.
*R. H. Richardson, postmaster, Wedgefield.

There are no federal office-holders on the West Virginia delegation, although Prof. T. C. White, the geologist of the West Virginia University and one of the district delegates, is a brother of United States Marshal White. Maryland sends one office-holder, John T. Ensor, United States district attorney, but there would have been a large number if the efforts of the administration men had been more successful. In the adjoining state of Virginia the list is considerably larger, as follows:

A. W. Harris, inspector of customs.
S. Brown Allen, deputy collector internal revenue.
V. D. Groner, World's Fair commissioner.
Edgar Allen, special attorney department of justice.
S. I. Griggs, United States court commissioner.
H. C. Wood, United States court commissioner.
P. H. McCaull, internal revenue collector, Lynchburg.
C. M. Loutham, deputy internal revenue collector.
P. W. Strouther, deputy internal revenue collector.

The Kentucky delegation has been also pretty well packed, no less than seven federal office-holders finding places within it. They are as follows:

John Feland, collector internal revenue.
Jordan Jackson, government storekeeper.
A. D. Crosby, deputy collector internal revenue.
T. B. Matthews, deputy collector internal revenue.
T. P. Tarlton, deputy collector internal revenue.
Dr. Collier, surveyor port, Louisville.
D. J. Burchett, United States marshal.

In Louisiana a condition of affairs somewhat similar to that in Alabama exists. Under the leadership of Henry C. Warmoth, collector of customs at the port of New Orleans by the grace of the President, a convention was organized, and it was arranged that the delegates elected should vote for the President at Minneapolis. These delegates are nearly all office-holders, or, as in the case of Pearl Wright, who is a broker at the custom-house, have some reason to be attached to the administration. The office-holders are:

James Lewis, inspector of customs.
J. Vigneaux, United States marshal, western district.
J. B. Donnelly, United States marshal, eastern district.
J. K. Small, employed in federal building.
Lucien B. Carmouche, employed in federal building.
J. B. Budd, employed in federal building.
A. R. Blount, employed in federal building.
D. Young, employed in federal building.
J. G. Donato, employed in federal building.
E. J. Barrett, postmaster at Alexandria.—*Washington Post, May 22.*

*Colored.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.

VOL. I, No. 41.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1892.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

1888.

"The men who abandoned the republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because their candidate has broken his. We therefore renew our declaration of 1884, to wit: 'The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.'"

1892.

"We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent enforcement by the republican party of the laws regulating the same."

THE CHRONICLE last month with great care set out the facts relating to the Minneapolis convention. These facts were taken from original sources and there is nowhere any pretense of denying them. The shame of the whole proceeding does not grow less with time and it ought not to. It will be in accordance with the Minneapolis example for federal employes to now turn themselves into Harrison election agents, and we shall doubtless soon have a large spectacle of this kind before us. Few things ought to stir the blood of honest citizens more than to compare these things with the republican platform of 1888. It is worth while for every voter to ask himself to what class of governments those which attempt to control popular action by the efforts of thousands of agents paid from the public treasury have always belonged?

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS.

1888.

"Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland."

1892.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."

THE republican party has a body of what may be called passive civil service reformers. They are in a general way opposed to the spoils system, but they never lift a hand to assist those who are actively fighting it. This has been their course during Harrison's administration. In the great struggle which has been carried on now for three years under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt against the Wanamakers and Clarksons of the administration, they have never raised their voices to tell the President that he ought to keep the promises of the platform upon which he was elected. And now when an election is drawing near, their party machine, needing a covering of respectability, reaches out and pinches them and they wake up to astonishment that there are civil service reformers who will not vote for Harrison again. In remonstrating, they do not pre-

tend that Harrison has kept the promises, but they say that opposition to him on the ground of bad faith "will make it impossible for him to do anything for this reform." It seems as though in years past and under other skies we have heard something like that before. And now again it has the sound of coming from very near the presidential chair. The answer is that the cause of civil service reform does not need the patronage of any President. It can make its own way and it can not be overthrown. It expects that a President will do as he agrees, and the question now is, Why has not President Harrison kept his promises?

THE Indiana state democratic platform carefully avoids committing the party to the merit system in the state service, and we followed the corresponding republican plank with interest to see what the end would be. The end was a demand for "an absolute non-partisan management of the benevolent and reformatory institutions of the state through boards whose members shall be appointed by the governor from the different political parties of the state." As a reform measure, the establishment of a non-partisan board is very nearly a humbug, and those who got up this platform probably so considered it. The places are given out by favoritism the same as before, the only difference being that the minority member is usually allowed to distribute some share of the favors among his partisans. The only civil service reform worth fighting for is that which provides for the appointment of laborers according to the Boston labor system, and which gives the other subordinate places to the successful competitors in competition open to all, without regard to politics, religion, color or any other improper consideration.

THERE is a disposition in some reform quarters to attempt to make Stevenson, whom the democrats have nominated for vice-president, presentable. It is impossible; he is simply another Clarkson, and his nomination for that reason was the last expiring kick of Tammany Hall. No independent would vote for him if there were any way to leave him out. The dislike is mutual, and never ought to be reconciled while Stevenson holds his present spoils views. As vice-president he will, if elected, be the usual vice-presidential cipher.

LIKE the resort to Paris for pure French, to London for the best English, and to the seaside for the best enjoyment of the products of the sea, so in the population around New York harbor is to be found the highest development of the American system of politics. True, it requires a mind trained like a race-horse to keep up with the ever-varying struggle. Now Hill, by a quick turn, takes the Brooklyn bridge from McLaughlin, and then McLaughlin wrenches it away again by threatening Hill's chances for nomination at Chicago. Now Collector Erhardt snubs Platt, and then the President kicks Erhardt out to placate Platt. Elsewhere will be found the latest picture made by this troubled sea. Just a little while ago Naval Officer Willis was irresistible, and carried everything for the Harrison delegates. But lo! Collector Nathan has his district enlarged by his democratic allies, and Willis now lies very flat. The kaleidoscope is nothing to this.

NOTWITHSTANDING its party pledges to abridge the spoils system, the republican majority in the senate has tacked to the appropriation bill that Wanamaker may employ at free delivery offices mail collectors who shall simply collect mails and whose pay shall be \$600 a year. The object of this is undoubtedly to find places for republican workers during the coming campaign. Mr. Andrew, of the house, however, has been promised by the democrats that no such amendment shall pass unless the appointments are made under the civil service rules. In the face of such a condition the Wanamaker crowd will doubtless lose interest in the matter.

ONE of the most satisfactory things which has lately happened was the Indiana crowd of, at heart, Hillites going to the Chicago convention to shear Mr. Samuel E. Morss, the editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and themselves coming home very closely clipped. Mr. Morss is the most valuable addition that has been made to Indiana democratic politics for a generation. He succeeds not at all because he is a boss or a political manipulator, but because he takes a stand that is right and can not be scared out of it. It is a revolution to have the *Sentinel* favor the merit system in the state institutions.

WE have many complaints that the CHRONICLE is not received by those to whom it is sent. For instance, the library of Cornell University has not received half of its numbers. The number of errors is so large and in so many different directions that the fault can only be chargeable to the mails.

THE Indianapolis *Journal* of June 25 has the following:

The Indiana CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, a sporadic sheet, fills its latest issue with accounts of the office-holders who went to Minneapolis to work for President Harrison's renomination. It is filled with horror at the very idea, and is evidently under the impression that its showing will induce somebody or other to bolt the republican ticket and vote for that champion of political purity and perennial office-seeker G. Cleveland. Perhaps in the next issue the CHRONICLE will tell how many of Cleveland's appointees worked for him in Chicago. It can begin with five of his ex-cabinet officers. Stevenson was only an assistant secretary, but there was an army of still smaller fry whose names will help fill the CHRONICLE's pages, though they can not make them interesting.

The *Journal* of June 14 may answer the *Journal* of June 25:

In recent times opposition to a second term comes from two classes: First, those who honestly oppose it in the interest of good government, believing that restriction to one term would make a President more independent and remove entirely the temptation to use the power and patronage of the office to secure his renomination and election. This view, when honestly entertained, is entitled to respectful consideration. It assumes, however, that official patronage can be made a strong factor in securing the renomination and re-election of a President, which is very doubtful. It must be remembered, also, that a President who would prostitute the office in this way would be just the kind of man that the people would turn out at the end of four years. In the present state of public opinion on this question it would be sure defeat for any President to have it known that he had used the power and patronage of his office to secure his renomination, or that he was using it to secure his re-election. The people are not easily hoodwinked about such matters, and they can not be trifled with at all.

MR. THOMAS A. HALL, of Chicago, has subscribed for seventy-five copies of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to be sent to libraries and reading-rooms, and particularly to the Young Men's Christian Association reading-rooms in Illinois. It is to be hoped that the latter will take better care of them than seems to be the case with the Young Men's Christian Association of this city. Soon after the June number came out it was not found in the reading-room and was asked for at the desk. After fumbling around a little, the attendant said, "I can't just now lay my hand on it." He was then asked for the file since January and said "I haven't got them." Was the fumbling around a pious deception, and is the paper in fact thrown into the waste-paper basket as soon as received? If any of our Illinois friends do not want the paper we shall be glad of an intimation to that effect and it will be discontinued. As we have said elsewhere, the facts from month to month published in the CHRONICLE are unpalatable, and to none are they more so than to civil service reformers. Whenever the facts in relation to the management of the civil service become pleasant, its reform will have been accomplished, and there will be no need of reform papers. But in the meantime, we

insist that it is well to salt religion with those facts; it will make better citizens. The church should not forget the time when it winced under the bitter gibes of the anti-slavery agitators.

DIVERGENT VIEWS.

PHILADELPHIA, June 30, 1892.

To the Editor of the *Civil Service Chronicle*:

DEAR SIR—Please discontinue sending me your periodical. I am a member of the civil service reform association of this city, and I am a thorough believer in the principles of civil service. No one could go further than I would in the application of the reform to existing evils, but your periodical is in my opinion so blindly rancorous in its reference to President Harrison, so partisan and unfair, and in my judgment so wilfully insulting, that I do not wish to see the paper any more. In my opinion, it does the cause more harm than good, and shows plainly, I think, that there must be some animus for such labored denunciation of the President other than merely a love for civil service reform. If any other political party offered a satisfactory alternative; if any other party was more sincere in regard to civil service reform, there might be some excuse for the indulgence of such expressions as "Pirates," "Buccaneers," "Lord Paramount," etc.

Under Cleveland's administration the Philadelphia post-office was nothing short of a national scandal; and the friends of civil service certainly can not consistently endorse the democratic nominee for vice-president. As stated above, your blind and unjust partisanship in my opinion does the cause more harm than good, and you will therefore please strike my name from off your lists, as I wish to continue to believe in the reform, which is gaining ground, notwithstanding the harm done by overzealous friends of the cause.

HENRY JUSTICE.

WE have always believed that the Philadelphia post-office under the late administration was a national scandal, and the editor of the CHRONICLE at the time denounced it and other like scandals with all his might and at considerable expense. He also did all he could to secure the defeat at the polls of those who caused those scandals. The writer of the above letter does not dispute the facts which are from month to month set out in the CHRONICLE, and it does not seem that his mind ought to be so powerfully affected by the condition of the Philadelphia post-office four years ago, without being similarly affected by the circumstances of the Minneapolis convention, which are scarcely four weeks old, and which are truthfully related in the June CHRONICLE, and which make up the greatest single national scandal that has ever occurred in connection with the federal service. Nor would it seem that his mind ought to be unaffected by the recent spectacle of Wanamaker shielding law-breakers in Baltimore, and for proof of this he need not regard reports of committees, but needs only the testimony taken by Mr. Roosevelt. Nor would it seem that the three years' career in which the President, through the Quays, Clarksons, Mahones and Plattes, until he quarreled with them over the division, has looted the federal service, ought to be ignored. The

way to fight the spoils system is to tell the facts about it, not only under a democratic administration, but under a republican administration. These facts are very unpleasant, but that is the fault of those who create them, not of those whose duty it is to bring them to the notice of the people. The use of any office as spoil is absolutely and without qualification illegal, and the comparison which the CHRONICLE has urged between the American spoils system and feudalism and piracy, is apt and just. There is no question of any other party being "more sincere in regard to civil service reform." The question is whether outrageous acts now going on shall be ignored. If they are ignored now, similar ones, if they occurred, would have to be ignored under the next administration, though it might be democratic.

THE CLARKSON STANDARD.

In the course of his remarks, thanking the national committee for the offer of the chairmanship, Mr. Clarkson said:

"I have spent twenty-five years in politics, and I believe, from my experience that the best place to serve the republican party is in its ranks. In my political life I have found that in that field can be made, and are made, the most precious friendships of one's life. There are more sacrifices made in that field than in any other. There is more heart in politics than in any other walk in life, and I say fearlessly and honestly that men engaged in politics will go further to serve a friend than in any other sphere of man's existence. In 1884 we had a hard working committee and lost. In 1888 we had a harder working committee, and, to my knowledge, no campaign was ever conducted more cleanly, more honorably than the campaign of 1888. I know Senator Quay and Colonel Dudley and I hope there is not a republican in this land who will ever cease to render due honor to these two honorable men who went into the hottest fire for the republican party and emerged victorious and without detraction. I have known many men—I have large friendship in the United States—and I want to say to you, gentlemen, that upon my dying bed, before my family, I could not name two men more to be loved and honored than Senator Quay and Colonel Dudley.

"I want to warn you, gentlemen of the committee, against a growing tendency in the republican party, under the hypocrisy of the times, not to defend its party leaders. The cases of Senator Quay and Colonel Dudley afford vivid examples of this practice. They were attacked by a party whose success is derived by the use of the knife in the south and the assassination of character in the north. They were attacked, not because Senator Quay was guilty of any wrong in the campaign, but because he won a victory for the republican party and restored the government to an honest basis. The democrats saw in Senator Quay a corrupter and began their abuse, and a cowardly republican press soon became their allies. No man who has the good of the republican party at heart can do otherwise than to put his honest, strong hands between this accusation of the democratic party and the gentlemen I have just named. So far as I am concerned, if I ever have another boy to name, I will be glad to confer upon him the name of Senator Quay or Dudley, and this as

an evidence of the affection I have for the men. In conclusion, I want to state that no man on this continent desires to help the republican ticket or will do more, according to his ability than I."

THE QUAY STANDARD.

[A reminiscence of David Martin, appointed by President Harrison collector of internal revenue, and lately chosen member of the republican national committee.]

Three men sat in the cabinet room in the White House one bright morning in the year of our Lord 1889. One was the President of the United States. The second was Matthew Stanley Quay, senator from Pennsylvania and chairman of the republican national committee. The third was James McManes, the sturdy and wealthy Scotch-Irishman, whose sterling qualities had won for him the respect and confidence of all the residents of the Quaker city.

The President raised his eyes inquiringly to Senator Quay. Obviously he did not know the object of the consultation. Neither did the silent senator. He had been requested by his companion to introduce him to President Harrison and had fulfilled his part. In turn he looked towards Mr. McManes.

Meanwhile the old Scotsman's eyes had been fastened upon the impassive countenance of Benjamin Harrison. When the time came for him to speak he leaned forward in his chair and spoke the few words which he deemed it his solemn duty to utter with all the earnestness at his command.

"I have come here, Mr. President," he said slowly, "to protest against the appointment of David Martin to one of the most important federal offices in this country. He is a disreputable rascal, and his appointment as collector of internal revenue would be an insult to every respectable citizen of Pennsylvania."

The old man half rose from his chair as he continued. His language took on the tinge of the rich North Country accent of his youth and the muscles of his fine face quivered from the indignation burning within his breast. Hastily he sketched Martin's early career. He denounced him as a ruffian at the polls and a manipulator of ballot-boxes. He declared that he was a dispenser of corruption funds contributed by the liquor interests. He held him up, with all the scorn born of contempt, as a willing tool of that element in the social life of Philadelphia which defies law, order and decency. He closed with the remark that no President could afford to appoint such a man to a position of honor and trust.

When he had done the President moved uneasily in his chair and then glanced appealingly at Senator Quay, whose astonishment, though apparent, was not sufficient to loose his silent tongue. The silence was broken by Benjamin Harrison.

"They say," he observed in measured tones, "that the charges against Mr. Martin are not true."

This was more than the honest Scotsman could bear. With all the fierce impetuosity

of Roderick Dhu he burst forth in resentment of what seemed to him a reflection upon his veracity.

"Mr. President," he cried, "I have lived long in Philadelphia. I am well known there. You can not find in that whole city a single responsible person who will say that I ever uttered an untruth. There sits Senator Quay. He knows me. I ask you, Senator Quay, if I am not respected in Philadelphia as a man of my word."

"Mr. McManes's word is above question," quietly observed the one addressed.

"Then, Mr. President," continued Mr. McManes, "I reiterate all I have said concerning David Martin. Senator Quay informs you that my veracity is above question. I say to you again, sir, that the appointment of David Martin would be a disgrace to your administration and an insult to every honest citizen of Pennsylvania. That is all I have to say."

Again Benjamin Harrison turned to Matthew S. Quay. This time he secured a response.

"The two senators from Pennsylvania desire this appointment, Mr. President," was all he said.

Mr. McManes made no rejoinder. He bowed to the President of the United States and left the room.—*New York World*, October 20, 1890.

THE MUGWUMP.

The result is that the politicians of both parties, who are fond of speaking of any who refuse to obey the orders or accept the mandates of the party leaders as traitors and apostates, regard the mugwump with utter abhorrence. *They themselves may arrange "deals" by which certain candidates are "knifed" in the interest of the opposition; they may "cut" the ticket, or even within certain limitations "bolt," and not lose caste. All that is legitimate when done in the way of "politics."* But that men should actually vote one ticket one year and refuse to vote the same the next from principle—from principle, mark ye—why what will the world come to at that rate? For the creed of your working politician is:

*I don't believe in principle,
But O I do in interest.*

The worst epithet in the politician's vocabulary is mugwump! An oath may add sonority, but does not really increase its ignominious force. That a candidate has the approval of the mugwumps is sufficient cause for voting against him. When Ira Davenport ran for governor of New York against David B. Hill, in 1885, he was defeated by the republicans because the mugwumps favored him. When Edward Murphy, jr., chairman of the New York democratic state committee, put forth his pronunciamento at Chicago against Mr. Cleveland the burden of it was that the regular New York democrats did not like Mr. Cleveland because the mugwumps did. Bourke Cockran, in his speech before the convention, presented the same great objection to the ex-president with wonderful rhetorical fullness and force. It really does seem extraordinary that the fact that a candidate is liked by an element outside his party and promises to draw votes therefrom should make him unpopular with his own party.—*Indianapolis News*, June 28.

I.

The republican county committee held an harmonious meeting in Grand Opera House Hall last night until near the ending, when a firebrand was thrown by ex-Police Justice Patterson which destroyed all the harmony, and

a scene was enacted such as is usual at the meetings of the committee. * * * a protest from some republicans against the present machine in the twentieth district was made. *It charged upon the organization a continual deal with Tammany Hall, and declared that the organization was spiritless and ineffective.—New York Evening Post, January 22.*

II.

The decent republicans of Cincinnati have been trying to escape from the domination of their party by Geo. B. Cox, the illiterate ex-saloon keeper who secured control of the organization a few years ago and has ruled that great city ever since. But the attempt was a failure. *The reformers found that they had to fight not merely Cox and his republican gang, but also the whole democratic machine, which threw all of its strength in favor of the republican machine. The republicans of the citizens' movement cast about 6,200 votes and were not allowed one more than they cast. The Cox ticket was credited with 11,000 votes, but a large share of them were cast by democrats and a good many men voted more than once. The Times-Star, a republican newspaper, says of the proceedings:*

"The democrats who were in office were just as eager for the election of the Cox ticket as city republican office-holders. At the primaries there seems to be little or no protection against wholesale voting of democrats for republicans. In certain precincts it is stated that some of them voted twice. It is developed that under our by-partisan system of city government the controlling machine in each party is worked for the benefit of the other, and in yesterday's primaries Mr. Bernard's machine turned out as strongly for Mr. Cox's machine as it was possible. Jerry Mulroy and Mr. Furst were quite as active in yesterday's primaries as they ever were in any democratic primary."

III.

There was a similar "combine" of the two party machines against the reformers of one party in Philadelphia a couple of months ago. Four magistrates were to be chosen. Two of the incumbents had been exposed as having shared their fees with the notorious embezzler Bardsley. Nevertheless, both of them secured a renomination. The decent republicans put two independent candidates in the field against them, and it might have been expected that their majority would have been cut down, if indeed they were not beaten. *But the delinquent officials were not at all worried. They made an arrangement with the bosses of the democratic party by which the latter refused to exercise their right to nominate four candidates for magistrates, and put up only two, and threw all of their strength in favor of the two republican rascals. The result was that, although the two independent candidates received about 6,000 votes, the two against whom the movement was directed polled several thousand fewer votes than their respectable associates on the republican ticket.—New York Evening Post, April 27.*

IV.

The announcement that Boss McKane will support the democratic ticket this year is of interest and importance. McKane is the man who rules the town of Gravesend, which includes Coney Island, and he rules it with a

rod of iron. In 1884 this town gave Cleveland 667 votes and Blaine 295. Not long afterward McKane quarrelled with the leaders of the Kings county democracy, and in 1888 he came out against his old party, the result being a vote in Gravesend of only 397 for Cleveland, while Harrison had 833. Harrison rewarded McKane by allowing him to name his man for United States marshal. In 1890 the boss still opposed his old party, and allowed a most popular democratic candidate for sheriff to poll only 233 votes, while his republican opponent was given 1,023. Before the election of 1891 a peace was patched up, but McKane had previously promised to vote his town for the republican state ticket, and he kept that promise, giving Fassett 1,908 votes against only 180 for Flower, while the democratic county ticket, which was acceptable to him, received about 1,800 votes, as against only about 250 for the republican.—*New York Evening Post, July 6.*

V.

The Brooklyn republican politicians who have been fighting one another steadily for five years are engaged just now in another wrangle, and the lines of battle are drawn on the old Nathan and anti-Nathan basis. Ernst Nathan [internal revenue collector], who is very closely related, politically, to certain democratic leaders, was able to induce the aldermen at a recent meeting to alter the boundary of his ward, the twenty-third, by annexing to it a large section of the twenty-fifth ward, containing about 3,000 voters, of whom 2,000 are republicans.

In this way Nathan is able to control enough votes to name the candidate in his assembly district, and with the help of the twenty-first ward, to name the candidate in his senatorial district. This practically makes him boss of the party in Kings county, and the anti-Nathan forces are beginning to grumble. *United States District Attorney Jesse Johnson took the initiative yesterday and lodged a formal protest against the change with Acting Mayor Coffey. It was in the form of a letter asking for a chance to be heard before the resolution was signed.—New York Times, July 2.*

VI.

Naval Officer Willis returned from Washington yesterday, and when told that the democratic aldermen had cut out part of the twenty-fifth ward and handed it over to Nathan in the twenty-third ward, he said:

"There is no doubt in my mind but that the change was made to pay Mr. Nathan for the favors that have passed between him and Mr. McLaughlin and Mr. Shevlin. Why, everybody knows it. It's as plain as day. The democratic party, it is easy to see, did not make those changes for its own benefit in the twenty-third and twenty-fifth wards. They would never have proceeded in the way they did if their desire was to make the best possible profit of the circumstances. It was done for Nathan, and, if I am right, will not help him materially. He, of course, thinks differently. Of one thing I am certain, and it is this:—This move has demonstrated to a great many people that Nathan and McLaughlin and Shevlin are on very good terms. The story of their friendship is an old one and very generally known, but until this move a great many did not pay much attention to it. They are all convinced now."—*New York Times, July 3.*

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"To the Victor Belong the Spoils."

THE LORD PARAMOUNT.

I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens. * * * [Senator Benjamin Harrison.]

Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes actuated by such a law as this. It would make us a nation of apostates at the foot of Sinai.—*From a Sermon by Rev. Horace Bushnell, in 1840.*

A LOCAL RAID.

Dan Ransdell, the marshal of the District of Columbia, is in town. He arrived last evening. His mission is purely political. He will remain in the state long enough at least to help the administration curb the political ambitions of Governor Chase.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 16.*

* * *

A. D. Shaw, deputy third auditor of treasury, will be given a reception on Thursday evening June 2, at Grand Army Hall, 60 Clifford avenue, by his Grand Army, railroad and Knights of Pythias comrades and friends.—*Indianapolis News, May 28.*

* * *

Ruckle Post hall was illuminated last night and upon the walls hung many flags and yards of hunting. Col. A. D. Shaw, deputy third auditor of the treasury and supervisor of railroad votes for the Harrison administration, formerly, plain "Gus" Shaw, boss of the Big Four yards in this city, was to be received. He was to be welcomed home, as it was announced "by his comrades of the Grand Army, and brethren of the link and pin and fraters of the great pythian order." "It was an auspicious occasion," remarked Harry Mounts, a deputy in Collector Hilderbrand's office, when he called the meeting to order. He told the large audience, principally composed of Grand Army representatives, that they had met to give greeting to their old comrade, who had come home to spend a few days.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, June 3.*

* * *

Shaw [deputy third auditor], Mounts [United States custom-house] and the other Indian-

apolis railroad men are here using the blue book against Chase and are trying to organize a laboring men's demonstration against him for this evening.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 27.*

* * *

Charles Martin, Harry Mounts and Frank Alley have been reinforced by Gus Shaw, deputy third auditor of the treasury. When a railroad man is proclaiming against the parson he is a follower of Gus Shaw, the officeholder. * *

Shaw is still paying for his place in the treasury department by operating for the administration against Chase, and Alley is assistant. * *

During this speech, Harry Mounts, secretary of the Conductors' Brotherhood, and a trainman wearing a Chase badge got into an argument about the merits of Murray's speech. It was quite heated at times, and closed with this remark from Mounts: "I will vote for Chase, but he is not the man to nominate. He will weaken the ticket, and the desire to nominate him is to weaken poor Ben Harrison."

The value of this remark will be appreciated when it is recalled that Mounts is a deputy in the custom-house, and Murray, the conductor, an employe of McKee, the never-wavering friend of Harrison.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, June 28.*

* * *

Henry Mounts, of the custom-house, the leader of the "railroad" opposition to the "parson," rushed up to the nominee, and grasping his hand in a tight grip, declared, "I am for you, Governor." Less than a week ago Mr. Mounts was busy circulating dodgers, which in burning words asserted that if Chase were nominated he would lose the votes of ten thousand railroad men in Indiana, of whom it was understood Mounts was many. Now Mounts declares himself not one of the ten thousand.—*Indianapolis News, June 28.*

* * *

A. D. Shaw, deputy auditor, has returned from Indiana and elsewhere, after a month's absence.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, July 4.*

* * *

United States Marshal Dunlap and Assistant District Attorney Cockrum arrived at noon.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 25.*

* * *

John B. Cockrum [assistant United States district attorney], has Smiley N. Chambers's boom in hand. He is working like a man who sees the district attorneyship in his grasp, in case he wins for his chief.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 27.*

* * *

Al. Moore, deputy United States marshal, Ed. Conway, deputy United States marshal, John Cockrum, assistant United States attorney, Henry Mounts, of the United States custom-house; Eugene Saulcey, of the United States revenue department; Billy Patterson, of the United States postal department; Ben-

no Mitchell, of the United States government at large, are among the high-toned visitors who are honoring Fort Wayne with their presence.—*Fort Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 27.*

* * *

It was the voice of the meeting that if Chase is to be beaten, the opposition must be organized at once. The merits of the various men mentioned were considered, and it was voted that Judge Elliott would be the strongest candidate to put up against the governor. The only person present who objected to Elliott was Warren G. Sayre [Indian commissioner], who stated his reason to be that when he [Sayre] and Robertson were having their trouble with Green Smith, Judge Elliott was asked to swear in the lieutenant-governor, and declined on the ground that the question at issue might get into the courts and possibly come before him for judgment.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 27.*

* * *

It is averred that Mr. Chambers never had any idea of being nominated, and that he consented to enter the race for the sole purpose of taking away some of the strength that threatened to go to Chase. Whether this story is true or not, it has been evident that the men who have been here pretending to be for Chambers have been much more industrious in opposing Chase than in furthering the chances of Mr. Chambers. John B. Cockrum [assistant U. S. district attorney], who has been managing the Chambers boom, has been ready and anxious for two days to promise Chambers's strength to any one upon whom the anti-Chase people might unite. Mr. Cockrum was in the "round-up" anti meeting last night and pledged Chambers's support for Elliott. The true friends of Judge Elliott have no hand in the movement to make him a candidate.—*Fort Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 28.*

FEUDS.

In spite of the sweltering atmosphere there was a large gathering at the Carnegie music hall, Fifty-seventh street and Seventh avenue, last night, at the ratification meeting held under the direction of the republican club. Letters of regret were read from Vice-President Morton, Senator Hiscock, J. Sloat Fassett, William M. Evarts and Warner Miller. But not one word came from ex-Boss Platt.—*New York Times, June 22.*

* * *

The voluble Clarkson probably sees by this time how he cheapened himself by his precipitate haste in getting back into the Harrison camp. Those more astute campaigners, Quay and Platt, have a higher idea of their own worth, and are calmly waiting for the invitations which they are sure will come all in good time. Quay says he feels "the need of a long rest," as he is "tired," and must "nurse himself," and the erstwhile loquacious Platt has "not a word to say." It is already given out at Washington that "there is no disposi-

tion on the President's part to punish Platt or Miller or Quay," as he is ready to "let bygones be bygones and to encourage everybody to come together and work harmoniously for the success of the ticket."—*New York Evening Post, June 18.*

* * *

The *Herald* says: "Ex-Senator Thomas C. Platt received his first overture from the Harrison administration yesterday. Secretary Tracy met him at the Manhattan Beach Hotel, and they were in close consultation for two hours. The conference was a satisfactory one. As a result of it Mr. Tracy left the hotel shortly after it was over, although he had expected to spend the night there, and took an evening train back to Washington to carry the news to the President. Just what was asked of Mr. Platt and was promised to him it will be impossible to say until these things develop in the approaching campaign. It is understood that Mr. Tracy came here with the express purpose of taking initiatory steps to placate the man who controls the republican machine in this state. That Mr. Platt was willing to receive the secretary and talk over the situation in good spirits, is the best of evidence, say the politicians, that he is in a frame of mind to be placated."—*New York Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 21.*

* * *

General Clarkson, chairman of the republican national committee, had a long conference with the President at the White House to night in regard to the political situation.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, June 26.*

* * *

There is a general agreement that the truce entered into between Senator M. S. Quay and C. L. Magee at Harrisburgh last year has been broken, and that the battle for supremacy in the republican party of the state, of which the defeat of Delamater for governor in 1890 was an incident, will be taken up again. The two leaders have been drifting apart for some time. The positive attitude of each against the other at Minneapolis strained their bonds to the breaking point. Senator Quay's persistent opposition to the confirmation of George W. Miller for internal revenue collector for the twenty-second district is expected to be the last straw. Magee's paper, the *Pittsburgh Times*, this morning printed a Washington dispatch, in which these words were used:

"It is asserted that should Mr. Quay attempt by his opposition to Mr. Miller's confirmation to continue the assumption of a proprietary right in the political affairs of the state in which he has in recent years received a severe rebuke, he may expect to receive a reprimand direct, instead of through his man, as in the gubernatorial election of 1890."

This is construed to mean that Magee will take off his coat to prevent the return of Quay to the United States senate.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch to New York Times, June 30.*

* * *

Messrs. Hiscock and Platt were both at work among the committeemen in the corridors of

the hotel last night. Among other prominent republicans in the corridors were ex-Congressman Henry J. Burligh, ex-Railroad Commissioner Isaac V. Baker, Congressman James W. Wadsworth, Congressman N. W. Curtis, Congressman John M. Weaver, Howard White, editor of the *Syracuse Standard*; Willard A. Cobb, editor of the *Lockport Journal*; Ellis H. Roberts, assistant treasurer; William Leary, John A. Sleicher, Collector Frank Hendricks and ex-State Senator Sweet.—*New York Times*, June 28.

* * *

A gentleman who talked with Land Commissioner Carter to-day asked him what he thought of the organization of the New York republican state committee, and Mr. Carter is quoted as replying, "It looks as though they had given us a cold deck." It is the impression among the republicans in the national committee that if there is to be any work done in New York for Harrison, it must be done by the national committee. The state committee will do nothing for Harrison.

Mr. Platt is reported as having said that there was no trouble in getting promises from Mr. Harrison; he had a barrel full of them now, all several years old and unfulfilled. To work for Harrison's election would be to simply accept a number of promises that would be broken almost as soon as made.

There is no doubt among Harrison's friends that if anything is to be done in New York for him it must be done by the national committee, and by his friends. The organization of the state committee is regarded as a menace to Harrison's success in the state. In order to be sure that Harrison is looked after, a branch of the national committee will have to be named for New York, as there is a distrust of the intentions of the Platt and Warner Miller faction.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, July 1.

PUBLIC OFFICERS AT THEIR DUTIES.

There was some doubt last night whether Land Commissioner Carter, of Montana, would accept the secretaryship of the national committee. Mr. Carter believes that he could materially assist in making Montana purely republican this year, including the legislature, which will elect a United States senator, if he could only give the state his undivided attention.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 30.

* * *

Who will be chairman of the republican national committee? Mr. Campbell reached Washington this morning and made known his decision to the President as soon as he could gain admittance to the White House. He had, in fact, arranged for a conference at the White House, and it began soon after Mr. Campbell arrived. Besides the President and Mr. Campbell, there were present Land Commissioner Carter, Secretaries Elkins and Rusk, ex-Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, and L. T. Michener.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, July 6.

Chairman Campbell, of the national republican committee, arrived in the city on the noon train from Chicago. He was met at the depot by Mr. Michener, the President's personal friend. They immediately took a carriage for the Arlington Hotel. Mr. Campbell did not register, but went directly to the room of Commissioner of the Land Office Carter, who is also secretary of the national republican committee, where Mr. Carter, Mr. Michener and Mr. Campbell held a consultation lasting about half an hour. They afterwards left the hotel together, going directly to the White House, and were in conference for four hours with the President, Secretary Elkins, ex-Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, and Secretary Rusk.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 6.

* * *

Mr. William J. Campbell, who has put aside the chairmanship of the republican national committee, was very busy in Washington to-day up to the time of his departure for New York. In the morning he had a long conference with Col. Dudley and Gen. Michener of Indiana, and then he went to the White House and was closeted with the President, Secretary Elkins, and Land Commissioner Carter. The composition of the executive committee was discussed, but after the conference Mr. Campbell said he was not yet ready to announce the committee. He said he might announce it after he reached New York. It was generally understood that he desired to consult with Gen. Clarkson before completing the list. There has been a decided hitch concerning this committee, the President desiring to have several men on it whom Campbell and Clarkson do not favor.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, July 7.

* * *

Chairman William J. Campbell, of the republican national committee, arrived at the Imperial Hotel, Broadway and Thirty-second street, early last evening, having left Washington a little after noon. "Do you expect to confer with Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Platt while here?"

"I should be glad to see them both if opportunity presents itself, but I have made no arrangements for any meeting with them."

A story was passed through the corridor last night that "Sam" Fessenden, of Connecticut, Land Commissioner Carter, Secretary of the Treasury Foster, General Clarkson, and possibly one or two others, were to meet Mr. Campbell and make an attempt to select some one to take up what seems to be the unattractive task of managing President Harrison's campaign.

Mr. Campbell said that while it was true that Commissioner Carter was on his way to this city he did not think it was for the purpose of conferring on this particular topic.

"If Mr. Carter is here during my stay, probably I shall see him," said Mr. Campbell. "I do not know that Secretary Foster is coming, or that his visit would have any connection with the selection of the committee if he did come."—*New York Times*, July 7.

HENCHMEN IN ACTIVE SERVICE.

The republicans opened their campaign here this evening, John L. Griffiths and John B. Cockrum [assistant United States district attorney], of Indianapolis, making addresses.—*Lebanon Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 14.

* * *

The Indiana republican association of Washington will have a ratification meeting at G. A. R. Hall, No. 1,411 Pennsylvania avenue, at 8 o'clock to-morrow night, at which the nominations made by the Minneapolis convention will be indorsed by resolution and speeches. The principal speaker will be the Hon. William M. Marine, collector of the port of Baltimore.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 2.

* * *

Indiana republicans in Washington feel that the cause of republicanism was given a very decided impetus at their ratification meeting last night. There was an immense turnout of Hoosiers, quite all of the members of the Indiana republican club and many others being present. President John C. Cheney presided. The speech by William Marine, collector of the port of Baltimore, indorsing the nomination of Harrison and Reid, was a great success. It was largely devoted to the personal character of the President, and was a high tribute. Thomas H. McKee, Frank Swigart and A. D. Shaw [deputy third auditor] also delivered short, but eloquent speeches.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 4.

* * *

The political allies of President Harrison are already confessing that they expect to see him make a very poor showing in Kings county on election day, and they do not hesitate to give their reasons. They merely point to the fact that that old political trickster, Ernst Nathan, is again in the saddle, and ask all inquirers to point to a single year when Nathan led his party to anything but ignominious defeat.—*N. Y. Times*, July 3.

* * *

There is no doubt about the fact that Nathan, who was badly beaten by Naval Officer Willis at the primaries which decided the complexion of the Kings county delegation to the Minneapolis convention, is again at the head of affairs. By a neat trick he elected one of his own tools, Michael J. Dady, chairman of the executive committee, and then forced the election of Francis H. Wilson as chairman of the campaign committee. Through these two men he will have absolute control of the approaching fight, and the candidates must call on him for support or get up an internal fight which would prove fatal.

"The outlook is certainly not very cheerful," said one of the few friends President Harrison has made in Brooklyn, "for this fellow Nathan is the most pliant tool Thomas C. Platt has in this state. He has been keeping hold of his office of collector of internal revenue, given him by Harrison, solely for the power it confers upon him, yet he did not hesitate to use that power in his efforts to defeat the President's renomination."

"There are certainly no republicans in this city who do not know of the fight made by Nathan to send anti-Harrison delegates to the convention, so that none of us can be deceived now by his assertion that he was for Harrison all along and had never favored any one else. He has not even the self-respect to resign the office given him by the President, and yet he knows that he would have been removed before this if it had not been that Gen. Harrison realized that he could not afford to dismiss a public officer solely because of that officer's personal treachery to him.

"But it is very humiliating, I can tell you, to be compelled to go to this political jockey for every single thing we want during the next four months. What is more, a great many of the best men in the party won't do it. I know half a dozen who have already refused and who declare they will take no part in a campaign managed by Nathan.—*New York Times, July 3.*

* * *

The employes at the Brooklyn navy yard were surprised to learn yesterday that Edward F. Page, chief of the Ordnance Department, had been removed by Secretary Tracy.

Page is a good republican, but is said to have expressed a belief that Harrison could not be re-elected, and to have worked in his ward to send an anti-Harrison delegate to Minneapolis.

"I have not the slightest idea why I have been discharged," he said yesterday. "I went to Washington to ascertain the cause and demanded the right to face my accusers. The secretary merely said that he had been told that I had neglected my duty. That is false, no matter who says it. My books, all written up to date, prove it."

J. W. Beaty, the opponent of ex-Senator Birkett in the fourth ward, and a Harrison worker in the recent faction squabble, expects to get the vacant place.—*New York Times, July 1.*

* * *

The President to-day sent to the senate the nomination of William H. Leaycraft of New York to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in the district of New York. For years Leaycraft has been the republican boss of the thirteenth ward, and has been able to carry around in his pocket the delegates elected from that ward to the nominating conventions in the ninth assembly, the third senatorial, and the third congressional districts. He was a devoted follower of Thos. C. Platt until the latter lost the legislature and Leaycraft was put out of his position as port warden. Since then he has trained with Naval Officer Willis, and his appointment now is regarded as a slap at Platt and Nathan.—*New York Times, July 7.*

* * *

Some racy testimony against the republican office-holders in Alabama will be considered by the house committee on civil service reform at the meeting which Chairman Andrew has called for to-morrow morning.

The matter comes before the committee on the resolution offered Monday by Representa-

tive Herbert (Dem., Ala.), for an investigation, and the striking feature of the charges is that they are signed by William J. Stevens, chairman of the republican executive committee of Alabama, and dated June 25, 1892.

This state committee represents the anti-office holding element in Alabama, and it is evident from its complaints that it is not ready to wheel into the Harrison column, even though the President has been renominated. Mr. Stevens, in his letter to Representative Herbert, incloses a copy of the resolutions unanimously adopted by the republican state convention at Montgomery on April 28, 1892, charging most flagrant violations of the civil service law.

He goes further than this, however, and declares that the United States marshal and receiver of the Mobile and Girard Railroad Company's lands has not managed his trust in the interest of the government, and that many thousands of dollars have been disbursed without vouchers or receipts being taken.

He makes serious charges against the United States district attorney and declares that he has continued cases on the promise of defendants that they would return home and use their influence in controlling conventions, and has dismissed cases in order to secure indorsements as a candidate for judicial honors. It is further declared that he has used his prestige to control the action of juries, and, in one case, has called men from the jury room in order to change their votes and action before the jury.

It is further declared that the collector of internal revenue has not only violated the civil service law, but has levied, collected, and borrowed large sums of money from numerous applicants for office, said money having never been repaid. Numerous witnesses are cited to sustain the accusations, and affidavits are made to some of them.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, June 30.*

A CALAMITY.

"What would the nomination of Mr. Cleveland mean?"

"It would mean the destruction of the regular organizations in the great democratic cities of the state and in the state itself."—*Murphy, Tammany Boss, at Chicago, June 17.*

EXAMPLES.

I

All persons who think of getting on the Brooklyn police force are advised to see to it that they have a political "pull" before they endeavor to pass the civil service examination.

They will find it very useful later on.

That has been the recent experience of Nicholas Callan, prize fighter. He decided some time ago that there was more money to be made in raiding prize fights than there was in conducting them, so he consulted ex-Assemblyman Sheridan about getting on the force.

In due time he appeared for his competitive examination, and passed well toward the head of his class, standing No. 6. This was really embarrassing, for Callan had arranged to participate in just one more

fight before retiring, but if he was appointed a policeman he could not do it.

Sheridan was appealed to, and again he "fixed" things, so that Police Commissioner Hayden appointed thirty-three new patrolmen, but left Callan out. The latter thereupon took his place in the ring and was badly whipped. He at once yearned for the police force, and the commissioner very accommodatingly turned back on the list a few days ago and appointed him.—*New York Times, May 30.*

II.

The recent appointment of Alexander McLean as acting janitor of the new grammar school, No. 62, on One Hundred and Fifty-seventh street, near Cortlandt avenue, by Tammany trustees of the twenty-third ward, in which the school is situated, is a striking illustration of the way in which the organization rewards its supporters, "without regard to race, color, or previous condition."

McLean has had dealings with the board of education for more than six years, receiving many jobs of repairing school buildings in the twenty-third ward. His bills for this work have not always been found correct when sent to the comptroller's office for payment. Instead of making these accounts out in his own name, he used at different times the name of E. A. McLean & Co. and M. E. McLean, which was found to be the name of his twelve-year-old daughter, by Superintendent of School Buildings George W. Debevoise, who was asked by President Simmons of the board of education to make an examination. This request by the president was explained in a letter to the clerk of the board of education, in 1886, by E. V. Loew, comptroller, declaring that many of McLean's bills were "false in fact, and that if payment were made by this department upon the strength of the certificates attached to the vouchers, the city would be defrauded."

When an inspector of the comptroller's office made an investigation he found that many false charges had been entered by McLean. One of them was for "2,400 brick, four days' labor for mason, five days' labor for laborer." The alleged repairing was done at the branch of school No. 60, at Brook avenue and One Hundred and Forty-first street. The inspector found that not a brick was in the building except the chimney, and no work of any kind had been done by McLean. Another instance was where, two years previous, McLean had slated the roof of grammar school No. 60, at College avenue and One Hundred and Forty-fifth street without authority. He attempted to charge for it, but the account was not indorsed by the superintendent of school buildings.

The reductions recommended in the report of the inspector from the comptroller's office were made, and no demand for payment in full was received from McLean.

During the term of office of George W. Debevoise as superintendent of school buildings, the trustees of the twenty-third ward made frequent attempts to have McLean, who is a Tammany "heeler" in that section, appointed as a janitor. Mr. Debevoise knew the man was unfit for the position, and refused to sign his license. The trustees who are backing McLean are William Hogg and Samuel Samuels, whose devotion to Tammany is well known. There is a third trustee who votes with them in these matters, and by his aid the appointment of McLean has at last been made. The other three trustees in addition to Hogg and Samuels are: Thomas J. Rusk, James A. Ferguson and Dr. A. F. Brugman. The position will net McLean about \$800 a year, with no rent, and free coal, after he pays his assistants and all necessary expenses, leaving him ample time to continue his work as "repairer" of public schools.—*New York Evening Post, May 9.*

III.

State Railroad Inspector Thomas W. Spencer has been asked for his resignation, to take effect July 1. Mr. Spencer has occupied the position nine years. He is peculiarly well qualified for the office, having spent many years in charge of the building and equipment of several important railroads. His record in the position has been admirable, as he is a man of the highest integrity and ability.

The place is to be filled by the appointment of Frank K. Baxter, ex-city surveyor of this city, and a close political partner of Railroad Commissioner Beardsley. His main qualification for the position is his ability to run a caucus or engineer a convention in the most approved Hill style. He is utterly incompetent as an expert, and has had no experience in railroad work whatever.—*Utica Dispatch to New York Times, May 3.*

IV.

The dictation of Senator D. B. Hill and the influence of State Comptroller Frank Campbell in the matter of the appointment of game and fish protectors for the Lake Keuka district have renewed the license of the fish pirates on that lake, and virtually notified them that they may go on with their illegal netting of salmon trout with the same immunity from interference by the protectors under Governor Flower's administration that they enjoyed to the utmost during Governor Hill's time. It was only a few years ago that Lake Keuka, the fairest of New York's inland waters, provided the best salmon trout fishing of any water in the country. It was Seth Green's favorite fishing place. Twelve-pounders were not uncommon, and a four-pounder was not regarded as much of a catch to brag of, so plentiful and superior were these princes of game fish.

Four or five years ago Governor Hill appointed a saloon keeper of Penu Yau, John Sheridan, to take charge of the fish interests of Lake Keuka. Sheridan was and is a local Hill healer of the most enthusiastic kind. He knew nothing about salmon trout or their importance, but he knew many of the most persistent fish pirates of the lake, for there were many of them who were regular patrons of his saloon.

Protest after protest went to Albany, during the administration of Governor Hill, against the retention of so palpably unfit a man, through personal interest and association, as guardian of the fish interests of the lake, but they were never listened to. The fish pirates had votes, and they were not likely to go against the wishes of the governor's game protector.—*Hammondsport Dispatch to New York Times, June 7.*

V.

Christopher C. Collins was made captain of the Park police by the Park board yesterday to succeed Capt. Thomas Beatty, who died on March 26. The appointment is a curious one, and it illustrates the beautiful workings of local civil service reform as the system is now administered. Collins, who has been a sergeant of the Park police for a few weeks, was born in Ireland in 1852, and became a gate keeper in Central Park in 1879, as a member of the Park police force. He was made a park keeper in March, 1880, and a roundsman in 1885.

Then came a set-back to Mr. Collin's career. In 1887 he was reduced from roundsman to park keeper. He held that place until March 24, just two days before the death of Capt. Beatty. He was then made roundsman again, and his later promotions have come with a rapidity that is singular. After serving as a roundsman for a month and a few days Collins was made a sergeant by the Park board on May 5. This promotion was not made because of any special service he had rendered the department, but because it had been planned by the Tammany leaders to make him a captain, and he had to be a sergeant before he could take the civil service examination for the captaincy.

The sergeants who took the civil service examination were James B. Ferris, who got a rating of 98.75; Louis Flock, the senior sergeant of the force, who has been in the service for twenty years, and who got a rating of 96.50, and Collins, who got a rating of 96.52. Collins was chosen at yesterday's meeting without opposition by the votes of Commissioners Dana, Gallup and Tappen. Commissioner Straus was not present and Sergeant Flock thought that he would have stood a better chance had Mr. Straus been there.

Mr. Gallup, in explaining why Collins was chosen, said that the department wanted new blood, and that Collins was a man of strong individuality. Mr. Gallup thought that a retired cavalry officer, who would be "a good horseman and a gentleman,"

would make the ideal police captain; but there was no retired cavalry officer on hand. Collins, he said, would look well in the saddle.

Capt. Collin's salary will be \$2,750. He is a relative of Mrs. Richard Croker and he is a member of the Tammany Hall general committee.—*New York Times, July 1.*

VI.

Drs. Abraham Jacobi and T. Mitchell Prudden have withdrawn from the health department of this city. The reason they give for this action is that the board has become a political machine, and as their connection with it was purely in a non-partisan and scientific capacity, they concluded that their usefulness was fast drawing to a close.

Dr. Jacobi said last night: * * *

"When I say that the department has fallen into the hands of a political machine, of course I mean Tammany Hall.

"The trouble dates back to the peremptory demand for the resignation of Dr. W. A. Ewing, sanitary superintendent, which was without warrant, only that his place was wanted for a Tammany man. The way in which Ewing's resignation was demanded was simply disgraceful. I was told by him that on the day he resigned, President Charles Wilson, of the board, asked him for his resignation, and he said he would take twenty four hours to consider it, but President Wilson told him that he must have the resignation that afternoon, and added: 'If your resignation is not forthcoming at once, mine will be demanded by the powers that be.'

"I was very reluctant to sever my connection with the department, for it was I who suggested the Willard-Parker Hospital for scarlet fever and diphtheria while I was president of the state medical society. Besides, the best methods for doing good for the health of the community are through the health department, and I had hoped to be of much more service than I had been, but the outside pressure was too great and I could not consistently remain in the position."

Dr. Prudden was reluctant to discuss his resignation. "My connection with the board of health," he said, "was solely in a scientific capacity. I am not a partisan of any kind, and when I saw matters shaping the department into a political machine, I did not consider that my professional duties were any longer required. The forcing out of Dr. Ewing and Counselor Prentice, two men of great worth to the board and its impartial work, was the beginning of the trouble."

Dr. Ewing reiterated what Dr. Jacobi had said in regard to his sudden withdrawal from the board and how impatient President Wilson was for his resignation.

"Now," said the doctor, "I wish it understood that the position of sanitary superintendent came to me from President Wilson in the spring of 1889 unsolicited. I am not a politician but a physician, and devoted myself to the impartial service of the city as its chief sanitarian. I do not in the least regret leaving the position. The simple fact is Tammany wanted the place for Dr. Cyrus Edson and had to have it. So I got out."—*New York Times, June 25.*

VII.

Drs. Richard H. Derby, Daniel M. Stimson and Joseph O'Dwyer resigned yesterday from the medical consulting board of the health department. The reason actuating them was the same as that which caused Drs. Janeway, Jacobi, Prudden and Smith to leave the board—the infusion of too much politics into the administration of the department. By the withdrawal of these last three gentlemen, the consulting board is practically wiped out, only one member, Dr. George F. Shradly, remaining.

"My resignation," said Dr. O'Dwyer to a reporter, "is to be attributed to the same cause that led to the resignation of the other members of the consulting board. It is a protest on my part against the introduction of politics in the administration of the board of health. I have no objection to urge against Dr. Cyrus Edson, the new sanitary superintendent, on the score of his ability, but Dr. Ewing was equally able, and there was absolutely no excuse for discharging him."—*New York Times, July 6.*

VIII.

Now that the Chicago convention is over and the Kings county leaders want to show to the world that they will cordially and honestly support Cleveland, the story of how and why they agreed to support Hill is gradually leaking out.

To those who knew how McLaughlin denounced Hill last fall as a trickster and fraud for his treatment of Alfred C. Chapin, it was a surprise to hear that he had fallen in with the February convention plan, and had agreed to stand by Hill to the last.

Those men said then that there was some deal, and they were right, although they didn't know just what it was.

As a matter of fact, there was a sale by Hill, and the article disposed of was the New York and Brooklyn bridge.

This statement is made, not on the word of some "well-informed man," but as an actual fact, and *The Times* can substantiate it. Hill went about the state buying up delegates wherever he could not bulldoze them into supporting him, and he found that the thing Hugh McLaughlin most wanted was the control of the big bridge, which he had lost through the stupidity of ex-Mayor Chapin, Controller Jackson, and a few others.

So Hill sent one of his numerous emissaries over to Willoughby street with this message:

"For a full delegation from Kings county I will give you the bridge."

McLaughlin considered the matter and accepted the bargain. But he did not have much faith in Hill's promises and was ready to dump him and his presidential aspirations overboard even as late as the Hoffman House conference.

A gentleman who was at that conference said to a *Times* reporter yesterday:

"McLaughlin went over to that meeting solely to see Hill and ascertain if he was going to keep to his part of the bargain, and they had a long talk on the subject in my hearing. Hill vowed by everything that he was dealing straight, and closed the conversation by hammering his fist upon the table and saying: 'I assure you, Mr. McLaughlin, that the bridge will be yours. This fellow Wagstaff will resign at the next meeting.' And he did."—*New York Times, June 26.*

A subscriber at St. Cloud, Minnesota, writes: "The CHRONICLE has been to me of the highest worth. It has fanned a spark of patriotism that greatly needs kindling, in a latitude where one is tempted to believe that every man has his price, and where few believe that office is public trust."

Another subscriber from Buffalo says: "I wish to congratulate you on the first number of the fourth year. You do manage to hit the bull's eye on what you have to say on this question, about as often as you shoot. There is nothing, to my mind, like saying what you have to say in such shape that no one can misunderstand it."

"I enclose one dollar, my usual subscription, to your paper. I see an intimation in the last number that after the present year its discontinuance is probable. The field you occupy is so important, and the service you are rendering so valuable, that I can not but view your retirement with extreme regret.

"The fight for civil service reform is but just begun, as I view it, and to give up any of our positions now is hazarding everything.

"Very truly yours, JOHN H. MAGEE.
"Scottsburgh, New York."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.

VOL. I, No. 42.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1892.

TERMS : { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE CHRONICLE will be glad to receive information from all sources relating to the participation of office-holders in the campaign. The facts are often shown in newspapers, and the favor of wrapping and mailing will be much appreciated.

THE pictures the CHRONICLE is able to give this month of the progress of the campaign are interesting and vivid. The great triumph of the month is the Placation of Platt and Quay. They blocked all progress, and when the Placation was announced the Indianapolis *Journal* said, as its load of anxiety rolled off, "Now that Senator Quay and ex-Senator Platt have got into the republican band wagon the procession is ready to move." The other noticeable feature of the campaign is the ceaseless activity of the President, in which he is openly aided by a large number of his great office-holders like Collector Hendricks of New York. On every hand the question arises, What are "the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage"?

IN a speech at Malone to "old soldiers," President Harrison declared himself to be in a non-partisan mood, and this was the only condition fit for the occasion. Expressing his reflections as a non-partisan he declared that we are a favored nation, free from contiguity with great military powers; but that, nevertheless, we have duties and responsibilities. He was not very definite in pointing out those duties and responsibilities, except to say that we should resume our "once proud participation in the ocean-carrying trade of the world." It is a pity that while in a non-partisan mood he did not consider, and in good set terms, such as he knows so well, reflect upon a President who uses the full power of the civil service to secure the selection of delegates favorable to himself, among whom are 140 who hold places in the service absolutely at his will, and who has another office-holder, to whom he has given a chance to make \$40,000 a year, come from London to manage the convention of these delegates, and who sits at the ends of two wires running into the official presidential residence for days "sending

and receiving messages from the seat of war," until he has by these means accomplished his renomination. There is much which could be said as to our responsibilities and duties in relation to such a President.

IN the general laudation of President Harrison, which is going on among his partisans and the general boast about his "clean administration," we have looked patiently for some expression concerning his management of the civil service as compared with his platform. Among other places we have looked in the *New York Tribune*, in Colonel Elliott Shepard's paper, and particularly in Senator Hoar's article in the *July Forum*, and we have watched a large list of eastern and western papers. On every hand there is silence. We call attention to this, for if a favorable comparison can be made it will be of the greatest advantage to the candidacy of President Harrison, and will save him the loss of several close states, including Indiana.

WITH the cholera approaching, it is possible that this city will examine the conduct of some part of its affairs. We have the best city government that we have ever had. Nevertheless no one can return from eastern cities without being impressed with the comparatively scandalous amount of dirt that lies on the streets and sidewalks of Indianapolis. We pay a large sum weekly for street hands. It would be interesting to know where in the world these men put in their time. Are we being swindled by "politics," and are these men hired not for their services but to give them places? Do they get in and stay in by political "pulls" and work about as their feelings dictate? Will not the mayor and the board of public works render this city the greatest service and give it the worth of its money as they can by introducing the Boston labor system? There is no cleaner city than Boston. Secretary Tracy with this system has revolutionized the work of the navy-yards. New York under Tammany was one of the dirtiest cities in the world, but its few months under this system is rapidly making it one of the cleanest.

THE *Civil Service Record*, published at Boston, and the *Civil Service Reformer*, pub-

lished at Baltimore, have been consolidated, and now appear as *Good Government*, published at Washington. We shall miss the *Record*, with its even temper and absolute fairness; and we shall miss the *Reformer*, with its scholarly ability and its stinging blow. The editor of *Good Government* is Mr. Francis E. Leupp, well known as the Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*. There is also a committee of publication consisting of George William Curtis, Charles J. Bonaparte, Edward Cary, Richard H. Dana, William Potts and Herbert Welsh. The subscription is one dollar a year, and it is to be hoped that every friend of civil service reform will subscribe. The address is the Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.

MANY years ago "Jim" Tyner was an Indiana republican politician. He passed into obscurity to be resurrected by President Harrison along with Warmouth, Paul Vandervoort, and many others of unpleasant memory. He is now assistant attorney-general for the post-office department. He is Wanamaker's kind of a man, and he has been giving his chief an "opinion" upon the civil service law and the Baltimore post-office investigation. He quotes from the statute the prohibitions against soliciting or receiving money "for any political purpose whatever," and then says that they do not apply to primaries where Postmaster Johnson and Marshal Airey heading the Baltimore federal office-holders, and forming the Johnson-Airey faction are, on behalf of the President, desperately fighting the non-office-holding republicans. Then he takes the ground that the rule which directs that any employe who shall willfully violate any of the above prohibitions "shall be dismissed from the service," should only be applied after "conviction upon indictment." It will be remembered that Judge Bradley charged the jury which acquitted Mahone's blackmailers that the failure of the executive to dismiss the accused was *prima facie* evidence of their innocence. Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte in *Good Government*, for August, thus closes a discussion of this knavish trickery:

While the assistant attorney-general says they can not be removed until they have been convicted, the judge says they can not be convicted until they have been removed. The result of the two views

combined is that the law and the rules may be violated with equal impunity and become, practically, a dead letter.

It is sufficiently easy to detect an underlying motive for all this paltry quibbling. A postmaster-general may not wish his subordinates to rob the mails; so, if there is reasonable ground to suspect that any of them have done this, he will consider these persons unfit to remain in the service and will purge it of them. The same officer may wish them to violate the civil service law whenever he believes—very foolishly, perhaps, in some instances—that his own party or faction may profit by their wrongful acts. Then, as he is virtually an accomplice in their guilt, he will seize any pretext, shrewd or silly, to secure them impunity; and it may be the business of some brother officer, whose resonant title would justify a popular notion that he spoke with authority on the legal phases of the case, to furnish such pretexts when required. The conduct of the unjust steward in the parable would be perplexing enough were we bound to assume his honesty and devotion to his master's interests. Mr. Wanamaker is reputed to be a careful Bible student; and doubtless, if he speaks his candid judgment, he dismisses the steward with the simple verdict that he was a rascal. What opinion must he entertain of a public officer who either refuses to carry out in letter and spirit a law which he has sworn to execute, or supplies shallow sophistry, in quantities to suit, to excuse another functionary called to account for such perjury and breach of trust?

THE civil service commission has again shown that it knows its duty and is not afraid to do it. We do the President no injustice in saying that he does not favor encouraging in government employes a spirit of independence of the blackmailers who would wring money out of them for political purposes. His indifference, to put it with extreme charity, in the Mahone cases, and his refusal to punish in the Baltimore cases, conclusively show his real convictions, humiliating as the showing is. If he could prevent it without disaster he would not let the commission put forth such a warning as is printed below. What the country knows the commission knows, and it is therefore doubly refreshing in these times of vassal and chief, master and man, henchman and boss, to have some officers fearless in the performance of duty, though it requires bearding their chief. The document is as follows:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 27, 1892.

At the outset of the political campaign which is now pending, this commission feels it to be its duty to call public attention to the provisions of the civil service law in relation to political assessments or contributions, to inform government employes of their rights in the premises, and to warn those not in the government service, of whatever political party, not to infringe upon these rights.

Political assessments, under any guise, are prohibited by law. The provisions of the law on the subject are, in substance, as follows:

That no government officer or employe shall, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, in any manner whatever, a contribution for political purposes from any other government officer or employe.

Second, that no government officer or employe shall make a contribution for political purposes to any other government officer or employe.

Third, that no person shall in any manner, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive contributions for political purposes in any room or building

occupied by government employes in the discharge of official duties; and

Fourth, that no superior officer shall discriminate against or in favor of any government officer or employe on account of his action in reference to contributions for political purposes. Government employes must be left absolutely free to contribute or not as they see fit, and to contribute to either party according to their preferences; and an employe refusing to contribute must not be discriminated against because of such refusal.

It is the duty of the commission to see that the provisions of this law are enforced, and it will employ every available means to secure the prosecution and punishment of whoever may violate them. The commission requests any person having knowledge of any violation of this law to lay the facts before it, and it will at once take action upon them.

CHARLES LYMAN,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
GEORGE D. JOHNSTON,
Commissioners.

IN the preceding house of representatives six republicans introduced bills proposing the direct repeal of the civil service act, and every one of these republicans has disappeared from public life. In the present house no such bill has been introduced. Of the present committee Mr. Roosevelt says: "The friends of civil service reform, without distinction of party, are to be congratulated upon having such a committee in the house, and especially upon having such a chairman as Mr. Andrew."

THE cities of Boston and Cambridge have passed and now have in force the following ordinance:

"No head of a department, member of a board, clerk, employe or other officer of the city, except such as may be elected by popular vote, shall be an officer of a caucus or member of any political committee or convention."

Fifty-six office-holders in Boston and five in Cambridge are affected. Thus two important cities stamp out the nefarious practice of having their politics managed by those who are paid from the public treasury. They know very well that party management will be put upon a higher plane by this action. The man who makes place-holding the condition of his political efforts is conscienceless and lost to patriotism; he is the meanest mercenary among men.

IN the Cincinnati post-office there was recently a competitive examination among the fourteen stampers to determine who should have a higher place with \$300 additional salary. The successful competitor reached over ninety-nine, while all of the others were under ninety-one. The test was relative rapidity at work. Under favoritism that one of the fourteen who had the strongest "pull" would have been promoted, but open competition elevates the best man without regard to "pulls."

When Collector Erhardt was forced out of office, the *New York Tribune* said of him:

"The republican party honored him with an office

of great trust and responsibility. It supposed him to be a republican, a believer in its policies, anxious for its success in administration."

Ever since then events have happened logically and the *New York Evening Post* of July 12 adds the following interesting batch.

Collector Hendricks has realized the expectations of the republican "boys" by taking the contract for cartage at the custom-house away from a wicked though efficient democrat, and giving it to a good republican who will let Barney Biglin and sundry other good republicans have slices of the \$100,000 a year involved. One of the chief complaints against Col. Erhardt was his action, or rather non-action, about this matter. He found the work in the hands of a democrat who was doing it satisfactorily, and when he advertised for new bids this democrat's figures were the lowest. Accordingly Col. Erhardt allowed him to continue in charge of the cartage. As the *Tribune* says: "While the civil service law did not control the awarding of this contract yet the collector decided that Briggs should continue with the work, to sustain what was thought to be the spirit of the law." In other words, Col. Erhardt actually tried to live up to the civil service plank of the republican national platform of 1888, which had pledged the party to observe "the spirit and purpose of the reform" everywhere. It was, of course, a fatal blunder, and he paid the penalty when he was compelled to tender his resignation. Collector Hendricks has a clearer understanding of the reason he was appointed, and the cartage business will now be controlled by George B. Deane, "the leader of the ninth assembly district," who will sub-let portions of the work to George W. Wanamaker, "the leader of the fifteenth assembly district;" George Hilliard, "leader of the twelfth district;" Barney Biglin of the eighteenth district and Leroy Jacobs of Green county.

WHAT TO EXPECT.

Commenting upon the platform *Harper's Weekly* of July 9, said, "It is too much to suppose that with the present feeling of the democratic party, Mr. Cleveland's administration, however friendly to reform, would be, in the sense of the League, a civil service reform administration."

Of this the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of July 13 says:

"Mr. Cleveland's administration will be a democratic administration. The civil service laws and all other laws will be honestly enforced. But we have no doubt that Mr. Cleveland will rid the public service as quickly and fully as practicable, consistent with the laws and public interests, of the republican partisans who have been given place by President Harrison, and that, in selecting their successors, good democrats will, other things being equal, be given the preference. Mr. Cleveland realizes the evils of the spoils system, but his experience has taught him that these evils can never be extirpated until the great party which for twenty-five years was debarred from all participation in the public service has been restored to an absolute equality in that respect with the opposition party. Civil service reform means that the public service shall not be a mere asylum for party workers, but it does not mean that one party shall monopolize government employment both when "in power" and when "out of power."

There is no more intelligent or zealous advocate of civil service reform than *Harper's Weekly*, and its support of Mr. Cleveland, while admitting frankly that it does not expect him to give the country a civil service reform administration in the extreme sense of the League, is creditable to its good sense and fairness."

Whether Mr. Cleveland will give the country a civil service reform administra-

tion "in the extreme sense of the League" is not the question. Whether he will live up to his oath of office and to the fair intent of the platform upon which he is a candidate is the question. To say as this platform does that the "civil service ought not to be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal," and then proceed to make a clean sweep by turning out republicans and putting in democrats would not be living up to the platform but would be a treacherous repudiation of it. Experience has never taught Mr. Cleveland that he can remedy the evils of the spoils system by turning over the service to democrats as spoil. It has taught him that he can in this way bring defeat to his party on every hand.

A declaration that there ought not to be a change of the service at every election is a promise to take such measures as will put an end to such changes. The democrats, if successful, will have before them the plain duty, the opportunity, and the ways and means of forever ending the disgraceful prostitution of the federal service to personal and partisan ends. Large additions to the classified service, the application of the system of the railway mail service to all higher grade post-offices and including the postmasters, the establishment of the regulations proposed in Mr. Andrew's bill for the appointment of fourth-class postmasters, and the incorporation of the Boston labor service system into the federal labor service are the great fundamental measures which will practically complete the reform in the national service, and will be but meeting the fair and reasonable expectation to which Mr. Cleveland's platform gives rise.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

It assumes, however, that official patronage can be made a strong factor in securing the renomination and re-election of a President, which is very doubtful. It must be remembered, also, that a President who would prostitute the office in this way would be just the kind of man that the people would turn out at the end of four years. In the present state of public opinion on this question, it would be sure defeat for any President to have it known that he had used the power and patronage of his office to secure his renomination or that he was using it to secure his re-election. The people are not easily hoodwinked about such matters, and they can not be trifled with at all.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 14, 1892.

THE LORD PARAMOUNT.

A few minutes before noon Russell Harrison walked into the Fifth Avenue Hotel. He waived off the reporters and retired to the

cafe with a Montana friend. Young Mr. Harrison's appearance here at this time was not unexpected. He generally turns up at any place where there is to be a meeting affecting his father's interests. None of the small politicians about the hotel approached the son of the President.—*New York Evening Post*, July 15.

* * *

Mr. Clarkson had invited the whole executive committee to spend Sunday with him, but Mr. Fessenden went to Connecticut, Mr. Kerens went off with Russell Harrison.—*New York Times*, July 17.

* * *

Russell Harrison arrived at the Fifth Avenue Hotel early this morning. He went direct to Chairman Carter's room.—*New York Evening Post*, July 22.

* * *

Chairman Carter and the members of the Republican National Executive Committee have again failed to hold the informal conference which has been on the programme for two weeks. Last night Mr. Carter went to Washington to get further orders from the President. To the politicians it appears that the chairman of the Republican National Committee is as much a subordinate of the President as he was when he held the United States land commissionership. He does nothing without consultation with Mr. Harrison, and when he is in New York Russell Harrison is nearly always at his side.—*New York Evening Post*, July 27.

* * *

President Harrison and Mr. Carter dined together at the White House, and then took a ride this evening, and came to an understanding concerning the preliminaries of the campaign.

Jacob M. Patterson, chairman of the campaign committee of the republican county committee of New York has divided his time to-day between the White House, the treasury department, and Senator Hiscock's rooms. He seemed to feel unusually "chipper" tonight, and the impression is growing that the custom-house commissionership he has been chasing so long is much nearer his hand than it was a month ago. The outlook in New York county has been carefully canvassed to-day by the President, Secretary Chas. Foster, Mr. Patterson, and Surveyor of the Port Lyon.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, July 21.

* * *

"It would be a great convenience if a telephone could be put in between the White House and the national republican committee headquarters, or if the President would imitate the vice-presidential candidate and settle himself near the rooms where he is to conduct his campaign," said a gentleman yesterday who has been watching the struggles of the committee in its attempts to begin business. The remark was called out by the announcement that Chairman Carter was going to Washington again to submit some further details of the campaign to the President.—*New York Times*, July 27.

The conference which Mr. Carter held yesterday in Washington with President Harrison, it is thought by the republicans, can not fail to be productive of good results. Whether, however, the President has signified his willingness to accede to certain demands which Mr. Platt is known to have made, is a subject that is full of interest.—*New York Evening Post*, July 29.

* * *

J. S. Clarkson and J. N. Huston, of the National Republican Committee, joined Chairman Carter in Washington to-day. With Senator Felton, of California, they called at the White House and spent some time with President Harrison, discussing the political situation and probabilities of the campaign. One thing that they talked of with much interest was the work of the literary bureau of the campaign, which is to be under Mr. Clarkson's special management. Messrs. Carter and Clarkson lunched with the President, and in the afternoon and evening held conferences with numerous politicians who called to see them.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 29.

* * *

The conferences between the President and Chairman Carter, ex-Chairman Clarkson, Collector Hendricks, J. N. Huston of Indiana and others have led to all sorts of reports concerning the prospects for adjusting the troubles between the President and the New York republican leaders. The New York leaders refused to support the President without a definite understanding regarding patronage. This was the situation when Chairman Carter, General Clarkson, Collector Hendricks and others visited Washington on Wednesday last.—*New York Dispatch to Boston Herald*, August 1.

* * *

The President has had to-day his first visitor of note in the person of Collector Hendricks, of the port of New York. There is a delicate business under consultation. Mr. Hendricks slipped away from work and from the Fifth Avenue hotel on a moment's notice. He did not even take the time to telegraph the President that he was coming. He told the *World* correspondent that his trip to Loon Lake was unexpected and would in all probability last "a day or two." That his business with Mr. Harrison was important he made no secret, but he declined to discuss it or give any one an idea of its nature. "Oh, no," he declared, jocularly, "we are not a bit uneasy over the outlook. I have said time and again, and I still hold to the opinion, that the prospects for a republican victory are good, very good.—*Loon Lake Dispatch to New York World*, August 13.

* * *

The vicinity of Loon Lake assumed a slightly political air to-day. Francis Hendricks, collector of the port of New York, arrived and called upon the President. He was with the chief executive some length of time.—*Loon Lake Dispatch to New York Press*, Aug. 17.

* * *

It has been rather a busy day for the President. Arising at about the usual hour he ate

a hearty breakfast, and after the meal took a short walk of about a mile altogether. Then he saw Collector Hendricks. Mr. Hendricks came here upon a very important mission, as he informed *The Press* correspondent, but the nature of it he would not divulge. Mr. Hendricks left soon afterwards for New York.—*Loon Lake Dispatch to New York Press, August 19.*

* * *

No one knew that Elijah W. Halford, the President's private secretary, was coming here yesterday, and when at noon, direct from Washington, he stepped into the Denison and registered everybody wanted to know the meaning of his visit at this time. Mr. Halford was greeted by friends about the lobby and told them that he did not expect to come until later in the year, but that did not lessen the pleasure he had in being with Indianapolis friends once more. It was dull at Washington, and he had, he said, a breathing spell of two or three days, which, on the spur of the moment, he decided to use in coming here, staying a day or two and going back. He assured inquirers that he was not on a political mission to prod Chairman Gowdy of the state central committee into something like activity. In the afternoon he was at the Central-ave. methodist Sunday-school, in which he has always had the liveliest interest.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, August 15.*

PLACATING REBELLIOUS BARONS.

PLATT.

Mr. Reid's task of making terms at the court of Thomas C. Platt, it was said yesterday, was likely to call into play all his powers as a diplomat. It was generally put down as being as delicate a thing to handle as any which came in Reid's way while he was the minister to France. On the one side was placed the obstinancy of President Harrison, who hated to yield a point to an enemy with all the Hoosier hatred for which he has become celebrated, and on the other the cool and dignified manner in which Mr. Platt sat back and refused to turn over his machine to anybody.—*New York Times, July 15.*

* * *

The failure of the executive committee of the republican state committee to meet yesterday was a matter of general comment. That the real reason for the failure is that Thomas C. Platt, being still in a sullen mood, wants to point out to the President that he is not ready to go on with the campaign in this state, and that will not be until the President is ready to dicker with Platt, is very certain from all the evidence.—*New York Times, July 17.*

* * *

Jacob M. Patterson, of New York, registered at the Arlington about 9 o'clock to-night. As soon as he had made arrangements for a room with a breeze, he started for the apartments of Senator Hiscock and remained with the Senator until 10 o'clock. Soon after his arrival Mr. George W. Lyon, surveyor of the

port of New York, also placed his name on the Arlington register. Lyon and Patterson had a private confab after the latter left Mr. Hiscock.

To all inquiries concerning their presence in Washington at this time they returned purely diplomatic replies. It is not long since Mr. Patterson was in Washington seeking an appointment as one of the commissioners of the new custom-house in New York. He was not in very good odor with the administration then, and his appeal met with no response. Now that he is chairman of the campaign committee of the republican county committee, he feels that his chances have materially improved. To-morrow he will call upon the President and Secretary Charles Foster, who returned to the city to-day.

Postmaster George T. Collins, of Brooklyn, is in Washington to-day trying to arrange for an enlargement of the force under his immediate control. He has a friend with a good-sized political "pull" whom he would like to have made janitor of the new government building in Brooklyn.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 20.*

* * *

Field Marshal Louis F. Payn, of Columbia county, looking a trifle subdued since his unhappy Minneapolis experience, and John E. Milholland of New York, came to town to-day. The field marshal is here in the role of Thomas C. Platt's envoy extraordinary to the court of Benjamin I. Platt and the President are "getting together" slowly. Payn is Platt's trusted friend. The President is willing and anxious to obliterate the differences which have arisen between the administration and the New York republican machine, as manipulated by Platt.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 23.*

* * *

Mr. Carter came back from Washington two days ago. Yesterday he had an extended conference with Mr. Platt. Charles W. Hackett, chairman of the state executive committee, by grace of Mr. Platt, also called on that gentleman yesterday. These two calls were the chief events in the republican circle of politicians during the day.—*New York Times, July 24.*

* * *

Collector Francis Hendricks whose coming in the interests of harmony between the administration and Thomas C. Platt has been heralded for several days, placed his neat autograph on the Arlington register this morning. Mr. Hendricks went to the treasury department and had a long talk with Secretary Charles Foster, and afterward he called upon the President and was closeted with him so long that the excuse advanced by Mr. Hendricks that he came to discuss departmental affairs is forced deep into the "chestnut" receptacle.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 29.*

* * *

Chairman Thomas H. Carter, of the republican national committee and James S. Clarkson, his predecessor, departed this evening for

Old Point Comfort. Collector Hendricks left for New York on an afternoon train. Before the gentlemen left they consulted with the President again regarding the political outlook. The impression prevailing here is that when they reach New York they will be in position to tell Mr. Platt that he can begin running his machine on his own terms, and that the administration will not shove any bars between the spokes while the machine is in motion. "I am as certain there will be entire harmony between the President and Mr. Platt as I am that we are both standing here," said Senator Hiscock to-night to a correspondent of the *Times*.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 30.*

* * *

Chairman Carter brought messages from the President to politicians in this state, and it was said the two members of the state committee received a portion of them at the conference at headquarters. In substance, the messages from the President were that the New York committee would be allowed, and, in fact, was desired, to conduct the campaign in this state without much interference from the White House or the national committee, and, in case of victory, those who did the work would be entitled to such standing and influence at the White House as come to faithful laborers. Further than this, it was said, the President was not willing to specify. It was by no means certain in the minds of the leaders that this would be satisfactory to Mr. Platt. Some doubted if he would consider this an olive branch of sufficient size to make it worth his while to accept it.—*New York Times, August 2.*

* * *

The chief topic of conversation to-day among the few politicians in the hotel corridors is the failure of Chairman Carter to secure suitable terms from the president to conciliate Platt and Miller. It is now thought that the New York bosses will stand aloof during the campaign. Their demand, as announced in the *Evening Post* before Carter went to Washington, is that they be allowed to take entire charge of the campaign in this state and there should be no supervision from Washington or the national committee. The president has not been able to bring himself to place implicit trust in the men who abused him before and after the Minneapolis convention. And so the breach widens. Platt spends his time at his office and at Manhattan Beach, Miller looks after his private business, and the Platt-Miller State Committee is taking a long vacation, while the national executive committee is trying hard to make a show of doing something. That is the republican situation at present.—*New York Evening Post, August 2.*

* * *

Mr. Platt had not been at the headquarters of the national republican committee since they were established, nearly three weeks ago. He has had interviews with few of the prominent republican leaders, and such as he has had have not been of his own seeking. He has kept away from the haunts of the politi-

cians. Since Chairman Carter's return from the White House, nearly a week ago, he and Mr. Platt have been strangers, and there have been no signs of the love feast and general getting into line and taking off of coats which were promised a short time ago.—*New York Times*, August 5.

* * *

Despite all reports the contrary, Mr. Thomas C. Platt and Whitelaw Reid came together yesterday. A little after 1 o'clock the republican candidate for vice-president dropped into the office of the United States Express Company on Broadway, and a few minutes thereafter the two leaders were sitting *vis a vis* over a luncheon upon Mr. Reid's invitation. Whether the long expected placatory dish was served on this occasion, or whether it has been deferred for some other occasion, only three men know—President Harrison, Mr. Platt and Mr. Reid.

Those who are close to Mr. Platt make no hesitation in declaring that if Mr. Harrison wishes to deal with the ex-senator a compact must be drawn and duly signed and sealed in the presence of witnesses. These friends of Mr. Platt's claim that twice within eight years he has been deceived by Presidents—by Garfield in 1881 and by Harrison in 1889—and that if Harrison now aspires for his support he must give pledges that can neither be renounced nor broken.

As a matter of fact, it is claimed by Platt's friends that in the fall of 1888 Gen. Harrison promised, in the event of his election, that he would nominate Platt as secretary of the treasury, and, but for the interference of Warner Miller, that pledge would have been redeemed. Mr. Platt's vindictive disposition was not so well known by Gen. Harrison then as it is now. At all events Platt habitually spoke of Garfield's treachery to Mr. Conkling as the purest kindness compared with Harrison's treachery to him.—*New York Times*, August 6.

* * *

The latest news is that if Thomas C. Platt desires to establish himself on a peace footing with President Harrison he must get down on his marrow bones and ask to be forgiven for past sins and give signs that he will be submissive in the future. President Harrison, it is said, will make no attempt to "placate" him, and has indicated that for various reasons, which he has given to his confidential friends, it is a matter of indifference to him what attitude Mr. Platt may please to take during the next two months. Mr. Harrison has further indicated, so the report has it, that he is disgusted with the attempts which Mr. Whitelaw Reid and others have been making to secure favoring glances from the Tioga statesman, and will tolerate no more nonsense of that sort. These statements came from a source that is close, not only to the President, but also to the men who have charge of the republican campaign at both national and state headquarters. They were given as a condensed summary of a number of interviews with the

President and his managers.—*New York Times*, August 12.

* * *

The fact that Mr. Platt has joined forces with Mr. Harrison was announced formally and officially early in the evening. "Chairman Hackett of the state executive committee had an interview with Thomas C. Platt to-day, at which Mr. Platt expressed loyalty to the party, and said that he desired to take an active part in the canvass and do all in his power, as he always has done, to bring success to the republican ticket." These were the words in which the news was broken. This was coupled with the statement that Mr. Platt's utterances were satisfactory to Mr. Hackett and led him to believe that Mr. Platt was proposing to do all in his power for the canvass in this state.—*New York Times*, August 18.

* * *

Mr. Platt was good-natured yesterday and discussed somewhat the "official declaration" of his position. He said that it had not been his intention to make a formal declaration, although he had told Mr. Hackett that he might announce the fact that he was loyal to the ticket. Mr. Platt was said by some to have visited national republican headquarters again yesterday, although no official corroboration of the statement could be secured. One of the officials in charge at headquarters, when asked whether the Tioga statesman had been there, winked one eye and said: "Well, there was a man here who looked very much like Mr. Platt. It may have been his double, if he has one."—*New York Times*, August 19.

QUAY.

Senator Quay dropped into the city very quietly this evening, and expects to meet a few of the city leaders to-morrow. His coming was without herald beyond a brief telegram to ex-Collector Dave Martin, who met him in parlor 49 at the Continental Hotel shortly after 7 o'clock. The only other caller was Secretary Frank Willing Leach, whose specialty in this year's campaign is the management of the legislative districts. Mr. Richard R. Quay accompanied his father. The senator will return to Washington late to-morrow afternoon. First on the list of his engagements for to-morrow is his usual conference with Collector Cooper. Mr. Quay would not say that politics had anything to do with his visit.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times*, July 19.

* * *

Thomas V. Cooper, collector of the port of Philadelphia, had just gone up to see the national committeemen and candidate Whitelaw Reid, who made "his usual Tuesday call," as one of the republicans described it, and was consulting with Chairman Carter. Mr. Cooper had been sent for. He is counted one of the most expert politicians in the Keystone state, having served at times on the state committee, of which he was once chairman. Just at present holding a fat position through the kindness of Mr. Harrison, he is one of the leaders of the administration crowd in his state, for

politicians say that the classification is no longer made there on the Quay-Magee basis. There is no "Quay faction" and no "Magee faction," but it is either administration or anti-administration. As Mr. Cooper would like to retain his present comfortable job for four years more, it is easy to define his standing. Mr. Magee was in the city on Monday, and, after some extended conferences, it was thought best to ask Mr. Cooper to come up. It is believed that in his position, with the patronage of the custom-house, and assisted by Mr. Magee and others, he may be a valuable man in raising a good-sized contribution to carry on the campaign. He was for some time concealed in the private room up stairs where the campaign orders of President Harrison are carried out.—*New York Times*, August 8.

* * *

Several Pennsylvanians who are counted as among those best calculated to raise money were at headquarters yesterday. Christopher L. Magee, whom the committee has come to regard as the successor of Quay as the recognized leader in the state, was there. He is supposed to have influence with the professional politicians. Collector Cooper, of Philadelphia, was also there. He is counted an able worker among federal office holders.—*New York Times*, August 19.

* * *

Mr. Quay sent a message to Mr. Carter, and Mr. Carter thought it of sufficient importance to warrant a quick trip to Philadelphia, where, it was said, Mr. Quay was. The message came at about the same hour that Mr. Platt sent for Mr. Hackett. There was for the first time in this campaign talk of "Quay's mailed hand" which he was supposed to be stretching out in the direction of the machine again. Chairman Carter returned to this city yesterday morning after a two day's visit to Washington.—*New York Times*, August 18.

* * *

Chairman Carter got back from Philadelphia and was at republican national headquarters early yesterday. Among the callers at headquarters yesterday were *Solicitor of the Treasury Hepburn*, and Minister to Denmark Clark E. Carr, who sailed yesterday. Chairman Hackett saw Mr. Carter late in the day, after one of the usual delays. Christopher L. Magee and Collector Cooper, of Philadelphia, also called.—*New York Press*, August 18.

* * *

Outside of Collector Cooper and ex-Collector Dave Martin, no one knew of Senator Quay's intention to visit the city to-day, and a telegram apprised them of his coming. The senator slipped into the Continental hotel just before noon, accompanied by his son Dick. During the morning Mr. Quay called at the People's Bank, the offices of the Traction Company and at the custom-house, where he met Collector Cooper. With this business over, he met Gen. Reeder at republican state headquarters and was in conference with him over an hour. Senator Quay's principal caller was ex-Collector Martin, and the two were not only to-

gether all the afternoon, but left the hotel together shortly before 6 o'clock.—*Philadelphia Dispatch to New York Times*, August 23.

* * *

Now that Senator Quay and ex-Senator Platt have got into the republican band wagon the procession is ready to move. It promises to be a great procession and a long time passing a given point.—*Indianapolis Journal*, August 20.

THE ARMY OF FEUDATORIES AT WORK.

John R. Leonard, who formerly trained with the "Slick Six," but is now doing a watchman's duty in the treasury department at Washington, is in the city to see if the local republican organization is doing its duty. Leonard on Monday night dropped into the old soldiers' meeting and took a seat near the door. "Why, halloo! Leonard, I did not know you were here," said one of the veterans. "I didn't see anything about it in the newspapers." "No, I don't want the newspapers to get on to it that I am here," replied Leonard.—*Indianapolis News*, July 13.

* * *

Third Auditor Hart has gone to his home at Frankfort for a few weeks' rest.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 25.

* * *

After a stormy session at the meeting at Cambridge City some months ago Capt. Frank Ellis, Muncie's post-office manager of Harrison affairs in Delaware county, was selected chairman of the district. At yesterday's meeting his resignation was accepted. Now the question that has set the Delaware republican tribe of anti-Harrison men to guessing is, what does it all mean, this manner of lightning changes on the quiet.—*Muncie Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 30.

* * *

At the meeting of the Allen county republican central committee to-day Chairman Vesey did not resign, but Clark Fairbanks, committeeman from the First and Edward Sheltabarger from the Seventh ward, did. Eli Higgins, postmaster, was elected to succeed Fairbanks.—*Fort Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 24.

* * *

Postmaster Higgins and President Harper, of the Morton club, were in secret conference all day. The Blaineites were in high glee and the Harrison men were in the depths of despair. A portion of the committee were in telegraphic correspondence with R. T. McDonald, who is in New York, and the other portion with Gowdy.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 28, *Fort Wayne Dispatch*.

* * *

Col. Higgins, the dapper little postmaster, is wielding the headman's ax dexterously or otherwise now. Some days ago he decapitated William Rockhill, postmaster at Arcola, and selected in his place a renegade democrat, Dr. McGoogle, or some such name. Col. Higgins' latest engagement on the block was to cut off the official head of R. Latham,

postmaster at Hunteartown, and put in his place A. G. Dunton. His work was confirmed at Washington yesterday.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 4, *Fort Wayne Dispatch*.

* * *

J. B. Throop, collector of internal revenue for the Terre Haute district, has not been attending to his official duties personally since June 28. The collector's office is located in Terre Haute, but Mr. Throop, who resides in Orange county, it is said, has devoted nearly all of his time since June in repairing Harrison's fences in the second congressional district.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 24.

* * *

William Petty and Bradley Connett, the two war politicians recently appointed in the government inspection service at Kingan's, were the loudest kickers against Harrison the Blaine club took to Minneapolis. They were the leaders of the contingent that charged upon the Harrison drum corps in the West hotel and tore down the Harrison banners of the Columbia club. But now they are fixed with fourteen-dollar per week jobs, these two patriots are shouting for Harrison and "protection."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 24.

* * *

Hon. Blanche K. Bruce, ex-United States Senator, and at present recorder of deeds for the district of Columbia, is in the city, visiting his father-in-law, Dr. Joseph Wilson, on College avenue. Mr. Bruce is one of the most effective colored speakers, if not the most, in the United States, and has in his life been honored with many offices, elective and appointive.

He was seen at the Denison Hotel last night and talked concerning the political situation happily and without reserve. "President Harrison," he said, "will undoubtedly have a much larger majority at the next election than he had at the last."

"Where will your work be done in the coming campaign?"

"I have been assigned by the national committee to the middle and western states."—*Indianapolis Journal*, August 1.

* * *

A number of young republicans have organized a young men's republican club, which it is intended to make a permanent organization on the order of the Marion club. Wednesday night they met in the United States marshal's office and admitted a number of new members. The club will meet regularly on Wednesday nights, at the same place, until they can secure quarters of their own.—*Indianapolis Journal*, August 20.

* * *

The republicans of this county opened the campaign to-day * * Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] followed Shockney in a speech for two hours. * * —*Noblesville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 29.

* * *

With this in view Eaves has resigned as stamp clerk at Statesville for the avowed purpose of running the campaign. He estab-

lished headquarters here yesterday. He has already assessed every federal office-holder in the state, and Collector Rollins has appointed another son of Eaves a clerk in his office, making two of Eaves's sons in his office, in order to furnish Eaves money in place of his salary as revenue stamp clerk.—*Raleigh (N. C.) Dispatch to New York Times*, July 31.

* * *

The most disgraceful scene ever witnessed among the g. o. p. politicians in this city was that of last evening at the police court room, when attempt was made to organize a Harrison and Reid club. The paid hireling of the government—Collector Pew, and his retinue of office-holders, save one, Postmaster Mansfield, were present.—*Gloucester Dispatch to Boston Post*.

* * *

I think a few of the many illustrations in this state would be of interest to your readers. During the recent county conventions I do not recall a single federal officer who did not take part in the wire-pulling. In Yakima county, for instance, among the delegates were the Indian agent and his employes, the register and receiver of the United States land office, the postmaster in the leading post-office, etc. When it is remembered that the local land officers occupy positions of a judicial nature, further comment is unnecessary.—*New York Evening Post Seattle Letter*, Aug 15.

* * *

A regular meeting of the republican national executive committee will be held this afternoon, and to-morrow a hearing will be given to A. H. Leonard of Louisiana, the republican candidate who polled 30,000 votes in the gubernatorial election last April. Mr. Leonard will ask the committee to use its power to "call off" Warmouth, the collector of the port of New Orleans who through control of federal patronage has built up a faction which destroys the harmony of the party in Louisiana. Mr. Leonard will promise that if his recommendation is followed harmony will prevail and two republican congressmen will be elected, and two farmers' alliance men, out of the delegation of six.—*New York Evening Post*, Aug. 15.

* * *

Although Chairman Carter of the national republican committee was in Washington yesterday, a large amount of work was turned off at headquarters.

Among the callers yesterday were Congressman J. C. Burrows, Senator Proctor and M. S. Colburn, of Vermont, ex-Congressman Horr and Collector Cooper, of Philadelphia.—*New York Press*, August 17.

* * *

Col. J. C. Hill, chief of the Indian division of the office of the secretary of the interior, has resigned to enter the campaign. He will be under the direction of the national republican committee.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 25.

* * *

Col. "Dan" Macauley, who holds a position in the treasury department at Washington, was at national republican headquarters yesterday. He will remain during the cam-

paigned as one of Chairman Carter's assistants. It was announced that he would resign his position in the treasury department.—*New York Times*, Aug. 21.

* * *

One occurrence has become public in these days which throws a significant light on the proceedings of the Minneapolis convention, and authorizes the gravest apprehension as to what the administration is capable of. The story is this: William D. Crum, a colored man, had for three years been seeking the appointment as postmaster in Charleston, South Carolina. President Harrison had steadfastly refused to appoint him. Crum then managed to be elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention. Arrived at Minneapolis, he gave out that he was going to vote for Blaine. Suddenly he changed his attitude, and announced himself as a supporter of Harrison. He voted accordingly. It was then said that Crum had been assured of his reward. From Minneapolis he went straightway to Washington and saw the President. A few days later his nomination for the postmastership at Charleston was sent to the Senate. No sooner was this known in Charleston than indignant protests against the appointment poured into Washington. Crum was summoned before the post-office committee of the Senate, and the opposition to the appointment in that body became so strong that the President saw himself forced to withdraw the nomination.—*Harper's Weekly*, July 30.

* * *

Just before the convention began, members of the South Carolina delegation announced that Crum would vote for the President, and that in return for his vote he would receive the Charleston postmastership. It was even said that he had a written guarantee to that effect, made on behalf of the President, when Crum refused to accept a verbal promise.

Crum came to Washington from Minneapolis and saw the President. Soon afterward he was nominated for postmaster at Charleston. That his nomination was the result of a political deal was apparent.

At the hearing last week before the committee on post-offices it became apparent that Crum would not be confirmed. Senator Wolcott asked him a number of leading questions concerning his action at Minneapolis, and finally threw him into confusion by asking him whether he did not pledge himself to vote for some person other than Harrison.

"I don't remember," was all that Crum could say in reply.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, July 16.

THE SINEWS OF WAR.

From a republican source comes the information that the calls which the republican state central committee are making for money for the campaign are already becoming onerous and are at this early day arousing some serious antagonism. Before the Minneapolis convention the requests for money began to issue from the committee, according to the au-

thority here quoted. A circular was sent to every republican in the state who had been mentioned for nomination to state office, assuring him that the only hope of republican success in the coming campaign lay in the re-nomination of Harrison, and calling on him to pay \$50 to help defray the expenses of the state committee and of other influential friends of the President at the national convention. An effort was also made to assess every delegate to the national convention \$250 in addition to his personal expenses of attendance, the amount thus realized to be used to defray the expenses of the committee and Harrison workers at the convention. This last request was refused by the delegates at a rather stormy meeting, it is said, partly through the influence of Charles F. Griffin, who made a computation to prove that the total sum realized would be \$7,500, and that that would be a great deal more than the committee would need. It is alleged, too, that the pension office did not escape, but on the contrary, that it was assessed for \$500, and paid it preliminary to the Minneapolis convention. Since the convention the demands for money have been heavy, it is said. The candidates have been assessed mercilessly, and each district committeeman has been informed that he is expected to see that the money prorated to his district is duly collected. The pension office, it is said, is not yet considered to have done its part and has been called upon for \$1,000 more. In response to this second call, Pension Agent Ensley is alleged to have openly rebelled, and there the matter stands. In brief, Chairman Gowdy is credited with greater boldness in soliciting cash than any of his predecessors for years.—*Indianapolis News*, July 28.

* * *

About the first move Mr. Carter made when he became chairman was in the direction of a campaign fund. Lists of government employes were desired, and he laid plans to secure them. At the meeting last night of the New York Republican Association Mr. Carter's methods were plainly shown. He started out a fortnight ago to secure a list of all the New Yorkers employed in the government departments, and this association readily lent itself to his scheme. At last night's meeting the announcement was made that the treasury, war department, and government printing office lists were complete, but that the post-office department declined to make up such a roster, because the clerks who would have to do it, were it ordered, had other and more important business to attend to. Mr. Wanamaker has in mind his recent experience with the civil service commission, in which his hide was gracefully removed, and, knowing the meaning of the demand for a roster of his subordinates, he does not propose to render himself liable to further punishment by furnishing it.

The "nerve" of Carter is shown in a request made by the New York association for a list of civil service commission employes who belong to New York.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, Aug. 19.

Treasurer Bliss of the national republican committee entertained a distinguished coterie of republicans, all possessed of standing in the party and considerable wealth, at the Union League Club house last night. It was an invitation "affair," which was kept as secret as possible. "The Campaign, and How to Carry It On" was the subject of the discussion, which was said to have been very informal.

Among those who received invitations were Messrs. Clarkson, Kerens, and McComas of the national committee, and they were all there last night. Others present were Gen. Felix Agnus, editor of the *Baltimore American*; Alexander Shaw, of Baltimore, and W. W. Johnson, postmaster of that city; Christopher L. Magee, of Pittsburgh, Collector Thomas V. Cooper, of Philadelphia.

Considerable significance was attached to the facts surrounding this gathering. Yesterday morning Chairman William Brookfield, of the state republican committee, returned from Loon Lake, where he had extended conferences with President Harrison. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Brookfield went to republican headquarters and had a confidential talk with some members of the committee who chanced to be present. Among others he talked with Mr. Carter. Some inclined to the belief last night that Mr. Brookfield indicated to Chairman Carter some of the information given him by the President. On this point, however, those who were present gave no information for publication.

It was said by some who commented on the meeting that Postmaster Johnson was not inclined to pay much attention to the circular issued by the civil service commissioners, because after the severely-plain English which Commissioner Roosevelt had used in regard to his observance of the civil service law he was disposed to treat any document signed by Mr. Roosevelt with utter disrespect.

Collector Cooper, it was also said, was not disposed to let the circular interfere with his functions as a solicitor if he were called on to act in that capacity.—*New York Times*, August 19.

* * *

Pennsylvania, which is looked on as the harvest field for campaign funds, according to the best information is to be held largely responsible for the fight in that state. Thomas V. Cooper, of Philadelphia, collector of the port, has been placed in direct charge of the southern portion of the state. He is also to have charge of Delaware. He is not only an expert in raising campaign funds in his own state, but has had experience in the intricacies of the politics of both states. He had a prominent hand in the management of the campaign in Delaware when the republican legislature was chosen which elected Anthony Higgins to the United States Senate four years ago.—*New York Times*, August 28.

* * *

In discussing the late republican convention this afternoon, Mr. Clarkson said that one man who, as much as any other, was responsi-

ble for the nomination of President Harrison was Senator Philetus Sawyer, of Wisconsin. "Had he not been on the ground the vote of Wisconsin would have gone away from Harrison," said Gen. Clarkson. "He did some of the heavy work of the week."

"How did he do it?" was asked.

"In the first place," said Gen. Clarkson, "his very presence counted for a good deal. He is eighty years old and stands high among men in all parts of the country. *Further than this, he is chairman of the senate committee on post-offices, and it has been my experience that post-offices are a not unimportant factor in politics.*"—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, June 26.*

* * *

A serious charge is made in the third congressional district by one wing of the republican party against the other wing, which includes several postmasters. Governor Burleigh is one of the four candidates for the congressional nomination. Joe Manley, Mr. Blaine's friend, is another, and he is the postmaster of Augusta. The postmaster of Waterville is a Milliken man.

In the town of Vassalborough, twelve miles from Augusta and five miles from Waterville, there were mailed on the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th of April last eighty sacks of a weekly newspaper, a publication entered as second-class matter. On these \$40 postage was paid. In the eighty sacks were 33,000 papers, wrapped and addressed, one to each voter, in the district.

These papers contained an article in the interest of Governor Burleigh. The sacks going south from Vassalborough went into the Augusta office all right. This much is known. There was a paper directed to each voter in Blaine's home. Not one in ten of them has been delivered. Five business men doing business in one block declare they never saw the paper. Not over 200 delivered papers can be found in Augusta, where 2,000 were sent from a point only twelve miles away. Papers going north from Vassalborough went five miles and into the Waterville office, and here all trace of thousands have been lost.

Burleigh men and detectives have been hunting the district, and are satisfied that over forty of these sacks of mail have been destroyed in the interest of Manley and Milliken. A formal complaint and charge will be made against several officials, and another lot will be printed. The government will be asked to see to it that the mails are not looted. As the facts become known the indignation grows.—*Bangor (Me.) Dispatch to New York Times, May 27.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

ROCKVILLE, IND., Aug. 2, 1892.

Editor Civil Service Chronicle:

DEAR SIR—I am pleased that your paper is outspoken on the only true line of reform. As a civil service reformer, I could not support Grover Cleveland in 1884, but was perfectly satisfied with his course as President. It was

a "stagger" at reform from a very unexpected quarter. I therefore voted for him in 1888, when many who had voted for him four years before supported Harrison. It is quite plain that in spite of its past the democratic party is more progressive to-day than the republican.

Respectfully,

ISAAC R. STROUSE.

BALTIMORE, MD., Aug. 3, 1892.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

SIR—I wish to thank you for the thoroughness with which you have collected and published the facts as to the participation of federal officials in the work of the Minneapolis convention. Ninety-five per cent. of the active politicians in each party are bitterly opposed to the merit system. One national convention has renominated the President who is responsible for Wanamaker, Clarkson and Dave Martin, and who, in his, to a great extent at least, personally conducted campaign for renomination, used the offices in his gift for all they were worth. The other has asked the suffrages of the people for the author of the Fellows letter, the man who gave Vilas, Stevenson and Higgins a free hand. And yet each convention in making these nominations voiced the desires of the great mass of the best elements of their respective parties. Under such circumstances neither party is entitled to pose as a reform organization nor to ask the votes of reformers as such, and the reform vote will not all be cast one way. Those reformers who believe that the decalogue forbids a protective tariff, or that the federal control of congressional elections will be dangerous to local liberties and will produce violence and corruption in the cotton states, will doubtless vote for Mr. Cleveland. Those who believe in protection, together with those who are on the subject of the tariff economic agnostics, unwilling to turn things upside down, with little idea of whether such an overturning would produce good or ill results, or who believe that the constitutional gift of power to the federal government to regulate congressional elections imposes the corresponding duty to exercise that power when for any considerable period and over any large area the states have altogether failed to make such elections reasonably free and fair, will support Harrison.

While those who are inclined to view all the party cries as to a large extent insincere, and as shouted the loudest by men who are, after all, chiefly concerned in getting or keeping the offices, may find it as difficult to agree as to what outcome of the election will do most good or perhaps least harm to the cause of civil service reform. THE CHRONICLE believes that the duty immediately at hand is to punish Harrison. The writer believes that it will be wiser not make the country believe that reformers are willing to vote for the man who allowed the civil service law to fall in many places into what he himself might call a state of innocuous desuetude rather than for the man

under whose administration, in spite of the grave and even scandalous failures to observe its spirit outside of the classified service; within that service the law has been reasonably well enforced almost everywhere. The CHRONICLE takes one side, the writer takes the other. But let us agree that whatever side we take we shall do it with our eyes as wide open as past party affiliations and prejudices will let us get them. Whether Harrison or Cleveland shall be elected whatever else is doubtful, it is certain that the reform will not long hold its own, much less go forward, unless reformers mercilessly expose the failures of the men in power to obey the letter of the reform law and observe its spirit. Therefore, although a republican who expects to vote for Harrison, I rejoice in the persistency with which you hold up to public view the spoils mongering, no matter what party or man is responsible for it.

J. C. R.

Many voters will not agree with our correspondent upon the relative weight of things. The manipulation of the civil service by President Harrison is not simply a brazen violation of his pledges. It is the most universal, unscrupulous and dangerous use of that service for personal ends that this country has ever witnessed. It is but a step from this to the tricks which Balmaceda undertook to play with the government of Chili. In the presence of this tendency, of which President Harrison's manipulation of his office-holders leading up to and at the Minneapolis convention, was a startling example, every other question is dwarfed. The President does not enact tariff laws or force bills. This President has very greatly increased the dangers to free institutions, which, as his platform said, "lurk in the power of official patronage." The evidence is conclusive against him.

I beg to inclose a postal note in payment for your admirable paper. HALL HARRISON.
ELLCOTT CITY, MD.

I enclose one dollar as subscription to the CHRONICLE to December, 1893. May you continue long in the good work.

CHAS. H. GILBERT.

MENLO PARK, CAL.

MASSACHUSETTS TO THE WILD AND WOOLLY WEST.

We have received copy of paper bearing the name "THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE," published at Indianapolis, Ind. Its chief object and aim seems to be to laud Cleveland and the democratic party, and to berate Harrison and the republican party. There is a vast deal of claptrap about civil service, and anybody taking stock in the fad is not wise.—*Chelsea, Mass. Gazette, August 13.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.

VOL. I, No. 43.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE gladly give all possible space this month to the speech of George W. Julian delivered in this city, September 15, and which appeared in full in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* the next morning. We do this the more gladly because Mr. Julian is the first of his party, whether person or paper, to lay hold of the only issue in this campaign which is vital to the people and connected with the election of the next President—the abuse of his power over the civil service by President Harrison. It will be seen that Mr. Julian's stroke was never more steady and certain. Nothing more entertaining from an intellectual and literary stand-point will be said in this campaign, and we commend the speech as an enunciation of the soundest principles in its denunciation of the unsoundest principles by one who has no object in view but to serve his country.

THE speech delivered by Mr. Foulke before the Reform Club of Boston, September 10th, was received at the last moment, and it is with regret that the CHRONICLE can not find room for all of it. It was published in full in the *New York Evening Post*, of September 15th, and in the *New York Times* of 16th. It is the speech of a man who justly feels that it is his peculiar duty to stand forth and declare the worst that can be said of a President—the bad faith of President Harrison. The declaration comes with a power which might be expected from the indisputable facts and Mr. Foulke's well known ability to arrange them, aided by the irresistible incentive that he is engaged in behalf of a great and outraged cause.

THE democratic platform touching the civil service is in marked contrast with that of the republicans. The democrats must be held to believe in their declaration, and in addition they clearly made it to induce the independent vote to unite with them. The platform is a promise to render it impossible for the service to be subject to change at every election, or to be a prize to be fought for at the polls, or to be a brief reward of party zeal. Those independents who design voting for Mr. Cleveland have a right to rely on this

promise. Nothing but the convention itself can modify it, and all attempted modifications by local papers or personages may be disregarded. We do not mean to say that living up to this platform would be welcomed by all democrats. There are yet in Indiana, for instance, a class of rock-ribbed, hide-bound, and moss-backed democratic politicians who never had and never will have a single political idea except looting the offices. They care nothing upon what issue a campaign is argued, so that nothing is said or done that will make it more difficult to seize the spoil of victory. Any side of the tariff question is, they think, a haven of safety; they are not particular what side, and as likely as not after success at the election they will be found lobbying against the very tariff legislation which they said their success in the election would bring about. Independents understand this class. They are not so numerous nor so strong as they were, but they are still here. Unfortunately for them, their party in national convention has put them in close quarters.

UPON this issue the republicans are as dumb and helpless as they were upon the issue involved in the Mulligan letters in 1884. Every night they go to bed rejoicing that they have had no general attack at the only point at which they can make absolutely no resistance. For instance, no one here, in the President's own city, will answer Mr. Julian's attack for the simple reason that it is unanswerable. Yet the acts charged are of such a nature that if they can not be denied they must, with a large body of voters, unfit for re-election the man who has committed them. To say otherwise is to say that the American people are hopelessly venal. To convince them is only a question of a forcible, reiterated and persistent presentation of the facts.

ZEALOUS tariff reformers are apt to urge that until that question is settled, the civil service can not be reformed. This is nonsense. The tariff situation does not materially differ from the tariff situation of 1844. The democrats then won a great victory upon that issue. Yet the spoils system was in greater vigor than ever. In 1848 the democrats were totally defeated. Nothing was settled except a

redistribution of spoil. Suppose the country were carried now ostensibly for tariff reform. In the course of time a considerably moderated tariff might be the result; it would depend upon the effect the party machine thought a given bill would have upon its hold upon the offices. That and nothing else would fix the course followed. The fact becomes more prominent every day that no public question will or can receive more than hand-to-mouth treatment while an enormous federal patronage remains a prize to be fought for at the polls. When voting for President two things should be remembered: he is an executive officer; he does not make tariff laws and all his other duties put together are nothing compared with his duty of superintending the civil service. A voter should also remember that he can, when voting for his congressman, completely perform his duty toward any question requiring legislation.

It is a matter of universal remark that the campaign seems "dead." It seems settled that neither candidate from his personality nor either side of the tariff question can "rouse" the people. The reason of the lack of interest is the lack of prominence of any moral issue. The only moral issue in this election is President Harrison's course with the civil service, with particular reference to the dangers to free institutions arising from his personal use of it, which finally led up to the formation and manipulation of the Minneapolis convention. It would be an insult to the people of Indiana, for instance, to say that all are not interested in this vital question; but there are in this state fifteen to twenty thousand voters who have a keen and abiding interest in it. They are usually quiet people scattered through all the hamlets, country-sides and cities of the state. The party-worker rarely knows of them. He says there are no such voters, and in polling his district he, in dense ignorance, puts them down as democrats or republicans. They pass nominally as such, and unless stirred by facts and arguments they are apt to vote with their nominal party. The democrats within the line of their platform have facts and arguments which can be made to stir these voters as they were never stirred before, but they will have to be used.

THERE are, however, some obstacles in the way of securing for the democrats the widest presentation of the case against President Harrison. We hear, for instance, of democratic leaders in Indiana who have already fixed upon the offices that they will take if Mr. Cleveland is elected, and this report involves even the subsidizing of Democratic newspapers. Of course so far as these have anything to do with the campaign they will have nothing to say of the evils inherent in the distribution of spoil by President Harrison. They are, in fact, already muzzled. This quite authentic report makes some things plain which were before obscure.

WE give President Harrison the full benefit of what he said of the civil service, in his letter of acceptance:

The civil service system has been extended and the laws enforced with vigor and impartiality. There has been no partisan juggling with the law in any of the departments or bureaus as had before happened, but appointments to the classified service have been made impartially from the eligible lists. The system now in force in all departments has for the first time placed promotions strictly upon the basis of merit as ascertained by the daily record, and the efficiency of the force thereby greatly increased.

Mr. Roosevelt produced conclusive evidence that certain officials in Baltimore had violated the civil law. This was months ago. Those officials are in office to-day. The President knows that the evidence is conclusive.

THE President also says in the same letter:

I have endeavored, without wavering or weariness, so far as the direction of public affairs was committed to me to carry out the pledges made to the people in 1838.

The displacement of more than 100,000 officers to make room for partisans and relatives would have wearied an ordinary man. Probably he rested while adding 832 places to the classified service.

HERBERT WELSH has an entertaining and valuable article in the September *Forum* on publicity as a cure for corruption, with particular reference to the work of campaign committees. The very fact that secrecy is sought is proof that the committees know that the public would not approve of their use of money. It does not take a large amount of money in any community to meet all of the expenses of an honorable campaign. The committee and the beneficiary mutually shrink from having the public know that the latter's house rent has been paid, for the public would correctly denominate the act as the purchase of a "floater." The good influence of an honest publication of accounts is clear. Mr. Welsh says of the main question:

"It is becoming more and more apparent to thoughtful men that no question before the country

to-day is of greater national importance than that of civil service reform, the question whether the public funds represented by the salaries of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand officers of the civil service, aggregating sixty million dollars annual expenditure, shall be used in the interest of the people or whether they shall continue to furnish an immense bribery fund by which a small but highly organized class of professional politicians shall acquire and maintain their power."

MR. LOUIS H. GIBSON, the well-known architect of this city, recently read before the Century Club a paper on "The Relation of the Civil Service to Comfortable Living in Cities." Mr. Gibson has carefully studied the street and road question and city government generally in Europe, and the foundation of all he has to suggest—and he has much to suggest—is that the service of cities must be skilled, and to be skilled it must be permanent. He incontestibly maintains that street-cleaning is skilled labor. Here is an extract:

"In order to carry out all of these vast undertakings the work must be done by those having special knowledge; it must be done by men especially educated for the kind of work in hand. In order to secure such educated service there must be assurance that individuals will be as regularly employed as in any private enterprise, entirely independent of political belief. There is no more reason why any matter of politics should have to do with municipal service than with ordinary business enterprises. In general business, active political interest is regarded as a demerit rather than otherwise. The only thing needful for proper municipal administration is educated service. What is wanted is knowledge. In order to secure this knowledge there must be a reasonable assurance of employment."

It seems to be undisputed that a local politician here named Bradley Connett, was much opposed to President Harrison's renomination; that he afterward assumed such a threatening attitude toward his party that he was given a place in the government meat-inspection department which is located at Kingan & Co.'s in this city. If true, is this, or is it not, a purchase of the influence of Connett, giving him therefor a public office? If so, is that, or is it not, a corrupt use of public office? Again, Merrill Moores, the chairman of the republican county committee, has been endeavoring to bully Postmaster Thompson, of this city, into making places in his office for certain republican henchmen, who also made threats. There is no claim of incompetency on the part of the employees sought to be displaced. We repeat that the man who will not work for his party unless he is paid with an office is the meanest mercenary among men.

In the August examination for carriers in the Indianapolis post-office three colored men were successful and one of them stood at the head of the whole list. The merit system is the truest democracy connected with our government, and there is no race for whom it has such benefits in store as it has for the colored people.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

It is hard to find words to express what deserves to be said of George William Curtis. From the beginning, his was an unceasing effort to make his country and his fellow Americans better. His career stretches over two great epochs, the one characterized by the Philadelphia mob, the other by the Jay Hubbell campaign textbook. In the full maturity of his powers the war against slavery enlisted all his strength and to the victorious end he was a foremost leader. When that was over, his unerring judgment selected the uprooting of venal practices in public relations, the eradication of the element of spoil in the transaction of American public business as the greatest service which could be rendered to the country. To this end the merit system and the various reforms which have the general name of civil service reform are indispensable helps. How easy it would have been for him to fatten upon the country. For allegiance to his party, right or wrong, there was nothing it would not have given him. How easy to have held sinecure offices until he became rich. How easy to have enjoyed the best at foreign courts. Either could have been had if he would but make the sacrifice of leaving undone the work which he knew was the greatest which could be done for his country. He refused the English mission and became one of the first civil service commissioners. In entering upon the war against the spoils system, he undertook one of the greatest reforms that has ever been attempted in a commonwealth, and yet it was an humble task. Venality in public affairs, a feeling that in public business it was to be expected that there would be something over, for which the recipient had not given value but which accrued to him by reason of politics, had thoroughly debauched the public conscience. The multitude did not join in the new reform. Party leaders passed by on the other side with coarse abuse. It however gathered strength and then the sting and smart of defeat wrung great tears of repentance from party machines. Step by step the reform made its way until it became rooted so firmly that it can not be overturned. How small and mean the political Hubbells now seem. Of all the leaders in this crusade George William Curtis was without question the first; and no leader ever had greater love and no leader's memory greater respect and reverence from his associates. He has trained them well. It is with nonsense of weakness that they mourn his death. They look with confidence into the future. Their hands are not stayed but strengthened by the responsibility laid upon them. The greatest monument they

can build to George William Curtis will be to complete his work, and it shall be done.

MR. JULIAN'S ADDRESS.

I propose this evening to devote a brief hour to the discussion of a single issue of the pending campaign, namely, the reform of the civil service; and I have chosen this topic for reasons which will abundantly appear as I proceed. This issue was involved in the canvass of 1888, but the attitude of the opposing candidates was then strikingly different. Mr. Cleveland had already tried his hand at civil service reform, and although his actions had disappointed the hopes and expectations of a portion of his friends, and were severely criticised, yet he did more for the cause than any President had done since the inauguration of the spoils system. It should be remembered, moreover, that what he accomplished was pre-eminently his own work, for the leaders of his party generally disagreed with him, while the time-honored policy and traditions of the party itself stood in his way. General Harrison, on the contrary, had his party behind him, or at least a powerful sentiment in the party, and its declaration of principles was not only sweeping and unconditional, but it embodied specific and detailed pledges which could not possibly be misunderstood. Indeed, both the party and the candidate seemed to gather strength and courage from the alleged shortcomings of Cleveland and to be hungry for the conflict and eager to demonstrate their faith by their works. Here is their platform:

We will not fail to keep our pledges because their candidate has broken his. We therefore renew our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the system should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

In his letter of acceptance General Harrison adopted these declarations as his own, and said:

In appointments to every grade and department fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interest of the public service should suggest removal from office.

In speaking of the civil service law he declared:

The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence.

In his inaugural address he declared:

Heads of departments, bureaus and all other public officers having any duty in connection therewith will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion.

In this address he took occasion to say:

We may reverently invoke and confidently expect the favor and help of Almighty God; that he will give to me wisdom, strength and fidelity, and to our people a spirit of fraternity and a love of righteousness and peace.

This zeal for civil service reform was not new-born. It seems to have been the travail of his soul while he was a member of the senate, and in a speech on the subject on the 26th of March, 1886, he delivered himself as follows:

I do lift up a hearty prayer that we may never have a President who will not either pursue, and compel his cabinet advisers to pursue, the civil service policy pure and simple, and upon a just basis, allowing men accused to be heard, and deciding against them only upon competent proof and fairly—either have that kind of civil service, or, for God's sake, let us have that other frank and bold, if brutal method, of turning men and women out simply for political opinion. Let us have one or the other. They will not mingle. It was the conflict of these currents—the President on one side endeavoring to be responsive to his self-imposed pledges, and the pressure of his party on the other, that has driven those who were at the heads of the departments in the attempt to preserve and maintain the President's professions and at the same time to give to the hungry who were demanding to be fed—it was an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable that has brought this wretched condition of things in which men and women are condemned without a hearing.

No words in the English language could more absolutely have bound the judgment and conscience of Gen. Harrison to the support of civil service reform than did the extracts I have quoted. They imported profound earnestness and absolutely sincerity. They not only committed him to the reform without qualification, but they brought him to the front as its chief prophet. His devotion to it seemed to be a fascination, and his reference to the recreancy of his predecessor gave evidence that his heart palpitated and his soul panted for the great cause. His fervent words could fairly be accepted as the evangel of political righteousness, while his earnestness was attested by the sanctities of religion. He was known to be a devout member of the Presbyterian church. He was an elder in the church, which is a priestly office and a spiritual dignity. He was so straight-laced in his puritanism that he would not travel on Sunday. He was a man of prayer, and this has not been kept from the public; for the newspapers emphasized the fact that on his journey to Washington in the spring of 1889 he attended to his morning devotions in the palace car in which he journeyed. Would such a candidate for the presidency violate his plighted faith to the nation? Would a religious man and a Presbyterian elder look heaven in the face with a lie on his lips? He was as sacredly bound to maintain the spirit and purpose of civil service reform in all executive appointments, and to make fitness and not party service the essential and discriminating test in appointments and removals, as Abraham Lincoln was bound to maintain the prohibition of slavery in our territories in 1860; with this difference, that Lincoln could do nothing without the help of congress, while Gen. Harrison could perform nearly all his promises without legislative aid. He was far more explicitly committed to the reform of the civil service by reiterated pledges and asseverations than he was committed to the force bill or the principles of protection. The people so understood him and trusted him. It

was their faith in his promises which made him president. The contest was a close one, and there were independent voters enough in New York and New England alone who deserted Cleveland and threw their votes for Harrison to turn the scales in his favor. One possible way was only left open by which he could defend himself against the charge of obtaining the presidency by false pretenses if elected, and that was the proof of his sincerity by performing his resounding promises.

But I come now to the painful part of my duty. In his inaugural address, from which I have already quoted, General Harrison said: "Retrospect will be a safer basis of judgment than promises." This is most true. Men are to be judged by what they perform, and not by what they promise. In the forum of morals and religion it is not the men who content themselves with crying "Lord, Lord," but the doers of the word who are to be recognized, and the moral world would be turned upside down if any other principle should prevail. General Harrison invites us to try him by his acts, and his own words must be my text. It will not be necessary to go extensively into details, and I shall therefore only refer to a few conspicuous cases which will serve as crucial tests of his honesty and consistency in dispensing the federal patronage.

Soon after his inauguration he was called upon to deal with the post-office of New York City. Pearson was the postmaster, and had been appointed by Garfield in 1881 as the successor of Postmaster James, who had conducted the office so admirably that he was afterward made postmaster-general. Pearson so improved and perfected the management of the office and so completely lifted it out of the mire of party politics and made it a great business concern that Cleveland, when his term expired, reappointed him, which he did against the powerful opposition of his own party leaders. * * *

Let me refer to the case of Mr. Saltonstall, collector of the custom-house at Boston, who was removed from office early in the following year before the expiration of his term, and solely for political reasons. He was acceptable to men of all parties and was universally regarded as one of the best collectors that had ever occupied the office. * * *

In March, 1891, General Corse was displaced from the post-office at Boston. He was generally regarded as the best postmaster Boston had ever had, and all parties desired his retention. Even Senators Hoar and Dawes, notwithstanding their proverbial partisan zeal, together with four Massachusetts representatives, joined the people in the demand for his continuance in office. He was the head of the Loyal Legion and one of the best generals in the war for the Union. As a man, an officer and a citizen he was popular, and there was not even the shadow of a reason for his displacement. The gentleman who succeeded him declared that he knew nothing about the business of the office, and he had signed a petition for the retention of the incumbent. He

had further declared that "if the interest of the public service is to decide, General Corse will be renominated." * * *

Another remarkable case is that of Mr. Burt, naval officer of New York, who was removed in the summer of 1889. He had not filled out his term of office under his appointment by Cleveland, but was summarily dismissed at the bidding of ex-Senator Platt for political reasons only. He had been twenty years in the public service and was well known as a determined friend of the civil service policy. He was a trained officer, thoroughly familiar with the duties of his position, and as thoroughly conscientious in discharging them. Like Pearson, he was succeeded by a man who was unfamiliar with the work of the office and opposed to the civil service law; and the inference is irresistible that the change was made for no other purpose than to make the office a party machine under the control of Platt, to whom the federal patronage of the state was farmed out by the President.

A more shocking illustration of the President's faithlessness was given soon after his inauguration in his action touching the bureau of printing and engraving. This is one of the chief bureaus in the treasury department, and it controls more places not included in the classified service than all the other treasury bureaus combined. Under different administrations preceding that of Mr. Cleveland it had become notorious as the refuge of parasites and spoilsmen, and an investigating committee of experts in the treasury had reported that a force which in some divisions was twice and in others three times as large as was necessary had been employed, and that more than half the force in the bureau might be dispensed with. President Cleveland, soon after his inauguration, selected the chairman of this committee, E. O. Graves, as the chief of the bureau. Graves was an independent republican, but was appointed by Cleveland and warmly supported by Secretary Manning on the score of his rare qualifications for the work and his proved fidelity. He did not wait for civil service rules and regulations but courageously applied the principles of reform so as to make the bureau a strictly business establishment. No employes were discharged for political reasons or to make places for others. * * *

Let me mention one further illustration. Under the administration of President Arthur a lady named Isabella de la Hunt was appointed postmistress at Cannelton, in this state, on the recommendation of Senator Harrison. She was the widow of a soldier who died of wounds received in the service. I think it was on some complaint of offensive partisanship that she was removed under Cleveland's administration and a democratic politician and editor appointed in her place. Senator Harrison was exceedingly indignant, and was at once overtaken by one of his spasms of virtue and patriotism. He said:

If there was in all this country one person who, by

reason of her sex, who by reason of her widowhood, who by reason of the sacrifice she made in giving the arm on which she leaned to her country's service, was entitled to be kept in office, was entitled to have her reputation guarded jealously by all men who represented the government, it was Mrs. Isabella de la Hunt.

This is very fine; but let us follow the case a little further. Senator Harrison afterwards became President, and Mrs. Isabella de la Hunt, whom he had taken under his wing with such fatherly tenderness, asked him to restore her to the place from which she had been driven. What did Elder Harrison do? Did he visit the widow in her affliction? Yes, but his visit was a visitation. He gave the office to a male applicant, and this poor woman, "who by reason of her sex, who by reason of her widowhood, who by reason of the sacrifice she made in giving the arm on which she leaned to her country's service," was turned over to the consolations of religion and the hope of a better world, and to meditations on the blessedness and beauty of civil service reform as illustrated by a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. It seems as if the President was determined to leave no manner of doubt in the mind of any man or woman respecting his brazen infidelity to his pledges. It is true that his friends have tried to excuse him in this case on the plea that it was Clarkson, his wicked partner, who did this outrageous thing, but as Clarkson was the President's subordinate, and under explicit instructions to enforce the civil service policy "without evasion," and inasmuch as the President never put him under discipline for this "bold if brutal" act, it would seem to be pretty clear to a layman that this defense simply aggravates his recreancy. He was bound to watch his subordinate. It was his duty to keep alive the fires of his chivalric devotion to the fortunes of this widow, whose case only a little while before had so roused his indignation. * * *

Let me proceed with my subject in the way of further illustrations. I understand the fundamental principle of civil service reform to be that in all executive appointments fidelity and efficiency, not party service, should be the tenure of office. This is the President's creed, and keeping it in mind I wish to inquire why John Wanamaker was made postmaster-general. It is true that, like the President himself, he is a religious man and zealously devoted to the interests of the church and the Sunday-school. But these qualifications were not sufficient in a cabinet minister. He was wholly unknown to the public as a statesman or even a politician. He was a successful Philadelphia shop-keeper and a man of wealth. According to the high authority of Mr. Herbert Welsh, he also had a "reputation for skill in diving into the depths of political waters and fetching brilliant results to the surface." What strange influence all at once brought such a man before the eyes of the nation as the incumbent of a great office? Who believes he would ever have been thus honored for his piety merely, if he had not pos-

sessed more solid charms? The explanation is an open secret. Near the close of the campaign of 1888, when the contest grew doubtful and money was sorely needed, especially in such pivotal states as Indiana, where Dudley was organizing his "blocks-of-five" and furnishing them with funds for the conversion of the heathen, Senator Quay asked Wanamaker to take the lead in raising \$400,000 for the blessed work. The request was responded to favorably, and Wanamaker himself has since admitted in a public interview that more than \$200,000 were raised, and that he paid \$10,000. In that interview he said: "I had a large experience in raising money from my connection with the Christian association and other enterprises." Harrison was elected and Quay now asked the President, in consideration of Wanamaker's services, to make him postmaster-general, and it was done. The President personally knew all about the meaning of this monstrous transaction. He knew that Wanamaker's financial aid in a great emergency was urged as the ground on which he should be thus honored, and he knows that he honored him accordingly. These are the simple facts, and they furnish a very instructive commentary upon the President's civil service policy. They constitute a "damned spot" in his record which no waters can ever wash out, and the revolting affair can best be accounted for by referring it to an unholy alliance between office greed and godliness. Wanamaker was a man of prayer whose orthodoxy was unquestioned, whatever might be thought of the morality of this performance. To his piety he had added wealth and cunning, and these advantages made him very attractive to a man of the President's practical turn of mind when facing a great temptation. Both seem to belong to a class of religionists who

Ply every art of legal thieving,
No matter, stick to sound believing.

In conducting this important negotiation I have no doubt that both preserved their customary self-complacency, and that each could have entered heartily into the spirit of "Holy Willie's Prayer:"

Yet I am here a chosen sample
To show thy grace is great and ample;
I'm here a pillar in thy temple,
Strong as a rock,
A guide, a buckler, an example,
To a' thy flock.

Again, let me inquire why Stephen B. Elkins was made secretary of war in the last half of the administration. His career is historic. More than a quarter of a century ago he settled in New Mexico and became a member of the territorial legislature. He studied the Spanish language and the character and habits of the Mexican population. President Johnson afterward appointed him district attorney for the territory, which office he held three years. He was then elected a delegate to congress and served two terms. This experience amply prepared him for the brilliant ventures in real estate through which he became rich. His dealings were mainly

in Spanish grants, which he bought for a very small price from their Mexican claimants or their grantees. The boundaries of these grants were vague and uncertain and their definite settlement had to be determined by the surveyor-general of the territory, subject to the final action of congress. Elkins became a member of the land ring of the territory, and largely through his influence the survey of these grants was made to contain hundreds of thousands of acres that did not belong to them. He thus became a great land-holder, through the manipulation of committees in congress grants thus illegally surveyed were confirmed with their fictitious boundaries. He made himself particularly conspicuous as the hero of the famous Maxwell grant, which, as Secretary Cox decided in 1869, contained only twenty-two square leagues, or about ninety-six thousand acres, but which, under the manipulation of Elkins, was surveyed and patented for 1,714,764 acres, or nearly two thousand, six hundred and eighty square miles. Congress, through the action of its committees, was beguiled into the confirmation of the grant, with the exterior boundaries vaguely indicated in it so stretched as to cover the whole of this immense area, and which confirmation by congress compelled the supreme court to recognize this astounding robbery as valid. By such methods as these more than ten million acres of the public domain in New Mexico have become the spoil of land grabbers, and the ring leaders in this game of spoilation was Stephen B. Elkins, the confederate of Stephen W. Dorsey, and the master spirit in the movement. He was thoroughly qualified for his work. He was irrepressible and full of resources. He was Quay, Platt, Mahone and Clarkson rolled into one. He was a genius in business, and in the pursuit of his ends was singularly unshackled by a conscience. He used the surveyor-general of the territory, the land department in Washington and the committees of congress as his instruments in fleecing poor settlers and robbing the government of its lands. To cheat a man out of his home is justly regarded as a crime second only to murder; and to rob the nation of its public domain and thus abridge the opportunity of landless men to acquire homes is not only a crime against society, but a cruel mockery of the poor.

If any such considerations ever disturbed the dreams of Mr. Elkins, they were summarily silenced by his overmastering zeal in the work of "practical politics." According to Dorsey, Elkins knew more than any other person about the star route cases, which became famous a dozen years ago, and he will also be remembered as engaged in the prosecution of a claim for \$50,000,000 against Brazil, while Blaine was secretary of state under Garfield, which claim was afterward indignantly rejected by Secretary Bayard. In the light of his other performances it is not surprising that the President should desire to place such a man as Elkins under special obligations on the eve of a desperate struggle for renomina-

tion. Elkins had been Blaine's chief political manager for years. Up to the time of his appointment he was known everywhere as an enthusiastic friend and admirer of Blaine; and I think it is morally certain that he would so have continued but for this remarkable display of the President's zeal for civil service reform. Harrison knew his man and he knew all about his career in the southwest as I have depicted it; for while he was in the senate he was a member of the committee on territories and gave particular attention to the affairs of New Mexico. In referring to these matters I do not speak at random, but from official documents and ascertained facts with which I became familiar during my public service of four years in that territory under the last administration. * * *

The discussion of the President's civil service policy invites attention to his nepotism. Early in his administration he made his brother, Carter Harrison, marshal of Tennessee. His brother-in-law, John N. Scott, was appointed superintendent of construction in the office of the supervising architect at Port Townsend. The list of places given to other relatives includes the deputy collectorship of customs at Port Townsend, a five-thousand-dollar position in Utah, the post of naval attache to the Samoan commission in Berlin, the collectorship of internal revenue in the First Ohio District, the position of naval officer at New Orleans, and that of law clerk in the post-office department. These appointments are utterly irreconcilable with the President's various pledges, and they have a sinister meaning. His brother, for example, may be a fit man for the position of marshal, but the public will be slow to believe that his fitness was "the sole and discriminating test" in his appointment, or that he would even have been thought of for the place if he had not been the relative of the President. This is equally true of all the positions named. The policy of giving office to relatives was denounced by all our early Presidents, who turned away from it as a political indecency. No administration can be regarded as "clean" which adopts it, and it is particularly unbecomely in a President who has paraded himself as the champion of the merit system of appointments.

A far more flagrant prostitution of federal patronage was the attempt of the President to control the freedom of the press in furtherance of him ambition. He has appointed scores and hundreds of editors of influential journals to important places at home and abroad, and thus placed before them a temptation which may prove stronger than the love of truth. A journalist who is dependent upon the government for his bread is an untrusty representative of public opinion. The newspapers favored by the President are located in various sections of the Union, and each is a center of power which may be used by him both offensively and defensively in a political campaign. He evidently regards them as fortified places, which he hopes to command through the po-

teney of patronage, and the effect can not be otherwise than pernicious. The foremost of all his subsidized organs is the New York *Tribune*, "founded by Horace Greeley," and edited by Whitelaw Reid. It is a great power in politics, and to win it over to his side was naturally a darling purpose of the President. Reid was always well known as an ardent friend of Blaine prior to his appointment as minister to France, and but for the important favor thus bestowed there is every reason to believe he would have been his zealous supporter in the late struggle for the presidential nomination. At heart he undoubtedly preferred Blaine; but the acceptance of an honorable and lucrative position could scarcely fail to have a certain influence. It created an obligation. It may have been the make-weight which secured the President's renomination, and probably prompted the statement already quoted that the President "has given the country a clean administration." The appointment of Clarkson, the editor of the *Iowa State Register*, as first assistant postmaster general, suggests kindred observations, which would apply with varying degrees of force to all of the many journalists singled out by the President for his official smiles. His obvious purpose was to bring the patronage of the government into conflict with the freedom of the press, and thus to purchase the presidency with the public money. It was a bold and comprehensive scheme, and there was method in it; but it was as flagitious in principle as it was unprecedented in the history of the government. The grandfather of the President, more than half a century ago, said: "There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the executive which might be used with greater effect for unhallowed purposes than the control of the public press." And Daniel Webster declared that "an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, of bestowing the endowments of office on its active conductors, seems to me of everything we have witnessed to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the palladium of liberty into the engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy and patronage of the government all to bear, with united force, on the means of general intelligence, and on the adoption or rejection of political opinions." All this was perfectly understood by the President, for in a speech in the senate in the spring of 1886 he arraigned Mr. Cleveland for doing on a very small scale what he himself has been doing on a large one. He knew that his purpose was to muzzle the press of his party, and thus serve himself. "Give me the liberty," said Milton, "to think, to know, to believe, and to utter, freely and according to the conscience, above all other liberties." It was against this liberty that the President deliberately conspired in attempting to bribe the journalists of his party by federal offices to give him their support.

This review of the President's civil service

policy would not be complete without some reference to the Minncapolis convention of the 7th of June. No better illustration of the power of the spoils was possible than the performances of this body. As nearly as I can determine 140 office-holders attended as delegates and cast their votes, while probably 3,000 other place-holders reinforced them by their presence and influence. * * *

I have spoken plainly because I desire to be perfectly understood. My subject demands that I speak after the fashion of Nathan to David. I have not alluded to General Harrison's relations to the church in any spirit of levity or irreverence. The subject of religion has burdened the hearts and minds of men in every age and clime. It is an affair between the soul and its Creator, and as such it is inviolate. No man should trifle with the religious faith of any man or woman. It is not a matter which can decently be put on dress parade or placed upon the market as an investment in business or politics; and he who makes it a cloak for selfish ends merits universal condemnation and contempt. The newspapers have told us that Judge Gresham regards the President as a Pharisee. In my opinion Judge Gresham is right, and I believe the Pharisees of to-day are no better than those of nearly nineteen centuries ago. They have abounded in every age of the church, and like the poor they are always with us. In their ceremonial rightcousness they are immaculate, but in the weightier matters of law they are infidel. I think they are nowhere so well characterized as in the twenty-third chapter of the book of Matthew:

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretense make long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The President is of opinion that it is a great abuse to bring the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections; and that this abuse ought to be corrected wherever it may have been permitted to exist, and to be prevented for the future: He, therefore, directs that information be given to all officers and agents in your department

of the public service that partisan interference in popular elections, whether of state officers or officers of this government, and for whomsoever or against whomsoever it may be exercised, or the payment of any contribution or assessment on salaries or official compensation for party or election purposes, will be regarded by him as cause for removal.—*From a Circular issued by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under President William Henry Harrison, to the Heads of the Departments under the Government of the United States.*

The campaign is on in Rushville, having been opened to-night by *Smiley N. Chambers* [United States attorney], of Indianapolis.—*Rushville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 4.*

The republicans of Hancock county met in mass convention at the court-house this noon. After calling the convention to order he introduced *Hon. S. N. Chambers* [United States attorney], of Indianapolis, who addressed the people for over an hour in a highly interesting manner.—*Greenfield Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 4.*

There was a rousing meeting of republicans in this city to-night. *The Hon. J. B. Cockrum* [deputy United States attorney], of Indianapolis, addressed the Harrison and Baker guards, two republican organizations of this city. One hundred and fifty members escorted the speaker to the court-house. The speech aroused much enthusiasm.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 13.*

An enthusiastic republican meeting was held in Ross's Opera House last evening. *Hon. Smiley N. Chambers* [United States attorney] was present and addressed the crowd.—*Union City Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 14.*

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers addressed a splendid meeting of republicans here [Nashville, Ind.] yesterday afternoon.

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers will address the people of North Indianapolis, at Greenleaf Hall. The West Indianapolis McKinley drum corps will be in attendance.

Following is a list of additional assignments of speakers throughout the state made by the republican state committee:

HON. S. N. CHAMBERS.
[United States District Attorney.]
Sept. 17—Union City, Randolph county, 7 P. M.
HON. J. B. COCKRUM.
[Assistant District Attorney.]
Sept. 17—Martinsville, Morgan county, 7 P. M.
Sept. 19—Knightstown, Henry county, 7 P. M.
Sept. 23—Elizabethtown, Bartholomew county, 7 P. M.
Oct. 7—Marion, Grant county, 7 P. M.
—*Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 10.*

The republican clubs of the city turned out, and fully six hundred voters were present to listen to the speech of the *Hon. Smiley N. Chambers*, of Indianapolis.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 17.*

United States Treasurer Nebeker returned last night from Indiana, where he has been on business for some time. During his stay in Indiana he visited a number of counties and had several conferences with the republican candidate for governor, Mr. Chase, and with the chairman of the state republican committee, Mr. Gowdy.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 1.*

The only interest shown in the convention was that caused by the efforts of many of Harrison's friends to defeat as candidate for county treasurer, R. R. Shiel. But Mr. Shiel with the assistance of a score or

more federal office-holders, led by *Postmaster Thompson*, *William Patterson*, superintendent of letter-carriers, *United States Marshal Dunlap* and *Deputy Marshal Moore*, routed the other administration gang.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, Sept. 5.*

The republicans of Delaware county shot the initial gun in Muncie to-night. *Col. Charles W. Fairbanks* was the principal speaker. The reception committee consisted of *Postmaster Ellis*, ex-Postmaster Eiter and other post-office aspirants. All of to-day *Postmaster Ellis* had runners out personally urging everybody to come to the meeting.—*Muncie Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, Sept. 3.*

Assistant Secretary Crouse of the Treasury Department says he expects to relinquish charge of his office some time next week when he will go to Nebraska to enter the gubernatorial campaign.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 4.*

"Dave" Martin, the national committeeman from Pennsylvania, and *Postmaster W. W. Johnson*, of Baltimore, who is rated no lower than the second class as a campaign-fund raiser, were at headquarters for a time on Tuesday. Among the other visitors were *Cyrus Bussy*, assistant secretary of the interior.—*New York Times, Sept. 1.*

Col. J. D. Brady, collector of the revenue for this district, and a bitter opponent of Mahone, has for some time posed as the President's accredited Virginia representative. Gen. Mahone has served notice upon the administrative and the other republican leaders that if they desire the party machine to work in their interest the chairman of the state committee must be treated with and Brady be utterly ignored.—*New York Evening Post, Sept. 1.*

There are a large number of delegates here to attend the republican convention. The whole day has been devoted to the discussion of the propriety of nominating a state ticket. Those in favor of a ticket were led by two white men who are federal office-holders and several negroes. The better argument was made by the opponents of a ticket, but there is no doubt that the convention will decide to-morrow to nominate one.—*Raleigh, N. C., Dispatch to New York Times, Sept. 7.*

"I desire to obtain from you the names of from eight to twelve of the most active, earnest, discreet, and trustworthy young republicans who will get their mail at your post-office. I particularly wish, also, that you keep this request a secret, even from those whose names you furnish me. I want twelve names, but if there are but ten or eleven, send the ten or eleven; if only eight or nine, send them. They should be men between twenty-two and forty, of good character and standing in their neighborhood. But I desire young men between twenty-two and thirty-two if you have the number between those ages. Each man's age, occupation, whether married or single, and his nationality, should follow his name. Kindly send this information by return mail, if possible. If not able to respond so quickly, let the answer come within three days at least. Your prompt service in this matter will not be forgotten."—*Confidential Circular of Hackett, Chairman of the New York Republican State Committee (New York Evening Post, Sept. 7).*

Marshal Jacobus, of Brooklyn, was a brief visitor to the President to-day.—*Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 11.*

A meeting of republicans was held on Sept. 8 in Blachley's hall for the purpose of effecting a permanent political organization and arranging preliminaries for active campaign work. *Postmaster George Lincoln* explained * * * —*Cedar Rapids Gazette, Sept. 15.*

Gen. Green B. Raum, commissioner of pensions, addressed a republican rally here to-night, it being the dedication of the republican wigwam.—*Decatur, Ill., Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Sept. 16.*

Consul Wood, Collector French and Railroad Commissioner Putney were also on hand early from force of habit. [Republican State Convention.]—*Concord, N. H., Dispatch to New York Times, Sept. 6.*

* * *

All the arrangements for the new contract were completed yesterday at the custom-house. The leaders tried hard to get it when the time came to relet it while Collector Erhardt was in office, but a dispute arose between the collector and the treasury department, which resulted in postponing an award. *Collector Erhardt held that it should be made to the lowest bidder, while the officers in Washington took the ground that the law did not make such a course obligatory, and that there was no need of public advertisements for bids.* No agreement on the point was reached, and matters dragged along, Mr. Briggs holding over and the republican leaders getting hungrier and hungrier for a slice of the good things. This feeling had developed into something very close to famine by the time Collector Erhardt went out of office.—*New York Times, July 12.*

* * *

The appointment of William H. Leaycraft to a position in the appraiser's department has simply added fuel to the flame of republican dissension in Kings county. It was a direct slap at Internal Revenue Collector Nathan, the local representative of Thomas C. Platt, and is regarded by all his associates as a notification by the President that he does not want any help from the Nathan faction. Yet it is Nathan who has absolute control of the local machinery, and he is in a position to apply the knife to Mr. Harrison in a most scientific manner.—*Times, July 10.*

* * *

For years Leaycraft has lived solely by politics. He was kept in office by Platt, whom he now repudiates, but his winters were all spent in Albany. The third house knew him well, and men here of the legitimate branches of the legislature have had many business dealings with him. These transactions have been profitable to both parties, and Leaycraft has been able to make a good showing in public. Locally he has been nothing more than a ward boss, and other leaders anxious for the votes of delegates from the thirteenth ward have always known how to get them. They have dealt directly with Leaycraft, and he has always been able to deliver the goods. He has made no secret of the fact that he is in politics for what he can get out of it, and everybody knows what that means.—*New York Times, July 10.*

* * *

It was announced at republican headquarters last week that "harmony" prevailed in the ranks of the party in Kings county, and this flattering statement was interpreted to mean that *Secretary of the Navy Tracy and Naval Officer Willis* would cease from fighting *Ernst Nathan* [internal revenue collector], who is to be left in control of the local machine.—*New York Times, Aug. 29.*

* * *

The Kings county republican organization is in a pitiable plight, being torn by dissensions and petty jealousies. Worst of all, the rigors of a Presidential campaign stare them in the face. *Ernst Nathan* [internal revenue collector], the half-acknowledged leader, looked woe-begone and disconsolate yesterday when he admitted that things were decidedly blue. He said he had experienced a feeling akin to that felt by the aged female in the nursery rhyme, who, though disposed to feed her dog, found she had an empty cupboard. Brightening up a little, he said: "Well, the democrats have the money and they have the county, but we will get money enough to keep the majority down."—*New York Times, Sept. 11.*

* * *

The republican campaign in Brooklyn will be practically opened this evening, when the County Committee of Four Hundred will meet for the first time after the summer vacation, during which the factional hostilities which rent the body in twain last spring were of necessity intermitted. At the last meeting in June there was a perfunctory indorsement of

the national ticket nominated at Minneapolis coupled with a denunciation of Brooklyn's representative in the administration. Since that time there has been a persistent effort on the part of the opponents of Secretary Tracy to secure control of all the party machinery. They are led by *Ernst Nathan*, collector of internal revenue, and by securing control of the executive committee of thirty-five by the use of underhand means, he dictated the appointment of a campaign committee of fifteen, who in turn added to their own number up to 100 from among the active republicans of the city, being careful to assure a majority of Nathan men. The adherents of *Secretary Tracy with Naval Officer Willis* at their head have sulked in their tents while all this was done, as they felt powerless and helpless, although they were able to elect the majority of the delegates to Minneapolis in the interest of President Harrison. But when the democratic scheme to alter ward boundaries in manipulating assembly districts was put through, *Nathan* had influence enough to secure the alteration of the boundaries of the twenty-third and twenty-fifth wards in his interest, so as to control the senate and assembly districts of which they form a part, and which are almost the only surely republican districts in the city. This was a purely partisan movement, and the *Tracy-Willis* faction determined to do all in their power to upset it. To this end the proceedings were begun to set aside the reapportionment and to declare the alteration of ward boundaries illegal. When the proceedings were defeated in the supreme court, the *Nathan* interest gave out the statement that the matter would end there and no appeal would be taken. But the *Tracy-Willis* people have appealed and the matter comes up for argument in the general term to-morrow. In order to profit by the change in ward boundaries as much as possible, the *Nathan* faction has devised a scheme to have the representation of the wards in the governing body of the party remain the same as before they were divided until the end of this year, but to permit the representatives in nominating conventions to be counted as representing the wards as now constituted. This device is simply to give Collector *Nathan's* ward a preponderance of votes when nominations are made and enable him to name an assemblyman. The scheme has to come before the general committee for ratification to night, and much as they deprecate factional contests in the face of a presidential campaign, the *Tracy-Willis* side is determined to give battle to the *Nathan* men to-night. A lively meeting is expected and there will be sharp debate and a close drawing of factional lines. *Naval Officer Willis, District Attorney Johnson, Col. Charles B. Morton and Joseph Benjamin* will be heard on one side; while *Senator Aspinwall, David A. Baldwin, Jacob Brenner, M. J. Daly, and others*, will speak for Collector *Nathan*, who will pull wires in the background.—*New York Evening Post, Sept. 13.*

* * *

The Kings county republican general committee met last night in the Criterion Theater, Brooklyn. It was near ten o'clock when Chairman W. W. Goodrich called the committee to order. On a test vote as to the representation of the twenty-fifth ward in the committee, it was decided that the ward had all the delegates it was entitled to by a vote of 176 to 142. This means another victory for the *Nathan* faction and leaves him in control of the ward.—*New York Times, Sept. 14.*

* * *

The removal of Henry F. Merritt, consul at Chemnitz, by the appointment of one Barnes of Illinois to that place, has drawn from Mr. Merritt's friends some bitter remarks about the President's regard for "interest of the public service." It appears that Merritt was promoted from Aix-la-Chapelle to Chemnitz because he had ferreted out violations of the customs laws, and that he continued his labors at Chemnitz with notable industry and success. The explanation is given that "the Chicago politicians have constantly been clamoring for his place," and that the President came to the conclusion that he could further his own interests in the campaign by conveniently ignoring his assertion that "only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office."—*New York Times, Aug. 31.*

The appointment of A. Barton Hepburn as controller of the currency was a bid for harmony and the first treasury erumb that has been flung at the empire state republicans since Batchellor was made assistant secretary, and he wanted to be minister to Turkey.—*New York Times, July 28.*

* * *

Walter D. Stinson, who has been appointed postmaster at Augusta, Me., to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. J. H. Manley, is a nephew of Mrs. Blaine.—*Indianapolis Journal, July 24.*

PLACATING REBELLIOUS BARONS.

The national committee has given out the following as its part of the arrangements:

"No arrangements have been made for anything like a formal reception of the President during his stay with Mr. Reid. It is not known who will be invited by Mr. Reid to meet him. All of the members of the republican national committee who are in the city at this time and who can conveniently go to Ophir farm will undoubtedly present themselves at some time during the day. It is expected that *ex-Senator Platt* and Mr. Brookfield and Mr. Hackett of the state committee will also call upon the President.

"The President's main purpose in coming to Ophir farm at this time is to see and consult with Mr. Reid, and a large part of his time will be occupied in conference with his host."—*New York Times, Aug. 31.*

* * *

Ex-Senator Platt arrived at 11:30 A. M., accompanied by John E. Millholland. The visitors drove over to Ophir farm, and when they arrived they were received on the piazza by Mr. Reid and D. O. Mills. Mr. Platt was at once conducted into the reception room, and a conference took place between the President and Mr. Platt.—*New York Evening Post, Aug. 31.*

* * *

"Doubts were raised in my mind after the Minneapolis convention how far my services were desired by those who seemed then to be in charge of Mr. Harrison's campaign. I heard that some persons were representing to him that all the misfortunes the republican party had ever undergone in the state of New York were to be attributed directly to me, and that it would be good politics for him to let it be understood that he wished to have nothing to do with 'bosses.'

"Certainly, I had no desire to obtrude myself upon the President, nor to force myself into the conduct of his campaign if I was not wanted. As the facts have proved, I was probably over-sensitive. But if a man must have faults, that one is among those most easily forgiven."

"So you waited," said the reporter.

"Yes, I waited. I waited to hear from President Harrison. Some people said that I waited to hear from him a request to take office; that I waited to make a sordid bargain; that I stood like a road agent 'holding up' a coach.

"These were lies, and they were among the meanest and most irritating, most painful and most hurtful lies I have ever had to endure."—*Interview with Tom Platt, New York Times, Sept. 5.*

MR. FOULKE'S SPEECH.

* * *

BROKEN REPUBLICAN PLEDGES.

"The reform of the civil service [says the platform of 1888], auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all grades of service to which it is applicable."

The only extensions of the classified service made by Mr. Harrison, in pretended pursuance

of the promises of the platform, were the extensions to about 700 teachers and superintendents in the Indian bureau, less than 200 in the fish commission, and a few employes in the patent office. The entire number of such extensions is not far from 1,000.

When the civil service law first took effect there were about 16,000 subject to its provisions. At the close of President Cleveland's term there were, after including the railway mail service, which he had incorporated, more than 30,000 men in the classified service. But there are more than 100,000 in the entire federal civil service which still remain unclassified. Of this immense number President Harrison has extended the civil service rules to about 1,000 employes.

Secretary Tracy has, indeed, provided for a registration of laborers in the navy department, under a system quite similar to the classified service, although it is not embraced within the rules or placed under control of the civil service commissioners, and it would be discretionary for any subsequent secretary of the navy to abolish his regulations. With these trifling exceptions there has been absolutely nothing done by the present administration in performance of its promises that the reform system should be extended to all the branches of the classified service to which it is applicable.

The civil service law itself provided that it should apply to all post-offices and custom-house offices having fifty or more employes, and that it should be extended to other post-offices and custom-houses having less than fifty employes whenever so ordered by the President. The law itself designated these custom-houses and post-offices as places to which it was applicable.

After the accession of President Harrison to office, his own civil service commissioners reported recommending its extension to post-offices having twenty-five employes or more, and afterward, in 1891, recommended its extension to post-offices, custom-houses and internal revenue districts in which there are twenty-five or more employed, as well as to clerks in the navy yard, to the employes of the District of Columbia, to the mints and sub treasuries, and to all free delivery post-offices.

Yet, during his entire term, President Harrison has utterly failed to extend it to a single post-office or custom-house, or to any of the offices to which this extension was recommended. A clearer violation of the written promise of the party could not be imagined.

CENSUS.

If there was any branch of the service where appointments should have depended upon the fitness of the appointee, as proved by examination and probation, and not upon patronage and political favor, it was the census bureau. It was the plain duty of those in charge of this bureau to give to the people the exact facts as to all matters inquired of, unwarping by political bias. If the promise of the republican platform had any significance

at all, it meant that the President would extend this competitive system to the clerks of the census bureau when that bureau should be established. Mr. Harrison, in concurring with and adopting the platform, distinctly made this promise his own. His civil service commissioners advised this extension also. The President refused to make it. The census bureau has been used as a partisan machine, and the result of the work has been greatly discredited.

HOW HAS THE LAW BEEN ENFORCED?

In his inaugural President Harrison declared: "Heads of departments, bureaus and other public offices having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty, I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the civil service." How far, then, has President Harrison enforced the law?

The civil service commission, whose duty it is to enforce it, is composed of three members, two of whom must belong to opposite political parties. When the present administration came into power, Charles Lyman, a Republican, was the sole acting commissioner. Mr. Harrison then appointed Theodore Roosevelt, a republican, and Governor Hugh S. Thompson, a Democrat, a man who had been selected for the place by Mr. Cleveland before he went out of office. These were excellent men, who determined to enforce the law impartially, so far as they had the power. They could see that examinations were fairly conducted, and they did. But they could not remove any officer who violated the law, they could not personally conduct prosecutions, they could merely investigate, report and recommend. The rest lay with the President, the cabinet officers and their subordinates, and these have utterly failed in many important instances to sustain the commission in their efforts.

THE BALTIMORE POST-OFFICE.

Take, for example, the Baltimore post-office. Commissioner Roosevelt heard that this office was being used to influence a primary election on March 30, 1891, and he went to Baltimore personally to investigate the matter. His report contains the following:

"On the day when the primaries were held, I went around in person to several of the wards to observe what was done, preferring to see for myself what the facts really were rather than to seek to sift them out afterward from the conflicting testimony of scores of interested and possibly untrustworthy witnesses. I herewith submit all the testimony taken. In my opinion it establishes the following facts:

"The primaries held on March 30 were marked by a very bitter contest between two factions of the republican party. One of these factions was generally known in the newspapers, as well as among its own supporters and opponents, who took part in the primary election, as the 'Johnson crowd,' or 'Johnson-Airey faction,' Mr. Johnson being the postmaster and Mr. Airey the marshal in Baltimore. The other faction was known similarly as the 'Henderson faction,' or 'Henderson-Stone faction,' Messrs. Henderson and Stone having been, respectively, candidates for appointment to the positions of postmaster and marshal.

"As a whole, the contest was marked by great fraud and no little violence. Many of the witnesses of

each faction testified that the leaders of the opposite faction in their ward had voted repeaters, democrats and men living outside of the ward, in great numbers. I am inclined to believe that, in this respect, there is much reason to regard the testimony of each side as correct in its outline of the conduct of the other. Accusations of ballot-box stuffing were freely made, with much appearance of justification. A number of fights took place. In many wards there were several arrests. In one or two cases so many men were arrested that the police patrol wagons could not accommodate them. In several cases the judges of the election were themselves among those arrested. The judges, three in number in each ward, sat within a house at a window opening on the street, and the voters at the primary were marshaled in a line outside, surrounded by a great crowd of onlookers.

"One of the incidents of the day was an effort on the part of Marshal Airey to drag a judge, whom he accused of misconduct, out of the window, a fierce struggle being the result."

As to the post-office and marshal's office, Mr. Roosevelt reports:

"The evidence seems to be perfectly clear that both these offices were used for the purpose of interfering with or controlling the result of the primary election and that there was a systematic, though sometimes indirect, effort made to assess the government employes in both, for political purposes.

"The only two deputy marshals examined, Messrs. Biddleman and Sultz, both confessed that they had collected money for political purposes from other office-holders, in defiance of the law, and that they took a very active part at the polls. It seems clear from the testimony of these two deputy marshals, and of Mr. McAllister, as well as incidentally from the testimony of some of the other witnesses, that the marshal's office was used, apparently by or with the consent of the marshal himself, to influence the election. General Rule 1 of the civil service rules reads as follows:

"Any officer in the executive civil service who shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof * * * shall be dismissed from office."

* * * * *

"In my opinion, therefore, all the following government employes should be dismissed from office for violating Sections 11 to 14 of the civil service law. [naming them.]

"It is evident," says Mr. Roosevelt, "from the testimony, that the non-classified service in the Baltimore post-office, as is the case with the non-classified service in almost every patronage office, was treated as a bribery chest from which to reward influential ward workers who were useful, or likely to be useful, to the faction in power.

* * * * *

"Mr. Johnson has filled the entire unclassified and half the classified service with republican ward workers, and has permitted the post-office to be turned into a machine to influence primary election. Doubtless, unless checked, it will be similarly used as a machine to influence the course of the state and national elections."

These were the statements contained in the report of an upright republican official. Copies of this report were sent on August 4, 1891, by direction of the entire civil service commission to the President, to Postmaster General Wanamaker, to Mr. Foster, secretary of the treasury, and to Mr. Miller, attorney-general. Although the report was delivered in person by L. C. Westerfield, one of the clerks of the commission, at the department of justice and the treasury (report of civil service committee to house of representatives, fifty-second congress, report No. 1,669, page 59), the attorney-general stated that he never knew anything of it until nine months after,

when the matter was investigated by congress. The solicitor-general had never looked upon the testimony as calling for action! (Id. pp. 40, 41.) Secretary Foster says: "Upon inquiry at the department I find that probably about the time that this report was printed, a copy was sent to the department. It so happened that I never saw it, and we can not find it at the department." (Id., p. 18.)

WANAMAKER COMPLAISANT.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker, however, saw the copy which was sent to him. One would suppose that such a report would call for energetic action, not only by the department of justice, whose duty it was to prosecute the offenders and dismiss the marshal and his guilty subordinates, but also by the postmaster-general, to whose department most of the culprits belonged. But not a single one of these violators of the laws was removed or punished for his misconduct.

On April 19, 1892, the house of representatives instructed its select committee on civil service reform to inquire whether these men were still in office or whether any of them had been prosecuted.

Mr. Wanamaker admitted to the committee (Id. page 2), that they were all still in the government service, and that none had been indicted. He had another investigation made by some post-office inspectors of his own, who reported in the following December (four months afterward) that:

"After hearing the evidence from all the witnesses and the accused, and giving the whole subject thoughtful study, and consideration, we are of the opinion that the facts do not justify the dismissal of the twenty-one men, or of any, for violation of the civil service law, as charged. On that report," says he, "no order has been issued for the dismissal of any person. * * * The inspectors making the declaration that in their judgment these men have not violated the civil service law, I have not issued any order for their dismissal, and if it is true, as it must be in most of the cases, if not in all of them, that these men were innocent, it seemed to me that they were sufficiently punished in having charges made against them which were not found on investigation to be sustained by the facts."

Again, "Did I understand you to say that the statements made by these government employes in September to the inspectors who investigated the matter under your instruction differ from the statements made to the civil service commission?"

Answer—"They are totally different in almost all cases."

To this Mr. Roosevelt answers (page 27):

"It is difficult to discuss seriously the proposition that a man when questioned as to something which has just happened will lie to his own hurt and six months afterward tell the truth to his own benefit."

At last the postmaster-general sent to the civil service committee the report of the inspectors appointed by him. The testimony submitted with it (extracts from which are given at great length in the report of the civil service committee, page 66 to 74) show that in spite of their efforts to screen themselves the bulk of the men found guilty by Roosevelt had again confessed the same illegal acts.

The conclusion of this committee was as follows:

"We therefore find that the report of the civil

service commission recommending the removal of certain employes in the post-office at Baltimore was well founded; that the postmaster at Baltimore has not removed any of these parties, substantially by direction of the postmaster-general; that the report of the inspectors upon which they were retained is unsupported by the evidence taken by themselves, and indicates either complete ignorance of the provisions of the civil service law or a determination that in this particular case their violation should not be punished."

The key to this disgraceful business is found in the fact that at the Minneapolis convention Postmaster Johnson led a club from Baltimore, and that he and his law-breaking subordinates were among the most active and influential of the supporters of Harrison for re-nomination.

In many other cases contributions were shamelessly demanded from office-holders in plain violation of law, and no man has been punished for it.

The blackmailing of government employes went on two years ago, and is going on to-day as flagrantly as in the time of Congressman Hubbell.

IN THE PENSION BUREAU.

Another illustration of the manner in which the civil service reform law has been enforced by the present administration is furnished by the pension bureau. In the fifty-first congress the Hon. George W. Cooper, a member from Indiana, introduced a resolution to investigate the pension office and conducted the investigation himself. He was renominated for congress, his competitor being J. G. Dunbar, a republican. Raum wanted to beat Cooper and gave Dunbar, his opponent, the privileges of the pension office. For the purpose of making friends of the old soldiers he allowed Dunbar to call up their claims. At that time it was the practice of the office, when claims were thus called up for status, if they were found complete, to carry them forward for adjudication. This was all done just before election to get votes for Dunbar against Cooper. After election neither Raum nor any one else in the office cared anything for the claims of these soldiers, and nothing further was done.

General Rule No. 1, adopted and approved by the President to carry out the civil service laws, provides—

"That any officer in the executive civil service who shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof shall be dismissed from office."

Yet, in spite of this prostitution of his official place, confessed by the commissioner himself, he still retains control of the pension bureau.

Thus has the President enforced the law and his own regulations made in pursuance of its provisions.

Another part of the promise in the republican platform was this: "All laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed."

The republican party has been in power for four years; for two years it has had control of the senate, the house of representatives, and

the executive branch of the government, yet no bill has been passed to repeal any law at variance with the reform legislation referred to in the platform. There has been not the slightest pretense of even attempting to fulfill this explicit promise of the platform.

Another declaration of the republican platform is: "The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments."

This spirit and purpose was to make appointments depend upon proved merit and not upon political considerations.

THE HEADSMEN AT WORK.

The man who has the most extensive appointing power in the civil service is the first assistant postmaster-general. Into his hands are committed all changes in fourth-class postmasterships, not far from 50,000 in number. Whom does the President select to do this work? A man who will conform to civil service reform principles, who will make removals only when the interest of the public service suggests it? He appoints J. S. Clarkson, a politician of the same class as Quay, Platt, and Dudley. Mr. Clarkson has declared in the most public manner, in his speeches (as at Boston), as well as in published articles, his contempt for this service reform. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles, nor could the President hope for the redemption of his promises by such an agent. Under Clarkson's administration political executions have gone on at a more rapid rate than ever before, and the entire service, including all desirable fourth-class postmasterships, has been substantially changed for political reasons.

Shortly after Mr. Harrison's inauguration he appointed Joel B. Erhardt, a republican politician, collector of the port of New York. Erhardt turned out to be an efficient man, and enforced the civil service regulations so faithfully that the politicians were dissatisfied. But after a while he resigned, and he thus tells the reason of his resignation:

"I have resigned because the collector has been reduced to a position where he is no longer an independent officer with authority commensurate with his responsibility. I have given bonds for \$200,000. I have received for the government during the twenty months last past \$322,697,135.40, and I am all the time personally responsible for enormous values in money and merchandise. My duties are necessarily performed through about 1,500 employes. I am not willing to be responsible for their conduct unless I can have proper authority over them. The recent policy of the treasury department has been to control the details of the customs administration at the port of New York from Washington, at the dictation of a private individual having no official responsibility. The collector is practically deprived of power and control, while he is left subject to all responsibility. The office is no longer independent and I am. Therefore we have separated."

The private individual referred to was Mr. Thomas C. Platt, the republican boss of the state of New York. In place of Erhardt Mr. Harrison appointed Mr. Fassett, Platt's man, collector. Fassett said when he was appointed that he had no knowledge of the duties of the place.

When Mr. Fassett was sworn in he was presented with a San Domingo cutlass, in barbaric origin and purpose truly emblematic of the spoils system, and with the following legend:

"This cutlass is an instrument of torture to be used in beheading democrats. Use it quickly and success is assured for the republican party.

"Republican directions: Use daily, morning, noon and night until every democratic head is severed. Sure cure for democratic headache."

Fasset had scarcely taken the oath of office when he left the city to take charge of the Platt division in a quarrel in Chemung county. He soon resigned the place to be candidate for governor, for which office he was defeated by a large majority.

But not only has President Harrison thus removed the most efficient men in the service; he has conspicuously appointed those who were most unfit.

* * *

Smiley N. Chambers was appointed by the President, United States district attorney for Indiana, to prosecute offenders against the law. His fitness for this office is shown by his declaration in regard to the famous Dudley letter, "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man, with necessary funds, in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and all vote our ticket." Of this the public prosecutor, appointed by Mr. Harrison, said in an interview in the *Indianapolis Journal* of December 13th: "The letters, construed in the light of the knowledge that we all possess of how elections in Indiana are conducted, by both parties, have nothing in them of a criminal character; but, on the other hand, when so construed, are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections."

Elliott Sandford was appointed by Cleveland chief justice of the supreme court of Utah. On May 10, 1889, his resignation was demanded. He asked whether he had been accused of misconduct; if charges were preferred against him, it would be improper for him to resign until they were proved or disproved, and the attorney-general answers: "There are on file in this department some papers complaining of the manner in which your judicial duties are discharged. Independently of these particular complaints, however, the President has become satisfied that your administration of the office is not in harmony with the policy he deemed proper to be pursued with reference to Utah affairs, and for this reason he desired to make a change, and out of courtesy gave you an opportunity to resign." Here were charges against a judicial officer which he could neither see nor refute. He was to be removed, however, for not carrying out the policy of the administration. But a judge has no right to carry out any policy. He must interpret and administer the law as he finds it. If a judge of a supreme court could be removed because his policy in interpreting the constitution differed from that of the President, then the two functions of the judiciary and executive departments become merged in one. The independence of the judiciary is one of the most important supports of free government. A President who removes a judge for not doing his political work for him is essentially a tyrant and an autocrat. Judge Sandford's rejoinder was conclusive. It was as follows:

"In reply I have to say that my earnest purpose while on the bench as chief justice of this territory has been to administer justice

and the laws honestly and impartially to all men under the obligations of my oath of office. If the President of the United States has any policy which he desires a judge of the supreme court to carry out in reference to Utah affairs other than the one which I have pursued, you may say to him that he has done very well to remove me."

Ernst Nathan, a local republican boss, was appointed internal revenue collector in Brooklyn. William C. Wallace was the republican candidate for congress and William J. Coombs the democratic candidate. Nathan was determined to see that Wallace was elected, and printed the following circular letter:

"BROOKLYN, Oct. 25, 1890.

"DEAR SIR: The Hon. William C. Wallace having been renominated for member of congress for the third district, comprising the seventh, thirteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-third wards, and being very much interested in his reelection, I would deem it a personal favor if you would interest yourself among your friends by advocating his election. Respectfully yours,

"ERNST NATHAN."

And in order to enforce the recommendations of this letter among the liquor dealers and cigar manufacturers he had his official stamp placed upon it, as follows: "Ernst Nathan, Collector of Internal Revenue, Oct. 27, 1890. First District, Brooklyn, N. Y." Then he sent these to the liquor dealers and cigar-makers, whom he could continually harass and embarrass by his official action.

Another of President Harrison's appointees was Flanigan, of Texas, a man who passed into happy immortality by his declaration at a national republican convention, "What are we here for if not for the offices?"

SAMPLE APPOINTMENTS.

But, unfortunately, there is still a darker page of this history of official prostitution. David Martin was appointed collector of internal revenue in Pennsylvania. Who was David Martin? He was a man who had become a director of repeaters in the nineteenth ward of Philadelphia. At general elections he directed operations, driving citizens from the polls, sometimes personally assaulting voters without provocation. He had charge of thugs and repeaters in a district where gigantic frauds were perpetrated. On one occasion he took the ballot box to the station, where the returns were changed and the election officers' names were forged. As he could not read or write, he did not personally forge the names, but he aided and abetted the criminal act. At the election for the adoption of the new constitution for Pennsylvania, Martin again had charge of the repeaters of his district. He was one of the managers who made up the returns whereby the nineteenth ward gave 6,000 majority against the new constitution.

One of Martin's tricks was to arm his "heelers" with short, sharp awls with which to prod adverse electors until they abandoned the attempt to vote. Martin, however, was one of Quay's subordinates and henchmen. When his appointment was suggested, Mr. McManis protested against it in person to President Harrison. He denounced Martin as a ruffian and a manipulator of ballot boxes. Quay was present at the interview. His answer to the charges was that two senators from Pennsylvania desired his appointment. A memorial to the President was drawn and signed by Joel J. Bailey of the citizens' municipal league protesting against the appointment, and evidence in support of the charges was adduced, but as the messenger bearing this protest was on his way to the post-office he read on the bulletin the statement that Martin was appointed.

Otis H. Russell, appointed as postmaster at Richmond, Va., had been collector of customs

under Arthur, and special agents of the treasury had reported a shortage of over \$800 in his accounts.

R. H. Paul was appointed marshal of Arizona. Five years before he had been defeated for election as sheriff, but secured a recount which gave him a majority. The polls had been tampered with and Paul and his accomplices were indicted. Two of them confessed, but as Paul surrendered the sheriff's office, the proceedings were nollied. A certified copy of the court proceedings was sent to the department of justice.

The President sent to the senate the name of George P. Fisher as first auditor of the treasury. This was the man of whom the *New York Tribune* says: "While he was district attorney in Washington his office was the chief bulwark of the district ring. There were hatched conspiracies to convict innocent citizens of felony, plots to get rid of witnesses, and schemes to take burglars out of jail. Public opinion would not tolerate Fisher's appearance in the safe conspiracy trial, and after some miserable revelations of the misconduct of his office, the President was obliged to call for his resignation." General Grant afterward nominated him as United States district attorney for Delaware, but was compelled to withdraw the nomination. Yet, under Harrison, this man is nominated by the senate and confirmed to this important office.

William R. Leeds was appointed in March, 1891, marshal of the eastern district of Pennsylvania. He was one of Quay's tools in Philadelphia, the leader of the worst republican ring that the city had ever known. He was repudiated by his party in 1887, when he ran as candidate for sheriff, running more than 25,000 votes behind his ticket. Even the *Philadelphia Press* declares: "It is an appointment which should never have been made, and it will deeply disappoint the President's best friends in Pennsylvania."

Governor Warmoth's unsavory reputation is national. The *New York Tribune* said of him December 28, 1874: "That his administration as governor was corrupt and bad is unfortunately true." The best part of the republican press in the north has long repudiated Warmoth. He was one of the black spots in the reconstruction period. He killed a man in New Orleans under the gravest suspicion of murder. He was charged by the lieutenant-governor of the state with trying to bribe him with an offer of \$50,000 and unlimited appointments in the fight with Kellogg in 1872. He went into the governorship poor, and came out a rich man after a scandalously extravagant administration. All these facts, and many more, have been brought to the attention of President Harrison and to the senate.

Warmoth has been appointed to the collectorship of the port of New Orleans. The position has a salary of \$7,000 a year. The office is under civil service rules, and it is the sixth custom-house in size in the United States.

The cabinet itself has not been secure from corrupt appointments, as Mr. Wanamaker got his place in consideration of the corruption fund which he raised, and it is not a violent presumption to infer that Stephen B. Elkins was appointed for like services to be rendered in the future. Elkins is immensely rich and has been a most successful money-getter. His political reputation is most unsavory. He was mixed up with land-grant scandals of past republican administrations. He was an honored guest of the "soap" banquet in 1880, and his appointment was regarded by Brady as a vindication of those who were connected with the star-route scandals, which have become infamous in our political history. Clarkson said that in the campaign of four years ago "he carried with him the promises made by Mr. Harrison." * * *

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

This devotion of party, not to the ends for which it exists, but to the spoils that accompany success at the polls, has become so absolute that it has produced an evil greater than any which party proposes to remedy.—George William Curtis, at Baltimore, April, 1892.

VOL. I, No. 44.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Public officials are the agents of the people. It is, therefore, their duty to secure for those whom they represent the best and most efficient performance of public work. This plainly can be best accomplished by regarding ascertained fitness in the selection of government employes. These considerations alone are sufficient justification for an honest adherence to the letter and spirit of civil-service reform. There are, however, other features of this plan which abundantly commend it. Through its operation worthy merit in every station and condition of American life is recognized in the distribution of public employment, while its application tends to raise the standard of political activity from spoils-hunting and unthinking party affiliation to the advocacy of party principles by reason and argument.—Cleveland's Letter of Acceptance.

ELSEWHERE will be found the report made to the chairman of the committee of the National League, showing the results of an investigation of the interference of federal office-holders in primaries, conventions and elections in Indiana during this administration. It shows in still stronger light, what was already well known, that the Harrison delegates to the Minneapolis convention from Indiana were not the choice of the republican party. If his office-holders had given no more attention to his re-nomination than they gave for instance to the nomination of candidates for the county offices in their respective counties, he would not have had half of the delegates from this state. As it was he only got all of them by the most desperate efforts of his office-holders, who literally seized primaries and conventions.

THE campaign in this state still remains "dead." The people are not listening to the tariff discussion. They view with apparent unconcern the most dismal forebodings of tariff or non-tariff calamities that campaign orators can picture. There is one vital fact. The democrats have found a large number of voters who voted for Harrison four years ago and who will vote against him now; they have also found a large number of voters who decline to say how they will vote. These do not go to political meetings. Under the new ballot act, which is the most beneficent law ever made in Indiana, they will cast unhampered votes.

THE only thing which could have put life into the campaign would have been a

discussion at every cross-roads of President Harrison's revolutionary civil service record. The democrats have kept out this discussion to the unbounded relief of the republicans, who in this matter are absolutely helpless. The situation is a reminder of the situation about 1850, described by Mr. Julian in his life of Giddings, where both party machines sought to divide the people upon economic questions in the expectation that the slavery question would be forgotten. The great question in American politics to-day is the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the prostitution of the civil service to partisan and particularly to personal ends. This question will not be suppressed.

THOSE who are insisting that all other questions shall wait until the tariff question is "settled" are asking a great deal. In the *North American Review* for October, Senator Vest says of that question:

The same issue that disrupted the cabinet of Washington in 1793 and caused Jefferson to surrender his portfolio as secretary of state, aligns the two great parties in the pending canvass. * * * * * Through all the mutations of American politics, though often obscured and interrupted by sectional and financial questions, this great controversy has marked the dividing line between the democratic party and its adversaries.

This has been going on something like a hundred years. Will another hundred be long enough to settle it?

EVIDENTLY Mr. Adlai Stevenson has not grown wiser. In introducing him at a meeting near Hamilton, Ohio, recently, ex-Governor Campbell in defining "a vigorous and true democrat" said, that as a favor to him Stevenson had decapitated sixty-five republican postmasters in two minutes. Stevenson then said that he considered that the highest compliment he had ever received. Some men are gratified by things in every way little. These two worthies would do well to read the platform upon which they are now standing.

AN attempt has been made to interest college students in the campaign. They ought to be interested in it. They could not do a more profitable work than to investigate the composition, acts, and surroundings of the Minneapolis convention. From this point they should go back to the various state and district con-

ventions which chose the Minneapolis delegates. Then they should study the manipulation of the primaries and conventions which chose the state and district delegates. From all of these the manipulating strings lead straight to federal officers and on to President Harrison at Washington. Then these students should ask themselves whether there are any dangers to free institutions lurking in the power of official patronage. If so, what are those dangers?

HOWEVER much the administration in general shirks its duty, the civil service commission does not. In September Mr. Roosevelt found a regular system of blackmail in practice by republican campaign committees upon the Indian service, including teachers, mostly women and helpers, mostly Indians. He at once publicly notified the employes that they need not give unless they chose, and even then could give to whatever party they preferred. President Harrison and Secretary Noble give no support to this, but look on in silence. Again, the Michigan republican state committee called upon postmasters for the names of "from eight to twelve discreet and trustworthy young republicans," and asked the postmasters to keep the matter secret. The commission notified Wanamaker, and he responded, not by a special warning to Michigan postmasters that dismissal would follow any service to the committee such as he would give unless he wanted them to help out the republicans, but by writing to the commission that he can not help such attempts, but that there is an order against giving information gained "in the discharge of official duties," and asks the commission for evidence of a violation of this order. A postmaster-general who wanted to find violations of this order would set his inspectors at work.

Since the above was written Wanamaker has discovered that the order above referred to has been violated. He does not dismiss the culprits; but after a public outcry, and after the mischief is done, he issues a warning to postmasters that they must not do it.

IN answer to our Greensburgh correspondent, whose letter is elsewhere, we say that the CHRONICLE editorials have

not expressed "all-abiding faith" in the democratic party, as our correspondent declares. That party, four years hence, may have to be beaten for the very reason for which President Harrison ought to be beaten now. In the face of the present and the worst prostitution of the federal service that has ever been known, it is useless to point to what the democrats have heretofore done. Mr. Foulke did not speak for Mr. Cleveland and against Blaine in 1884. Mr. Cleveland was justly defeated in 1883, for the reason that he had not withstood his party spoilsmen; but it does not follow that he should be defeated a second time for the same reason, while Harrison, who did not "yield" to the spoils element of his party, but invited it to come on and share in the loot, is re-elected. It is true that Harrison has had unstinted criticism, but our correspondent could not have lived in Indiana from 1885 to 1889 if he means to intimate that Cleveland did not have the same. It is easy to say that criticism is unfair, but if the remark is expected to have any weight, cases must be specified. It would be well to point out the unfairness of criticising the appointment of Wanamaker for raising a large campaign fund; the appointment of Elkins to detach him from Blaine; the refusal to retain Pearson, Graves, Corse, and Saltonstall; the distribution of a valuable block of offices among relatives; the subsidizing of the press condemned by Webster and by William Henry Harrison; the work of Headsman Clarkson; the loot of the Indian service; the turning of the Virginia offices over to Mahone, the Pennsylvania to Quay, the New York to Platt; the refusal to let the civil service commission apply competition to the census bureau; the same refusal as to offices having twenty-five employees; the promotion of indicted office-holders; indifference to the prosecution of violators of the civil service law; the refusal to dismiss confessed criminals in the Baltimore post-office; the general failure to keep the promises of the platform; the personal use of the civil service by President Harrison to secure renomination; and his connection with the Minneapolis convention. His party did not "honor" him with a re-nomination. He is not the nominee of his party. His nomination was brought about by the seizure of primaries and conventions by his office-holders. Tammany is a bad institution. It is one with Platt's republican machine in New York, and they now seem to be in a deal together.

To support Harrison, a civil service reformer would have to change his principles; the only way he can be consistent is to oppose Harrison. Stevenson and Clarkson are as near alike as two peas, but the

former will not be first-assistant post-master-general.

Judging from the unbroken past, may a merciful providence protect the country against a president who feels "the restraining influence of an ambition for a re-election." President Harrison has not kept his pledge to extend the reform system established by law to all offices to which it is applicable, nor has he observed the spirit and purpose of the reform in his executive appointments. He has used the service for his personal ambition. The question of Mr. Julian's speech is the facts. If they are true, Harrison ought to be defeated. Our correspondent does not deny a single fact. It is no answer to charge personal pique.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, in a recent speech at Brookline, addressed himself to the subject of civil service reform, a notable matter considering the present otherwise silent helplessness of his party. Even Mr. Lodge does not undertake the least defense of President Harrison, but attempts a diversion by way of comparison with Mr. Cleveland. The question, however, is whether Harrison's course can be in any way defended. If it can not, and Mr. Lodge seems so to admit, he deserves defeat. Mr. Lodge's comparison does not need further attention except to notice some of the facts by which he tries to sustain it. Mr. Lodge is right that the civil service commission is the best we have ever had and that it has done its duty admirably. But he omits to say that this commission has been a thorn in Harrison's side. He knows the astounding words with which Harrison met the request to prosecute the Mahone blackmailers. He omits to state that Harrison refused to allow the commission to apply competition to the census bureau, or to extend the classified service, except to 700 places in the Indian service and 132 places in the fish commission. He is compelled to "regret" that no one was punished at Baltimore, but his severe feeling because the civil service papers did not warm up at the bad condition found by Mr. Roosevelt to have existed at Baltimore under Mr. Cleveland is like trying to raise sympathy for a thief because some other thief stole years ago. Mr. Lodge knows very well that all that can be said for Harrison's attitude toward the commission is that he has not removed its members for doing their duty.

In speaking of the classification of the railway mail service Mr. Lodge omits to state that President Harrison tricked the law and in violation of its spirit displaced more than 2,000 members of that service in six weeks for partisan reasons. The action of Secretary Tracy with the navy-

yards is improved administration, but it is not permanent reform. The next secretary may disregard it entirely. Where has the President recommended that it be made permanent by law? Mr. Lodge sums up by stating that "Cleveland took out of politics and placed under the reformed civil service system in round numbers 5,000 places and President Harrison in round numbers 10,250." To this we make the plain and specific answer that President Harrison has taken out of politics and placed under the reform system just 832 places and no more.

As to places not embraced within the civil service law, Mr. Lodge denies the right, for instance, to criticise the loot of 50,000 fourth-class post-offices after the Clarkson method. He has apparently never read that part of the republican platform which said that the spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in *all* executive appointments. He mentions and favors an admirable bill designed to take these offices out of politics. Has he noted Harrison's silence as to this bill and has he read Wanamaker's report upon it?

INTERFERENCE OF INDIANA FEDERAL OFFICE-HOLDERS IN PRIMARIES, CONVENTIONS AND ELECTIONS.

To Moorfield Storey, Esq., Chairman of the committee appointed by the President of the National League of Civil Service Reform Associations to investigate and report upon the interference of federal office-holders in primaries, conventions and elections, under the present National Administration:

Sir: The following is my report of the matters within the object of this committee, and pertaining to the state of Indiana:

A clear understanding of the bearing of the labors of the Indiana office-holders in the management of the republican party machine during this administration can not be had without a brief preliminary statement of the original distribution of spoil by President Harrison. Under their platform it was to be expected that the republicans would have abstained from looting the offices; having, however, disregarded their promises any course was to be expected, and that, in turning the federal patronage to the personal behoof of the President, they took the worst and most dangerous, is not a matter for surprise.

There have been and are a large number of Indiana republicans not favorable to General Harrison. These in a general way have favored Judge Gresham. The feeling has always been intense, but the reasons for this preference of leadership are not within the province of this report.

President Harrison has given his personal attention either directly or through trusted agents to the distribution of the Indiana patronage. One of the cardinal principles

seems to have been to leave out every unrepentant Gresham man, or, if this rule was overstepped, to make the gift so insignificant as to be valueless to the recipient. A case of this kind was the appointment of William H. Calkins to a judgeship in Washington Territory just previous to its admission as a state. The only exceptions to this ungracious giving have been where it was possible to bring the recipient over to the Harrison interest. For instance, Marcus L. Sulzer, of Madison, was in opposition, but after a few months enjoyment of a special Indian agency given him by Harrison, he declared the latter the only man whom the republicans could afford to nominate.

Another rule of distribution which he who runs may read was the rewarding of delegates who supported General Harrison in the convention of 1888. Examples of this kind of important dignity or great emolument are the following:

John C. New, consul-general at London, (whose perquisites are admitted to amount to over \$40,000 a year.)

W. L. Dunlap, United States marshal of Indiana.

Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney for Indiana.

John B. Cockrum, deputy United States district attorney for Indiana.

Albert G. Porter, minister to Italy.

E. W. Halford, private secretary.

James N. Huston, treasurer of the United States.

Marine D. Tackett, special Indian land agent.

A. K. Sills, special swamp land agent.

— Knisley, Columbia City, special internal revenue collector in Tennessee.

A. C. Bearss, Peru, chief clerk railway mail service.

Newspapers have been systematically subsidized. The following are instances of the gift of post-offices taken from all parts of the state:

S. M. Noyes, Echo, Akron.

J. P. Prickett, New Era, Albion.

J. P. Clugate, Union, Sullivan.

L. H. Beyerle, Times, Goshen.

Ed. Charles, Record, Carthage.

Isaac Jenkinson, Palladium, Richmond.

Thad. Butler, Herald, Huntington.

W. F. Voght, Spence's People's Paper, Covington.

W. E. Knight, Monitor, Grand View.

C. E. Newton, Herald, Kewanna.

John H. Rarick, Standard, LaGrange.

M. L. Enyart, Monitor, Maey.

G. W. Fountain, Gazette, New Carlisle.

J. P. Carr, Tribune, Oxford.

C. B. Cady, Republican, Pendleton.

J. W. Siders, Republican, Plymouth.

A. L. Lawshe, Journal, Zenia.

E. J. Marsh, Commercial, Portland.

J. J. Wheeler, Lake County Star, Crown Point.

In the distribution of the fourth-class postmasterships and other spoils small in size but great in number, the personal supervision of the President clashed with the assumed prerogative of Indiana republican congressmen. Of the personal supervision the complaints were steady and bitter. In the case of Congressman Cheadle there was an open rupture, and the administration forces successfully opposed Cheadle's renomination in 1890. In this distribution for a while the general agency of Mr. Huston, chairman of the republican state committee, was used. He soon became United States treasurer and was succeeded by L. T. Michener, then the attorney-general of

Indiana, and now the partner of Dudley, the author of the "blocks-of-five letter." Mr. Michener has always been an untiring and in the closest degree a trusted agent of General Harrison. Of this particular work he said:

"When I became chairman of the state central committee, the assignment of such fourth-class post-offices as remained in democratic hands in democratic congressional districts was put into my hands."

How promptly Mr. Michener went to the point is illustrated by the case at Freedom, Owen county, Indiana. The post-office there was held by a one-legged soldier named Sufall, who had performed his duties satisfactorily. A strenuous attempt to have him retained was euded by the following from Mr. Michener:

OFFICE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL, }
INDIANAPOLIS, IND. }

W. W. Hart, Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR HART—We have decided that Frank Watts should be appointed postmaster at Freedom, Owen county.

Please have it attended to at once. You may put this on file as a recommendation.

Yours truly,

L. T. MICHENER,

In the early part of this administration there was little for the office-holders to do. The administration was busy with the distribution and the favored ones were engaged in the enjoyment of their shares, or possibly in helping others less fortunate. For instance, in July, 1889, the *Franklin Star* says that United States Marshal Dunlap asked Brown, the democratic postmaster of that city, to resign; and in the same month the *Evansville Journal* said of United States District Attorney Chambers, "There was no occasion for Chambers to go on sundry pilgrimages to Indianapolis and Washington in order to prejudice the authorities against Adams." After the election of 1888, there was no general election in Indiana until 1890. Ordinarily in the off year federal office-holders are mostly occupied in helping congressmen to renomination, but in 1890, in Indiana, there was little occasion for such service, except in the case of Cheadle, and he was deprived of it. There was, however, a constant fear of the Gresham men, and the attention of the office-holders was directed to every incident which would have a bearing on the desired renomination of President Harrison. It was important that the state committee should be friendly to him and that the state convention should endorse him. The new state committee was chosen in January, 1890, by district conventions. An entirely reliable informant who had personal knowledge of the facts, wrote me at the time:

At the various district conventions the federal office-holders, particularly the postmasters, were very prominent. In one district, the third, in which the administration, through Michener, was very anxious to win, Postmaster Ridland, of Scottsburg, a recent appointee, was compelled to change the vote of his county from the man of his choice to Michener's candidate. Postmaster Godfrey, of New Albany, was a delegate to that convention and worked actively for Carter, the Michener candidate, for committee-man. But for the official pressure brought to bear in that convention, Carter would not have received one-third the vote.

The efforts of the office-holders failed, for

the state committee then selected was unmistakably anti-Harrison and continued so for a year.

With regard to the congressional nomination in Cheadle's district, the same informant says:

In the ninth congressional district contest for the nomination, Mr. La Follette, superintendent of public instruction, was backed by Chairman Michener and all the patronage. B. Wilson Smith, postmaster at La Fayette, was particularly active in Mr. La Follette's behalf. Postal clerk Hack helped out, but in spite of all, La Follette was beaten.

The industry of the office-holders throughout the state up to the time of the state convention in Sept., 1890, ran about like the following instances taken from Indianapolis:

David Wallace, head of the money order department in the post-office, was a delegate to all conventions. Deputy United States Marshal Conway and Deputy Collector Schmidt were delegates to all conventions and members of the republican county committee. Deputy Collector Saulcy, proudly spoken of as "a hustler from way back," was a member of the county committee.

At the state convention in September, there was a determined and persistent attempt, led entirely by federal office-holders, to secure from the convention an approval of President Harrison. The following are the names of some of these leaders out of a list of forty: Postmaster Higgins, of Fort Wayne; Postmaster Smith, of Lafayette; Postmaster Greiner, of Terre Haute; Postmaster Bennett, of Evansville; Postmaster Crockett, of South Bend; Postmaster Thompson, of Logansport, and Postmaster DeMotte, of Valparaiso.

The attempt was generally regarded as a failure. While in words the convention did approve of the President's administration, this declaration was nullified by other parts of the platform. It was known that the convention was hostile to the President and it left in bad shape matters bearing upon his renomination. It did not seem possible that he could secure a united delegation from Indiana.

In the campaign which followed, leading up to the November election, the club of Indiana office-holders at Washington made its usual demonstration. Every Indiana republican in the government service at Washington received a demand for money to defray the campaign expenses, signed by W. W. Curry as agent for the Indiana state committee. This demand contains the following:

"There are two classes who are always ready to cry out against such contributions—those whose meanness seeks an excuse for refusing to aid in securing the success of the party of which they are the beneficiaries, and those whose consciousness of their own corruptness makes them able to charge corrupt motives on others." Also the following: "You can not be solicited at your places of official duty, but outside those you can confer and contribute as you please. The civil service laws are designed to protect you in the full exercise of your rights—not to convert you into political eunuchs."

The office-holders themselves appeared in all parts of the state. For instance the Indianapolis *News* of October 17, 1890, says:

This is about the time when all the Indianians employed in the government departments at Washington come home for a vacation. The Indianapolis contingent has begun to arrive. Gus Shaw, who is influential with railroad men, has been here several weeks getting the "boys" into line. The first of next week all the Indianapolis republicans who have positions at the capitol are expected here.

The Indianapolis Journal reports twenty-five Indiana office-holders as having gone home as early as October 16. Among others who came were Harry McFarland, of the government printing office, notorious for his influence among the lowest voting element in Indianapolis, and D. N. Ransdell, marshal of the District of Columbia, who is the President's right hand political manager. These and scores of others appearing from all parts of the country did not come merely to vote, but they came days and weeks before the election and put in the time "hustling" for the party. The efforts of these and of the office-holders located in Indiana supplemented each other. For instance, Postmaster Higgins, of Ft. Wayne, and his chief deputy headed the petition for federal supervisors.

After the overwhelming defeat at the November election in 1890, the internal struggle in the party again broke out. In order to secure re-nomination, President Harrison had to have every delegate from Indiana. It seemed impossible of accomplishment. The state committee and certain districts in the state were thoroughly against him. The federal office-holders addressed themselves to this task. The meeting of the state committee in January, 1891, first required attention. A new chairman was to be chosen in place of Michener, who had moved to Washington. It was highly important that the new chairman should be in the President's interest. The committee met at the Denison hotel, at Indianapolis. William T. Steele, governor of Oklahoma territory, and Warren G. Sayre, an Indian land commissioner, both from Indiana, and Russell B. Harrison, the President's son, appeared at the meeting with other office-holders and in some manner turned a hostile majority into a minority.

About this time the Indianapolis correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette (rep.) thus stated the situation with regard to the opposition to Harrison in this state:

In the postmasters, postal agents, revenue men and other federal employes throughout the state, the administration has what you might term an army of agents and detectives, and any suspicious move on the part of a prominent anti-administration man is promptly reported to headquarters and his movements are watched, and the antidote is promptly applied for any mischief that may be set brewing. In general terms you may set it down that the President is nearly as well informed as to what is going on in the camp of his enemies as his enemies themselves, and when the time comes he will show his hand.

In June of that year O. E. Mohler, editor of the Ft. Wayne Gazette, declared that there were no Harrison republicans in Allen county out-

side of the office-holding ring. The Gazette and the Evansville Journal, both important papers, were strong leaders of the opposition to Harrison. It must be said, however, that the subsidized press was very faithful and active in his interest, and it is believed that in no case, from the time the subsidy was received until the present, can there be found in any column of these papers anything but laudation and praise of their benefactor. If the President's administration has had any faults, these papers have in consideration overlooked them.

A new state committee was to be chosen in January, 1892, and this enlisted the attention of the President's office-holders. The selection was by congressional districts and the work was done there. We find Marshal Ransdell in December, 1891, at Lebanon and Frankfort, fixing the ninth district. The fourth district was close, but Collector John O. Cravens and his deputies, together with the postmasters, turned the scale in favor of Harrison. Whenever the Harrison men could bring it about, they had the delegates for the district conventions, and for every other convention, for that matter, chosen by primaries rather than by mass conventions in order that the fourth-class postmasters and the other small office-holders might work more efficiently and secretly. In the Indianapolis district Deputy Collector Harvey presided at the fourth ward primary and Postmaster Thompson, post-office clerks Dave Wallace, Shel Woodward, Billy Leonard, Bill Davis, Clint Lowe and Marshall C. Woods, Deputy Collector Saulcy, Warehouseman Nolan, Deputy Marshals Moore and Conway and Superintendent of Mails, Billy Patterson, and Superintendent of Carriers Craft, are examples of a large number of federal office-holders who bent their best and highly skilled energies to the manipulation of these primaries.

The delegates to the various district conventions met to elect the members of the state committee. In the tenth district the meeting was at Logansport, January 20. Two national bank examiners, thirty-seven postmasters, three post-office inspectors, a pension agent and a number of mail carriers were in attendance. Among others, were Postmaster De Motte of Valparaiso and his son-in-law, a post-office inspector. At the convention of the eleventh district, held at Wabash, January 20, the resolutions warmly indorsing President Harrison were reported by a committee of which Indian Land Commissioner Sayre was chairman.

The result of these combined efforts was the choice of a state committee favorable to Harrison. The new committee met at Indianapolis, January 28. Among other office-holders who crowded into the same room to oversee the proceedings, were the following: Postmaster Thompson of Indianapolis, Postmaster Higgins of Fort Wayne, Postmaster Greiner of Terre Haute, Postmaster Godfrey of New Albany, Postmaster Ellis of Muncie, Postmaster Crockett of South Bend, Postmaster Bennett of War-

saw, Postmaster Byerly of Goshen, Postmaster Smith of Lafayette, Postmaster Fearis of Union, Postmaster Hendricks of Greensburgh, Postmaster Tichner of Princeton, District Attorney Chambers, Assistant Cockrum, Marshal Dunlap, Collector Cravens, Deputy Collector Harvey and Pension Agent Ensley.

The selection of delegates to the Minneapolis convention was the next step to be taken. There were four delegates at large and two from each congressional district. Under the circumstances only the most consummate skill and the most diligent application of every force could secure the entire delegation for Harrison.

The seventh or Indianapolis district was a vital point and the struggle was long and bitter. Postmaster Thompson exercised to the utmost all of his well known skill as a primary and convention manipulator. The evidence seems clear that in some of the primaries at Indianapolis, the Administration was in a minority, but its friends got up contesting delegations and these were admitted to seats in the convention. At the district convention following, it was openly charged by delegates on the floor that such frauds had been perpetrated, and in addition that federal office-holders had used money to secure the choice of delegates for Harrison, who were then sitting in the convention. In one primary the Harrison men had nine men while the opposition had 118 by actual count. Nevertheless half of the Harrison delegates were admitted to seats. One of those who seemed to have particular charge of the matter in the Indianapolis district was Mr. Stanton J. Peelle. He gave it careful attention at all points, and on the day of the primary in his own ward, which was also the President's ward, he personally solicited voters to attend, saying, "They will down Ben if his friends don't turn out." Soon after the selection of Indiana delegates unanimous for Harrison, Mr. Peelle, himself a delegate, was appointed judge of the court of claims. The juxtaposition of the extremely valuable services rendered by Mr. Peelle, and the extremely valuable gift made to him is unpleasant. His place as delegate was taken by his alternate.

Robert Metzger, of Indianapolis, makes the following statement:

I have been republican committeeman of what is now the tenth ward in Indianapolis for four years in the last six and a member of the county committee two years. The tenth is in the central part of the city and is one of the most important wards. Before the district convention, which met in January, 1892, at Indianapolis, to select a member of the state committee, J. W. Hess, who was a Harrison candidate, asked me to support him, and said that if he were chosen and Harrison was re-elected he would have control of patronage and would remember his friends.

A colored man named "Doc" Wilson had always worked with me and had been one of my most reliable friends. At the tenth ward primary, which was held to choose delegates to the district convention which was to choose Minneapolis delegates, Wilson was detached from me, and he has since told me how it happened. He said he had a family to support and it was a matter of money with him. That before the primary was held Hess came to him and told him that Metzger, meaning me, would have a

majority at the primaries and it was useless to buck against him, but to be there with his crowd, and no matter what the majority did, to hold another primary and choose delegates and they would be recognized, and that he, Wilson, would be taken care of. I was opposed to the renomination of Harrison, and was working for anti-Harrison delegates. Wilson came to the primary and mustered just eight men, while I had 118. My ticket went through first by acclamation, but the Wilson crowd called out that there were democrats in the room, and a ballot was therefore taken, which resulted in 118 for my ticket to two against it.

The same primary also elected me a member of the republican county committee and the credentials of the delegates were signed by the secretary of the primary and by me as chairman. After this meeting had adjourned, Wilson and his crowd stayed behind to hold another. Not more than thirty people remained in the room and a large part of these were spectators. They persuaded our secretary to act as secretary of their meeting and elected Griffin chairman, and then choose delegates to the district convention. They also named Griffin for the county committee.

Afterwards the county committee met to decide on the contesting committeemen. The county committee was for Harrison. Before the meeting "Doc" Wilson came to me and said if I would let the district delegation go, they would give me the county committeemanship. I refused. When the committee met I was there with twelve or fourteen witnesses, while the Wilson crowd had three. The county committee said that their time was taken up and they could only hear three witnesses on a side. Deputy United States Marshal Conway was there a member of the committee, and I said to him: "You know that I was squarely elected down there." He answered: "Well, Bob, you know how it is in these things. Those who are not with us are against us." He then made a motion to appoint a committee to hear the testimony. He was made chairman of the committee and after hearing three witnesses on a side, the committee reported that Griffin was chosen and the county committee adopted the report.

When the district convention was held, the tenth ward contest was referred to a committee of which Ross Hawkins was chairman. Hawkins is one of the Slick Six and is a desperate Harrison man.

He went through the form of hearing testimony, and then reported in favor of dividing the delegation three and three, which was done. Wilson was afterwards appointed to a place in the railway mail service as weigher of mails.

Afterwards Stanton J. Peelle, now judge of the court of claims, asked me about supporting Layman as delegate to the Minneapolis convention. He brought up the subject of the tenth ward trouble and asked me why I was against Harrison. After some talk, he said, "Metzger, what do you want?" with a look and tone which I understood to signify what reward I wanted to cease opposing Harrison. I said I wanted justice.

In the twelfth or Fort Wayne district the federal office-holders won their most signal victory. The convention was held at Auburn, March 3. The *Courier* of that place speaks of it as "the district meeting of republican postmasters." Robert T. McDonald, in his appeal to the national republican committee, says: "The whole proceedings were dominated by a tyrannical office holders' machine." The following are part of the postmasters who were present from a single county, DeKalb: Pronner, of Spencerville; Gordon, of Auburn; Bicknell, of Garrett; Ables of St. Joe Station; Crane, of Sedan; Bachman, of Carrunna, and Jones, of Butler. It is within the facts to say that by no possibility could Harrison delegates been chosen in this district without the most strenuous efforts of these hundreds of of-

fice-holders. The same is undoubtedly true of at least several other districts.

The state convention which selected the delegates at large met at Indianapolis, March 1. It was presided over by Land Commissioner Sayre. When a delegate undertook to speak against a resolution indorsing Harrison, Assistant District Attorney Cockrum interfered and insisted that "this is a republican convention and not a place where a man can come loaded with personal and bile and spit it out." But Deputy Marshal Conway, with just confidence in the Harrison machine, said: "A republican who is against Harrison is a novelty, and I move we hear him through."

Practically all of the leading and a large number of the minor office-holders of Indiana attended the Minneapolis convention, and rarely have office-holders enjoyed greater notoriety. Consul-General New came from London, denying that he came to manage the canvass of President Harrison. He then went to Washington and spent most of a day conferring with the President, Elkins, Rathbone and others. Then he went to Minneapolis and for many days and nights managed the President's canvass. Marshal Ransdell, River Commissioner Taylor, Collector Hildebrand, Marshal Dunlap, Pension Agent Ensley, District Attorney Chambers, Assistant District Attorney Cockrum, Postmaster Thompson, of Indianapolis, and three of his assistants, Wallace, Woodward and Patterson; Postmasters Smith, of Lafayette; Higgins, of Fort Wayne, and Greiner, of Terre Haute, were among those at Minneapolis to whose efforts the President owes his renomination. One kind of official effort which made for this renomination is illustrated by the following undoubtedly correct dispatches, the "Rhody" referred to being Roger R. Shiel, a prominent republican "Boy" of Indianapolis:

For the first time the Columbia Club went wild for Benjamin. Rhody was lifted upon the shoulders of U. S. Marshal Dunlap and Postmaster Thompson and carried through the lobby at the head of the procession, which the Columbians instantly formed. Rhody waved a huge picture of Harrison at the end of a fifteen-foot pole. For fifteen minutes the Columbians circled about Rhody and Ben's picture like Indian ghost dancers singing:

Every mother's son from Maine to Oregon
Is a son of a gun if he don't vote for Harrison.

Suddenly Rhody jumped off the shoulders of Dunlap and Thompson and made a dash for a colored delegate who happened to be so unfortunate as to catch Shiel's eagle eye. Placing his arm around the negro's neck, Rhody disappeared toward the bar and the ghost dance broke up. Then a quartet, consisting of Bruce Carr, O. H. Tripp, of North Vernon, Postmaster De Motte of Valparaiso, and Postmaster Greiner of Terre Haute, went from one street corner to another repeating the refrain of the song, "Every mother's son," etc.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 9.

United States Marshal Ransdell will go to Minneapolis to help out Harrison.—*Washington Dispatch to Courier-Journal*, May 27.

Dan Ransdell [marshal District of Columbia] said: "We are in excellent shape, and I firmly believe the President will be nominated on the first ballot. The opposition has the noise here to-night, but we have the votes."—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 7.

E. W. Halford, Washington, D. C.:

The Harrison delegates have just had a meeting in Market Hall, presided over by Chauncey M. Depew. A roll-call by states showed 521 votes for the President, not counting contested seats. He will be nominated at the first opportunity to ballot.

D. M. RANSELL.

[*Marshal District of Columbia.*]

—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 9.

B. W. Smith, postmaster of La Fayette, Ind., talked warmly for Harrison, and it is astonishing how many Harrison votes the letter of resignation made in La Fayette yesterday.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 6.

Higgins is postmaster at Fort Wayne, Ind., and Greiner is postmaster at Terre Haute. Higgins is for Harrison; Greiner is supposed to be for Blaine, and wears a Blaine badge. Higgins meets Greiner, falls into an argument with him about the merits of the candidates, and Greiner is convinced, takes off his Blaine badge, and becomes a Harrison convert. This happens several times a day in localities discreetly selected.—*New York Times*, June 6.

After the Minneapolis convention still another state convention drew upon federal official energies. This met at Fort Wayne, July 27, 1892, for the nomination of state officers. The administration opposed the renomination of Governor Chase, the chief argument used being that the railroad men would not vote for him. To put this argument in shape A. D. Shaw, deputy third auditor of the treasury, gave a great deal of time during a month's absence from Washington. He had been the chief organizer of railroad men for General Harrison in 1888. At Fort Wayne he was assisted by Deputy Marshals Moore and Conway, and Deputy Collectors Mount and Saulcy. Another movement in the opposition to Chase was the candidacy of District Attorney Chambers, backed by another group of office-holders, chief of whom were his assistant Cockrum and Marshal Dunlap. Chase was nominated.

The following particular instances of the industry of President Harrison's office-holders in his behalf are given in further illustration and proof of what has been said:

Pensioner Examiner Drayer, and Postmaster Cable, of Hartford City, worked for Harrison delegates, and attended the convention at Bluffton, to select them.

A reliable report from the Lawrenceburgh district says: "The entire revenue force of this district were actively engaged in securing delegates to elect George M. Roberts, brother-in-law of Revenue Collector Cravens, as district delegate to the Minneapolis convention." Collector John O. Cravens and a number of his force attended the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Lneas, of Lawrenceburgh, and United States Storekeeper Sortwell, have been workers in primaries and conventions.

Postmaster Hudson, of Corydon, has attended state, congressional and county conventions.

Postmaster Shaw, and his deputy Long, of Vevay, are active political workers.

Postmaster Simpson, of Lamb, and Postmaster Langsdale, of Florence, have been active in selecting delegates and in conventions.

Amos Hartman, postmaster at Columbus, went to the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Stevens, at Pern, Postmaster Fite, at Denver, Postmaster Lawshe, at Xenia, take part in all local federal politics.

Post-office Inspector Bearss, Peru, and Auditing Attorney Stutesman, Peru, attended the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Quinn, Decatur, attended the district

and state conventions, and took an active part in the selection of Minneapolis delegates.

Postal Clerk Baldwin, of Austin, attended the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Dryden, Martinsville, has been an active political worker.

Postmaster James H. Fearis, Connersville, is the most active republican worker in that place. He has been prominent in all primaries and conventions. He is president of a republican club organized for this campaign. He took an important part in the selection of county delegates to the district convention and attended the convention at Cambridge City, where Minneapolis delegates were chosen. He attended the Minneapolis convention in the interest of Harrison.

Postmaster McPheeters, Bloomington, helped select the delegates to and attended the Minneapolis convention.

Deputy United States Marshal Mathers, Bloomington, and Postmasters Sharp, Ellettsville; Woodard, Harrodsburgh, are active in local federal politics.

Postmaster Geo. W. Bennett, Warsaw, has taken an active part in every political convention and rallies the voters on election day. He was at the state convention to help select delegates to Minneapolis and attend the Minneapolis convention. He was recently an active participator at a convention at Elkhart.

Postmaster Joseph A. Gant, Marion, attended the Minneapolis convention after working for Harrison delegates at home. He also attended the Indianapolis convention which chose the delegates at large. He is chairman of his party county committee. Every federal officer connected with the post-office in Marion is a republican worker in this campaign.

Postmaster Rogers, Huntington, attended the Minneapolis convention.

Pension Examiner Hobbs, Salem, is chairman of the county committee, and works wherever delegates are to be selected. He attended the convention at Jeffersonville which selected delegates to the Minneapolis convention and was a delegate to the Indianapolis convention for the same purpose.

Postmaster Ward, Salem, has always helped to select delegates. He attended the convention at Jeffersonville and the state convention which selected Minneapolis delegates.

Postmaster Tindolph, Vincennes, has been active in politics, in primaries and in state and local conventions. He attended the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Hovey, Mount Vernon, has been very active for Harrison and attended the Minneapolis convention.

Bank Examiner Holman, Rochester, has been active in primaries and in state and local conventions. He helped select the delegates in his district and at large, at Indianapolis, and attended the Minneapolis convention.

Postmaster Marsh, Portland, has been a steady worker for Harrison. He attended the convention at Bluffton to select Minneapolis delegates and attended the Minneapolis convention.

Pension Examiner Lindley, Paoli, attended the Minneapolis convention.

Collector J. P. Throop, of the Terre Haute district, resides in Orange county, where the republicans were anti-Harrison. He spent about two months at home "continuously, trying to whip the boys back into line."

Postmaster Pate, of Boonville, attended the district meeting at Shoals and nominated H. R. Lowder as a candidate for delegate for Minneapolis, and was Lowder's chief worker until he was chosen.

Postmaster Cushman, of Newburgh, has been a worker in primaries, and state and local conventions.

Postmaster Provnes of Spencerville, Postmaster Gordon of Auburn, Postmaster Bicknell of Garrett, Postmaster Ables of St. Joe Station, Postmaster Crane of Sedan, Postmaster Bachman of Corunna, Postmaster Jones of Butler, attended and helped to manipulate for Harrison the district convention at Auburn, to select Minneapolis delegates.

All the postmasters of DeKalb county have been

deeply interested in all conventions in behalf of Harrison.

Postmaster Gordon of Auburn and Postmaster Bicknell of Garrett, attended the state convention which selected delegates at large for Minneapolis.

Postmaster Zimmerman of Cannelton, has been active in all primaries and conventions. Himself and Postmasters Schrieber of Tell City and Gardiner of Troy, assisted in selecting Harrison delegates at their district convention.

Postmaster Higgins of Fort Wayne, is reputed to be the President's right hand in the twelfth district, making and unmaking fourth-class postmasters and other minor officers at will. He is a ward committeeman. He has taken an active part in the selection of all delegates in federal matters. In addition to the local conventions, he attended the state convention which selected Minneapolis delegates, and the district convention at Auburn for the same purpose. He had the letter carriers take the poll of the city of Fort Wayne. He, with Utah Commissioner Robertson and River Commissioner Taylor, worked in Minneapolis for Harrison, and the latter two were with Higgins at the state convention above mentioned.

Utah Commissioner Robertson, River Commissioner Taylor, Pension Examiner Bueman and Pension Examiner Stemen of Fort Wayne, are now making Harrison speeches.

United States Marshal Dunlap permits the marshal's office at Indianapolis to be used as a meeting place of a Harrison club. The club was organized there.

Postmaster Godfrey, of New Albany, was a delegate to the district convention at Scottsburgh in 1890, and worked hard for the Harrison candidate for the state committee. He worked in his own district and at the state convention for the selection of Harrison delegates to the Minneapolis convention and went to that convention. Deputy Collector Platt and Letter Carrier Marsh, of New Albany, went to the Minneapolis convention after attending the state convention at Indianapolis to select delegates at large. Pension Examiner Idding of Merrillville has been a delegate in a state convention.

Postmaster Royer, of Noblesville, has attended the state, and the congressional and local conventions of his district. He is an incessantly active manager for his party. He helped to select Harrison delegates to the Minneapolis convention, and attended that convention as "a Harrison boomer."

Postmaster Hammond, of Booneville, has attended most of the county and district conventions and the primaries of his party, but "has been very shy."

Letter Carriers Irvin and Fletcher, of Frankfort, attended a party county convention as delegates and in uniform. Irvin was chairman of his precinct delegation. Fletcher challenged a voter at the polls while in uniform. Irvin also has remained off duty to act as his party challenger, and, in addition, polled the first ward in Frankfort.

There is not room to set out more than a small part of what has been done by federal office-holders in the way of henchman service in Indiana under this administration. I venture, however, one further illustration in the cases of two peculiarly zealous henchmen. District Attorney Chambers and his assistant, Cockrum. These will be found very interesting cases. Both began with being delegates to the convention which nominated Mr. Harrison in 1888. Having received these positions language can hardly express the zeal with which they have labored in the line of their fealty. In December, 1889, Dudley came to Indianapolis and an affidavit was filed and a warrant was made out for his arrest. District Attorney Chambers ordered that the warrant be not issued. In speaking of it afterwards he said:

"I exercised the prerogative in this case that I would exercise in any other of like character, and

decided that the warrant be not issued upon this affidavit."

Speaking also of the celebrated Dudley letters, Mr. Chambers said:

The letters, construed in the light of the knowledge that we all possess of how elections in Indiana are conducted by both parties have nothing in them of a criminal character, but, upon the other hand, when so construed, are honorable, and indicate simply a patriotic interest in the elections."

Dudley had written to divide the floaters in blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five. "The knowledge we all possess" was that floaters were paid cash for their votes. In thus declaring himself Mr. Chambers made a sacrifice that few men would care to make.

In illustrating these two cases I prefer to take the accounts of those present on the different occasions:

The republicans of Warriek county met in mass convention in Boonville, Saturday, Sept. 6, and nominated the following county ticket. * J. B. Cockrum, assistant district attorney, came down and took an active part in the convention. He told the boys here how things were worked at Indianapolis, and how this convention must act. They made John chairman of the committee on resolutions, and let him write them to suit himself, and to flatter the bosses at Washington and Indianapolis.—*Boonville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, Sept. 8, 1890.

District Attorney Chambers's speech at the Columbia club to-night will be devoted to democratic iniquities and election methods. He will have for his text that portion of the democratic platform that alleges all political evils against the opponents of that party and claims for it all political purity. Mr. Chambers will detail many instances of democratic bribery, not those of mere assertion, but those that have been established by evidence. He has given great care to this speech, and it will be made up of facts obtained from nearly every county in the state.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 5, 1890.

The speech of Hon. Smiley N. Chambers, delivered last night before the Columbia club, will be found elsewhere in this paper. It abounds in indisputable facts concerning democratic rascality, and gives in detail some of the political infamies committed by that party in Indiana. These crimes have been frequent and flagrant, and the party committing them should be deprived of power by an outraged people. The speech is strong in statement, and will prove an effective campaign document.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 6, 1890.

Hon. Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] delivered a splendid address before a large audience at the opera house this evening. He dwelt at length upon the Indianapolis *Sentinel* and its anarchistic utterances and tendencies, and stated a fact not generally known—that the editor of the *Sentinel* had circulated in Fort Wayne a petition for the pardon of the Chicago anarchists after they had been convicted.—*Marion Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 15, 1890.

Mr. Hinton was followed by Hon. J. B. Cockrum [assistant U. S. district attorney], of Indianapolis, in a masterly presentation of state issues, giving a thorough discussion of the iniquities of the democratic party that have passed directly under his notice as an officer of the United States court.—*Rushville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 17, 1890.

District Attorney Chambers has written to the state central committee that he and Mr. Trusler, republican candidate for secretary of state, had two grand meetings at Marion and one at Kokomo. "Our meetings have been well attended, and very enthusiastic," he writes.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 17, 1890.

The Hon. John B. Cockrum delivered a telling speech to a large and enthusiastic audience at the court-house in this city last night. * * He also

dealt with the infamous violation of election laws by the democratic party, and the extravagant and dishonest manner in which the affairs of the state institutions of this state have been mismanaged at the hands of the democratic legislature.—*Noblesville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 12, 1890.

John B. Cockrum, assistant United States district attorney, addressed, August 4, 1891, a republican club upon the recently nominated republican candidates for the city offices.

At this point Assistant District Attorney J. B. Cockrum got the floor, and insisted that this was a republican convention, and not a place where a man could come loaded with personal bile and spit it out.—*Indianapolis News*, March 1, 1892, *Account of State Convention*.

The arraignment of the democracy by Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney, in his speech before the Columbian club, Saturday night, was such a powerful phillipic that the *Journal* this morning prints it almost in full.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 21, 1892.

The republicans of Harrison county met in mass convention at Corydon to-day and appointed delegates to the state and district conventions. Hon. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney] was present and addressed the meeting.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 10, 1892.

An enthusiastic meeting of the Richmond republican club was held this evening, it being the occasion of the second annual election of officers. After the business of the evening had been transacted the club was addressed by Hon. Smiley N. Chambers, of Indianapolis, on the political issues of the day.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 12, 1892.

The republicans of this county held their convention here to-day. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney] was present and addressed the brethren on the tariff and other issues. *Greencastle Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 30, 1892.

Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] and Hugh Hanna are in charge of the public Indiana headquarters.—*Minneapolis Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 6, 1892.

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers [United States district attorney] was then introduced. He looked as if he had done a hard day's work, and his voice was husky. When the applause that greeted his appearance had subsided, he said:

"One week ago, yesterday, my fellow-citizens, we left this city for the great convention, carrying with us, as we felt then, and now know, the best wishes of all of you, that victory might be ours."—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 12, 1892.

United States Marshal Dunlap and Assistant District Attorney Cockrum arrived at noon.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 25, 1892.

John B. Cockrum [assistant United States district attorney] has Smiley N. Chambers's boom in hand. He is working like a man who sees the district attorneyship in his grasp, in case he wins for his chief.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 27, 1892.

The republicans of this county opened the campaign to-day * * * Smiley Chambers [United States district attorney] followed Shockney in a speech for two hours. * * —*Noblesville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 29, 1892.

It is averred that Mr. Chambers never had any idea of being nominated, and that he consented to enter the race for the sole purpose of taking away some of the strength that threatened to go to Chase. Whether this story is true or not, it has been evident that the men who have been here pretending to be for Chambers have been much more industrious in opposing Chase than in furthering the chances of Mr. Chambers. John B. Cockrum [assistant U. S. district attorney], who has been managing the Chambers boom, has been ready and anxious for two days to promise Chambers's strength to any one upon whom the anti-Chase people might unite. Mr. Cockrum was in the "round-up" anti meeting last night and pledged Chambers's support for Elliott. The true friends of Judge Elliott have no hand in the move-

ment to make him a candidate.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 28, 1892.

The campaign is on in Rushville, having been opened to-night by Smiley N. Chambers [United States attorney], of Indianapolis.—*Rushville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 4, 1892.

The republicans of Hancock county met in mass convention at the court-house this noon. After calling the convention to order he introduced Hon. S. N. Chambers [United States attorney], of Indianapolis, who addressed the people for over an hour in a highly interesting manner.—*Greenfield Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 4, 1892.

There was a rousing meeting of republicans in this city to-night. The Hon. J. B. Cockrum [deputy United States attorney], of Indianapolis, addressed the Harrison and Baker guards, two republican organizations of this city. One hundred and fifty members escorted the speaker to the court-house. The speech aroused much enthusiasm.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 13, 1892.

An enthusiastic republican meeting was held in Ross's Opera House last evening. Hon. Smiley N. Chambers [United States attorney] was present and addressed the crowd.—*Union City Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 14, 1892.

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers addressed a splendid meeting of republicans here [Nashville, Ind.] yesterday afternoon.

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers will address the people of North Indianapolis, at Greenleaf Hall. The West Indianapolis McKinley Drum Corps will be in attendance.

Following is a list of additional assignments of speakers throughout the state made by the republican state committee:

HON. S. N. CHAMBERS.

[United States District Attorney.]

Sept. 17—Union City, Randolph county, 7 P. M.

HON. J. B. COCKRUM.

[Assistant District Attorney.]

Sept. 17—Martinsville, Morgan county, 7 P. M.

Sept. 19—Knightstown, Henry county, 7 P. M.

Sept. 23—Elizabethtown, Bartholomew county, 7 P. M.

Oct. 7—Marion, Grant county, 7 P. M.

—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 10, 1892.

The eleventh ward republicans were addressed at the corner of West and Maryland streets last night by the Hon. John B. Cockrum. Mr. Cockrum's address was a forcible one, and he was warmly applauded at frequent intervals. He made his appeal to the working men and for the inestimable aid that the protective tariff has been to them. He exposed the fallacy of free trade principles in so clear a manner that more than one of his hearers involuntarily exclaimed, "That's right." He drew a vivid comparison of the opposing candidates of the two great parties: pictured Harrison and Reid at the front during the war, fighting for their homes and their nation, and Cleveland and Stevenson enjoying their ease while their paid substitutes suffered, the latter propagating the interests of the Knights of the Golden Circle; compared their records as statesmen and as men whose promises had been fulfilled or unfulfilled, and finally urged them as thinking, intelligent men to vote the republican ticket.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 30.

The fair officials at Newport have introduced political days for the fair this year. D. W. Voorhees will speak Thursday, Col. R. W. Thompson, of Terre Haute, and Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney, Friday.—*Newport Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 4.

Hon. John B. Cockrum was in the city yesterday, having returned from a campaigning trip to Montgomery and other counties. "The state is in fine condition," he said yesterday, "for the republicans and is getting better every day. I think Montgomery county has as fine an organization as I ever saw. Republicans I find are wide awake and will be out in force on November 8. I have no fears that any republican will stay at home this year. There is too

much of individual and national prosperity at stake."—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 7.

HON. S. N. CHAMBERS.

Oct. 7—Newport, Vermillion county, 1 p. m.

HON. J. B. COCKRUM.

Oct. 7—Marion, Grant county.

Oct. 4—Crawfordsville, Montgomery county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 5—Wingate, Montgomery county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 10—Oakland City, Gibson county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 11—Huntingburg, Dubois county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 12—Brookville, Warlick county, 1 p. m.

Oct. 13—Rockport, Spencer county, 1 p. m.

Oct. 14—Mt. Vernon, Posey county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 15—Corydon, Harrison county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 18—Franklin, Johnson county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 19—Rushville, Rush county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 20—Carthage, Rush county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 21—New Castle, Henry county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 22—Greenfield, Hancock county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 24—Danville, Hendricks county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 25—Greencastle, Putnam county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 26—Kokomo, Howard county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 27—Wabash, Wabash county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 28—Warsaw, Kosciusko county, 7 p. m.

Oct. 17—Jeffersonville, Clarke county, 7 p. m.

Nov. 1—Amo, Hendricks county, 2 p. m.

Nov. 3—Plainfield, Hendricks county, 7 p. m.

—*Appointments, Campaign Speeches, Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 11.

Oct. 17—Jeffersonville, J. B. Cockrum.

October 21—Orleans, S. N. Chambers.

—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10.

Hon. John B. Cockrum, deputy United States attorney, of Indianapolis, spoke last evening in Ladoga.—*Crawfordsville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 6.

At the rooms of the Lincoln Club, Friday night, J. B. Cockrum made an interesting and forcible address. The point that attracted greatest attention was a denunciation of the Australian-ballot law as a scheme of the democracy to steal this state.—*Marion Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10.

Hon. John B. Cockrum, a federal office-holder, violated the civil service rules, and spoke to a fair crowd in the court-house in this city last night.—*Mt. Vernon Democrat*, Oct. 15.

Indianapolis, Oct. 15, 1892.

Respectfully submit ed,

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The President is of opinion that it is a great abuse to bring the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections; and that this abuse ought to be corrected wherever it may have been permitted to exist, and to be prevented for the future. He, therefore, directs that information be given to all officers and agents in your department of the public service that partisan interference in popular elections, whether of state officers or officers of this government, and for whomsoever or against whomsoever it may be exercised, or the payment of any contribution or assessment on salaries or official compensation for party or election purposes, will be regarded by him as cause for removal.—*From a Circular issued by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under President William Henry Harrison, to the Heads of the Departments under the Government of the United States.*

BUSY HENCHMEN.

Col. A. D. Shaw, third auditor of the treasury, is in the city.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 1.

* * *

E. H. Nebeker, treasurer of the United States, is in the city.—*Indianapolis News*, Oct. 1.

* * *

Capt. John R. Leonard, of the United States marshal's office, goes to Indianapolis at the end of this month.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 3.

* * *

"There will not be many men in Washington on the 8th of next month who can vote in Indiana," said President John C. Cheney, of the Indiana Republican Club, to the *Journal* correspondent to-day. "The Indiana republicans here feel the keenest interest in the political situation in their state," continued President Cheney, "and they will do their part towards giving General Harrison as large a majority as he had four years ago."

The meeting of the Indiana Republican Club last night was largely attended. There was great enthusiasm shown and a quiet determination evinced in the impending contest. The club will meet again in two weeks, when it is expected that about two hundred Hoosiers will have announced their intention of going home to vote. This is nine tenths of the Indians in Washington.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 3.

* * *

Daniel M. Ransdell, United States marshal for the District of Columbia, will leave for Indianapolis tomorrow evening. He expects to spend a few days socially with friends at his old home.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 27.

* * *

Third Auditor W. H. Hart and Deputy Controller of the Currency Nixon, of the treasury department, will go to their homes at Frankfort and New Castle, respectively, about the middle of next month, to remain till after the election.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 27.

* * *

United States Treasurer E. H. Nebeker intends to leave for his home at Covington in a few days. He has received his annual leave time for October.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 27.

* * *

Daniel M. Ransdell, United States marshal for the District of Columbia, is at the Bates. He came in from Washington last night and will remain here several days.—*Indianapolis News*, Sept. 29.

* * *

The republican committees, state, and county, are having the assistance of federal office-holders. United States Treasurer Nebeker and United States Marshal Ransdell have been lending an advisory hand to the state committee, and Mr. Shepherd, of Washington, is advising Merrill Moores as to his work. John R. Leonard will be here soon to add his services to the campaign.—*Indianapolis News*, Oct. 3.

* * *

Ex-Congressman William D. Owen, superintendent of immigration, leaves here on next Monday for Indiana to enter the campaign, and to remain till after election.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 4.

* * *

Paul Leibhardt, superintendent of the dead-letter office, post-office department, will leave here for his home in Wayne county next week, to remain there till after the campaign.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Sept. 29.

* * *

Harry McFarland, a foreman in the press-room of the government printing office, will go to his home at Indianapolis on Sunday for a month's leave.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 8.

* * *

Postmaster Thompson will to-morrow begin a tour of the post-offices of this county. There are forty offices, including that of Indianapolis, and the tour will require sixteen or eighteen days. The object is to instruct postmasters in their duties, where necessary, and to encourage them in efforts to better the service.—*Indianapolis News*, Oct. 7.

E. W. Halford, the President's private secretary, will make some political speeches in Indiana near the close of the present campaign.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10.

* * *

Hon. Green B. Raum, United States commissioner of pensions, will arrive in this city on Wednesday.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10.

* * *

Ex-Senator Bruce, recorder of deeds, who has just returned to Washington from New Jersey, where he has been aiding the republican campaign, says that he thinks Mr. Harrison is going to carry New Jersey as well as New York. He says the enthusiasm of the New Jersey republicans is such as never seen before.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 10.

* * *

United States Marshal Ransdell ran in from New York yesterday on his way to Indiana, where he will remain until the campaign is over.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 12.

* * *

Hon. W. D. Owen, commissioner of immigration, has left Washington for Indiana to take part in the campaign.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 12.

* * *

Hon. W. D. Owen opened his campaign at this place to-day, when fully three thousand enthusiastic people greeted the speaker.—*Kentland Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 13.

* * *

Report comes that C. S. Hudson, postmaster at this place, drove twelve miles the other night to make a rabid republican speech.—*Corydon Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 11.

* * *

Mr Egan is counted on to conduct a republican propaganda among the Catholic Irishmen in the middle west.

A glance over the blue-book shows how the diplomats have been used. Ryan of Mexico and Conger of Brazil were both home on leave at a time when matters needed straightening out in Iowa and Kansas, preparatory to the Minneapolis convention. Reid of Paris resigned his place to come back and get a grip on the tail of the ticket, and Mr. Coolidge, who was appointed to his place, was chosen very largely because his politics bordered so closely on mugwumpism as to make it desirable to send him abroad. Porter of Rome was brought home to do preparatory work. Carr of Denmark was engaged in it also, and was forced back only by the crisis reached in the Ryder scandal. Pitkin of the Argentine Republic is in this country, working like a beaver; Mahany of Ecuador, who is noted as an orator, has taken the stump; Lincoln of Great Britain has been sent for; Beale of Persia resigned at a convenient date to turn in and work. Smith of Russia came back in time for the Minneapolis convention, and another republican of uncomfortably strong reform tendencies, in the person of Andrew D. White, was sent out of the country to succeed him. When we get below the diplomatic rank and strike the consuls and consuls-general the name of absentees for party purposes is legion.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, Oct. 11.

* * *

The republican state convention is at midnight in a wrangle over permanent organization. The administration forces, led by Collector E. A. Webster, are in control of the convention, and so far have had everything their own way. E. M. Brayton leads the opposition.—*Columbia, S. C., Dispatch to New York Times*, Sept. 30.

BUSY BLACKMAILERS.

The "confidential-circular" business of the republican managers is on the increase daily. The brazen tactics of Carter and Hackett in their confidential circulars were outdone yesterday by one sent out by the American Protective Tariff League to certain post-offices.

The league seeks to use the post-offices as free distributing agents for high-protection literature. It practically seizes the postmaster by the official throat and demands that he give up \$5, or that if he can not chip in that amount to pay for protection literature, he must get some one else to do it.

DEAR SIR—Accept our congratulations upon your recent appointment. Situated as you are, you can accomplish the best results for the cause of protection of any one in your locality. It is our plan to have at least one official correspondent of the league at every post-office, and through him secure information, obtain the distribution of documents, and exert every legitimate influence in favor of protection and reciprocity.

It is impossible for us to bear all the expense of this work, for this is a big country. Every intelligent voter should receive complete information showing the benefits of protection. We wish to have you act as our confidential agent and correspondent to assist in this work.

We expect that each correspondent will, either personally or with the aid of friends, furnish at least \$5 before the next election for circulation of our literature at his home. If you do not feel like personally contributing the amount suggested, ask friends to help. They will do it. If you accept, we will outline a plan to secure the co-operation of others. Will you act as our correspondent? * * *

It is imperative that every friend like you put his shoulder to the wheel and work in season and out of season until the election of 1892. Yours very truly,

WILBUR F. WAKEMAN, General Secretary.

—*New York Times*, Oct. 2.

* * *

Since Gowdy has been at the head of the republican state committee he has done nothing but bleed office-holders. There never has been such a beggar. For nearly two years he has written letters to Indians at Washington all on the subject of money, and months ago they sent back word that they had no more money to give until the campaign began. That was before the Minneapolis convention when Gowdy was working for contributions to pay his proposed extravagance in keeping the state central committee in wine, cigars and luxurious quarters at the national convention. He then tried to assess the Indiana delegates and alternates to the convention \$200 and \$100 respectively. They denounced the state chairman so vigorously that he pleaded for \$100 from the delegates and \$50 from the alternates, and in the end compromised on \$50 each. Now he has broken loose again and has addressed the following to the railway postal clerks and all other employes who owe their employment to a republican administration and republican influence:

"DEAR SIR—The campaign is now on. A fierce battle is to be fought. The importance of republican success in this state can not be overestimated. Upon it depends the election of a full state ticket, the possible election of a United States senator and the contingency of success to the party in the Union.

"A period in the campaign has been reached when your counsel and your substantial aid should be tendered. No good republican or other person desiring to continue present favorable conditions can afford to be indifferent or fail to recognize the necessities to a committee involved in organizing and conducting a campaign. Legitimate expenses must be met. The success of the ticket is involved as well as the pleasant conditions about you. You understand the necessities for funds with which to defray expenses. We confidently expect you to give generous assistance, and this can not be more timely or effective than if given at present. * * *

"Awaiting your early reply, we are yours truly,

"JOHN K. GOWDY, Chairman."

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, Oct. 4.

* * *

Messrs. Huston and Long, members of the national republican committee from Indiana and Florida, respectively, have been closeted in this city, to day, with leading republican federal office-holders, black and white, from all parts of the state. All efforts to official-

ly ascertain the object of their presence has failed, but it has leaked out from republican sources that their mission here is similar to that in Texas and Louisiana—the assessment and collection of money for campaign purposes. More republican office-holders were present in the city than have been seen here before at any one time, other than a state convention, for years. They decline to be interviewed, further than to state that their presence here was requested, but refuse to disclose the source from whence the invitation came. It is alleged by republicans who ought to know that there will be no republican electoral ticket in this state.—*Jackson, Miss., Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, Oct. 8.*

* * *

It is openly charged by the *Evening States* of this city, after a careful investigation of the facts, that Huston and Long, ambassadors from the national republican party, who spent a couple of days in this city, took away with them from the "faithful" here a sum approximating \$10,000, to be used in furthering the interests of Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States and candidate for re-election. Messrs. Huston and Long got the money they wanted, but there are several leading office-holders who are now in a state of perplexity, and who are out of pocket as a result of the harmonizing visit of their party conferrees.

Superintendent Smyth, of the mint, Collector Warmoth and Postmaster Eaton have had to stand the brunt of the tax. Shortly after their arrival here the republican ambassadors sent for these officials and others to call upon them, and made their proposition. The success of the party, they said, meant a great deal to the office-holders, and the office-holders ought, therefore, to be willing to contribute their mite toward achieving that success. It is prohibited by the civil service law to assess government employes, but Messrs. Huston and Long assured the officials that if any trouble resulted from the effort to collect money the national committee's influence with the powers that be at Washington was sufficient to prevent any unpleasant consequences. They wanted money badly, and wanted it at once. They could not afford to wait until the hat was passed around indiscriminately among the subordinates. What they desired was that the heads of the departments should furnish their personal checks and then look to the employes for reimbursement.

It is estimated that the committee of two counted on \$15,000 from New Orleans, and it is said they got two-thirds of that amount. The mint was put down for \$4,000 and at that rate the post-office and custom-house, which employ a great many more men, must have been slated for much larger sum. Whatever the amounts were, it is sufficient to say that Collector Warmoth and Postmaster Eaton each promptly wrote out his check and handed it to the ambassadors, and the employes in the granite building are expected to make up the greater part of what the officials were required to fork over.

Superintendent Smyth "kicked" like a Texas steer at the plan of the committeemen and the amount they demanded, but he became more docile after persuasion, albeit he succeeded in cutting down the appropriation budgeted against his department. Messrs. Huston and Long said they thought the superintendent could easily afford to contribute \$4,000 to the cause on behalf of the mint, but Smyth called the bluff and got out of the hole for the time being by agreeing to furnish a check for \$2,500, \$500 of which was to be considered a personal contribution by the superintendent of the mint. The superintendent was told that he might use his own judgment as to the best means of getting the money back, and that if those engaged in making the collection got into trouble, the matter would be made all right at Washington. The superintendent did use his "best judgment," but his judgment does not seem to have been very good. He delegated several assistants to formulate a plan for the recovery of the money, and they did so. They proceeded to assess the employes without regard to color or sex, and that caused a howl, for the ladies, if they are denied the right of suffrage, are as much protected by the civil service law as are the men. A list,

however, was made out, and handed to the cashier for collection. It was found, however, that this plan was a dangerous one and might cause trouble. Thereupon the list was taken to the desk where the employes sign for their money and the tax was levied there. It was said that each employe was assessed two days' pay for three months. Coiner Burkdell created trouble for the superintendent when a list reached his department. He knew the assessment was contrary to law and he did not propose to put his foot in a trap. So it appears that he did not even wait for those under him to broach the subject, but at once told them that they would not have to contribute a cent. He explained the law to them and said he would have nothing to do with any assessment of employes. He is said to have even gone further and said that any employe caught violating the law would be reported to the proper authorities. There is where there is a hitch just now.

The coiner and superintendent conjointly employ the force in the coiner's department, but the superintendent of the mint has authority to remove them when he elects to do so. So the coiner's employes are between the devil and the deep blue sea. They are afraid to refuse to contribute, lest they shall bring down upon their devoted heads the wrath of the superintendent, who is at present out of pocket, and they are equally afraid to assist in a violation of the law when their chief threatens to enforce it against them.—*New Orleans Dispatch to New York Times, Oct. 6.*

* * *

I am able to corroborate through personal inquiry the published reports concerning the violation of the civil-service law by the federal officials in this city. The evidence against Andrew W. Smythe, superintendent of the mint, is direct and convincing. Messrs. Huston and Long, members of the republican national committee, during their recent visit here, called upon the leading federal office-holders for campaign funds. Mr. Smythe gave his check for \$2,500. In order that he might be partly or wholly reimbursed, a subscription list was circulated among the employes of the mint, who were to be assessed an amount equal to six days' pay. Mr. Burkdoll, coiner of the mint, refused to allow the circulation of the list in his department, and this probably explains how the scheme was made public. Your correspondent is reliably informed that the same methods are being pursued in the custom-house in a manner less direct, and therefore not so liable to detection.—*New Orleans Dispatch to New York Evening Post, Oct. 3.*

* * *

Early in the campaign the civil service commission issued a statement designed to protect employes of the government from the rapacity of the republican sharks charged with the duty of collecting head money to be used in the corruption of voters. * * * It was apparent, however, that a new scheme for "bleeding" employes would be set in motion when the excitement due to the civil service commission circular had died down. It seems that the time has arrived. The "scheme" which Mr. Harrison has adopted is to appeal to the employes of the government through their state associations in this city. Nearly every state in the Union is represented here by an association. Missouri has been selected to hold the right of the line in this new movement. To-day every government clerk who hails from Missouri received a copy of the following circular:

S. G. BROCK, President. F. C. JONES, Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE MISSOURI STATE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION,

463 G. Street, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 5, 1892.

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that I have been selected as the financial secretary of the Missouri State Republican Association of this city.

Believing that you have an interest in the contest now going on in the state, I would ask that, if you have any suggestions to make which would be beneficial to the cause of republicanism in the state, you will call at my office at the above number.

I will be at my office on Wednesdays and Fridays during this month and on Saturday the 15th inst., and on Monday the 31st inst., from 4 to 7 P. M., when I will be pleased to see all Missourians and talk over the conduct of the canvass in our State and receive any suggestions which may be offered.

Very respectfully,

JAMES T. HUNTER,
Financial secretary.

One acquainted with political methods does not need to be told that the word "suggestions," which figures so prominently in this circular, means "cash." Financial secretaries of political organizations are not supposed to have anything to do with "suggestions" that do not bear directly upon the subject of finance.

That Financial Secretary Hunter is no exception to the rule is proved by the experience of a Missourian, a clerk in one of the departments, who called at the office of the secretary this morning to ask the meaning of the circular. He says he was told frankly that it was the belief of the managers of the republican party that clerks in the employ of the government ought to give at least 5 per cent. of their salaries to help the republican canvass.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, Oct. 8.*

* * *

Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt recently undid a little extortion game which the republican politicians in St. Joseph, Mo., were playing on the post-office employes. He found that every clerk was expected to join the republican club and promptly pay the "dues." The commissioner promptly decided against the "dues" system of collecting campaign assessments.—*Springfield Republican.*

* * *

The clerks in the bureau of Indian affairs at Washington have been assessed fifty dollars each for the republican campaign fund. The Indian office is located in the Atlantic building, and the question arose whether, as it was leased by the government, it was a government building within the meaning of the law prohibiting political assessments in government buildings. The solicitor, to be on the safe side, gave back all the money he had collected in the buildings and tore up the receipts. Then he called at the residences of the clerks, collected the money there and gave new receipts.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, Oct. 10.*

* * *

The U. S. civil service commission to-day made public the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 10.—A blank book, purporting to have been sent by W. R. Bates, secretary at Detroit, Mich., on behalf of the republican state committee to George B. Daniels, the postmaster at Withey, Mich., has been laid before this commission. It requests the postmaster to furnish a canvass of the patrons of this office with information as to their former and present politics, and as to the papers they take, together with recommendations as to what papers should be sent to them, etc. The postmaster is further informed that he is expected to consult with prominent republicans of his locality as to this work, but as far as possible to keep his labors from becoming public. The signature is printed, the address is in writing. The commission has also received information from various sources to the effect that requests of this kind have been made by political committees not only in Michigan, but elsewhere. Services of the kind requested in the book submitted to the committees are clearly political services and to render them is contrary to the postal regulations. With this, however, the commission has nothing to do, but it feels in duty bound to inform this postmaster, and all postmasters and postal and other public employes in Michigan and elsewhere that the civil service law expressly provides (sec. 2, division 2, subdivision 58) that no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligation to render any political service, and that he will not be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to render it; while general rule 1 of the civil service rules provides for the dismissal of any

public servant, removing him or causing him to be removed because of such refusal.

(Signed) CHARLES LYMAN,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
GEORGE D. JOHNSTON,
Commissioners.

—*Associated Press Dispatch*, Oct. 12, 1892.

* * *

It was learned yesterday that Col. H. C. Powers, internal revenue collector, had made a contribution to the republican campaign fund of \$2,500. He has the appointment of 160 sugar-weighers, and early in the week began to make his selections. He required every man whom he appointed to sign a check, and this was done in the case of every one of the 130 appointments already made, each appointee signing a check for \$15, the amount to be deducted from his first month's salary. The task of making these collections was placed in the hands of Chief-Clerk Young.

Mr. Buckdahl, coiner of the mint, in answer to a letter from the civil service commission as to the facts and figures about the assessments, sent to Washington yesterday clippings of the case from local papers.—*New Orleans Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, Oct. 15.

* * *

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
ALLEGANY COUNTY POSTMASTERS' ASSOCIATION, }
SILAS BURDICK, Pres., M. H. BAILEY, Treas.,
CLARENCE RICKER, Sec.

BLACK CREEK, N. Y., 1892.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the executive committee held at Cuba Aug. 12, the following was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the president and secretary are instructed to notify each postmaster of Allegany county that the amount of the contribution to be made to the republican county committee be 5 per cent. of one year's compensation.

You have no doubt received a letter from the Allegany county republican committee requesting that you make some contribution toward defraying the legitimate expenses of the coming campaign. It is earnestly hoped that you will comply with the request. Yours truly, S. C. BURDICK, Chairman.

CLARENCE RICKER, Secretary.

—*New York Times*, Oct. 16.

COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT ON THE TRAIL OF BLACKMAILERS.

At the Pine Ridge agency, in South Dakota, I found that the following letter had been received by the agent, Capt. George Le Roy Brown, the letter coming from the chairman of the South Dakota Republican Campaign Committee:

AUGUST 12, 1892.

Maj. at Pine Ridge;

MY DEAR SIR—Will you kindly send me a list of all parties at the agency, including all teachers, helpers, etc. Give me a tabulated list showing name of each and salary per year.

I am very desirous of a speedy reply to this inquiry so I can make up my asst. list soon and correctly.

Very truly yours,

J. M. GREENE, *Chr.*

Captain Brown, very properly, made no answer to this communication but forwarded it immediately to the civil service commission. I wish to call attention in the first place to the fact that the chairman of the republican committee, Mr. Greene, makes no pretense that these collections are to be voluntary contributions. He distinctly uses the word "assessment." In the next place it is to be noted that he particularly requires the names of the helpers, most of whom are themselves Indians, and of the teachers, who are mostly women. In other words, he makes the perfectly bald request to Captain Brown to commit a criminal act for the purpose of assisting him to blackmail women teachers and Indian

helpers for the benefit of a political party. Had Captain Brown acceded to the request he would of course have been guilty of violating the law, which provides that no government employe shall be, directly or indirectly, concerned in soliciting political contributions from any other government employe; and to assist in making up such an assessment list, would, of course, have amounted to being at least indirectly concerned in making the assessments. Chairman Greene, therefore, was endeavoring to procure the commission of a criminal act by Captain Brown. Whether he was himself guilty of a criminal act I am hardly prepared to say. The law ought to prohibit outsiders from soliciting government employes at all; but all that it does in this respect is to prohibit them in the most sweeping terms from soliciting in any way in a government building. This, of course, includes solicitation by writing. The letter sent by Mr. Greene to Captain Brown was addressed to him at Pine Ridge agency. I do not know whether this would be held as being addressed to him in a government building or not; but it seems to me that it would be well to lay the matter before the attorney-general in any event.

Furthermore, I found that this Pine Ridge case was not exceptional. At every reservation and government school which I visited in South Dakota, letters similar to the above, although varying in details, had been received, showing that the republican state committee was engaged in a resolute effort to assess all the governmental employes under different agencies and in the different schools.

In all the other places, however, the agents and school superintendents whom I questioned informed me that they had lost or mislaid the letters sent them by the committee, although on being cross-examined they all admitted, with more or less reluctance, having received them. The agent at the Cheyenne river reservation told me he had received such a letter requesting a contribution of two per cent. on the salary of himself and his subordinates, but that he had handed it to his son and paid no further attention to it. Here I summoned all the teachers and other employes together and informed them that they need not pay one cent, and that if they were solicited by any one, or threatened with molestation for not contributing, I would be grateful to them for promptly communicating with the commission, and that I thought the commission could guarantee that they would be protected, for the interior department would certainly see that they received no harm. The agent informed me that he had received such a letter, but that the writer had evidently learned beforehand the names and salaries of all his employes, for it contained a regular list of them, with the amount that was expected from each, varying from one hundred dollars, in the case of the agent, to ten dollars, in the case of the lower-grade teachers. He told me that he had paid no attention to this letter, and as at Cheyenne river, I called together the em-

ployes and informed them that they need not contribute a cent unless they wished, and that they could contribute to whichever party they chose. The superintendent of the Indian school at Pierre told me he had received the same kind of a letter, addressed to him at this Indian school at Pierre. He said he did not have the letter at hand, but that it requested, as well as he remembered, a subscription of two per cent. from himself and those under him. I told him and the only one of his teachers that I saw that they need pay no heed to the letter; and that they would not be molested for failing to contribute, to which he answered that he hoped that this was true, but that he feared, and he knew many other government employes feared, that if they did not contribute, the local politicians would remember it against them, would trump up charges to their discredit and have them removed on the first occasion, not ostensibly for failure to contribute, of course, but because of some other alleged misdeed. It is due to the superintendent of this school to say he struck me as being a very able and conscientious man, devoted to the welfare of his pupils; and undoubtedly the sentiments he expressed obtain very largely among the employes who receive such blackmailing letters as this of Chairman Greene, and who do feel coerced into contributing because they fear that, even though the contributions are not asked for by their superior officers, yet these superior officers will themselves be influenced more or less by the members standing high in their own party who do make the requests for contributions. In this case of the government school at Pierre, I think the solicitation was clearly illegal, as the letter was without doubt addressed to a government building. I had no facilities for carrying on the investigation there myself, not being able to put witnesses under oath; but I have no doubt that an investigation by the law department of the government would produce facts sufficient to warrant a prosecution at least in this case.

In Nebraska I found much less evidence of solicitation than in South Dakota. At the Santee agency, where many of the Indians are voters, complaints were made to me that under the last administration efforts had been made by government employes to coerce the Indians into voting the democratic ticket, precisely as I found that in North Dakota political assessments had been collected among the agencies by the democrats prior to the last presidential campaign. At the Winnebago and Omaha agencies no attempt had been made to collect assessments during the past two or three years, as far as I could find out. On the Santee reservation the agent had been solicited for a hundred dollars by the republican campaign committee a year or two ago, but no solicitation has been made this year. In all these cases it would be useless to attempt to take action on what happened prior to the present year, owing to the great difficulty of getting any testimony save that of the persons involved.

In Kansas I visited only the government Indian non-reservation boarding school, known as Haskell Institute, under the charge of Superintendent Charles F. Meserve. Here I found that there had been a resolute effort on behalf of the republican committee of the second congressional district to assess the superintendent and those under him, the attempt being made by R. B. Stevenson, the secretary of the republican executive committee for the second congressional district; and it appears to me that Mr. Stevenson has clearly laid himself open to prosecution for violating the law. Exhibits A, B, C and D contain three of the original letters sent out by Stevenson to Mr. Meserve, to Mr. H. B. Peairs, the principal teacher, and to Mr. C. W. Jewett, the assistant clerk, all being addressed to these gentlemen at Haskell Institute, at Lawrence, Kansas, written and signed in the same handwriting, the signature being "R. B. Stevenson, secretary." Exhibit D contains the stenographic report of my examination of the various gentlemen who were assessed. From this it appears, for instance, that Mr. Charles W. Grant, the assistant clerk, received a letter from this Mr. Stevenson, the secretary of the republican committee of the second congressional district, addressed to him at Haskell Institute, soliciting ten dollars for political purposes, about the first of August last; that Dr. Oliver D. Walker, the physician at Haskell Institute, received the same kind of letter, similarly addressed, requesting fifteen dollars; that the letter sent to Mr. Jewett requested seven dollars, the request being couched as follows:

The congressional committee has directed that you be asked to contribute for campaign purposes in this district. Those occupying positions similar to the one you do are giving seven dollars. You may send your contribution to the treasurer of the committee, Mr. W. H. Haskell, 522 Minnesota avenue, Kansas City, Kansas, who will make due entry thereof and receipt to you for same. An early response will be highly appreciated by the committee.

M. Peairs was asked to contribute on the same ground, that persons occupying positions similar to the one he did were giving that amount. Mr. Meserve was asked to contribute forty dollars, similar reasons being given for specifying this sum. Mr. Meserve and the other gentlemen named were naturally not very anxious to testify in the matter, as to do so would very probably seriously embroil them with the local politicians of influence in the dominant party; but they did testify with honorable frankness as soon as I requested them to do so in my official capacity. In response to my question as to what action Mr. Meserve had taken in reference to the request, he informed me that on finding that his employes had received such letters he notified them that the tenure by which they held their offices at Haskell Institute would be neither weakened nor strengthened by replying to the request or by failing to reply. If all of the gentlemen occupying positions similar to Mr. Meserve would take such action as he took when their subordinates are solicited for political contributions, the work of this com-

mission in trying to protect government employes from blackmail would be very materially lightened.

It seems to me that the papers in this case should be transmitted to the attorney-general for such action as he may deem wise, and I so recommend, for it would appear that Mr. Stevenson has certainly laid himself open to prosecution.

As I deemed it of the utmost importance publicly to call the attention of the employes in the government service to their rights, and also to warn the various campaign committees that any attempts on their part to violate or evade the law would be watched with a jealous eye by the commission, I caused to be printed in certain papers of wide circulation in the three states visited the following notice:

SIOUX CITY, Sept. 15, 1892.

Upon investigation just completed I find that for years it has been customary for state and congressional campaign committees systematically to levy political assessments on the Government employes in certain Indian reservations and Indian schools through Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas. This practice is most rife during Presidential campaigns. It obtained four years ago under the democratic administration; but this is no excuse for the fact that it is now prevalent.

Within the last month there has been a bold series of efforts to practice this series of blackmail. On most of the reservations and in the Indian schools which I have mentioned attempts of the kind have just been made by local state and congressional campaign committees. At one agency, for instance, the agent received the following communication: "Send me a list of all parties at the agency * * * including all teachers, helpers, etc., showing name of each and salary per year * * * so I can make up my assessment list soon and correctly," signed by the chairman of the republican state committee. Be it remembered that these teachers are mostly women, and the helpers Indians; there is an infamy of meanness in trying to extort money from such defenseless employes.

At another agency the sums assessed were stated outright, ranging from \$100 for the agent to \$10 for the lower grade teachers; at one school 2 per cent. of the salaries was specified, and so on and so on.

I wish publicly to assure the governmental employes in the Indian service that they need not pay a dollar to any political party at all unless they wish, and that if they do wish they can pay it to whatever party they prefer. Immediately on my return to Washington I shall lay all the information I can collect in each case before the department of justice so that wherever practicable the persons offending against the law prohibiting political assessments may be prosecuted.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

I promptly notified the commission of my action, and I was careful to refrain from giving any names in my notice lest I might

thereby hamper the subsequent action of the commission. I thought it important not to delay in publishing this card, for the reason that very many of the employes who would submit to being blackmailed if they felt that they had no promise of protection would undoubtedly be encouraged to resist if they knew that the commission was actively watching their interests and was bent on maintaining them.

BE JUST; BE CONSISTENT.

GREENSBURG, IND., September 25, 1892.

Editor Civil Service Chronicle:

In reading the editorials in the various issues of your publication for some months past the child-like and all-abiding faith which your writers have for the accomplishment of that much-to-be-desired object, the enforcement of the civil service laws and their extension to other branches of public service, at the hands of the democratic party has struck me as a most unique expectation. The editors of the CHRONICLE, I believe, claim to be independent of party bias except in so far as the civil service principle is involved. This being the case, permit me to inquire what the history of the democratic party holds which gives promise of the attainment of your desires? To gentlemen of your mentality it is unnecessary to recall the fact or argue that all the past performances of the democratic party have proven its devotion to the spoils idea; what then is the cause of such belief in its change of heart and policy? Is it faith in the virtue of Mr. Cleveland alone? In 1884 the writer heard Mr. Dudley Foulke, of civil service advocacy, speak against Mr. Blaine and in favor of Cleveland; Blaine was defeated and Mr. Cleveland, the idol of civil service reformers, took the reins of government. He was given a most fair and impartial trial. And what of his admirer, Mr. Foulke? Four years later, in 1888, we again hear him speak. Is he praising Cleveland and the democratic party for their brave adherence to civil service reform? Not so. He is found advocating the election of Benjamin Harrison, whom he has known as a neighbor and as a man of much sincerity of purpose. Cleveland, unable to withstand the pressure from the large spoils element of his party, has disappointed Mr. Foulke and his co workers, and is not then considered as at all worthy of a re-election. Harrison defeats Cleveland and is put on trial, but instead of having the support of the civil service advocates, from the first he suffers unstinted criticism, criticism not noted for fairness and which seems rather to be more in a spirit of self-satisfaction than of regret. His party honors him with a renomination, and now where do we find Mr. Foulke? He appears on the political stage, but he has seen-sawed back to Cleveland, who has also once been tried and found wanting, and the party of that noted reform(?) organization, Tammany. We beg to ask wherein is to be found the consistency in such support? Democracy, with all its record of opposition,

with Cleveland's failure and broken pledges—wherein has it retrieved itself that such implicit faith as your journal continually breathes should be felt? The party is the same party and Cleveland is the same Cleveland; their records are unchanged, their promises are no more to be relied upon, and as an additional argument against them comes the nomination of Stevenson, notorious as the headsmen of the Cleveland regime, in direct recognition of the "real democrats" of the democratic party. Surely this slap in the face of civil service reformers can not inspire them with renewed confidence? What then is there to expect at the hands of Cleveland and his party except a repetition of past experiences, with the loss of the restraining influence of an ambition for a re-election which doubtless favored the reformers in his first term?

The nation has prospered under President Harrison, who has kept every personal pledge he has made, and while he may not be perfect—who is?—I believe that the verdict of the people, who remember that a president is not all powerful, and that all reforms promised by a party can not be accomplished in the brief period of four years, will be that he is entitled to and shall receive the endorsement of a re-election.

The speech at Indianapolis on the 15th inst. by George W. Julian, to which you give space in your last number, I regard as simply an example of what personal pique can do for a man, no matter how brilliant he may be when away from the subject of his grievances. Mr. Julian was an appointee under Cleveland and his remarks, which are full of a spirit of personal dislike for President Harrison, are not to be accounted altogether disinterested.

CIVIL SERVICE FAIR PLAY.

SPOILS AT LARGE.

One of the most acrimonious and bitter political fights in Onondaga's history is now on between the two factions of the republicans—the Beldenites and the Hendricks-Smithites. In the contest are involved the *Standard*, which supports Belden, and the *Journal*, Postmaster Smith's organ and the advocate of Col. George N. Crouse's canvass for congress. The attacks on both sides have been of the most virulent character, and the outcome will be the most vicious knifing. Although the war between Congressman Belden and Postmaster Carroll E. Smith dates back to war times, the present issue is on the call for the congressional convention. Belden gathered together the old congressional committees from Onondaga and Madison, her new political sister, on June 16, and called a convention for August 24 in this city. There will be 117 delegates from Onondaga and 42 from Madison.

The Hendricks-Smithites bolt this convention entirely, claiming that the state committee alone has power to call the congressional conventions, in view of the resolutions empowering them to organize the new congressional districts of the state, passed at the last state convention.

Belden claims that congressional nominations are a national matter, and entirely out of the jurisdiction of the state committee. On these lines Belden and Smith have been calling each other liar and scoundrel, until the party is wrought up to the highest pitch over the war of words. The matter will be fought out before the state committee at Albany next week, and it may be expected that neither party will give in without a supreme struggle.—*Syracuse Dispatch to New York Times*, June 26.

* * *

The Belden-Smith feud is still waging with unabated ardor, though probably there will be no pyrotechnics until the hearing before the sub-committee of the republican state committee in this city on July 8.

Both sides are busily organizing. On Thursday night a meeting of anti-Belden republican office-holders was held in the office of Collector Francis Hendricks, where the headquarters of Col. G. N. Crouse will be. The call was issued to all the republicans of Onondaga. Corporation Counsel Charles E. Ide announced that the purpose of the meeting was to organize for a fight against the renomination of James J. Belden. He said he presumed that all present were supporters of Col. Crouse, and asked any who were not to retire. Luther S. Merrick, a prominent republican and grand army of the republic man, arose and said that if it was that kind of a game they wanted to be counted out. Others followed this example and left the room.

Postmaster Carroll E. Smith was in charge, and made a speech assailing Congressmen Belden on every side. The conference lasted a long time, and considerable enthusiasm was shown. Col. Crouse was present.—*Syracuse Dispatch to New York Times*, July 3.

* * *

Col. George N. Crouse, who has been contesting the republican congressional nomination in this district against Representative Belden, has withdrawn from the fight, although one town caucus has been held. The sentiment for Belden was too strong, although Crouse was supported by Collector Hendricks, Senator Hiscock, Postmaster Smith, editor of the *Journal*, and other federal and city office-holders. Belden will be renominated by acclamation. The Hendricks machine in this county is thoroughly demoralized and Belden's influence promises to be supreme. The *Journal* has been fighting Belden with the greatest bitterness, even threatening to bolt his renomination, but it will probably desist from further open opposition before and after the renomination.—*Syracuse Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, July 22.

* * *

The first meeting which the republican city committee has held, called for the purpose of naming the time and places for holding the caucuses in the congressional election, was held to-night in the assembly room of the new city hall. It was the most disgraceful fracas of all the broils of the contest between Congressman James J. Belden and his opponents of the Hiscock-Hendricks [collector] ring. The shouts, hisses, groans and threats of the meeting could be heard at the hotels several blocks away and in the heat of the turmoil the delegates were standing on their seats yelling and calling for the blood of Clarence G. Brown, a Hiscock man, the chairman of the committee. The trouble began in the naming of substitutes. The Hiscock-Hendricks people offered a number of substitutes which the Beldenites openly declared to be forgeries.—*Syracuse Dispatch to New York Times*, July 28.

Senator Frank Hiscock and Collector of the Port of New York Francis Hendricks arrived in town to day, and Congressman J. J. Belden left after a brief conference with them. He has gone to his summer home in the St. Lawrence. The probable meaning thereof is that Hiscock and Hendricks have promised to keep their hands off Belden's canvass for the renomination to congress, and Belden in his goodness of heart has conceded to his opponents the supreme court judgeship. The last probability is strengthened by the fact that this afternoon Frank H. Hiscock, a nephew of the senator, came out as a candidate for the position, having previously held off Mr. White has been conducting a canvass for at least six weeks on the supposition that he was backed by Collector Hendricks. He has made the assertion openly. It is stated now that he will make the fight in spite of being thrown overboard by the Hiscock-Hendricks people.—*Syracuse Dispatch to New York Times*, August 6.

* * *

The appointment of Edward G. Harrison as postmaster to succeed A. R. Toland, who was appointed by ex-President Cleveland, stirred up a hornet's nest in the ranks of the republicans in this section. A majority of the workers favored Water Commissioner George W. Treat for the post. Ex-Assemblyman Oviatt, Gen. Sewell's lieutenant in this section, did not look favorably upon Treat's candidacy and sent in the name of John L. Coffin, formerly editor of the *Journal*. The two factions waged a bitter war for six months. Now that a dark horse has walked off with the prize, the Treat men are furious. Several leading republicans to-night denounced both Gen. Sewell and President Harrison, and a number of them declare openly that they will vote for Cleveland in November. Treat's friends say that they will disband the Young Men's Republican Club at the next meeting and pass resolutions denouncing Sewell and Harrison.—*Asbury Park Dispatch to New York Times*, July 15.

* * *

There is widespread dissatisfaction here among business men with the administration of the post-office by John T. Platt, who was appointed by President Harrison a year and a half ago. Platt combines with his post-office duties the light and airy job of writing editorials for the *Poughkeepsie Eagle*. He was appointed against the protest of the respectable republicans, who distrusted him because of his record in the assembly, where his name was often associated with the notorious Poughkeepsie bridge lobby. His first act when he received his appointment was to remove Deputy Postmaster Samuel Smith, a trusted official of thirty years' experience. In his place he put Ezra White, a general utility man who had been defeated for mayor by 500 votes. Smith died of a broken heart a few months after his removal. The local newspapers contain daily complaints of the laxness of the postal service. Mails are not distributed for two hours after they are received, and each one of the twenty-five employees seems to be a postmaster in himself. It is notorious that carriers leave in the office letters that take them any distance off their regular routes until it is convenient to deliver them.—*Poughkeepsie Dispatch to New York World*, August 18.

* * *

President Harrison's appointment of Grocer Kessler as postmaster at Short Hills has aroused the indignation of the residents of that suburban resort. When Short Hills was first laid out it was urged that a post-office would be a convenient thing to have, and that the railway station would be a convenient place for its location. So, at the request of the Short Hills residents, J. C. Goodrich, the station agent and telegraph operator, was named to take charge of it. Short Hills was a small place at that time. Its mail service was a small thing, even for a place of its limited population. It has grown since, and Mr. Goodrich has so improved the service that the post-office is now a presidential appointment, with \$1,800 per year attached to it. The \$1,800 tempted Grocer Kessler and he began circulating petitions for his appointment. The result is that President Harrison has just named him to succeed Mr. Goodrich. The residents agree that his store is not half as convenient a place as the station, and that he is not half as nice a man anyhow as Mr. Goodrich, and so they are all up in arms.—*Newark Dispatch to New York Times*, July 17.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—*President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.*

VOL. I, No. 45.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

FREDERICK ALMY, secretary of the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, 24 Law Exchange, Buffalo, New York, will be glad to get a copy of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for October, 1889, to complete the file of the association.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE continues its references to the part played by federal office holders in the campaign in order that the record may be as complete as possible. These same brisk fellows, paid by general taxation, and a couple of weeks ago such busy and brazen henchmen, are now so hump and apprehensive that they rather excite pity.

In other columns will be found taken from the Indianapolis *Evening News* a long list of those who "aspire" to federal offices from different localities in Indiana. Other lists are promised by the *News* in the future. The value of this service to the public can not be overestimated. The publication of the acts, facts, and motives which are always part of any scramble for spoil is the one thing that the scramblers do despise.

THE "best citizens" among the republicans are astounded and heartbroken at their defeat. But, as a matter of fact, these republicans have looked on with apparent indifference while their party in office was carrying out a wholesale violation of its promises. With a few exceptions, like Henry C. Lea, nothing seemed treacherous or scandalous enough to call for a protest. Mahoneism, Quayism, Plattism and Elkinsism were viewed with equanimity. The efforts of civil service reformers to keep the administration to its promises did not have the least support from these "best citizens." They looked on while Harrison manipulated and with offices bought his re-nomination, and then woke up with surprise because voters who had voted for him in 1888 would not vote for him again. These "best citizens" will have to learn that they have a duty to perform *between* elections. One of these duties is to see that the promises which they and their party have made are kept.

THE republican state committee of Indiana undoubtedly knowingly violated the law in its circular soliciting money from federal employes. The case of the postmaster at Ditney, Ind., is now in the hands of Attorney-general Miller. Almost all federal officers answered that circular with contributions. That, however, was not enough. All who made one contribution at once received the following communication, the words "favorably situated" in these circulars meaning that the recipients are in some office:

INDIANA REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE.
Rooms 4, 30 and 32, The Denison.
Telephone No. 1419.

INDIANAPOLIS, Oct. 29, 1892.

Dear Sir—We appreciate what you have done in the way of general work in this campaign, and thank you for whatever aid you have rendered the committee direct, but we must ask you for further assistance.

Indiana is a republican state. It must be kept where every business tie and interest places it—in the republican column. She, of all other states, should participate in the electoral college that will re-elect her worthy citizen, and retain the position she holds in the counsels of the government.

The result in the nation may depend upon this state. Let every republican do his duty. We know that you desire to be as industrious and as liberal as others as favorably situated, and that you wish to continue so worthy an administration. You will appreciate the importance of promptness at this hour.

May we not hear from you further?

Yours very truly,

FRANK M. MILLIKAN, *Secretary.*

THE President in no way failed more disgracefully than in the way in which he allowed United States marshals to prostitute their offices to party uses. Marshal Dunlap of Indiana was a typical example. In law he had the right to appoint deputies to keep the peace at the election. It is a dangerous power if in the hands of an unscrupulous man, and a marshal could have no higher duty than to act in this matter free from partisan bias. Marshal Dunlap made his appointments under the direction of republican politicians of the most obnoxious sort. He was ashamed to let the public know the names of his deputies. He did not know how many he was appointing, which makes it appear that he was appointing all of a certain class whose names were suggested by his party workers. He finally appointed five hundred and seventy-five, who will be paid ten dollars each for their services. They are reputed to have been among the class known as "doubtful." There was not the least need of appointing a single deputy and no one knew it better

than Dunlap. The Indiana law requires deputy sheriffs from both parties at the polls. When asked if he would appoint any democrats, here is what this peace officer, who is paid by and who is supposed to act impartially for all the people, said:

Not a democrat. In business my office is run for the people, in politics it is managed solely for republicans.

MARSHAL JACOBUS appointed some five thousand deputies of a similar class in New York. Such reckless use of power is full of the gravest danger. It needs but a conflict between state and federal officers with a "strong" President to send troops to the support of his marshals and we have reached imperialism. Those who laugh at such fears should study the career of Balmaceda in Chili.

THE action of John I. Davenport, chief supervisor of elections at New York, is a clear illustration of the length to which desperate professional politicians in office will go. He sent out the following letter:

UP-TOWN OFFICE CHIEF SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS, {
501 FIFTH AVENUE, COR. FORTY-SECOND STREET, }
NEW YORK, October —, 1892.

SIR: Your right to register and vote in the 31 Election District of the 16 Assembly District of the city of New York has been questioned. By calling at this office you may be able to satisfactorily explain the matter and thus avoid further trouble.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN I. DAVENPORT, Chief Supervisor.

MARTIN NORTON, Esq., 400 East Fifty-fourth Street.

MORE flagrant or violent abuses of official position are rare in this country. Davenport had not a shadow of authority for such an action. It was a bold attempt to scare timid voters by unscrupulous and violent henchmen, openly encouraged by the administration.

THE Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* is informed that the President is considering whether it will not be "good politics" to extend the civil service rules only in a trifling way, and to trust that the democratic party will be wrecked by its rapacity for office. It was well known among Mr. Cleveland's friends in 1888 that whatever the results of the election, it was his intention to substantially extend the rules. It has been understood by President Harrison's friends for a long time that it was his intention after the recent election to materially extend the rules. It would have been better

had Mr. Cleveland done his work earlier, and the same is true of President Harrison. It is hardly conceivable that the President will be so petty as to neglect this in order to annoy his successor.

INDIANA politics have always been notorious and interesting, and the recent campaign affords another illustration of the political backwardness of this state. The Columbia Club of Indianapolis is a powerful republican organization. It has a handsome club house with a dining-room to which the members might invite a young Boston republican with complacency. To belong to the club is a distinct social advantage. Its members call themselves, and they undoubtedly are, the "leading young men" of the city. To such a club, if anywhere, one would look for the best spirit of the republican party, that tendency "for reform within the party," of which much has been heard.

In Massachusetts the members of such a club would be the aggressive enemies of the spoils system. They would denounce the blackmailing of government employes. They would not view with indifference the methods by which Harrison's renomination was secured. They would remain republicans but they would not occupy a cowardly attitude in relation to the reform spirit said to exist among the better elements of the republican attitude. Has the Columbia Club any of that reform spirit, or is it organized as an aid to common, ordinary, every day ward politics?

A Philadelphia correspondent, thoroughly convinced that the use of the federal service as spoil is the most serious menace to free institutions, said to the writer in a recent private letter:

"The part that Tammany will play in this campaign, and the presence of Stevenson on the presidential ticket, makes it to my mind extremely doubtful that the interest of good government will best be served by the success of the democratic ticket."

He says in effect, we are now under the heel of Quay, Dave Martin, Hackett and Platt, and a change will only substitute the heel of Tammany. Our correspondent should not forget that the greatest obstacles to successfully throwing off tyranny are the apathy and acquiescence of the subjects. Especially in Pennsylvania is any effort for relief hampered by the fact that the present generation has never known any other condition than servitude under a Cameron dynasty or its successor, Quay. But aside from the valuable habit of frequent revolts against bosses, many of us think that if we must carry a boss, it lightens the weight to shift the load; that it is no worse to be spoiled by a Tammany than by a Quay and that, moreover, every time a boss is beaten he is weakened.

If any one can point out in detail the way by which the republican vampires who have for years been draining the life of the republican party can be destroyed by the method, which is our correspondent's, of the supply of fresh carcass, it ought to be done.

ANOTHER correspondent says: "I have, myself, little faith that the democratic party will do any better for the civil service than the republicans did." This has been for years a typical attitude of a large number of people and it has more impeded reform than hostility to it. The question is what course will in the long run most effectually kill patronage. The answer seems clear—*sharp and immediate punishment to the offender* now, four years from now, again in eight years, and again in twelve years if the lesson has not been learned before.

But what is going to be the immediate effect upon the civil service reform movement provided the democratic party should do no better than the late republican party? The answer to that seems equally plain if experience goes for anything. Spoil was divided in 1884, and again in 1888 and each time it was an object lesson that did ten-fold more to arouse popular disgust for the spoils system than all the efforts of all the civil service reformers. If there should be another distribution of spoils in 1892, the President who permitted it would violate his oath of office and he and his party would suffer; but the reform of the civil service would in fact go on the faster.

THE DEMOCRATIC CHANCE.

The democrats have on various grounds won a great victory. The situation has nowhere been better summed up than by the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, which realizes that more than one thing brought it about. No one can yet say that the democratic party is equal to its time and its opportunity, but it gives such promise that it is entitled to the chance. If now the democrats regulate the tariff in a way that pleases the greatest number of Americans and yet turn the civil service over to their Quays and Platts, and put their party in an attitude of opposition to the civil service law and civil service reform, their majority will all be worn away and they will be defeated in 1896. The reason is that enough voters to turn the scale have an irreconcilable hatred of being ruled by bosses, and of the use of the civil service as spoil. The lessons of the defeats of 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890 and 1892 may be read by all. No party in power can stand the grinding power of public criticism of its prostitution of the civil service to personal and party ends.

The democrats so far bear their victory

well. It is only in republican papers that the democrats are going to set up wildcat banks, destroy our manufactures, and repeal the civil service law. A repeal of the civil service law would be about like the repeal of the Missouri compromise. Under the present administration six republican congressmen introduced bills to repeal that law and the whole six went into private life at the next election—not solely for this reason but this was one of the reasons.

For three successive presidential elections the party which has had the offices has been defeated. Yet we shall hear once more, though probably not to such an extent, the exploded argument that the offices are essential to party success, and about the Boys with cold toes, and so on. Mr. Cleveland is in a position to smile grimly at all such nonsense. In fact, he is in a position to reform the civil service to almost any extent he desires. His platform makes the simple statement that the civil service law shall be enforced; that the offices ought not to be subject to change at every election, or be a brief reward of party zeal, or be a prize fought for at the polls. This covers the whole ground, and good faith requires that matters be put in such shape that the principles of the platform will be permanently established. The further this is carried the stronger the party will be at the end of four years.

It does not seem possible that further attempts to trick the civil service law will be made, or that the new commission will be less efficient, aggressive and fearless than the present one. It ought to be a *sine qua non* that heads of offices within the law shall be friendly to it. Beyond this a few measures will complete the reform of the federal civil service. The first is the passage of a bill introduced by John F. Andrew, a democrat, taking the fourth-class postmasters out of politics. The second is the passage of a bill, also introduced by Mr. Andrew, establishing the Boston labor service system in the federal labor service. The third is the addition by the President to the classified service of the remainder of the federal service which is capable of being put under competition. About 35,000 places are now under the rules, and probably 25,000 more can go under. These include a large number of places like heads of divisions in the departments at Washington, and in large offices throughout the country. These are now used to quarter political hacks upon the people, and these political hacks are usually ignorant of the law and of their duties, and are, in most cases, enemies of the merit system. Such appointments are like choosing collectors of customs from professional smugglers. These places should be thrown open to competition among the under employes, from whose numbers bet-

ter men can be obtained than have ever filled them yet.

When President Harrison, before his inauguration, was urged to adopt a plan of reform, he declared that he would have none, but would deal with each matter as it came up. We see where this led to. The greatest danger before Mr. Cleveland would be in having no plan of dealing with the gravest questions that will be presented to him—the demand for spoil—and it will be presented at once. There is no half-way ground. To substitute party workers for party workers, in office, is mere favoritism. Such a gift of offices has been for all time the most conspicuous mark of arbitrary government.

The incalculable value of a secret ballot has been made plainer than ever. It has seemingly destroyed the business of actual buying and selling votes at the polls in Indiana. Some slight changes will make voting much more satisfactory. The law is designed to make "scratching" difficult, but the politicians may as well give up trying to compel voters. Independent voting is happily going to increase, not diminish. The voter is now compelled to stamp opposite the name of every candidate for whom he wants to vote. Where there are thirty or forty candidates on each ticket this is a needlessly tedious and care-requiring operation. Usually one ticket contains the majority of a voter's candidates. He should be allowed to stamp the head of this ticket and then the names of candidates on the other tickets for whom he wants his vote counted. If he will vote for none of the candidates for a given office he should be required to stamp them all out. Again, the booths are too small. There is plenty of room and plenty of lumber, and there is no reason why a voter should not have elbow-room and a shelf wide enough to lay his ticket on. There will be a good deal of talk by the enemies of the system about the number who lost their votes by mistakes in stamping. This number will steadily decrease, and even now it is not so large as the number who formerly sold their votes.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

BUSY HENCHMEN.

At the opera-house eighteen hundred voters listened to *Hon. E. W. Halford*, President Harrison's private secretary, for an hour and a half. The day closed with a decided advantage in favor of the republicans.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 6.

Private Secretary Halford was in the city yesterday, between appointments, having spoken

at Columbus Saturday. To-day he will speak at Huntington.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 7.

* * *

The evening celebration was followed by a mass meeting held in the opera-house. It was addressed by *Hon. C. W. Fairbanks* and *Private Secretary Halford*. This closed a day full of old time enthusiasm.—*Marion Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 4.

* * *

Patrick Egan, United States Minister to Chili, will take the stump in the interest of the republican ticket next week. He will make his first appearance at Indianapolis, October 28.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 22.

* * *

B. K. Bruce, recorder of deeds of the district, leaves the city to-day. He will address a republican meeting at Wilmington, Del., tomorrow evening, and before returning will speak in New Jersey and Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 22.

* * *

Postmaster General Wanamaker's tour through northern Indiana is proving a brilliant ovation. * * *William Patterson* [superintendent of mails in Indianapolis post-office] of Indianapolis, accompanies him to arrange routes, time, etc., and proves an excellent manager.—*Fort Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 5.

* * *

Mr. Lincoln [minister to England], left Brazil immediately after the meeting for Terre Haute, where he was to make a short speech, and then hasten on to Sullivan, where the biggest rally in Sullivan county in this campaign is in progress, and where he spoke to-night.—*Brazil Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 4.

* * *

Deputy Controller of the Currency Nixon has gone to Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 24.

* * *

The republicans inaugurated to-day a series of noon day meetings, which are to last through the week. The principal speaker at the committee rooms to-day was *William M. Marine*, collector of customs at Baltimore.—*Indianapolis Evening News*, November 1.

* * *

Attorney-General *W. H. H. Miller*, Col. A. L. Conger and *Hon. Wm. Marine* [collector at Baltimore] were the orators. The opera-house and Odd-fellows' Hall were both filled to overflowing. Thousands from the surrounding country and towns were in attendance.—*Elwood Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 4.

* * *

There will be a big meeting in Fort Wayne to day, addressed by *Robert T. Lincoln*, Stephen A. Douglas and *Hon. W. M. Marine*, which makes a big team.—*Journal*, Nov. 1, 1892.

* * *

The republicans held another large and enthusiastic meeting, Saturday evening, the

speaker being *Gen. Green B. Raum*, commissioner of pensions.—*Lafayette Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 31.

* * *

A few hours before the time for the train to arrive to-night it was learned that *Gen. Green B. Raum* would be here to address the republicans.—*Franklin Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 29.

* * *

Republicans of Jackson township had a rousing meeting at Roanoke, Saturday afternoon, which was addressed by *Hon. Warren G. Sayre* [Indian commissioner].—*Huntington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 1.

* * *

Lafayette post-office carriers in uniform distributed, October 26, the following notices:

Republican
speaking.
Hon. W. W. Curry,
Chaplain Lozier,
at opera house
to-night.

* * *

One of the largest republican meetings of the campaign was held at the Grand opera-house last evening. *Hon. John B. Cockrum* was the first speaker.—*Greensburg Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 31.

* * *

During the meeting *John B. Cockrum* came into the room and gave a half hour's speech, which captivated the audience.—*Spiceland Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 23.

* * *

The republican round-up rally was a monster. * * Stirring and eloquent speeches were made by *Marcus R. Sulzer*, Assistant District Attorney *John B. Cockrum*. * * —*Madison Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 6.

* * *

Mr. Henry retired at this juncture, pleading weariness, and the *Hon. John B. Cockrum* took his place. He spoke entirely on two questions, that of the soldier and the force bill. In an adroit and telling manner he compared the war records of Grover Cleveland and Adlai Stevenson with those of General Harrison and War-correspondent Reid. He told how the first had sent a substitute, and the second had done likewise, and afterwards became a Knight of the Golden Circle.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 4.

* * *

Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney, presided over the noon-hour meeting of the republicans at county headquarters to-day.—*Indianapolis Evening News*, Nov. 2.

* * *

Hon. Smiley N. Chambers speaks at Brightwood to-night; *C. W. Smith* and *George W. Spahr* at Millersville, and *F. J. VanVorhis* at Traders Point.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 1.

* * *

We appeal for a careful consideration of the following question and answer in regard to the appointment of deputy marshals in this state:

Reporter—I presume there will be some democrats among the deputies.

Marshal Dunlap--Not a democrat. In business my office is run for the people; in politics it is managed solely for republicans.--*Indianapolis Sentinel*, November 5.

* * *

In the afternoon, Hon. W. D. Owen addressed a large audience, devoting the principal part of his remarks to the tariff question.--*Bluffton Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 4.

* * *

Twenty-five hundred people came in yesterday to hear Commissioner of Emigration W. D. Owen deliver one of his republican speeches.--*Vulparaiso Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 29.

* * *

Hon. W. D. Owen spoke under the auspices of the republican club last night.--*Garrett Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 21.

* * *

Hon. W. D. Owen addressed a large audience in this city to-night.--*Wabash Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, October 21.

* * *

Hon. W. D. Owen spoke at the opera house last night to a good audience.--*Albion Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 20.

* * *

Hon. L. W. Brown, United States consul to Glasgow, delivered a telling speech before a large audience in Bell's hall last night.--*Knightstown Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 20.

* * *

OGDEN, IND., Nov. 4, 1892.

Indianapolis Sentinel Company, Indianapolis, Indiana:

DEAR SIRS--I have been taking the *Sentinel* for four years, and yesterday when our postmaster handed out the *Sentinel*, he also handed out this small sheet.

They are distributing them very liberally to all.

Use this for what you want to.

A. O. HOOTON.

[The head lines of the circular are:

CALUMNY SILENCED.

ALLEGATIONS OF MATTHEWS, MYERS, AND THE SENTINEL, PROVED TO BE FALSE. DEMOCRATIC LIBELERS PUT TO ROUT.]

* * *

Mr. McMillan is assisted in his work of "redemption" by Internal Revenue Collector F. C. Stone, and others to the number of twelve. Jay A. Hubbell, the solicitor of contributions from the departments at Washington in years gone by, is one of the republican candidates for election at large.--*Detroit Dispatch to New York Times*, November 2.

* * *

Mr. Quay was at national headquarters yesterday completing his deal for administration support. Vice-President Morton was one of the callers there, and Mr. Quay had a consultation with him. He also took pains to talk the matter over not only with Chairman Car-

ter, but with Messrs. Manley and Clarkson. Thomas V. Cooper, collector of the port of Philadelphia.--*New York Times*, November 2.

* * *

"Steve" Elkins is seeking to justify his appointment as secretary of war by working night and day for the success of the national republican ticket in West Virginia. Since Mr. Harrison was nominated Elkins has spent but little time at the war department, and about every matter of importance there is left pending. "Until after the election" has become a common expression at the department in connection with inquiries concerning the secretary's absence. In the last few months five West Virginia republicans have been added to the clerical force of the department. Every clerk hailing from West Virginia who has a vote has been granted leave of absence and asked to go into the state and work for the republican ticket.--*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, October 28.

* * *

Customs Collector William J. Morgan went with two lieutenants into the fifth election district of the nineteenth ward and presented affidavits signed by Michael C. Hogan, United States supervisor of elections (republican), to the effect that fifty-one names of persons duly registered were of those not qualified and entitled vote at said election.--*Buffalo Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 24.

* * *

The administration republicans, led by Collector of customs, John M. Bailey, carried their fight into the county convention to day and succeeded in defeating State Committeeman William Barnes, jr.--*Albany Dispatch to New York Times*, Oct. 18.

* * *

How very necessary the republicans deemed the polling of every possible vote is shown by the fact that on Saturday last the employes of the sub-treasury in this city were peremptorily ordered to go to the polls yesterday and cast their votes for the republican candidates.

They were informed that their positions in the treasury depended on their doing their whole duty, and that the defeat of the republican ticket meant that their places would be taken by Tammany men. The orders were given without any attempt to gloss things over.

One man who has been in the treasury for over a dozen years said that this was the first time that he had ever been instructed or even asked to vote since he has been in the employ of the government.--*New York Times*, November 9.

BUSY BLACKMAILERS.

H. G. Ewart, ex-republican congressman from North Carolina, was in Charleston last week soliciting funds for the national republican campaign committee from federal office-holders in this city. He kept very quiet, but had many conferences with office-holders here.

The following is a copy of the letter sent by Ewart to office-holders:

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. —, 1892.

DEAR SIR--Your name has been given me by our friends here as one likely to aid the cause. You must appreciate its importance. Funds are urgently needed, and at once. Please be prompt. Delay is tantamount to refusal. That you have already rendered local aid is no reason or excuse for not assisting in this, which is of far greater importance than local contests.

I inclose certificate No. —, which I am assured you will take. If so, please fill in name and address, and mail with amount, — dollars, to me as per address given below. If not taken, return certificate at once to the same address, unless it is convenient for you to pay the amount by Nov. 1, in which event retain the certificate till that date. A favorable and immediate answer is expected. Yours respectfully,

P. S.—If certificate has been sent you, will you be kind enough to either refund at once or return the same?

—*Associated Press Dispatch from Charleston*, Oct. 31

* * *

An assessment circular, which must have had the approval of the republican national committee, has been sent to the departmental employes in Washington by the republican state committee of West Virginia. A copy of it fell into the hands of a democrat, who forwarded it to the democratic national committee, together with an explanatory letter.

The "stand and deliver" circular follows. Note the bulldozing postscript and the threat of dismissal it contains:

WEST VIRGINIA REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE, 32 TENTH STREET, WHEELING, WEST VA., Sept. 8, 1892.

DEAR SIR--The prospects for republican success in West Virginia are most excellent. We confidently expect to win. It is now simply a question of securing means wherewith to complete the splendid organization begun. If we are enabled to do that success is sure. We solicit from you a contribution of \$——. This will cover all your contributions to the national, congressional and other political committees. We are in urgent need of funds now. If you will help us, do so at once. Send remittances to P. B. Dobbins, treasurer, Wheeling, West Va., who will acknowledge receipt. Hoping you will assist us at once, and substantially, we are, yours very respectfully, WILLIAM M. DAWSON, Chairman.

G. W. ATKINSON, Secretary.

N. B. SCOTT, Member of National Committee.

P. S.—Do you think you can afford to ignore the suggestion of this committee?

—*New York Times*, Oct. 25.

* * *

Some one in Ohio, who signed himself "A Friend," forwarded to Mr. Theodore Roosevelt copies of two circulars sent by the Ohio republican state committee to a government clerk, calling for contributions. The name of the person addressed, presumably the author of the anonymous letter, was cut out, so that the commission might not profit by it. The circulars show that Chairman Dick, of the Ohio state committee, has been violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the civil service law. If they were addressed to the clerk at his place of employment, Dick can be proceeded against.

The first circular was as follows:

DEAR SIR: The republican executive committee of Ohio, which has been actively at work for the past two months, finds itself at this stage of the cam-

paign greatly in need of funds, and is obliged to call upon republicans throughout the state for contributions to carry on its work. The prosperity of the whole country depends upon the continued success of the republican party. As an individual, you are interested in the party's success, and as such we ask you for a contribution to aid this committee in the furtherance of its work.

This is the only request that will be made of you by any committee, therefore an early response, with a liberal contribution, will be thankfully received and acknowledged, and, as promptness in our business is of the utmost importance, we will be pleased to hear from you at once. Yours truly,

CHARLES W. F. DICK, Chairman.

JOHN R. MOLLOY, Secretary.

(Remit to C. W. F. Dick, or, if more convenient, pay in person to W. H. Campbell, 36 West Third street, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

Evidently the person solicited believed in the assurances of the civil service commission, for he made no reply, as the following circular shows:

DEAR SIR—Nearly five weeks ago we wrote you requesting a contribution to the republican campaign fund. Our books show to that request you have not responded. A number of your associates in the public service have replied to our letter, and hold our receipts as evidence of their fidelity to the cause and interest in the success of the party under whose administration they are holding positions. It is due them, and to you as well, that all should share alike in the legitimate expense of the campaign.

In this campaign Ohio is compelled to take care of herself, and if those who are direct beneficiaries of public positions do not contribute, it is unreasonable to expect non-office-holders to do so. We again call on you for a reasonable contribution, and hope you will not delay in sending it, for which we will mail you a receipt and give you due credit on our books.

We would be pleased to have your reply at once.

Respectfully, C. W. F. DICK, Chairman.

JOHN R. MALLOY, Secretary.

—New York Times, October 31.

* * *

The Times's correspondent was informed here to-day that the chairman of the republican committee had assessed the office-holders in Jefferson county to the amount of over \$10,000. Every postmaster and custom house employe has been asked to contribute from 5 to 20 per cent. of his salary. The campaign fund derived from the post-office in this city alone will amount to over \$1,400. Every letter carrier in the city has been assessed \$40, and even the janitor of the federal building has been asked to stand and deliver \$50 for campaign expenses. In several instances where contributions have been delayed, the victims not being willing to submit to the demands, threats of removal have been made to force payment. These threats have come from the republican managers and not from the superiors of the men assessed.—Watertown, N. Y., Dispatch to New York Times, Oct. 21.

* * *

One of the office holders to whom this circular was sent was Postmaster Preston E. Terry, Terryville, Suffolk county. Mr. Terry is a prominent prohibitionist, but he was lucky enough four years ago to be appointed postmaster at Terryville by the republicans.

Treasurer Samuel Thomas' circular reached Postmaster Terry on August 5 last. It asked, practically, for a share of his salary for campaign purposes.

Mr. Terry made up his mind that no one

had a right to assess him in that way. He not only refused to deliver up, but sent word back to Gen. Thomas that he would not contribute.

Now, mark the speed with which the National government avenged itself upon Postmaster Terry. Before September 1 Mr. Terry received notice that his services were no longer required. He was dismissed from office.

Naturally, he was desirous of knowing what had caused his dismissal, and he wrote to the post-office department at Washington about it. What satisfaction he got can be found in the following letter received by Postmaster Terry:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER,
GENERAL APPOINTMENT DIVISION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 7, 1892.

SIR: Your communication of the 27th ult. relative to the recent appointment at Terryville has been received. In reply, you are informed that it would not be practicable for the department to enter upon written discussions of its causes for changes. Very respectfully,

E. G. RATHBONE,

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General.

To Mr. P. E. TERRY.

—New York Times, Oct. 23.

* * *

An edict went forth a few days ago that the postal employes should make some contribution to the republican campaign fund. Accordingly yesterday the local republican county committee issued a circular which was sent to every person employed in the postal service. The assessment is 10 per cent. of the year's salary. Thus the clerks in the post-office who receive from \$400 to \$900 a year are assessed from \$40 to \$90. The carriers, who get from \$600 to \$1,000 per annum, are mulched \$60 to \$100, and so on up to the \$400 assessment of the postmaster himself.—Buffalo Dispatch to New York Times, Nov. 2.

* * *

MONTGOMERY, ALA., October 19, 1892.

DEAR SIR—In order that we may win the election in November, it is of vital importance that we have funds with which to thoroughly organize our friends throughout the state.

It will be necessary to have each county thoroughly canvassed, and to do so it will require a number of speakers whose expenses will have to be paid by this committee.

If you are in sympathy with the movement to elect the nominee of the convention held at Lake View, near Birmingham, on the 15th ultimo, we respectfully ask that you contribute the sum of \$50, which is the amount assessed you by the campaign committee.

Send the money by registered mail or post-office money-order to L. W. Willis. By the same mail please notify E. M. Smith at Montgomery, Ala., that you have done so, and state the amount sent. Very truly yours,

BEN DE LEMOS,

Secretary Republican Campaign Committee.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., October 28, 1892.

DEAR SIR—Some days since you were notified by the committee that you are assessed fifty dollars, to which no reply has been received. Your attention is again called to this matter, as you have had a sufficient time to make a reply.

The position which you have held under this administration has paid you sufficiently to have justified a demand for four times this amount.

This committee keeps a list of subscribers, showing the amount of money contributed opposite their names. We must insist that the amount requested of you be transmitted as directed in this letter, forthwith, the sum of which is \$50.00.

If no reply is received by or before November 6, 1892, it will be considered sufficient evidence of your refusal to contribute as requested.

Send the money by registered mail or money-order to L. W. Willis, Montgomery, Ala., and notify by same mail E. M. Smith, post-office box 634, Montgomery, Ala., of the amount you have sent, that the same may be credited on the pay roll of public officials of this state.

L. W. WILLIS,

Treasurer of Republican Campaign Committee.—New York Evening Post, Nov. 3.

* * *

HEADQUARTERS OF REPUBLICAN ADVISORY
COMMITTEE, ROOM 108, IMPERIAL HOTEL.
BALTIMORE, Oct. 29, 1892.

At a meeting of this committee and city members of the republican state central committee, held on the above date, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, There is a large number of persons holding office in Washington and accredited to Maryland as republicans, many of whom do not vote or reside in Maryland; now, therefore,

Resolved, That the committee heretofore appointed to receive contributions from those holding office in Washington who are accredited to Maryland be instructed to communicate with such office holders and inform them that it is the sense of this committee that republicans holding office should help to bear the campaign expenses of their state, and a refusal on their part to do so will justify this committee in asking that their places be filled by more useful republicans.

Inclosed with this circular was the following notice, addressed to the person in each case to whom the circulars were sent:

"The committee will be at 737 North Capitol street, on Tuesday, Nov. 1, between the hours of 11 and 5 o'clock, to receive contributions. Frank G. Duhurst, William T. Roberts, committee."—New York Times, November 3.

A BUSY CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26, 1892.

To the Honorable Attorney-General:

SIR—The commissioner forwards herewith a copy of testimony taken by it in reference to an alleged effort by Samuel Thomas, treasurer of the republican state committee of New York, to assess employes in the treasury department, Washington, together with the original letters, envelopes, and enclosures sent to three of the employes, marked exhibits A 1, 2, 3; B 1, 2, 3, and C 1, 2, 3.

It appears that H. A. Dobson, Luther W. Covill and Andrew H. Stamp are clerks in the

sixth auditor's office; that on or about 21st of October, as shown by the postmark of the Washington post-office on the letters in question, Messrs. Dobson, Covill and Stamp received each a letter from the republican state committee of New York. This letter was printed, the signature "Samuel Thomas, Treasurer," being also in print, and it had at its head the names of the chairman of the executive committee, the treasurer, the secretary, and the chief clerk of the committee. It contained a request for a contribution to defray the legitimate and necessary expenses of the campaign in New York. No amount was specified for contribution, the request merely being for such amount as the receiver might choose to give. Inclosed was a stamped envelope with on it, in printing, the address "Samuel Thomas, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City." The head-line for the address in the printed letter was filled in in writing, in one case with the name "Andrew H. Stamp," in another with the name of "Luther W. Covill," in the other with that of "H. A. Dobson." The envelopes were addressed: "Andrew H. Stamp, Washington, D. C., Treasury Department;" "Luther W. Covill, Washington, D. C., Treasury Department," and "H. A. Dobson, Washington, Treasury Department." It appears that there is no H. A. Dobson in the treasury department, but that Mr. H. A. Dobson frequently receives mail thus addressed. In the case of Mr. Stamp and in the case of Mr. Covill, however, the address is correct.

It thus appears that the New York state republican committee has sent letters, signed in print with the name of Samuel Thomas, treasurer of the committee, to certain New York clerks in the departments at Washington, these letters being addressed to them at the treasury department, which is, of course, a government building, and containing stamped and addressed envelopes in which their contributions could be sent back to Samuel Thomas at New York. Clearly, therefore, the New York state committee, through Samuel Thomas, and whoever had been concerned in addressing the letters, has been soliciting by letter government employes in a building occupied in the discharge of official duties. The commission has always held that the prohibition to solicit, "in any manner, whatever," in a government building, includes solicitation by letter. It is, therefore, of the opinion that the offense committed by Samuel Thomas, and perhaps other members of the republican state committee of New York, comes under section 12 of the civil service act, and has the honor to forward the papers to you for such action as you may deem best.

Very respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

Acting President.

Attorney General Miller, when questioned on the subject this afternoon, said he had just received the papers in the case, and had not yet had time to examine them. He added that he would investigate this particular case himself, but certainly would not act until Mr.

Thomas had full opportunity to answer the charges against him.—*New York Times*, Oct. 1.

* * *

Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt forwarded this communication to the attorney-general's office to-day:

"SIR—The commission directs me to inclose to you a copy of the report and testimony taken by the secretary of the commission, Mr. Doyle, in an investigation held at Watertown, N. Y., by the direction of the commission.

"It appears from this that DeWitt C. Middleton, the chairman of the republican county committee in Jefferson, has been engaged in an effort to assess the federal employes in the post-offices in Jefferson county, having attempted to collect very large sums of money from them. Subsequently, when it was announced in the papers that the commission would investigate the facts an effort was made to withdraw these circulars. It does not appear that any money was contributed in response to them and the secretary of the commission, Mr. Doyle, states that it has even been decided that no money will be received from the officers and employes at the post-office at Watertown. It does not appear that Mr. Middleton is responsible for this latter action, and it will be observed that he repeated the solicitation on October 15, the first letter having been written on Sept. 19.

"The commission has been able to get but one of the envelopes in which the circulars were sent. This is the one addressed to the postmaster and is addressed "E. M. Gates, city." It was delivered to him at the post-office. The postmaster furnished frankly all the information in his power. It was more difficult to obtain it from some of the other employes, and the commission does not feel competent to decide whether the circulars making the assessments can be considered as directed to the employes in a government building or not, nor does it feel that it would be advisable for it to continue further the investigation, in view of its inability to administer oaths and summons witnesses.

"It appears, however, beyond question, that a resolute attempt was made to assess the federal employes, and that the letters containing the assessment circulars were delivered in the government building. The commission turns the papers over to your office for such action as you may deem wise in the premises.—*New York Times*, Nov. 3.

* * *

The civil service commission have sent to the attorney-general copies of a circular sent to C. K. Ketcham, the postmaster at Ditney, Ind., and of a letter written by this postmaster to the editor of the *Nonconformist*.

"It appears from this circular," says the commission in its letter to the attorney-general, "that John K. Gowdy, the chairman of the Indiana state committee, has sent a letter to Mr. Ketcham, this letter being addressed to him as the postmaster at Ditney, Ind. In this letter request is made for funds to insure republican success, the letter stating in one place the legitimate expenses must be met, and in another, 'the success of the ticket is involved as well as the pleasant conditions about you.' It would certainly appear that in addressing the letter to C. K. Ketcham as postmaster at Ditney, Mr. Gowdy has

been guilty of soliciting him in a government building. The papers are also turned over to your office for such action as you may deem wise."—*Associated Press Dispatch*, Nov. 6.

THE ONSLAUGHT.

FT. WAYNE.—Charles A. Zollinger is named as a candidate for the postmastership, but it is said he prefers to be state pension agent, which he held during Cleveland's former administration. Wright W. Rockhill, one of the proprietors of the *Ft. Wayne Journal*, wants to be postmaster. John H. Winge-mach, principal of the Lutheran schools, is a candidate. P. J. Fallon is talked of as having a promise of the deputy postmastership. Montgomery Hamilton, one of Congressman McNagney's hardest workers, wants the Heidelberg consulate. Andrew J. Moynihan, editor of the *Journal*, is talked of for an Irish consulate. Wm. Kaough, ex postmaster, wants something, he is not particular what. Louis Jacquiel thinks he (Jacquiel), should have the post-office. W. P. Denny will be pushed for a place in the patent office at Washington. P. W. Schader has aspirations for a place in the attorney-general's office. Thomas Mannix, who looked after the mail transfer agency four years ago at the depot, is sure of reappointment. Clarence Edsall, clerk of democratic headquarters, and Joseph Cope are candidates for government clerkships. Over one hundred men have already made the rounds of politicians to secure places in the post-office and government building.

EVANSVILLE.—August Brentano, Jack Nolan, and James D. Saunders are the conspicuously-named candidates for the post-office, with Nolan having much the strongest following. Thomas C. Bridwell has an eye upon the revenue collectorship. He has just closed a losing campaign for county clerk. Joseph Cox, of Howell's Station, is after the position of surveyor of customs. He held the place under Cleveland four years ago. Captain F. M. Dougherty is looking after the supervising inspectorship, but there will be several more applicants.

GOSHEN.—The great scramble here is for the post-office. Elias Gortner was the first to spring into the arena with a petition which is being numerously signed. Mr. Gortner has a son-in-law, J. C. Beck, jr., in the mail service. J. C. Beck, sr., is also a full-fledged candidate, and so is Thomas A. Starr, who rendered Congressman-elect Conn great assistance. Mr. Starr is the *Goshen Times'* candidate, while Martin V. Starr, also a candidate, is supposed to be backed by the *Goshen News*. J. A. Beane, of the *Goshen Democrat*, will also be pushed forward. D. L. Miller and Milton Galentine are candidates and there is a possibility that J. A. Arthur will be sprung as a dark horse. The struggle for this place overshadows all other possible gifts by the incoming administration just at present.

ANDERSON.—For the postmastership John Baker, the Adams express agent; B. B. Campbell, deputy county clerk, and George Beehe, secretary of the democratic central committee, will contest. C. K. McCullough, whose name has been mentioned in Washington dispatches in connection with controller of the currency, is not a candidate, and his friends think that springing his name is only intended to sidetrack him and get him out of the way of some good home appointment. James J. Netterville, John L. Forkner, D. F. Mustard and W. R. Myers will control the patronage in this county, while A. C. Davis a House employe, will be pretty close to Mr. Bynum when it comes to naming men for places at Washington.

COLUMBUS.—Wirt Hord, formerly of Indianapolis, and financial secretary of the Gray club, is a candidate for government printer under the Cleveland administration. Bud King wants a position in the government printing office. The list of would-be postmasters includes Col. H. Daily, of Mexican war fame, Capt. G. E. Finney, ex-editor of the *Herald*; David Stobo, ex-county recorder; the Hon. W. S. Swengel; C. M. Spencer, ex-mayor; W. W. Stader, ex-mayor; John Mahoney, ex-city treasurer; George King, jr., ex-recorder Jackson county

Jas. F. Toohey, proprietor St. Denis hotel; C. Cooper, city attorney; Thos. A. Rush; John Carr, councilman; and Dr. Barrett, ex-state senator.

NEW CASTLE.—For the post-office, so far as heard from, Sam Arnold, Ed Smith, T. A. Balser, D. A. Tracy, P. M. Gillies, C. F. Sudworth, Dr. Kissell, John Heichart, Col. John Mulford and Julia Loer. Thos. Bogot has his eye on the mission to Norway and Sweden; James Brown wants very badly to go to Rome; John Branch would like a good clerkship, and Col. Reuben Barr is looking out for a good thing in the treasury department, something about the size of first auditor. There are others aspiring to clerkships in the postal service.

GREENSBURG.—Cicero Northern, the only democrat elected to the mayoralty of this city for the past ten years, is a candidate for postmaster. John Lugenbell, a party orator, same case. Col. Hugh Gallagher, defeated candidate for county treasurer, was Cleveland's agent at Pine Ridge. He will not ask to be reinstated. Abel Ewing, who recently resigned the position of deputy warden in the prison south, will demand recognition. James E. Mendenhall, ex-editor of the *New Era*, is a candidate for collector of revenue. He will have the backing of Congressman Holman and the entire party machinery of this quarter of the state. W. J. Johnston wants to be city postmaster, J. W. Fletcher gauger. Hal Hamilton, a recent convert from the people's party, and who made the race for prosecuting attorney, wants to go into the attorney-general's office. Ex-State Senator Cortez Ewing, chairman democratic county central committee, son-in-law of Governor-elect Matthews, is timid about making his wants known, but will enter for something. Editor Clark, of the *New Era*; Thos. H. Greenfield, Riley Billings, Lewis Wallace, Davison Wilson, H. C. Sandusky and Ale Howard will seek recognition of some sort. Benj. Jenkins, of St. Paul; Sanford Grayson, of Westport; James Tarplee, of Clarksburg, and Fred Wolfe, of Newport, expect to be rewarded for political services.

MT. VERNON.—The principal office of emolument in Posey county is the post-office here, and Col. A. A. Sparks, editor *Daily Democrat*; J. M. Harlem, chairman democratic county committee; J. C. Leffel, editor the *Star*; Enoch E. Thomas, ex-mayor; Captain Silas P. Jones and Henry Yunker are already avowed candidates. Col. J. W. Hiatt, of New Harmony, wants an appointment at Washington, waiting for a copy of the "Blue Book" before making a selection. V. M. Courtwright, an old soldier, and ex-county recorder, it is said, wants to be special pension examiner.

NEW ALBANY.—The main topic is the successor to Postmaster Walter B. Godfrey. Charles W. Schindler, recorder of Floyd county, is an avowed candidate. During the campaign he was Congressman Brown's right-hand man, and it is said that Brown will urge his appointment. Schindler's term as recorder does not expire for two years yet, but he has already secured signatures to his petition to be appointed postmaster. Postmaster Godfrey does not anticipate being removed before July next. Sheriff John Thornton, whose term expires next week, is looking toward the post-office with its \$2,400 salary and \$300 as custodian of the custom-house. Adam Heimberger, a young democratic leader, is being urged for the same place. Thomas Hanlon, chairman democratic county committee, is the only applicant for internal revenue collector, a position now held by Joseph Throop, with headquarters at Terre Haute. Hanlon admirably managed the campaign, and is believed to be backed by Senator Voorhees. Hanlon was appointed collector in 1885 through Voorhees' influence, but after holding the position for one year the United States Senate refused to confirm the appointment. This was due to the opposition of Senator Harrison, who claimed that Hanlon was incompetent.

VINCENNES.—Royal E. Purcell, editor of the *Vincennes Sun*, is an applicant for the post-office. Dexter Gardner is also a candidate. Patrick Kelleher and John M. Berry are aspirants for agricultural agent of Indiana, to succeed Daniel Alton.

RICHMOND.—The post-office with its salary of \$3,000 per annum is sought by the Hon. Luther M. Mering, defeated candidate for congress; John H. Rolling, a zealous worker; John P. Thistlewaite, ex-

mayor, and Henry Cutler. Frank Elder could have the place, but he is provided for. John H. Macks, a former collector, and W. K. Young, deputy oil inspector, want to be collector of internal revenue. Judge L. C. Abbott, nothing special in view, would like to be United States district attorney.

KENTLAND.—For the post-office, C. F. Wittenberg, W. J. Cunningham, W. T. Drake and J. B. Howe. Public sentiment leads to Wittenberg, but the chances favor Cunningham because of zealous party work. J. T. Sanderson is mentioned as a candidate in the future for United States judge; is a life-long friend of Senator Turpie, and in 1844 was a candidate for territorial judge.

HUNTINGTON.—For the post-office, J. M. Wright, A. J. Roscbrough and N. A. Myers, old soldiers, have a goodly following. The railway men are understood to be supporting James Claybaugh, who is employed by the Chicago & Erie line. John J. Young, a retired business man, has the office in view. J. A. W. Kintz will probably present himself as a candidate for collector of revenue in the sixth district.

ENGLISH.—Mrs. Melissa Bird is a candidate for postmistress; no opposition. William J. McDermott will seek position as proof-reader in the public printing department. Ed Wells wants to be postmaster at Bird's Eye, and Joshua Holland at Taswell. George W. Balthis will seek similar recognition at Marengo. John V. Benz, of Harrison county, will be pushed for collector of revenue in the seventh district, while William L. Gregory, it is understood, will stand for postmaster at Grantsburg.

HARTFORD CITY.—Dr. Henry C. Davison, who was pension examiner under Cleveland, wants his old appointment. Dr. W. N. Cronin is also an applicant. James Ozenbaugh, an old soldier, and James Kenney, as well as a host of minor lights, wants the post-office.

GREENCASTLE.—Willis G. Neff wants the post-office. He was the first appointee under the former Cleveland administration, Geo. J. Langsdale resigning before expiration of term rather than serve under Cleveland. Rival candidates are W. B. Vestal, chairman of the Democratic central committee; Louis Steeg, Ed Haneman, T. C. Grooms and Judge Bachelder. Putnam has a candidate for speaker of the Indiana house in the person of the Hon. Frank D. Ader, joint representative-elect of the counties of Clay, Putnam and Montgomery. Dr. N. G. Smith will be presented for appointment as adjutant-general.

CRAWFORDSVILLE.—Walter Hulet will be pushed for internal revenue collector. He is a warm personal friend of Congressman Brookshire. James Wright, John A. Booe and William E. Henkle are conspicuously mentioned for the post-office.

LOGANSPOUT.—Three strong candidates for the post-office are V. C. Hanawalt, chairman of the democratic county committee; B. F. Lonthain, editor of the *Logansport Pharos*, and T. J. Immei, a prominent business man. It is said that H. D. Hattery, the presidential elector from this district, will have the naming of the man, and he is quoted as saying that if it becomes too difficult to decide, he will take it himself. The Hon. D. P. Baldwin, formerly a republican, is prominently mentioned for a good consulate. Dr. H. J. Banta, ex-republican, and formerly agent of the Mescalero Indians, is said to be booked for a good paying agency in return for his democratic campaigning. Wiles Berry, an artist, wants something. The Hon. J. C. Nelson, beaten by Chase for lieutenant-governor, and C. N. Graffis, deputy county auditor, will seek recognition. A. D. Fansler, Frank Riley, and H. H. Six, among the younger democrats, have the first call for clerkships.

SHELBYVILLE.—Squire L. Major, who held the post-office under Cleveland, it is understood, will not refuse a second term. A relative of his, Mr. William J. Buxton, ex-county recorder and for two years chairman of the county central committee, is an avowed candidate for the place. So is ex-Mayor John W. Vannoy. Judge K. M. Hord, who managed Congressman Holman's campaign in Shelby county in the nominating convention against Bellamy S. Sutton, favors Vannoy. Edward A. Major, present city clerk and son of the late Judge Steven Major, is

after the same office. Mr. Major, as secretary, practically managed the campaign in this county two years ago.

CONNERSVILLE.—Applicants for the post office: William Merrill, chairman of county central committee; John M. Higgs, editor *Connorsville Examiner*, and Elder Charles M. Reed, a medicinal agent. Dr. Joshua Whitwood wants to be minister to some place where the German language is spoken. E. J. Smith, attorney, will take a clerkship; so also Alf Hatchlas, secretary of the local democracy. A. M. Mayer would like to get into the post-office. James L. Miller wants the deputy-postmastership. George Mayers, Willard Walley, Charles Hires, Michael Gillespie and Vincent Gibes want to be mail carriers. Dudley Murphy and James Downs want to be revenue collector. Thomas J. Higgs wants a department clerkship.

MADISON.—Judge John R. Craveus and the Hon. C. A. Worby are named for foreign missions. Candidates for postmaster: Ex-Mayor Joseph T. Brash-ear, Capt. Jos. C. Abbott, Ed G. Nicklaus, A. S. Chapman, editor of the *Democrat*; John Adams, proprietor of the *Herald*; John McGregor, Simeon E. Leland, Mrs. Bessie H. Woolford, C. I. Branham, John W. Scott and G. K. Lodge. Congressman Brown says that the democrats of Madison must decide on one before he will make a recommendation. Thomas Gavin is mentioned for deputy revenue collector. Fergus Cochran is a candidate for superintendent of construction of the new public building here, and Ben Serling for surveyor. Fred Schran, Alex Cochran, Thomas Leland, Michael Hughes, Andrew Steinhardt, Will White and others want to be mail-carriers.

LIBERTY.—For postmaster, Theo. Miller, John Maley, Geo. W. Pigman, Luther Leonard, Charles A. Drapier and Dr. W. W. Shriner. Railway mail service, William Driggs, Will Hamilton wants a place at Washington. Thomas Pentecost, of College Corner, wants to join the revenue service.

MARION.—Post-office, Clarence E. Hawkins and W. J. Houck, of the *Marion Leader*, defeated for senator by O. A. Baker. Mr. Hawkins served four years as a mail clerk under Cleveland, and did good work as chairman of the county central committee. Charles Kile, of the *Leader*; Gilbert Wilson and Miles Murphy are also aspirants. Dr. Marshall Shiveley served on the pension board under Cleveland, and it is believed he will again hold the place. Dr. Hubbard and Dr. Kimball are also mentioned.

GOSPORT.—For the post-office petitions are already circulated, but it is thought it will take a local election to decide. Aspirants include W. D. Deitrich, Clinton L. Wampier, Dr. F. V. Stucky, Joseph P. Gentry, James Chenoweth and Chas. M. Rogers. Luther U. Downey and Edward S. Davis are expecting some favor of Cleveland. Edward F. Graham wants to be clerk in the post-office. Dr. J. W. Smith, Dr. J. M. Stucky, Dr. C. A. Pritchard and Dr. Ben Fox hope to be appointed on the pension examining board.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Isaac P. Gray wants something good. S. E. Morss is credited with a willingness to succeed John C. New as consul-general to London. William E. English wants to be sent abroad. William F. Christian will ask for the Indianapolis post-office. Lewis Jordan wants any good paying position. Richard Herrick, of the state committee rooms, wants any \$3,000 a year place. Thomas Colbert, present superintendent of police, wants to be United States marshal in case Edward Hawkins is not a candidate. Mr. Hawkins says he does not want the place again. He will probably be a candidate for mayor and will give way to others seeking federal recognition. John Steeg, present secretary of the board of public safety, wants to be collector of customs. So does August Kuhn, who was collector under Cleveland before. So does A. Abromet. Charley Taylor wants any fat place about the federal building. There are two or three hundred ward workers who will ask for places in this building or at Washington. John W. Kern would like to succeed Smiley Chambers as district attorney. So would Leon Bailey. The few colored men in Indianapolis who worked for and voted with

the democratic party in the recent election will be disappointed unless they are rewarded. "There are more than two thousand places, paying from \$1,000 to \$2,000, held by colored men, such as chaplains in the United States army, timber agents, land agents, heads of bureaus, food inspectors, etc.," said one of these colored politicians to-day. "Democratic colored men should be given these places as far as possible." It is said that the following appointments would suit the colored democrats of Indiana: Minister to Hayti, E. E. Cooper; fourth auditor of the treasury, A. E. Manning; recorder of deeds, L. E. Christy. These aspiring colored democrats are carrying around with them the following list of the best offices held now and heretofore by colored men: Recorder of deeds, \$15,000, B. K. Bruce; minister to Hayti, \$5,000, John Durham; minister to Liberia, \$4,000, W. D. McCoy; consul to San Domingo, \$2,500, H. T. Downing; consul to Kingston, \$3,000 (white man); consul to Louisa, \$1,500 (white man); superintendent Freedmen's hospital, \$2,500, Dr. C. B. Purvis; assistant librarian house of representatives, \$2,000, W. H. Smith; surveyor port Galveston, Texas, \$5,000, N. W. Caney; Indian agent, Oklahoma, \$2,000 (white man); recorder general land office, \$3,000, the Rev D. P. Roberts; fourth auditor treasury, \$4,000, John R. Lynah.

WASHINGTON—R. C. Davis, of the Peoples' National Bank, wants to be national bank examiner of the state. Ex-Congressman O'Neal is talked of for district attorney. For postmaster, J. W. McCarty, jr., Hamlet Allan and Wm. Guy. Deputy revenue collector, the Hon. John H. Spencer.—*From the Indianapolis Evening News, Nov. 17 and 18, 1892.*

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Mr. Curtis was the most influential representative of that true patriotism which Washington invoked in his last words to his countrymen, and his loss is a national calamity which long will be felt.

In course of time the whole American people will recognize the pre eminent value of his services in this second struggle for political freedom which now is waging. George Washington delivered his country from the despotism of the British crown, but the superstition of divine right was not exterminated by the union of our states. As Mr. Curtis well said, "It was transferred, in justification of Washington's warning from a king to a party," and George William Curtis as the honored leader of the army of independents, fought the first battles in the war for our political rights against the tyranny of party. To use his own words again:

"The old fiction of the law in monarchies, that the king can do no wrong, has become the practical faith of great multitudes in this republic in regard to party."

He was the independent whom all partisans were forced to respect and whose leadership all patriots freely recognized.

As Washington was reviled as the traitor, insurgent and rebel, so Curtis was jeered at by the creatures of that tyranny whose right he denied, as pharisee, renegade and mugwump. * * *

The position of Curtis was almost unique. His political services had been eminent and for them he had asked nothing. His devotion to his party had been absorbing. Of his sincerity there could be no doubt.

The history of all countries has shown that

when a leader is needed in a social or political crisis, some great man soon stands forth pre-eminently fitted for that leadership. By birth, associations and many facts of the earlier years of his life, Mr. Curtis was especially equipped for that contest against the political bondage of the American people which glorified his later years. Had he lived at another time his services would not have been called for, or would not have availed so much. Until the end of the administration of John Quincy Adams, and for more than the first third of our history, though party spirit ran high and its bitterness had already caused alarm among thoughtful friends of the republic, it had not yet armed itself with the power of patronage and consequently had not yet been able to overcome the popular will. * * *

In 1808 John Adams said: "Party spirit confounds the distinction between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and it corrupts the moral sense," but true as this indictment then was and still is, excessive party spirit alone could not prevent the American people from governing themselves according to the system guaranteed by the constitution until it was allied with the spoils system. This combination is what endangers our institutions and destroys confidence in the method of government by party. * * *

To free his countrymen from the chains thrown around them by this alliance was the work of the ripe years of George William Curtis. * * *

The work before him who would attack this evil, involved, first the breaking away from the superstition of party worship, and then the creation of a public opinion in favor of a decent, business-like method of filling the public offices. No man who had not proven his devotion to the principles of one of the great parties could have any influence as an independent in the attempt to show the folly of blind partisanship. No man who had not proven his devotion to the principles which had made the republican party great and grand could have had any influence in the crusade which was preached by George William Curtis. He was ripe for it just when the time was ripe for him. Other questions of more immediate moment had engrossed the attention of the people until the new Declaration of Independence was made in the presentation of the civil service reform bill. A glance at the services rendered by George William Curtis to the republican party will show how eminently he was fitted to lead that crusade. * * * —*From the Address of Charles B. Wilby, before the Literary Club of Cincinnati, October 1.*

At the September meeting of the executive committee of Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association appropriate action on the death of President George William Curtis was taken by adoption of the following

"MEMORIAL.

"The death of George William Curtis has taken from the civil service reform its fore-

most champion, and in common with all friends of the cause to which he had given the last and best years of his life, we feel that it has sustained a loss almost overwhelming. He was indeed our great leader, wise, devoted, able, fearless, faithful. He brought to the service of this reform a mind of the first order, trained in the most admirable manner. He was an attractive and vigorous writer, and an orator of such persuasive eloquence that it may be justly said he had no superior. His character was altogether noble. The bitterest opponents of the cause he advocated, equally with its friends, knew and acknowledged his sincerity, and to those who were not well informed as to its purposes and methods it seemed incredible that he should be its devoted leader if it did not merit success. In a time when personal authority is little regarded, his judgment upon large questions of social obligations and public morals carried more weight perhaps than that of any other American.

"But great leader as he was, he never insisted upon primacy. His leadership was never disputed because he never sought it and because he was so hearty and generous a comrade. He died at the height of his power. At an age when most men are ready to retire from active service, he did not seem to have been touched by the weariness and apathy of advancing years. He never doubted of the complete and final success of the cause to which he had consecrated his life. Nor will we.

"SHERMAN S. ROGERS,

"T. GUILFORD SMITH,

"HENRY A. RICHMOND,

Committee.

JOHN B. OLMSTED, Secretary *pro tem.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

I greatly appreciate your continued good work. HUBERT TUTTLE.

Ithaca, N. Y.

OXFORD, GA., Oct 8, 1892.

To the Civil Service Chronicle:

DEAR SIR—The junior class of Emory—about forty in number—in my department—Greek—are engaged now with the Greek political economy. In lecturing them upon the *Δοξιασσία*, or examination for political position, I have made use of every opportunity to press upon their attention, both by comparison and for illustration, our own efforts at civil service reform. Much interest has been awakened in the class upon the subject, and we have a very favorable opportunity for pushing investigation in this line. What books, pamphlets, etc., could the civil service reform association furnish to help on the work? As college students become leaders of thought in after life, and the influence of our college in the South is very commanding, I am anxious that our students should become grounded well upon a policy in which I take a very deep interest. Very truly,

H. A. SCOMP.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. I, No. 46.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1892.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

THE first volume of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will close with the number for February, 1893. The first number was published in March, 1889, and this volume will therefore cover Harrison's administration. The original intention of making the paper a record of facts connected with the use and enjoyment of public office as spoil, and adding a reasonable amount of editorial comment, has not been departed from. It is believed that as a record the completed volume will be invaluable for historical reference. A full index will be sent with the last number. The price of the completed volume will be twenty-five dollars.

THE management has become more and more convinced that the publication of the accumulated facts is the most effective way to fight the spoils system. Many men like to enjoy office as spoil; very few like to be

told or have their neighbors told that they are so enjoying it. It has also generally been found best to state the facts in the words of the authority vouching for them; this permits investigation at original sources. Comparatively few newspapers as yet give attention to this phase of public affairs. For instance, county, city, and township government throughout the United States is honey-combed with trades and deals and favoritism yielding office or a contract or some job reaching into the public treasury, yet local papers as a rule are silent upon the subject. The press can have no greater duty than that of finding out and holding up to the public the tainting element in every public transaction whether it be the favoritism in the selection of a common laborer on city streets or the manipulation of the national service to the personal ends of one man.

On September 8 there was a conference of prominent democrats with Mr. Cleveland at the Victoria hotel in New York. At this meeting Lieutenant-Governor Sheehan and Edward Murphy, Jr., seem to have given Mr. Cleveland to understand that there must be forthcoming certain "promises" or "stipulations," or "conditions" or "understandings," or "encouragements," or some equivalent thereof, which "would make the workers feel that the candidate was and meant to be a democrat." He heard them through and then according to the Brooklyn *Eagle* of November 16:

"They learned that Mr. Cleveland would make no promises or anything of the sort to any of them, or to or for any others through them; that he had not sought the nomination which, on the contrary, had sought him; that he considered the success of the ticket in this state a matter of much more importance to them than to him; that he repelled the idea that his democracy was questionable by them or doubtful by any one; that they knew he was aware who had been his friends before nomination and would know who had and who had not been his friends after election; that he would have no friends to reward on account of friendship, and no former opponents to punish on account of former opposition; that he would go to election or to defeat equally free and absolutely uncommitted; but that, if the democratic people and ticket were beaten in this state by the democratic machine, another democratic organization was ready to take its place at once, and that, in such case, the youngest man present would not live years enough to see that machine sufficiently strong to win or betray a cause thereafter, or one of their number ever sitting in a state or national convention again."

On the same day at the dinner of the Single Tax Club, Thomas G. Shearman, referring to the *Eagle* article, said that Shee-

han did the talking and that Mr. Cleveland answered him as follows:

"Mr. Sheehan, I have listened with the utmost attention to what you have said. I have followed you very carefully, and I think I understand you perfectly; and what I have to say in reply, Mr. Sheehan, is, that I'll be damned before I pledge myself to any man on any subject whatever, and I'll be doubly damned before I give to you those particular pledges for which you have asked at this particular time."

The New York *Herald* of November 27 completes Mr. Cleveland's reply:

"I will appeal from the machine to the people. This very night I will issue a declaration to the electors of the state, telling them the proposition you have made to me and the reason why I am not able to accept it. I will ask them to choose between us. Such is my confidence in the people that before the week ends I believe your machine will be in revolution against you. I can not make the promise you ask."

The presidency was really at stake. Desperate and unscrupulous leaders in full control of the most powerful political machine in the country and seemingly able by a word to turn away from Mr. Cleveland the electoral votes of the greatest state in the union, thus securing his defeat, literally called upon him to stand and deliver. There is nothing in our time to compare Mr. Cleveland's act with, for we live in a time when public affairs are trades and deals, bargains and sales, and, on similar occasions, independence and manhood go for a price. Considering what was at stake, this was an act genuinely great—by far the greatest done by Mr. Cleveland or by any contemporary public man. It indicates a power strong enough to permanently drive party machines away from the public treasury as a means of subsistence.

At a reception given to Mr. Cleveland by the Manhattan Club in New York, November 19, amid great enthusiasm, he pointed out in the following words the revolution which has taken place in this country:

The American people have become politically more thoughtful and more watchful than they were ten years ago. They are considering now vastly greater questions than then. Party policy has become the important thing in contradistinction to party spoils. The distribution of party rewards for party action is no longer the mainspring of a political campaign. The situation must be gravely and intelligently met by those in charge of our political organization. No party, I care not whether demo-

cratic or republican, can get the support of the mass of the voters by merely promising party rewards for party supremacy. The whole people will be satisfied with nothing less than the redemption of the sacred pledges made to them collectively—the administration of wise policies, and the carrying on of an honest government. I would not have it otherwise. I am willing that the democratic party should only hope to succeed by meeting the situation fairly and squarely, by being absolutely and patriotically true to its principles and its professions. This is the assured guarantee of success, and I know of no other.

MR. THOMAS TAGGART, chairman of the state democratic committee said the other day in Chicago, that "we are a unit," for Ex-Governor Gray for a cabinet position under President Cleveland. It is not quite clear whom Mr. Taggart meant by his "we," but if he means the people or even the democrats of Indiana he is mistaken. Only those in Indiana who think they might "get something" if Gray were in office, want him in the cabinet or in any other office. Nothing more discouraging could happen. His business in life is to plan and scheme to get himself into place. This is the beginning and the end of his statesmanship.

ISAAC P. GRAY has spent several busy years posturing as a Presidential Possibility on the plan of aiming high to get something. For the last few months he appears to have been working up *coups* on the cabinet. It is probably a fact that Gray's grammar and spelling, which in unrevised state papers have tickled the newspaper men, are no disqualification for dividing spoil. That is Gray's understanding of a public office. As a matter of personal taste, we should suppose that even spoilsmen would feel themselves unable to endure four years of Mr. Gray's Smile, but they probably have in mind what he said at the jubilee meeting held here November 11, 1884, a few days after Cleveland's election, according to the *Sentinel* the next morning:

"One of the peculiar phases of the campaign just passed, and, I think the most peculiar that I have ever seen in any canvass I have ever been engaged in, is that our republican friends put forth an argument to the people that if the democratic party obtained control of the government, it would turn the republican office-holders out. Of course we will; there is no doubt about it. This has been a contest between parties. There have always been political parties in this country, ever since the formation of the government, and I presume there always will be. The republican party, in its long twenty-four years' lease of power, has filled the offices exclusively with republicans. That was right. When the democratic party obtains control of the government, which will be on the fourth of March next, then we will expect the offices, as rapidly as can be done with safety to the proper administration of government affairs, to be filled with democrats."

EX-GOVERNOR JAMES E. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, is evidently finding his political

level and means to make it low. He closed his speech at the Reform Club dinner in New York December 10 as follows:

"I am also in favor of the boys who want the post-offices, because from the postmaster at Confederate cross-roads to Van Cott in New York, I am in favor of putting them all out, and putting in men who voted for Grover Cleveland."

This is the standard of Dave Hill and Ed. Murphy. Campbell evidently means to join with them. His speech places him on a par with Flannegan of Texas. He must have known that the division of spoil, which he took advantage of his opportunity to bawl for, was directly opposed to the principles of the Reform Club whose guest he was and to the principles of the chief guest, Mr. Cleveland, in whose presence Campbell spoke, and to the principles of the platform upon which Mr. Cleveland was elected. Though apparently not aware of it, Mr. Campbell owed something at least to good manners, to say nothing of his readiness to disregard the promises of his party.

IN gratifying contrast with the demagogical utterances of Mr. Campbell is the speech of Carl Schurz, delivered on the same occasion, and of which the following is an extract:

"So long as democracy means the preservation of popular self government in its whole sphere; the maintenance of sound constitutional doctrines; honesty and wise economy in administration; war upon the corrupting agencies of our political life; war upon selfish monopoly and favoritism by law; taxation not for the advantage of the few at the expense of the many, but just to all and for the benefit of all; a currency system that will cheat nobody and keep us in harmony with the money of the world's commerce; a public service not the spoil of party, but honestly organized upon the principle that a public office is a public trust, so long as democracy means in itself a government for the people and by the people, so long will those who came from outside the democratic party to vote for Cleveland continue to march in its ranks. * * * * *

"These friends rejoice to know that you will enter upon your high duties not only unembarrassed by personal pledges but unburdened by any personal obligations. No man, and no set of men, has a claim upon your political gratitude, for the uprising of the people for your cause and yourself was so spontaneous and overwhelming that there is no man and no set of men whose efforts in behalf of your election might not safely have been spared. Whatever of personal triumph there is in this you owe only to the generous confidence of the American people; and their confidence greets you at the threshold of your second administration with an abundance that has but few precedents in the past history of the republic. But great as is the popular confidence, so is the popular expectation. This consciousness, no doubt, rests upon your heart as a heavy load of responsibility. But be assured as you are true to the moral forces in American politics which nominated and elected you, so these moral forces will be true to you to the end. Doubt not, whatever struggles and perplexities your efforts for good government may bring upon you, you may always confidently appeal to the good sense, the honesty and the patriotism of the American people—and you will never appeal in vain—against any unjust assault from the opposite party as well as against any cabal of selfishness within your own."

PRESIDENT PATTON, of Princeton College, is reported to have recently said: "I

am interested in philosophy and theology, and these are the only things I want to be known in. I vote for neither party." It is a stigma upon President Patton, an American citizen, to show such callousness to his duty. It ought to be a stigma for the trustees of an American college in which American boys are to pass four years to retain as president such a man; and it ought to be a discredit for any parent to permit his son to be under the influence of one so wanting in the appreciation of the elements that go to form character. Of what ancient stuff are his theology and philosophy made? Those genial cynics who claim that it is necessary to buy and sell votes, steal and lie in politics, are really less dangerous than this college president who is so admirably suited to pursue theology and philosophy in a Russian college.

His annual report shows that Postmaster General Wannamaker still smarts under the strictures upon his action in shielding the Baltimore post-office employes. He ought to understand by this time that denials or statements from him of any kind cut no figure with the American people. In this Baltimore matter he started in with the deliberate purpose of protecting law-breakers, and that purpose he impudently carried out in the face of conclusive proof of their guilt. After years of ready denunciation of others as Pharisees the republicans have produced some apparently perfect specimens, and one of these is Mr. Wannamaker.

MR. OLIVER T. MORTON's admirable essays on civil service reform, which originally appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, have, with several other papers, been issued in a volume by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Mr. Morton's answers to the objections to civil service reform are the best that have been made. He has assumed that the objections have been made in good faith and from an honest patriotic doubt, and he proceeds with the utmost patience to satisfy every possible degree and sort of objection. When the essays first appeared, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE urged that they be reprinted for general distribution in the shape of short tracts. Their fitness for this is as apparent now as then.

THE report of the civil service commission was made public December 6. During the year ending June 30, 1892, 3,919 applicants were examined for the departments at Washington, and of these 1,315 failed to pass. For the railway mail service, out of 4,597 examined, 1,648 failed; for the customs service, out of 1,624 examined, 662 failed; for the postal service, out of 9,162

examined, 3,611 failed; for the Indian service, out of 158 examined, 64 failed. The whole number examined was 19,460, of whom 12,160 passed, and 7,300 failed. Over the previous year there was an increase of 386 in the whole number examined. During the year 3,961 received appointments. In the departments 245 men, and 86 women were appointed.

THE commission says:

The classified service, should be extended as rapidly as practicable to cover every position in the public service to which it can appropriately be applied; as, for instance, to clerks and writers in navy-yards, to almost the entire body of officials in the District of Columbia, to the internal-revenue service, to custom-houses with twenty-five employes, and to free-delivery post-offices.

It also recommends the enactment into laws of some such bills as those introduced by Mr. Andrew, to take federal laborers and the fourth-class postmasters out of politics.

Most friends of civil service reform were surprised to find this report signed by Commissioners Roosevelt and Lyman only. Then follows the remark:

"I approve the body of the report, but prefer that the recommendation for the extension of the classified service on page 8 shall conclude with the sentence, 'The classified service should be extended as rapidly as practicable to cover every position in the public service to which it can appropriately be applied.'"

This is signed by Commissioner Johnston. When asked about his action by the correspondent of New York *Evening Post*, Mr. Johnston said:

"I regretted very much the necessity of differing with my colleagues, even apparently. I am a civil service reformer and believe in the extension of the merit system, but I consider that at this time it is well that the commission should move slowly. The passage in the report to which I refer in my paragraph at the end contains a number of specific recommendations, with some of which, I may say, I am in sympathy. As to others I am not able to speak positively, because I have not yet had an opportunity of giving them the necessary study. I could not conscientiously join with my colleagues in recommending specific extensions of the rules without fully assuring myself of the wisdom of these proposals. The first sentence in the passage under consideration is a broad general one on which we are entirely agreed—that is, that the classified service should be extended 'as rapidly as practicable.' Beyond that I did not feel that it would be wise to go at this time. I had no desire or expectation of being drawn into the newspapers with reference to this matter, as I sedulously avoid unnecessary publicity, but your inquiry leaves me no alternative but to make this explanation."

The question is naturally asked, why is Mr. Johnston, with his doubts and lack of knowledge, serving on the civil service commission? He is not put there as a novice to learn a business. Why should the commission move slowly "at this time?" To save places to divide as spoil among democrats? The recommendations of the commission are moderate. This matter has been discussed and successfully experimented upon for years. Has

Mr. Johnston been hidden in the swamps of Louisiana all this time? Under Mr. Cleveland's first administration we had experience with commissioners who hid behind generalities, and wanted to "move slowly," and the experience was not happy. We do not want any more Edgertons.

MR. CLEVELAND owes it to the country to retain Mr. Roosevelt and make him the head of the civil service commission, and Mr. Roosevelt owes it to the country to accept the place. He has been the advocate of fair play for democrats as well as republicans. Emphatically, he has not been afraid, and this means almost everything. He has compelled respect for and observance of the law. There is no one to take his place. He has the confidence and respect of the country. With him at the head of the commission there would be no uncertainty, either as to what President Cleveland meant to have done or as to what would be done.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S annual message was sent to congress December 7. We have read it carefully and here give those parts bearing upon the reform of the civil service:

The civil service commission asks for an increased appropriation for needed clerical assistance, which, I think, should be given. I extended the classified service March 1, 1892, to include physicians, superintendents, assistant superintendents, school teachers and matrons in the Indian service, and have had under consideration the subject of some further extensions, but have not as yet fully determined the lines upon which extensions can most properly and usefully be made.

I have several times been called upon to remove Indian agents appointed by me and have done so promptly upon every sustained complaint of unfitness or misconduct. I believe, however, that the Indian service at the agencies has been improved and is now administered on the whole with a good degree of efficiency. If any legislation is possible by which the selection of Indian agents can be wholly removed from all partisan suggestions or considerations I am sure it would be a great relief to the executive and a great benefit for the service.

We can not refrain from quoting once more, and in close proximity to this record of performance, the promise from the platform of 1888, and we suggest that it is not yet too late to do much to diminish the prodigious difference in size:

"The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

THIS paper prints in full the newspaper reports of the attempt of Senator Higgins by bribery to defeat the ballot, because whatever the actual facts, the admissions

illustrate vividly the baseness of the patronage system. Postmaster Smith is the senator's henchman and, paid by the public, does the base service of his chief. Senator Higgins admits, callous to the shame of it, that he was ready to purchase influence with an office. And last, a minister, the republican nominee for congress, is reported to have sat by and heard Postmaster Smith promise a "good office" for help this fall, and to have responded that he would do all he could to carry out the postmaster's suggestions in regard to federal patronage.

DEMOCRATIC PROMISES.

VERY early in the next administration the democrats will have to decide what they will do with the civil service. The demand that it shall all be divided as spoil, will be presented to them at once, and they will have to make some answer. They have won by decisive numbers. Their superior numbers however are spread thin over a large extent of territory. It will be a fatal mistake for them to believe that they can indulge in a carnival of spoil and experience anything but defeat in 1896. President Harrison and his administration from the start treated the reform element of the country with contempt, and this was carried to an extent that patience and forbearance ceased to be a virtue and almost to a man the reformers became hostile to the administration, and they pursued and published its multitude of glaring faults with a relentless persistence that would have been a warning to wiser officers. This element now looks to the democrats with the most cordial good wishes, and with the highest hopes of what they will accomplish. But it should be remembered that it has not forgotten how to criticise and that it will do its duty.

The democrats have every reason urging them to the completion of the reform of the federal service. They have bound themselves to do so in their platform. They said that the service ought not to be subject to change at every election, or be a prize fought for at the polls, or be a brief reward of party service. This can not be made to mean anything except that these principles shall now be put into practice. They were the principles of the party under Tilden, and they are now its principles under Cleveland; and Tilden and Cleveland are the only successful national leaders their party has had for a generation.

We are not saying that republicans not within the civil service law shall be kept in office; but we do say that sixty thousand republican heelers shall not be succeeded in the fourth-class post-offices by sixty thousand democratic heelers. That would

be a carnival of spoil. There is a well devised system of appointment free from politics and favoritism. Let it be adopted and then if the party demands it let the places be vacated and filled accordingly. Every part of the unclassified service should be treated in a similar manner, or should be classified under the present law. Heads of bureaus and under secretaries, should be made permanent, though always with all other officers subject to removal for cause. With a change of administration only the highest officers should be changed. This is the way to get rid of a change of officers at every election or to keep the offices from being a prize fought for at the polls or from being a brief reward for party service.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS.

The following resolutions were adopted at a conference of Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Associations, held in Boston, December 8, 1892:

We welcome the announcement of President Harrison that he contemplates an extension of the civil service rules, and we hope that the extensions already recommended by the National Civil Service Commission will be made without delay, viz.: "to clerks and writers in navy yards, to almost the entire body of officials in the District of Columbia, to the internal revenue service, to custom houses with twenty-five employees and to free delivery post-offices," and that the system introduced into the navy yards by the secretary of the navy will be adopted in permanent form.

We urge our representatives in congress to spare no effort to secure a liberal appropriation for the needs of the civil service commission.

The withdrawal of Mr. Roosevelt from the National civil service commission would be a serious loss to the cause of reform, and we respectfully urge him to reconsider his announced intention of resigning.

A committee of three shall be appointed by the chairman of this meeting, to secure, if possible, from the leading supporters of President-elect Cleveland in Massachusetts, an indorsement in writing of the views recently expressed by him in condemnation of the distribution of patronage as spoils, and their promise of support in any effort which shall be made by him to discontinue this odious and demoralizing practice.

We urge upon our representatives in congress the passage of the fourth-class postmaster bill and the bill for the selection of laborers, favorably reported in the last session by the house committee on civil service reform.

Inasmuch as the duty of the officer is to the country, and not to a party, we disapprove the resignation of a non-political officer in deference to the pernicious theory that a change of administration should involve a change of officers.

Arthur Hobart,

Boston, December 12, 1892. Secretary of Conference.

WHO WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT?

Since the election there have been at least ten democrats who have in some manner made known their intention to become candidates for postmaster at this place. These parties, through their friends, have so pressed Congressman Cooper for indorsement that he has made known his intention to favor George E. Finney, ex-editor of the *Herald*, for this posi-

tion, and now there is a howl from the rank and file of the party that extends all over the county. Finney and Congressman Cooper held the post-office under Cleveland, Cooper resigning to become a candidate. Finney succeeded him, holding the office for about four years. The young working democrats are the ones that are mad, and there is trouble ahead. A numerous signed petition for the appointment of a man by the name of Guthrie as postmaster at Nashville, Brown county, was handed to Mr. Cooper yesterday, but he informed the party that he would recommend Alonzo Allison, of the Brown County Democrat.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 18.

* * *

One of the most bitter post-office fights that ever took place in this part of the state is on in this city. It was charged against Congressman Cooper that he had made up his mind before election as to whom he would recommend for the post-office, but many thought that this could not be the case. These parties now say that they were deceived. He publicly announced that George E. Finney was to be the man for the place, and late last night, after this statement appeared in the local democratic organ, sixty-four leading and influential democrats, many of whom were Catholics, called on Mr. Cooper and asked him to reconsider his action and leave the appointment open to the decision of the voters of the democratic party receiving their mail at this office. This the congressman refused to do, and, to a few, gave as the reason that if an election were held that a hoodlum might be chosen, as no one would be allowed to vote for postmaster that did not vote for Cooper. This remark did not set well, and an election will be held, and the man chosen will receive the indorsement of all other applicants for the place, and his appointment urged against the wishes of Cooper.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 25.

* * *

Congressman Cooper to-day announced to the democracy of Franklin that he had determined to recommend Samuel Harris to be appointed postmaster at Franklin. As a result the local democracy is worse torn up than ever at any time within its history. Cooper is accused openly of lying and treachery. He announced that he would be in no hurry to make the appointment, and that he would come to Franklin and consult those interested in the matter. He never came, and he consulted nobody. Democrats here are opposed to the appointment of Harris. They vow that Harris shall not be confirmed. They also vow that Cooper will never again get a delegate from Johnson county to secure renomination. The war is on.—*Franklin Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 25.

* * *

The *Franklin Republican* has interviewed some of the afflicted, who have expressed themselves freely, as the following extracts show:

"J. A. Smith said: 'It looks as if it were

Mr. Cooper's appointment on personal preference, and not on the recommendation of the people. Mr. Cooper has made a mistake. He should have come to Franklin as he promised and found out what the democrats wanted.'

"Fred Staff said: 'Cooper has lied like a dog. Even in a dog fight I like to see fair and honorable treatment. He has decided the case before he heard it. Cooper has broken his promises and acted in bad faith. He will regret it.'

"Ben Brown said: 'You may quote me as saying that George Cooper has lied and deceived knowingly in the matter, and has deceived his best friends in an ungentlemanly manner. He has shown himself to be a coward in that he has not come to Franklin and given all a fair show. I can find no fault in that I did not obtain Mr. Cooper's indorsements, but I do have a right to find fault with Mr. Cooper's lying and deceptive method of treatment. I wish that I had not been a candidate that I might be free to make the vigorous kick which such cowardice and treachery makes consistent and proper.'"—*Indianapolis Journal*, November 28.

* * *

Besieged from every quarter, "cussed" and discussed on every street corner, and driven almost wild by the constant ringing of his door-bell by men who want place under the incoming administration, Congressman Cooper has left his district and gone east, but to what point the average democrat does not know, and can not find out to a certainty. For days his home in this city has been invaded by men wanting places and his influence to secure them, and these men have come from all parts of the district. To a few he has promised his support publicly, and in each case this has brought committees with protests until it really appears that his decisions have not pleased his constituents in a single instance, but, on the contrary, have worked them up to fever heat against him. As he stepped off the Big Four train he looked as if he had just recovered from a severe spell of sickness, and appeared to be glad that he would soon be out of the reach of those who were wanting favors at his hands.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 29.

* * *

Congressman Cooper has aroused in Danville the same storm of opposition over his action in recommending a new postmaster that he did in Columbus, Edinburg and Nashville. Three-fourths of the local democrats have placed their names on a petition asking that they be allowed to hold an election to select their postmaster. While this petition was in circulation, letters were received from Cooper stating that he would recommend Mr. Will King, editor of the *Danville Gazette*. Immediately there was a cry against such action, but Cooper still persists in his course. It is generally admitted that King would have stood no show in an election, and it is taken as an indication that Cooper feels that he will need newspaper support in future campaigns. The rank and

file of local democracy will hold an election, and send certificates of the result to the powers that be.—*Danville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, December 17.*

* * *

The democratic contest for the post-office at this place has narrowed down to but two candidates, J. A. Lewis and John Duncan. Lewis, it is said, has been promised the place by Congressman Cooper, but Duncan's friends claim it was promised Lewis provided he could "satisfy the boys," and the boys won't be satisfied. Neither will withdraw from the race; neither favor an election, but will resort to this only as a last means of settling the difficulty.—*Martinsville Dispatch to Indianapolis News, December 16.*

* * *

The democrats of this place and vicinity are on the "ragged edge" over a letter received a few days ago by Superintendent T. J. Charlton, of the reform school, from Congressman Geo. W. Cooper, under date of December 12, in which he says:

It has been my purpose, whenever I could, to decide all contests for postoffices as soon as possible. I think it is better to do so and announce the decision as soon as reached, in order that prolonged and bitter contests, resulting in greater disappointment, may not follow.

I have decided to recommend Mr. Isaac Holton for Plainfield. In arriving at this conclusion I make no reflections on any good democrat who has applied for the place. I have about 180 of these cases to investigate and decide, and my hope is that I may be able to get through with them in time to give the appointees the benefit of the full term of Cleveland's administration.

Whatever your views or personal aspirations may have been I sincerely hope that this determination will meet your approval, and believe that Mr. Holton will make an efficient and faithful officer.

Respectfully, Geo. W. Cooper.

The publication of the letter in the Plainfield *Progress* last Thursday was like a bomb thrown into the rank and file of the democracy of Guilford township, and caused a crestfallen look to spread over the faces of the other half-dozen or more candidates for the position. Immediately the kicking began, and as time rolls by the defeated candidates are getting madder and have started on the war-path. One of the defeated candidates declared that he intends to have Mr. Charlton's scalp dangling in his belt as soon as the legislature meets. By this it is inferred he proposes to have Mr. Charlton removed as superintendent of the reform school.

Another gentleman who received one of Congressman Cooper's manifold letters is said to have written a letter telling him that it would have been better for him to have hied himself to the wilds of Brown county and never entered public life. Still another democrat, it is asserted, has written a short, crisp letter to Mr. Cooper in which he uses this expression: "You have played h—l!"

Mr. Holton knows, and Mr. Cooper was advised, that his favored candidate would stand no show for the post-office if the matter was referred to a vote of the democrats of the township. It is going to be a Kilkenny cat-fight, and no means, fair or foul, will be left

untried to induce Cooper to change his views in regard to recommending Mr. Holton for the Plainfield post-office.—*Plainfield Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, December 19.*

THE ONSLAUGHT.

BOURBON.—Post-office: James Laurence and George Stuckman.

BLUFFTON.—For district attorney: Edwin C. Vaughn. For the post-office: James R. Bennett, ex-recorder; Wm. B. Bennett, ex-postmaster; Maurice Sawyer, ex-postal clerk; Marcellus M. Justice, ex-sheriff; Robert F. Cummins, son of Representative Cummins; B. F. Kain, recently candidate for treasurer, and Gus Michaels, who has never held an office. Congressman Martin is understood to favor the selection of postmasters by popular vote.

WINAMAC.—Post-office: W. E. Jackson, Charles Shine, S. Pearson, J. J. Gorrell, J. B. Agnew, Sr., M. H. Ingram and T. B. Hedges. Mr. Ingram, editor of the Democrat-Journal, served as postmaster under Cleveland before. Charles H. Howard wants the post-office at Star City.

ROCHESTER.—Valentine Zimmerman, native of Germany, run for Congress, Tenth district, 1888, will be pushed for a consulate at some important city of his native land. Merritt A. Baker, deputy prosecuting attorney, wants a place in the law department at Washington. Charles Meyer wants the revenue collectorship of this district. John C. Phillips, Oliver P. Waite and Andrew T. Bitters want the post office.

DANVILLE.—Post-office: James W. Williams, who was displaced by Harrison, H. B. Lingenfelter, Joseph G. Bowen, Will A. King, editor of the *Gazette*, and R. D. Snyder. Cleveland appointed A. P. Pounds, postmaster in 1885, and he died in office. Miss Anna Pounds, an efficient deputy, was an unsuccessful applicant as her father's successor. She is now a possible candidate. John McClain, of Avon, wants the same place in the treasury department he held under Cleveland before. R. F. Hiatt wants the post-office at Plainfield. Lewis Marsh, Jr., of Danville, wants a small place at Washington. Levi A. Barnett expects to be again appointed trustee of the reform school by Matthews. Simon Rammell, of Danville, a life long democrat, has purchased a grocery at New Winchester, in the hope of becoming postmaster there.

ATTICA.—For the post-office: Martin Schoonover, Henry G. Schlosser, Wm. Lippold, Chas. Hatton, O. S. Clark and Ed Hemphill.

DELPHI.—Want to be postmaster: Rhen Isherwood, editor of the *Times*; A. B. Crampton, editor of the *Citizen*; Allison Rogers, president of the democratic club; Albert Brewer, Fred Neiworth, the Hon. John C. Odell, Mrs. Lydia Pollard, mother of Judge Chas. R. Pollard, who was a delegate to the Chicago convention; Mrs. A. Ball and John G. Troxell. Charles Walker dropped from the mail service by the Harrison administration, wants his old place. So does Allison Rogers, if he fails to get the post-office. Col. Isaac Dreifus, who made the race for mayor two years ago, will apply for a post-tradership. [Judge C. R. Pollard will be an applicant for something, but he has not determined what he wants. Judge Chas. R. Pollard, of Delphi, is casting an eye toward the office of commissioner of emigration, his friends say. The office is the one at present filled by ex-Congressman Owen, of Logansport. Mr. Pollard was a delegate to the national democratic convention, and has been chairman of the democratic committee of his county for several years. It is said that his candidacy will have the backing of many of the influential democrats of northern Indiana.—*December 3.*]

MUNCIE.—The Hon. R. S. Gregory, who recently joined democratic ranks, will apply for a high-salaried position, possibly a foreign consulate. Alex. Kirkwood will be satisfied with a post-office inspectorship. For the post-office: Editor Thomas McKillop, of the *Herald*; ex-postmaster John Banta, Vernon Davis, John Ritter, ex-mayor Charles Kligore, B. Frank Gubben, Arthur Shideler, John

Graham, Val. Gilbert, Percy Craig, Ed. Everett and Thomas Duncan. Want to be door keeper at the White House: Robert Winters, a young journalist; Mark Batton, Daniel Kelly, Mark Bechtell, Will Kirk, Frank Bechtell, Frank Beemer, William Patterson and Ed. Mauck. Capt. Hilligas, W. W. Walby, Lafayette McCormick, Charles Bell and Dr. Searcy will ask for paying clerkships at Washington, or to be mail agents.

SOUTH BEND.—Would-be postmasters: Sorden Lister, postmaster under Cleveland four years ago, and chairman of the democratic central committee; John Gallagher, Adolph S. Ginz, present councilman from first ward; August Beyer, Andrew J. Jaquith and Patrick Sheckey. Emmet F. Marshall, member of the democratic state central committee, wants to be post office inspector, and John M. Shimp revenue collector.

LEBANON.—For postmaster: Ed. F. Hughes, Henry C. Ulin, secretary of the county committee, and the Hon. S. M. Ralston, presidential elector for the ninth district.

SHOALS.—The Hon. Thomas M. Clarke wants a judgeship of some kind; wanted one in the Oklahoma country in 1884. For the post office: A. C. Hacker, editor of the *News*; Fabius Gwinn, a young attorney; W. K. Smith, postmaster under Cleveland formerly, and H. M. Carroll, I. N. Plummer and Dr. G. M. Freeman, want places on the pension board.

WABASH.—For the post-office: E. A. Edwards and John Hipskind. W. W. Wood, the present incumbent, has over three years to serve.

LA PORTE.—For the post-office: S. E. Grover, chairman of the democratic county committee; S. J. Kessler, one of the owners of the *La Porte Argus*; N. McCormick, defeated candidate for sheriff; D. C. McCollum, of the state monument commission; George H. Storey, superintendent of the water works, and Thomas Fargher, an ex-soldier. W. H. Parker, ex-gauger, will seek re-appointment. David Walker, Charles B. Kenney and Wm. C. Criss, want to be mail carriers.

BRAZIL.—The Hon. J. M. Hoskins, chairman of the congressional central committee, is a candidate for revenue collector. E. M. Henkel and John Stough want the post office.

SPENCER.—For the post-office: F. M. Field, postmaster under Cleveland before; O. T. Dickerson, ex-auditor; Joseph W. Workman, deputy auditor, S. N. Chambers, ex sheriff; Michael Wolf, ex marshal; M. V. Halton, Capt. J. W. Archer, Mrs. W. S. Johnson, wife of county clerk Johnson and sister of Miss Nellie Ahern, assistant state librarian, and Mrs. Wm. Howard, a cousin of Mr. Cleveland.

GOSPORT.—B. F. Hart, C. L. Wampler, J. P. Gentry, Dr. Fred Stuckey and B. F. Fox. Judge Wm. M. Franklin, who was a candidate before the democratic state convention for appellate judge, will be pressed for the best appointment due this quarter of the state.

MITCHELL.—Dr. J. T. Briggs, Moses Clinton, Ed. C. Burton and James Moore are aspirants for the post-office. Most talked-of man for the place is Walter L. Shanks, the defeated candidate for sheriff of Lawrence county. J. F. Dilley and Oscar Williams want good government places.

SALEM.—Candidates for the post-office are ex-Postmaster J. D. Alvis, W. M. Rudler, H. R. Winsklet, D. V. B. Motsinger and John Shanks. For the pension board, Dr. W. J. Purkhiser, Dr. H. M. Paynter and Dr. J. J. Mitchell.

PLYMOUTH.—For the post-office, Adam Vinnege, J. A. Palmer, Thomas Webber and J. C. Jillson. The Hon. Daniel McDonald wants to be commissioner of pensions. W. E. Peterson would be route agent on a mail line.

BEDFORD.—For the post-office, John Johnson, Jr., and Mrs. Frances Wilson, widow of the late Judge Wilson. McHenry Owen wants a place in the pension office.

LAFAYETTE.—For the post-office, James B. Falley, wholesale merchant; George T. Beardsley, city treasurer; W. Bent Wilson, of the *Daily Journal*; Michael

H. Kennedy, wholesale merchant; Nicholas W. Box, retail merchant; F. E. D. McGinley, now holding his fifth term as mayor, and Walter J. Ball, real estate dealer. Rumor has it that the local managers promised the post-office to Mr. Beardsley if he would manage the campaign. Mr. Wilson publishes the only morning democratic daily in the ninth district, and his friends urge him because he has no county patronage. Drs. W. S. Walker, Samuel S. Washburn, Emil Schnaible, J. T. Littell, George W. Washburn and Samuel Seawright want to be on the pension board. Col. John S. Williams, third auditor under Cleveland's first administration, wants something.

PERU.—Those desiring office include Jerome Herff, Frank McElheney, Clarence Jackson, Wm. Angor, M. W. Ream, C. Huffman, W. W. Robbins, J. M. Jackson, Orson Durand, John Toll, M. Rosenthal and C. McDowell.

VALPARAISO.—For the post-office, E. Zimmerman, editor of the *Messenger and Sun*. He was postmaster for three years and eleven months under Cleveland before. Henry Binnaman, John H. Magee, Cyrus Axe, S. R. Martin and J. Brodie are possible candidates. Postmaster De Motte's commission expires May, 4, 1894.

WATERLOO.—Alfred Kelley wants to be deputy revenue collector, but will take the post-office. Candidates for the latter place: John Koons (if nothing better offers), John Duncan, Benjamin Duncan, Oliver P. Smith, I. J. McFadden, Miss Ella Jackman, Miss Maude Kepler, Wm. S. Getz and Marion Bemenderfer. Homer M. Henning wants to be postal clerk. Bemenderfer, John Duncan and Ella Jackman have petitions already in circulation.

PLYMOUTH.—The Hon. Dan McDonald, editor of the *Plymouth Democrat*, in a special from that point, was credited with aspiring to be commissioner of pensions. Says Mr. McDonald, in a note to *The News*, "That office is always given to a distinguished soldier, and it so happens that I served my country in the late unpleasantness by proxy, and am therefore ineligible."

LEAVENWORTH.—For postmaster at this place Peter Ouerbacker, James Clark, George E. Sherron, Clarke F. Craeleus, Thomas Westfall and William Callaghan are named as candidates. The office pays \$1,200 annually.

MOORE'S HILL.—Eighteen democrats at Newton, a little suburb of Lawrenceburgh, are circulating petitions for government office.—*Indianapolis News*, November 23.

TIPTON.—This city has its full quota of candidates. Those mentioned for the post-office include John R. Bowlin, present county superintendent; B. W. S. Ressler, Samuel Vawter, R. M. Roberson, who held the office under Cleveland before; A. Bennett, Chas. Means and John Woodruff. Mr. Roberson is also mentioned as a candidate for door-keeper of the house. James Mettlin wants a place in the mail service where he served during the last democratic administration. W. O. Legg also wants a similar place. The Hon. W. R. Ogleby would like to go abroad, having a preference for the Italian mission. M. T. Shiel wants a place in the pension department, and E. E. Van Buskirk desires to go west and teach in the Indian schools. He was a teacher until relieved by Harrison. A number of young democrats are already importuning influential men to secure places at Washington.

FRANKLIN.—There were about fifteen applicants for the office of postmaster of this place, and a city election was talked of to determine a choice, but Congressman Cooper threw a dampener thereon by writing a letter to Samuel Harris, pledging Harris that he would be recommended. Mr. Harris is ex-county clerk and ex-mayor, and during the last campaign he was chairman of the county committee.

COLUMBUS.—Congressman Cooper has announced that George E. Finney would be recommended by him as postmaster here. This has given offense to friends of other candidates, and a committee waited upon Mr. Cooper and urged him to reconsider his determination, and leave the election open to popular choice. Congressman Cooper declined to accede to

the request, fearing that an unworthy person might be selected. However, it is now the understanding that the local democracy will insist on an election, and will urge the appointment of the applicant receiving the greatest number of votes. It is further said that a formal remonstrance will be prepared against Mr. Harris's appointment, to be laid before the President. This failing, the matter will be carried to the senate, hopeful of preventing the confirmation. The additional aspirants for office under Cleveland include ex-Mayor Charles M. Spencer, who desires a clerkship in the pension department. Abe Terhune will seek appointment in the government printing office, and Dr. C. V. Kent, of Hope, will ask to be appointed medical examiner. Alonzo Allison, editor of the *Brown County Democrat*, and James Guthrie are applicants for postmaster at Nashville. It is understood that Congressman Cooper will recommend Allison. Ephraim Norman wants to be postmaster at Hope; also, J. K. Richter, a physician, and S. C. Felsberg, editor of the *News-Journal*.

ENGLISH.—Dr. C. D. Lockett will seek a position on the board of pension examiners. James R. Duffin, George W. Davis, James P. Smallwood and Louis N. Jobe are named for postmaster at West Fork. Richard Byrd is seeking similar recognition at Oriole. Dr. William A. Cole, of this place, will apply for the collectorship of the Seventh district.

LAPEL.—N. W. Klepfer is circulating a petition to be appointed postmaster at this place under the new administration.

ATLANTA.—The candidates for postmaster are: J. M. Whisler, Dr. J. C. Driver, Dr. L. C. McFatrige, Amos Scott, Daniel Achenbach and J. E. Washington.

MOORE'S HILL.—Foremost among those who worked to swing southeast Indiana solidly against Gray and solidly for Cleveland at Lawrenceburgh were Hunter and O'Brien, editors of the *Register*. Dr. Hunter is strongly talked of as consul to the port of Lisbon. O'Brien looks toward the collectorship, so said Warren Tebbs wants an Indian agency, Captain Rief, for revenue agent, and likewise Ed Frederick, William Bryan, Henry Huseman, Parker Rand, Mike Fitterer, William Huston, Jacob Shepard, Louis Ellerbrook, and Charles Wilson are actively asking. Mentioned for postmaster are John Tittle, Ernst Everhart and George Columbia. Here at Moore's Hill petitions for the postmastership were in circulation two days after the election. Charles Robinson has the most signers to his petition. There are twelve other applicants. Mr. Holman's preference is the unknown quantity.

MILAN.—At Milan there are six post-office applicants. Thomas Kaue went to see Mr. Holman right away after the election. Mr. Holman has promised a pretty gift, it is reported, to Mr. Kammon, north of Milan.

GUILFORD.—Martin Miller, merchant, would read postal-cards. Little competition.

SUNMAN.—Virado Bigney, druggist, would more than gladly accept his old place as postmaster.—*Indianapolis News*, November 26.

LA GRANGE.—Candidates for the post office, to succeed Dr. J. H. Rerick, editor of the *Standard*, whose commission expires in March, 1893, are looming up. David Fawcett, editor of the *Democrat* and secretary of the county central committee, who came here from Delphi in 1886, is in the race. Through his exertions McNagney, democratic congressman-elect, secured one-half of the votes of this county in the congressional convention, over the protest of the other half, headed by Ballou and Hanan. Ora Rowe, a brother-in-law of Ballou, democratic elector and chairman of the central committee, whose candidacy was opposed by the Lowery democrats in 1884 and the office given to Snyder, is still in the ring. A split in the party followed Snyder's appointment, and Congressman Lowery was defeated for re-election by the anti-Loweryites voting for Stanley and White. H. M. Kramer, pension attorney, is being backed by the old soldier boys, but the bee in the bonnet has been so often knocked out that his candidacy is looked upon as a chestnut. His attempt a few years ago to start a democratic G. A. R. is being worked against him for all it is worth. He has been a life-

long resident of this county.—*Indianapolis News*, December 1.

The following is a list of the candidates for the different post offices over Grant county:

Van Buren—William Whittaker, Charles Griffith, T. E. Ballard, Dr. G. A. Landis, A. J. Barnes and G. W. Hulce.

Roseburg—Milton Druckemiller.

Swayzee—Isaac Smith, George W. Fisher, M. D. Bish, Harrison Mark, Thomas Hubbard and O. W. J. Larkin.

Sweetser—Mrs. N. E. Spurgeon.

Point Isabel—J. V. John, G. A. Brizendine and William Manu.

Fairmount—At this place the democrats held an election, the polls being open from 6 a. m. until 6 p. m. Four names were presented: W. H. Campbell, L. R. Whitney, Samuel Stokes and Jefferson Fowler. W. H. Campbell was chosen.—*Indianapolis News*, December 3.

—It has been given out among the Indianapolis democrats that ex-Congressman C. C. Matson, of Greencastle, wants to be made United States pension agent for Indiana. Mr. Matson is allied to the Voorhees-Gray wing of the party, and the original friends of Cleveland here are recalling that during the meeting of the national democratic convention in Chicago, Mr. Matson was referring to Cleveland as the "stuffed prophet of Williams street."

John W. Cravens, clerk of Monroe county, is at the Grand Hotel. Mr. Cravens has his eye on the post-office at Bloomington, and his friends say he will get the appointment. He is still under thirty. When just of age he went to Bloomington from Danville. He was soon elected superintendent of the schools of Monroe county, and after having filled that office two terms, he was elected county clerk.—*Indianapolis News*, November 22.

—Now that the campaign is over and the democrats have gained such a sweeping victory, the prominent politicians of democratic faith in this city and county have begun to look for offices.

The post-office, with its salary of \$3,000, is the chief objective point, and as many as a dozen are looking after this. Among these are Hon. Luther Mering, late candidate for congress; Frank Elder, postmaster under Cleveland's first term; John W. Thistlewaite, George Eggemeyer, J. C. Maeke, S. C. Whitsell, editor of the *Independent*, and others.—*Richmond Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, November 29.

—Richmond is not the only place in Wayne county where the contest for the post office promises to be a warm one. At Hagerstown also the eligible are looking after their interests. Ex-Postmaster Mike Conniff wants it. Joseph Walliek is also an aspirant. Besides these two, J. C. Fritz, John B. Allen and Jack Richey are each being urged by his friends.—*Richmond Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 2.

—The Hon. Thomas J. Newkirk of this city is a candidate for internal revenue collector of this district. Mr. Newkirk was chairman of the democratic county central committee.—*Rushville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 3.

INDIANAPOLIS.—William E. English wants to be sent abroad. William F. Christian will ask for the Indianapolis post-office.

There are a good many aspiring democratic attorneys who have their eyes on the district attorneyship. Republicans generally believe that John W. Kern will be the appointee, although he has not the support of the Voorhees-Gray wing of the party. Mr. Kern, it is said, will have the indorsement of the original Cleveland men, with whom he cast his lot when the Cleveland-Gray-Hill fight was on before the meeting of the national convention. The other men who would like to have the office are Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville; John W. Holtzman, of this city, and Mason J. Niblack, of Vincennes.

So far as can be learned there are not so many persons after the United States marshal's office. Indianapolis democrats seem to think that Geo. W. Geiger, the commercial traveler, has earned the office, and it is said that he will get a strong support from here. The men who think they know all about how the offices will be distributed say that Indianapolis will

not be permitted to gobble up everything in sight, and that it is foolish to talk about both the district attorneyship and the marshal's office coming to this city. They say that Indianapolis will do well if it gets one of these offices.

"My mail is almost as heavy as it was during the campaign," said Chairman Taggart to day. "The applications for post-offices I send back with directions that they be referred to the local committees. I can't undertake to have anything to do with the selection of officers that affect no one outside the community where the officer is to serve."

Mr. Taggart does not say what he does with the applications for other offices that come in, but those who claim to know say that he is filing them all away, and will, when the proper time comes, take a hand in the recommendations to be made. "Taggart is a man who remembers his friends," said a democrat to-day, "and you can rest assured that when the proper time comes he will have something to say about who is recognized in Indiana. He will not decline any invitation to assist in portioning out the spoils."

Mr. A. Connor is an applicant for the North Indianapolis post-office.

BLOOMINGTON.—The avowed candidates for the post-office are: R. H. East, Peter Bowman, S. R. Phorer and W. P. Dill. James Ryan and Samuel Gilmore want to be wagon inspectors at the government depot at Jeffersonville. Other applicants include: For the mail service, John Riley, John Harris and George Riley; Indian agency, Joseph N. Alexander and D. D. Spencer. John R. East, C. R. Worrall and John D. Morgan are liable to present claims for recognition.

VERNON.—James W. Clarkson, J. W. Forsyth, who was postmaster under Cleveland, E. J. Hutton and J. W. Sinnett will be applicants for the post-office at Butlerville.

WATERLOO.—Lee F. Stamets is an applicant for the post office. He was not included in the former list.

FRANKLIN.—Benjamin P. Brown, who served four years under Cleveland, desires re-appointment as postmaster. Samuel Harris, ex-mayor and chairman of the county central committee, is prominently mentioned; so also William Neal, ex-sheriff, S. M. Forsythe, Aquilla Mathes, J. M. Needham, John Diel, A. B. Colton and A. M. Ragsdale. J. C. McNutt, prosecuting attorney of the Shelby-Johnson circuit, will petition for appointment as judge, vice Judge Hackney, elevated to the supreme bench. At Greenwood John Taylor Green, John Arbuckle, J. S. Pernet, Samuel Jennings and Jordan Graves want the post-office. Dr. Meyers, of Edinburg, commander G. A. R. post, wants on the board of pension examiners. Dr. W. C. Hall, L. L. Whitesides and J. F. Jones, of this city, aspire to the same position, as also Drs. Lee and Province, of Union Village, and Dr. Willan, of Trafalgar.

WINCHESTER.—Lewis Ellingham, Frank Preston, Conrad Meier, Oliver Davis, Charles Favorite, Andrew Lewis, Garland D. Williamson, Mrs. Emma Riley and S. O. Irvin are named as applicants for the post-office. Mr. Irvin was tendered the position eight years ago, but declined in favor of John Neff, who was an old man and an applicant for the place. It is understood that ex-Governor Gray will support Mr. Irvin. Col. Martin B. Miller, who held a position in the pension department under Cleveland, will be an applicant for something similar.

LEBANON.—Mr. S. M. Ralston writes to the *News* that he was wrongly classified as an applicant for postmaster at Lebanon. He should not have been included in the list forwarded from that point.

LAPEL.—J. W. Barrett is named as a probable successor of W. H. Walker, the present postmaster.

MARTINSVILLE.—Eb. Henderson, deputy commissioner of internal revenue under Cleveland, is desirous of being appointed commissioner. James A. Lewis, who served as postmaster twenty-two months under Cleveland, and who is chairman of the county central committee, is thought to have a good chance for reappointment as postmaster; he will be opposed by John C. Duncan, Harry Tarlton and John Fuselman, Sr. Drs. S. A. Tilford, J. C. Paxon, R. H. Tar-

ton and S. H. Schofield have an eye on the pension examiners' board. Col. Jeff K. Scott is mentioned in connection with the adjutant-generalship of the state.

ANDERSON.—It is pretty definitely settled that Dale J. Crittenger, editor of the *Anderson Democrat*, will receive the appointment of postmaster for Anderson under the Cleveland administration. He is the son-in-law of Postmaster Daniels, and it is thought the latter will resign soon after the 4th of March, so that Crittenger may take the office.

ROCKVILLE.—The Parke county democrats are not talking much about the offices. Lo Humphries, county chairman, is mentioned for postmaster; so, also, John Overman, T. F. Gaebler. J. R. Strouse, editor of the *Tribune*, is being boomed by the *Republican*, the opposition paper. Mrs. Maggie Stockbridge, chief deputy under W. E. Henkel, postmaster under Cleveland before, is talked of. No aspirants for federal positions are heard of, Parke county democrats standing little chance with their hungrier brethren in Montgomery and Vigo counties.

JEFFERSONVILLE.—Strangely enough, the office-hunter has not yet developed with anything like the expected virulence in this county or city. Sheriff P. C. Donovan can have the post-office if he wants it. S. B. Diffenderfer is asking for it, and friends are pushing Capt. "Polk" Burlingame for the place. Capt. Henry Dugan, of the ferry company, wants to be inspector of the steamboats in this district. The great government depot of quartermasters' supplies is located here, with half a hundred subordinate positions, ranging from a mule-driver to a two thousand-dollar clerkship. A clean sweep will be demanded.

BLOOMFIELD.—For the post-office: W. E. Inman, deputy under the Cleveland regime; Will Isensee, ex-deputy auditor; Horace V. Norrell, ex-prison director; Geo. E. Endres and M. L. Combs. W. M. Moss, of the *Democrat*, expects the best thing in the district to be given him.

VALPARAISO.—A mass-meeting has unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the candidacy of John Brodie for the district marshalship of Indiana. Mr. Brodie is chairman of the democratic county committee.

NEW CASTLE.—Citizens regardless of party affiliations are working to secure the appointment of the Hon. George B. Morris as secretary of agriculture under Cleveland. Mr. Morris is vice-president of the First National Bank of New Castle, and a personal friend of Mr. Cleveland.—*Indianapolis News*, Nov. 22.

GREENFIELD.—The Hon. David S. Gooding wants a paying position either in the foreign service or at Washington. Eugene C. Boyden will apply for a place in the government printing office or in the railway mail service. The Rev. Andrew J. Anderson wants a position as deputy revenue collector in this district. Dr. J. N. Howard, Jr., will seek appointment on the board of pension examiners. Those named for the post-office include: Jonathan Q. Johnson, ex-city clerk; Eugene Lewis, editor of the *Greenfield Herald*; Charles C. Cochran, who was a candidate under Cleveland before, and Isaiah A. Curry, ex city treasurer and chairman county committee. Captain Curry, while treasurer, sustained a loss of \$8,000 by the failure of Indianapolis banks, and he made good the deficiency out of his private store.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Services were free and base. Free service was to pay a sum of money, or serve under the lord in war. Base service was to plow the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung.—*Blackstone*.

Nothing in the way of a political excitement that ever occurred in this state equaled that occasioned here this afternoon upon the publication, in two afternoon papers, of a

story of attempted bribery in connection with the approaching election, in which United States Senator Anthony Higgins is personally involved.

The story of the attempted debauchery of the ballot is told by Isaac J. Wootten, of Laurel, Sussex county, a democratic registrar for the east election district of Little Creek hundred, upon whom the attempt was made. The man who makes this astounding charge against the republican senator from the state of Delaware is a citizen of the highest respectability, against whose character for integrity and veracity not a word can be uttered. He is major of the First Regiment, National Guard of Delaware, and a business man of high standing in the town of Laurel.

Major Wootten has made affidavit to the truth of his statement, which is being held in reserve to refute any denials that may be put forth by the accused parties.

Major Wootten says that George E. Smith, the postmaster at Laurel, who was appointed by Higgins, came into his store about four weeks ago and told him he had been waiting a long time to talk politics with him. Smith, who is a republican "worker" of the most unscrupulous kind, began by asking him, he says, what he expected to get out of politics, any way.

He said that Wootten was a hard-working democrat, and the latter told him he didn't expect to get anything unless Mr. Cleveland was elected. Smith went on to talk about the certainty of republican success, and finally told Wootten that if he would help the republicans they would surely carry Sussex county, in which case he should have "anything he wanted." He added that if Wootten didn't believe him he would summon Senator Higgins to Laurel to convince him.

Wootten continues his story as follows: "I felt like knocking Smith down when he approached me in this way, but I wanted to find out from him all I could, and controlled myself so I could get more from him. He went on to say that I could help the republicans as registrar by 'turning down democrats,' that is, by registering republicans as qualified voters when they were not qualified.

"He said if I wanted to, and just said the word, the democrats would make me voters, assistant, and if I was voters' assistant I could so manipulate the tickets of illiterate voters' that they wouldn't know it, and that I could stamp the tickets so that democratic ballots would turn out to be stamped for the republicans when they came to be counted.

"After our first talk in this way I immediately consulted Col. William T. Records, of Laurel, who is a prominent democrat and the nominee of the democrats for state senator in our county. I asked him to go to Georgetown and see Alfred P. Robinson, chairman of the democratic county committee, and consult him as to what I should do to expose the fraud and bribery which I was satisfied the republicans contemplated in our county.

"Col. Records went to Georgetown, and said

he had seen Mr. Robinson, and that they thought it best for me to lead Smith on and get what I could out of him."

Wootten goes on to say that Smith kept pursuing him, and he kept on putting him off until he learned the decision that Records and Robinson had come to. Then he told Smith he could get the place of voters' assistant, and Smith insisted on bringing Senator Higgins down to see him. A few days later Smith made an appointment with Wootten to come to his house on the night of October 13.

Wootten goes on with his story thus:

"About 10:30 or 11 o'clock I went up to Smith's back door as he had requested, and he met me in his back yard and took me into his house, where I found Senator Anthony Higgins waiting for me.

"Higgins began to talk about the certainty of Harrison's election, and went on to mention what states he would carry. 'Delaware is sure for him,' says he. 'If you will do this thing we're all right.'

"He said that he would get me any place under the government I wanted outside the civil service. He said: 'Of course, I can't tell you what a third man will do, but Harrison will back me up and Noble will stand by me.' The next morning Smith came to see me to talk to me, and said to me that Higgins meant what he said.

"I reported all this to some of my friends, and they told me try to get Mr. Higgins to promise me some particular place. So I said to Smith that I wanted the place in the land office that Gus Parsons, of Salisbury, had under Mr. Cleveland.

"Smith told me that he wrote to Mr. Higgins, and when he got a reply showed me Mr. Higgins's letter. Higgins said that he didn't see any Gus Parsons in the Blue book, but found that a J. A. Parsons, of Maryland, had an eighteen hundred dollar place. Smith told me that that wasn't good enough for me.

"The letter which Smith showed me was on one of Mr. Higgins's letter-heads, and in a postscript Higgins told Smith to destroy the letter.

"Last Saturday, when I was sitting on the board of registration, it was necessary to decide to strike off the names of some republicans who had been registered improperly as qualified voters. Smith came to me and said he didn't understand what I meant by such action. I told him that he knew I could not do otherwise, with the democrats all around me knowing what I did, and I think he left me with the idea that everything was all right for his scheme. Wednesday night Smith, I think, went to see Mr. Higgins at some place where he was to speak, to find out a better place for me. I haven't seen him since."

A representative of the associated press saw Senator Higgins this afternoon and handed him a copy of the paper containing the charges against him. Mr. Higgins said:

"About two weeks ago, while I was at

Laurel, Wootten called on me at the house of George Smith, informing me that he desired to change his political connection and to solicit an office under the government. Having understood him to be a man of influence and good standing, I told him I thought an office could be had for him. Nothing was said about what work he should do for the republican party; nothing was said about his being registrar nor voters' assistant; nor did I know he was a registrar, nor even hear that he was until a reporter so said to me to-day. Nothing was said as to his doing, nor did I have any understanding that he was to do anything on behalf of the republican party as an official, or in the discharge or abuse of any official duty. Subsequently, Mr. Smith wrote to me to know if Wootten could have a place in the land office held by one 'Gus' Parsons, and I replied that I could find no such person's name in the Blue book, but only one John A. Parsons."—*Wilmington Dispatch to New York Times, October 30.*

* * *

In his explanation of the attempted corrupt deal with Major Wootten for the vote of Sussex county, made public last night, Senator Higgins practically admitted his connection with the unsavory affair, and also admitted having met Major Wootten at the house of Postmaster Smith, the other republican conspirator, in Laurel. His declaration to this effect has been published all over the country.

Last night telegrams were sent flying in all directions in a wild endeavor to find Smith and summon him to Wilmington, presumably for the purpose of holding a conference and agreeing upon some concerted explanation of the perplexing situation. But Smith failed to respond. This morning, however, realizing that it was incumbent upon him to say something, and evidently unaware that Senator Higgins had admitted that he met Wootten at his house, Smith hastily wired to a newspaper in Wilmington the following dispatch:

"LAUREL, Del., Oct. 30.—Wootten's statement is without a word of truth. I defy him to produce the letters. Wootten offered to sell the secrets of his party to me for a position. I mentioned the fact to Higgins and he refused to have a thing to do with the matter, and I declared the whole thing off with Wootten on Tuesday night last. He then became alarmed and made a lie out of the whole cloth, with the help of others in Wilmington, as a cut at an honorable senator. D. E. SMITH."

This bold denial only puts a worse face on the affair, for while Higgins admits the Wootten interview, Postmaster Smith now asserts that Higgins declined to have anything to do with the attempted deal.—*Wilmington Dispatch to New York Times, October 31.*

* * *

Another chapter in the republican plot to corrupt the vote of Sussex county is given in an affidavit made by Cyrus Ward, the democratic nominee for treasurer of that county, a man who is well known and whose reputation stands indorsed by hundreds, if not thousands,

who have heretofore recommended him for official appointment at the hands of the governor.

The affidavit shows that Mr. Ward was one of the men whom Senator Higgins went down to Laurel on October 13 to meet at Postmaster Smith's house, and it further shows that the Rev. Jonathan S. Willis, the republican nominee for congress, is as lavish with the offer of federal appointments for party service as is Senator Higgins himself.

In his affidavit Mr. Ward says: "About one week after the democratic county convention at Georgetown, George Smith the postmaster at Laurel, drove up to my sawmill at Coverdale Cross Roads, in Sussex county, where I was at work. In the carriage with him was Jonathan S. Willis, whom I knew only by sight. Mr. Smith got out of the carriage and came into the mill. He asked me to come outside for a little talk, and we went to one side of the mill. He said:

"You have been treated badly by the democratic party and I would like to make a proposition to you to help us (meaning the republicans). I know you are a democrat, but if you will do what we want I will see that you get a genteel, permanent and lucrative position."

"I didn't ask him what it was, for I didn't interest myself in what he was saying, but he went on to state that it was a clerkship; that the work would be easy and not more than eight hours a day, and that it would pay not less than \$1,000 a year, and perhaps \$1,200 or \$1,500. During the conversation he said: 'If you think favorably of this call at my store in Laurel.'

"As he was leaving he asked me to walk out to the carriage and meet Mr. Willis. To Mr. Willis he said: 'Mr. Ward is a democrat and can do as much or more than any man in Little Creek Hundred. I have just told him that if he will help us this fall I will get him a good office that he will think something of.'

"Mr. Willis spoke up and said: 'If I am elected to congress, and every one says I will be, I will do all I can to carry out Mr. Smith's suggestions in regard to federal positions.'

"I replied, 'Very well,' and they drove off. "On October 9, Mr. Smith drove to my house and said that he had seen Senator Higgins, and that the senator said he could get me a place not later than the 1st of January, and perhaps by the 1st of December. He repeated what he had said at the mill. He asked me if I knew how the democrats were going to spend their money. I told him I did not. He said: 'We propose to hire them to stay at home, and that is the way we want you to work your men.' I suppose he meant the men I have some influence with. He said they were giving \$5 to \$10 apiece to them to stay at home.

"I said: 'If I should conclude to do this, and you should fail, where would I be?' He replied: 'We don't expect you to do it all; we have lots of others who are working for us.' I suppose by lots of others he meant democrats."

In conclusion, Mr. Ward says Mr. Smith set a date for him to meet Senator Higgins, but he did not go.—*Wilmington Dispatch to New York Times, November 3.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. I, No. 47.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1893.

TERMS: { 50 cents per annum.
5 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE arrangement under which the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has been published will end with the next number. If no new arrangement is made the publication will then cease. The last number will be delayed on account of the index and also to enable it to cover Harrison's administration to the end. It is not necessary to repeat that no one except the printer and the postmaster is paid anything in connection with this publication. The accounts are open to the inspection of subscribers, and statements of them have been at frequent periods sent for inspection to various centers where the CHRONICLE had large support. If publication is discontinued all unexpired subscriptions will be returned and all funds left over will be under the order of those who contributed them. There will be no unpaid debts, and there is nothing in the four years' career of the paper of which those who have been actively connected with it are not frankly and openly proud. Many will be glad to see the CHRONICLE stop.

LETTER-CARRIER DUNN, of the Indianapolis post-office, seems, by the account of his transactions printed in other columns, to have acted in deliberate and insolent defiance of the law. The evidence appears conclusive that he solicited contributions for political purposes of other federal officers and that he did so in a federal building. Postmaster Thompson did his duty in promptly dismissing Dunn. County Treasurer Backus figures in this business. He called upon the democratic employes of the post-office to make up four hundred dollars to pay a debt of the county democratic committee. Having bidden them to the Hendricks club he took them into a room by themselves and told them that the next postmaster was named, and that he was a good democrat, and that those who contributed freely would be remembered. Making his own hide safe, he puts up Dunn to violate the law. Again, after the election and after it is known that these employes will have a democrat over them, who, if he is dishonest, can trick them out of promotion or out of their places, he tells them that the next postmaster is named, and that he is a good

democrat, and that those who contribute freely will be remembered. There is a covert threat in this declaration that makes it inseparable from blackmailing. Those who do not contribute freely will be remembered also. That is what the words mean. Further, these men are in the classified service. They get their places by competition, and their right to promotion rests upon their daily record of efficiency. There is no way of "remembering" them, either by way of reward or punishment, without violating the law. This did not trouble Backus, but it will seriously trouble any one who tries to put it into practice.

THE transfer of all of the free-delivery post-offices and the weather bureau service by President Harrison to the classified service is the most notable event in civil service reform that has happened under this administration. In Indiana, for instance, instead of only one city many cities will afford a daily object lesson in the fairest and most democratic method of distributing public employment that has ever been discovered. It is to be regretted that the President did not see his way clear to transfer a much larger portion of the service. There is no fitness nor sense in going out into the streets and picking up ward-heelers, absolutely ignorant of the duties required and making them heads of divisions in the Indianapolis post-office or in any other office as is now the practice, and the stupidity of the practice becomes intolerable when it is considered that these ward-heelers are made superintendents of highly skilled under-employees who are thus cut off from promotion. Nor is there any reason why the pension agency of this city with its twenty-five employes, should continue to be the family perquisite of the agent, nor that custom-houses and revenue offices of the country should again present disgraceful scenes of onslaught for spoil. But we are gladder than we can express to have this large extension to post-offices. It is another conclusive evidence that civil service reform is grinding the life out of favoritism in the public service.

IN the west we have seen in democratic quarters no criticism of the President's action. The *Buffalo Courier*, which ought to know better, says that it was done with

a design to keep republicans in office, and that President Cleveland took care not to put his transfer of the railway mail service to the classified service four years ago beyond the power of his successor and therefore he fixed the date of taking effect, March 15, 1889. Like William Tell and the apple, this story will have to go the way of all the world. The date, March 15, was a clerical mistake, President Cleveland having ordered and intended that February 15 should be the date. The *Courier* ought to know that this transfer of post-offices does not prevent the dismissal of unfit persons. Their places however must be filled by competition. Complaints against the extension of the rules at this particular time lead to the suspicion that the real grievance is that it so far prevents the quartering of a new lot of democratic politicians upon the public. It undoubtedly does do this unless the law is tricked. All the signs are that Mr. Cleveland does not intend to let it be tricked. In all places where the civil service law is to be newly applied civil service reformers should critically watch every movement made. There should be a local committee of one or more determined men, self-constituted if necessary, whose business should be to note every departure from absolutely fair dealing with competitors. In Indiana the state civil service reform association should appoint such committees.

THERE is still undoubtedly a wide-spread feeling that competitors who are not of the party in power stand no chance. A great change has taken place in this respect. Many postmasters take pride in a rigid and impartial enforcement of the law and in a short time it will be regarded as a public disgrace, rather than as an evidence of "smartness" for any officer to try to "beat" the fair intent of the law. Public opinion more and more requires that the highest on the list shall be taken, unless there is a good business reason for passing to the second or third. In the coming four years it is to be hoped that all parties and creeds will crowd the eligible lists.

No honest democrat can complain of any number of transfers to the classified service. The democratic platform says that the offices ought not to be subject to change at every election and the only way at present

to carry out this principle is to place the offices under the civil service law. President Cleveland ought to complete what Harrison has left undone. We are glad to see the civil service rules extended at any time. The merit system can fight its way against any odds. But now at the end of two successive administrations and after the offices in question had been filled with partisans, large extensions have been made. This process puts the hardest possible strain upon the law, because partisans of the incoming administration claim that they have been "euchred" and are tempted to evade the law—a temptation Harrison's administration shamelessly yielded to and thus started on the road to final defeat. The law should now have its turn and should be given a fair chance. Whatever President Cleveland is going to do, he ought to do early. It is established beyond question that a process of turning out republicans and putting in democrats will weaken the party of the latter. Then why do it? Why not put an end to the matter by extending the rules to all offices to which they are applicable? The establishment of the registry system for the labor service is a simple matter, and if congress will not do it, it can be done by an executive order. Then let it be understood that there will be no headman of fourth-class postmasters and no fourth-class post-offices to be vacated until congress has made it practicable to fill them without favoritism.

AMONG the backwoods jokes may be put down the late introduction of a bill by Congressman DeArmond, a Missouri democrat, to suspend all civil service rules during the first year of each presidential term. And very much like it is the bill lately introduced by Congressman Martin of this state to limit the terms of all federal employes to four years. Why not include the Atlas Engine Works of this city where about a thousand men are employed? The trouble with all of these men is that with a blindness like Egyptian darkness they will not see that the same principles apply to public and private business. They think that in public business there is something else than mere business principles—that there is something left over. At present there is something over. There is money to pay to political blackmailers. There is time to be watch-dogs for congressmen. There is time to set up primaries for the renomination of a President. There is time to howl down opposition in and around a national convention and to do many other things to carry out the "policy" of an administration. For more than twenty years congressmen alone have stood in the way of ridding the service of these badges of feudalism and imperialism.

MR. CLEVELAND need not fear that the people are anything but thoroughly satisfied with his openly expressed opinion that Murphy ought not to be senator from New York. No one outside of a lot of cheap politicians is in the least concerned at this "interference." Murphy, like Quay, is the final and finished product of the system by which a party machine gets control of the public offices and public contracts of a state and treats them as plunder. When it is understood that only those who will obey certain bosses can have any chance at this plunder, such present themselves and are employed. Then follow subservient primaries, conventions, and, later, a legislature absolutely under these bosses. This body will choose a statesman for senator if the bosses say so; or it will, if ordered, choose a smart political rounder like Murphy. New York politics will not sink any lower. Mr. Cleveland ought to be at open, irreconcilable, relentless war with this whole crowd. Murphy can not live politically without spoil to divide. Deprived of this, he would pass away as effectually as Roscoe Conkling did for the same reason.

WHEN it is doubted that Mr. Cleveland will be ruled by congressmen in the matter of appointments, the Bourbons answer glibly that he will want the support of senators and representatives and will therefore have to yield to them. Mr. Cleveland is not a safe man to try the stand-and-deliver policy on. This is an old plan, and it has always been more or less successful; but it may not succeed with Mr. Cleveland. Suppose, for instance, he should conclude not to allow Senator Turpie to appoint a postmaster at Indianapolis; what could Turpie do? Nothing but sit in the senate and look glum. And what could Senator Voorhees do if cut off from naming the Terre Haute postmaster? Nothing but bluster. It is said that the senate would not confirm nominations. Then let them go unconfirmed. There is no greater humbug than this pretense of the terrible things congressmen will do if the President does not knuckle to them. Before a determined President they would go down like men of straw, or up like smoke before a wind.

PRESIDENT PATTON, of Princeton college, is reported to have recently said: "I am interested in philosophy and theology, and these are the only things I want to be known in. I vote for neither party." It is a stigma upon President Patton, an American citizen, to show such callousness to his duty.—*Civil Service Chronicle*.

If President Patton is correctly reported he must have said: "I vote for neither party" with a twinkle in his eye, for he is not an American citizen. He was born on the island of Bermuda and has never been naturalized, because if he did certain property interests in Bermuda would be alienated.—*Indianapolis News*.

The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is also in receipt of a private letter containing sim-

ilar information. As the purported statement of President Patton was seen in the New York *Evening Post* some days before the late election, and was never contradicted, it seemed just to comment upon a college president who could say: "I am interested in philosophy and theology, and these are the only things I want to be known in." This paper is very glad if it is in error.

When Tammany pursues its bold and iniquitous way in New York because of the indifference, selfishness and party bigotry of the decent citizens; when Quay is returned to the senate by influences of the same character in Pennsylvania, there is nothing more depressing than to see young college men return to their homes such political bigots that they smother all their moral senses regarding their own party, or to see them return "interested in philosophy and theology," society or foot ball, but bored by any intimation that they have, as citizens, pressing, disagreeable and continuous duties to perform. There is no doubt but that nearly all American colleges are failures so far as turning out young men who have an active conscience for the duties of citizenship.

THE police commissioners of New York wanted a police matron, and, as the place was within the civil service law, the city civil service authorities put the competitive examination under the charge of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell and Miss Edith Collins as being especially fitted to test applicants in the duties required. There were 114 applicants, and of these only 39 were found fit for a place on the eligible list. All, however, were graded in the order of merit. In the eighty-fourth place on the list was one, Mrs. Lizzie Molony, who had come to the examination saying that she expected to get the place because she had political influence. There were ten weights, and experience was to count two. Mrs. Molony was found to be without experience of any kind, even in housekeeping. The results of the examination were handed in and Mrs. Molony was promptly appointed to the matronship. The Tammany civil service board had taken the papers and given Molony 65 for experience where the examiners who had tested her had given nothing, and 95 for technical knowledge and intelligence where the ladies gave her 60, and 100 for writing where the ladies gave 60, and, after some other dextrous turns, behold a new eligible list with 101 names, and Lizzie Molony standing first. That is the incorruptible way in which Tammany does business. Lizzie Molony turns out to be a professional beggar of twelve years' standing, and her touching appeals for "aid" addressed to various individuals cover pages of the records of the charity organization society of New York.

REPUBLICAN papers are spending their time abusing mugwumps and urging their party to "organize" at once for future work. Mugwumps who know how to remember facts and how to use them in a campaign are amused at any plan which proposes to attain success by organizing a party machine. Republicans may organize until they get their last man into some club and make him a blind and stupid follower of their Quays and Platts and yet they will lack votes, and before they get the lacking votes they will have to learn the simple rule of keeping promises. They know what their platform was in 1888 in relation to extending the civil service law. Yet we do not recollect having seen anywhere any intimation to President Harrison before the late defeat from any republican paper, or club, or party committee, or convention, or organization of any kind, that he ought to make additions to the classified service as the platform promised. The few individual republicans like Sherman S. Rogers and Theodore Roosevelt who urged him to do this were put down by the mass of active republicans as no better than mugwumps. By this and other treachery the republicans have succeeded in driving almost every progressive man out of their party and "organization" will not make up the loss.

THE *New York Recorder* prints an interview with John Sabine Smith which shows a truly chastened spirit. Being stranded beyond all chance of getting offices, and being without power to put republican "principles" into practice, all should work to establish those principles "without fear or favor." Smith says:

"Being practically out of power at once in the nation, state and city, there is not much left for republicans except the principles of the party, which are eternally true, and the heritage of its great men and great deeds of the past. Once more we can look each other in the face and discuss the great questions of the day without fear of jostling aside any one from his ambition to secure office. Therefore, there seems to me to be no good reason why all of us should not pull together for the establishment of these great principles without fear or favor. This, I believe, will unite and vitalize the party to a degree it has not known since the days of its inception. It is not so much a question of kind or form of organization as it is to bring the whole line into harmonious action for a common purpose."

"APPOINTMENTS" BY CONGRESSMEN.

Bourbon democrats and democratic papers in Indiana are blandly expatiating upon the blessedness of the President having congressmen to make appointments to offices for him throughout the country. All through this state, as our columns show, congressmen have gone to work hearing applications and deciding whom they will "appoint" to all the federal offices, without any apparent knowledge

that the constitution absolutely lodges this duty elsewhere, and without the least apparent thought that President Cleveland may have a mind of his own in this matter and may tell them plainly that they are officious and pestiferous meddlers. Congressman Bynum will allow Senator Turpie to "appoint" the postmaster at Indianapolis, and Turpie is giving a large portion of his time to hearing claimants and their friends and backers. Congressman Brookshire will allow Senator Voorhees to "appoint" the postmaster at Terre Haute and Senator Voorhees regrets "that there are so few offices to be given to so many worthy and capable applicants." It is to him "a most painful duty to be compelled to decide between friends who are equally meritorious and capable." Congressman Cooper has been traveling from town to town in his district solely to hear applicants and their backers and determine whom he will "appoint" to the various offices, and so on to the end. Is Indiana never to be relieved of moss-backed, hide-bound, dyed-in-the-wool Bourbons? Every one of these men indorsed a platform which said that the offices ought not to be subject to change at every election and yet before Mr. Cleveland is inaugurated they are working day and night to bring about such a change. Will they never learn that civil administration in this country is advancing, and that the methods under Pierce and Buchanan are not the methods of to-day? The interference of congressmen in federal appointments is not only a usurpation of power belonging to the executive, but it is an unmixed and unmitigated evil and has been so regarded by the best men of all parties for many years. The practice is destined to be completely broken up and a congressman who had a single element of the statesman in him would be trying, as Mr. Andrew tries, to find some way to hasten the end. Yet not a single Indiana congressman ever thinks of the subject with so much attention as he gives to a single cross-roads post-office. Again, the merit system in its different forms adapted to the labor service, the classified service and the selection of fourth-class post-masters is going to prevail in the federal service. Its opponents all recognize and reluctantly admit that "it has come to stay." Next to the relief of the country from slavery, this revolution now going on will take rank. Yet it has not the good-will of a single Indiana congressman.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF INDIANA.

For every member of the legislature who came in here to-day there arrived not less than two men who wanted office under the general assembly, or who had friends whom

they desired to help along. The men who are after the principal offices have nearly all been at the hotel since Saturday, with no material at hand on which to work, and when the law-makers began to drop in this forenoon, singly and in couples, they were pounced on as a drove of hungry wolves would pounce upon a flock of sheep. Old politicians declare that the crowd of office-seekers that has preceded the members to the city is the hungriest they have ever come in contact with. If it were left to the candidates for the principal offices to make all the noise, there wouldn't be a great deal of interest in the contest; it is the men who desire appointments under the successful aspirants for the best places that are doing the hardest work. It is estimated that there are, all told, over one thousand of these place-seekers, and each one has his favorite candidate for door-keeper, or secretary of one of the houses. Some two or three hundred aspirants for five-dollar-a-day places are from this city, and they are not permitting the floor of the hotel corridor to get cold under their feet.—*Indianapolis News*, January 2.

The usual activity preceding the meeting of the legislature is at its height at the state house. The number of visitors is large, and as the time grows shorter the office-seekers fairly swarm in and out of the building. They seem to have centered their clamor at the capitol on Governor-elect Matthews, and his office is constantly besieged by the aspirants. As soon as the doors of his office are opened in the morning the stream of men begins to pour in, and continues until the closing hours in the afternoon.

The candidates have all kinds of foundations upon which they think the secretary of state can base his indorsement of their causes. One candidate sought Mr. Matthews' aid in securing an appointment in the legislature, basing his claims on having knocked a man down during the campaign for having said some slighting things about the secretary. It is authoritatively announced that Myron D. King will be Mr. Matthews' private secretary, and Miss Callie McMechen will be the clerk in the governor's office. Miss McMechen is the first woman that was ever appointed to the position in this state. The appointment of the messenger has not yet been announced. The appointment of secretary of state to serve eight days, and other appointments to be made by the new governor, have not been made public.—*Indianapolis News*, January 4.

The struggle for the minor positions in the two houses began last night immediately after the caucus ended. The nominees were besieged and importuned upon every side by an army of applicants representing almost every county in the state. The hotel corridors and the lobbies in the capitol building swarmed with them. The

successful candidates were given a taste of what political success means.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 5.

THE HOUSE.

Chief Clerk Crawley, of the house, has not made up his list of subordinates, and will not until the house decides how many men he shall have. Mr. Crawley says J. A. Marlowe, of Terre Haute; Benjamin F. Harrell, of Fayette county; Edward Leffel, Tipton, will be on his force when it is made up. He has not yet decided what work he will assign them.

Doorkeeper Glazebrook will not make up his force until the house has had a report from the committee appointed to fix the number of employes and their salaries.—*Indianapolis News*, Jan. 5.

In the house the method was not precisely the same. Curtis and Crawley had each several managers, as did Carter, but McMahon, of Fulton, "handled" Glazebrook alone. Crawley has nine men under him, which will probably be increased to thirteen; Carter has seven, and will have probably eleven, while Glazebrook will have twenty. They will get their lists this morning. Crawley was rather anxious last night to know whom he would appoint. Bud Swift, for chief enrolling clerk, was about the only one he knew anything about. "I can't give out Glazebrook's appointments to-night," said McMahon, when asked for the list by a *Journal* reporter. "Yes, I am distributing his patronage, but I got through with only fifteen promises, and I have five places I can do as I please with, so I shall not complete the list to-night." Marion county, however, is to get five doorkeepers and four clerkships, and the delegation is taking much glory to itself therefore. The celebrated "Jack" Higgins, John Mullen and "Mike" Welch are to go on doors, and a young man named Derry is to have a minor clerkship.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 5.

The only patronage Speaker Curtis will have to distribute will be the places on committees and the appointing of five pages. There are already a half hundred or more applications for the latter places and each hour the number grows rapidly.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 6.

About the lobby of the Grand Hotel still lingers a horde of minor place-hunters. The men who have the patronage of the house at their disposal decline to give out any list of appointees until the committee appointed yesterday to determine the size of the force, and their compensation, reports, and that committee will probably withhold its report until Monday in the hope that the crowd will starve out, and thin out, and thus give the place-givers some chance for their lives. The committee was in session

all yesterday afternoon. The force of clerks will not be cut, and the time for employing the copyists will be fixed about January 20, instead of January 26, as two years ago. All sub-clerks will receive \$5 per day. Members of the doorkeeper's force will receive \$5 per day from the start, instead of starting in at \$4, and being granted an extra dollar a day back pay at the end of the session, as was done in 1891. This force will not be cut. The only question is whether or not Tim Griffin shall be allowed seven extra janitors at \$40 a month, as was done in 1891, or only five.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 7.

John F. Habernel, of Harrison county, is serving as postmaster of the house. It is understood that John Mullen, Representative Wilson's appointee of this county, is to have the place eventually.

The house pages on duty are Harry Buskirk, Frank Palmer, Leon Smith, James Kackney, Raymond Preston, Frank Fippen, Burrie Redmond, James Burke and Harry Doyle.

Miss Cora M. Alexander, of this county, has been appointed house stenographer and typewriter.—*Indianapolis News*, January 9.

The caucuses that followed the adjournment of the house this forenoon were for the consideration of the question of employes. The committee that was appointed the first day of the session has been having a hard time to agree upon a report. After wrestling with the question Saturday and most of yesterday the democratic members of the committee decided to leave the matter to a caucus of the democrats of the house. The three democratic members of the committee, through Chairman Cullop, reported that they had decided to recommend the appointment of twenty assistant doorkeepers and sixteen assistant clerks. The report was adopted, but not without opposition. Twenty-six members voted against the appointment of so many doorkeepers, and it is possible that these twenty-six may not abide by the decision of the caucus, but may join with the republicans in cutting down the number of doorkeepers. It was also decided by the democratic caucus that the pay of the assistant doorkeepers and assistant clerks shall be \$5 a day each.

The republicans, as soon as they learned that the democrats were caucusing, went into hiding to also consider the question of employes. It was the unanimous vote of the caucus that the minority oppose any effort to increase the number of employes over that fixed by statute. It was decided not to object to the five-dollar-a-day pay of efficient clerks and doorkeepers.—*Indianapolis News*, January 9.

"Syd" Moon, the new reporter of the Supreme Court, is all right. He got one son in as postmaster of the house and another as assistant in the state museum, and a

nephew as page in the house. "Calamity Jim" Fippen, the Tipton reformer, has secured a job for his boy as page in the house. While the little pages were discussing the matter yesterday one of them offered a resolution that "no member be permitted to bring his sons, daughters, wife or hired girl down here to be paid."—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 10.

Clerk Crawley, of the house, is still absent, and his appointments are not yet announced. Assistant Clerk Carter has filled his force, but declines to give out the list as yet. However, he had at work yesterday, W. I. Zacharias, ex-sheriff of Franklin county; Frank J. Kapps, of Vincennes; Mr. Buskirk, of Bloomington; T. C. Williams, of Terre Haute, and E. H. Deery, of this city.

Door-keeper Glazebrook also declines as yet to give out his list. His chief assistant is F. N. Hoffman, of Rochester, and he had on the doors yesterday W. E. Peterson, of Plymouth, W. H. Winters, of Goshen, Sylvester Bertram, of Starke county, and Philip Dellinger, of Pulaski.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 10.

Cullop and his faction favored fixing the doorkeeper's force where it was last session, at twenty-two all told, fifteen doormen at \$5 per day, a raise of \$1 per day, and seven janitors at \$45 per month, a raise of \$5 per month over last session. This did not satisfy McMahon and his crowd, and an acrimonious discussion followed, in the course of which two or three of Cullop's followers declared they would not be bound by the caucus. Cullop put his views in the form of a motion, and Rodebaugh, of Fort Wayne, moved to amend by having twenty, instead of fifteen, men on the door, and two extra copying clerks. When it came to a vote the McMahon crowd won by four votes, the vote standing 26 to 30, and Mr. Cullop, as chairman of the committee, was directed to report in favor of twenty doormen at \$5 per day, and seven janitors at \$45 per month, making the total number of employes of the house, pages, doormen, clerks and janitors all told, fifty-eight, or over half as many as there are members. Daily, Blair, Cravens and one other member thereupon bolted and left the room. Cullop and his friends were feeling pretty badly over this after the caucus, as a little group, containing Daily, Hill, Higby and others, discussed it about Cullop's desk. "They are entirely needless," said Mr. Cullop, "and I had no idea but what our report would go through, but we got left and all these men will be employed." One of the group suggested voting with the minority, but Daily couldn't vote for anything republican, even though it were religion itself, and the group broke up without determining upon any line of action. The republican minority decided to report in favor of the number of doormen allowed by statute, seven, which

is all that is needed. When the house convened after the inauguration ceremonies, about its first and only business was the presentation of the majority report of this special committee on house employes, by Cullop. It recommended seven janitors at \$45 per month, twenty doorkeepers at \$5 per day, seven assistants to the clerk at \$5 a day, beginning at once, and three at the same salary beginning January 20, seven assistants to the assistant clerk, beginning at once and receiving \$5 per day, five committee clerks at \$5 per day, and four pages at \$2 per day. These, with the postmaster and speaker's page, make fifty-eight employes. The report had a useless paragraph on the end of it, making it a little bit difficult to further increase the horde or their pay, put in to ease Cullop's conscience.—*Indianapolis News, January 11.*

Chairman Cullop, of the house committee, appointed to fix the number of employes the house should have, and their compensation, reported to the house yesterday afternoon, after the inaugural ceremonies. The majority report recommended an increase in the force. It favored the employment of seven janitors, at \$45 per month; of twenty assistant door-keepers, at \$5 per day; seven assistants to the chief clerk, at \$5 per day, and three additional assistants on and after January 20; seven assistants to the assistant clerk, at \$5 per day; five committee clerks, at \$5 per day, and five pages, at \$2 per day. The report of the minority of the committee was presented by Representative Brown, of Steuben county. It recommended that the house employ the number of persons allowed by statute. In the discussion of the report, Representative Cullop, who had presented the report of the majority of the committee, stated that the report was not what he desired; that the majority had been against him, and he concluded to carry out the will of that majority. Representative Lindemuth spoke for the republicans. He called the attention of the democrats to the fact that they had just returned from the corridor below where they had heard Governor Matthews, in his inaugural address, caution the legislature to be careful of the people's money. The minority report was tabled by a *viva voce* vote. The roll was called on the adoption of the majority report, and eight democrats bolted the caucus instructions and voted against the increase of the force. The eight were Representatives Blair, of Cass and Miami; Johnson, of Dearborn; Gill, of Huntington; Smith, of Posey; Higbee, of Sullivan; Montoux, of Vanderburgh; Cravens, of Washington, and Farlow, of Madison. The bolters nearly all explained their votes by saying that they had been sent to the legislature with the understanding that they would favor economy in the management of state affairs; they could not understand why the house needed more employes than it had two years ago.

The report of the majority of the committee was adopted by a vote of 53 to 44.—*Indianapolis News, January 12.*

It was evident before the house assembled this afternoon that the majority was not in good humor. It was related that the bolters of yesterday who were so "sat upon" by the speaker during the morning were mad, very mad. The keeper of the door to Speaker Curtis's room was busy. There were a score or more of members who wanted to get the speaker's ear. Among those who called was Chairman Taggart, of the democratic state committee. When Mr. Taggart came out of the room he stated that "all is now peaceable." There was much caucusing on the floor of the house, and it was finally stated, in private, that the "bolters" had been persuaded not to bring up the employe question again.—*Indianapolis News, January 12.*

Barnes has been mollified. He kicked up such a row about the place he was promised for a friend that the other democrats offered to make another place at the state's expense if he would quit. He got them to carry out their promise, but did not quit. Accordingly, yesterday morning early he moved to give Clerk Crawley authority to appoint a roll-clerk, and the motion was declared carried by the speaker on a *viva voce* vote. Barnes had threatened to offer a resolution ousting Door-keeper Glazebrook. But the howl of the "sore-heads," as the disappointed members are denominated by the rest of the democrats, had gotten beyond Barnes's control. He could not have shut off the subsequent row if he would, and probably would not if he could. During the call for new bills McIntyre, of Floyd, offered a resolution reducing the number of door-keepers from twenty to fifteen, and immediately there were signs of war. Collins at once moved to table it, and Passage raised the point of order that this whole business had been settled and clinched on Tuesday by tabling a motion to reconsider. McIntyre tried to answer the point, and claimed that it was in order at any time to increase or reduce the force. Collins tried to insist on Passage's point of order, but the speaker reminded him that it would be easier to insist on his motion to table. He did so, and the speaker was declaring it tabled when there was such a howl for the yeas and nays that he had to listen to it.

As the roll-call proceeded it became apparent that the salary-grabbers were wiped out. The republicans, consistent in their fight for economy, voted against the motion to table, and the F. M. B. A. combine and "sore-heads" did the rest. Ader and Hench and some of the other noble reformers were in a tight place, and dodged the vote until it was all over, when they asked permission to vote with the crowd.

Quite a number of these claimed to have

voted with the majority in order to reconsider, and it is known that Erwin, Lowe and Stover did. When the vote was announced, McMullen at once moved to refer the McIntyre resolution to a special committee of three, and though there was a storm of nays, the speaker declared this carried. The speaker declined to announce the committee until to-day. Door-keeper Glazebrook at once consulted the roll and made up a black-list, knocked off his force the proteges of those who voted against him, and made up his "official" list of employes.—*Indianapolis Journal, January 13.*

THE SENATE.

There was some surprise this afternoon when Lon McClellan, of this county, candidate for doorkeeper of the Senate, withdrew from the race. The understanding is that Marion county forced Mr. McClellan off the track. Mr. McClellan was assured that he would be elected if he consented not to make any appointments from Marion county. Mr. McClellan declined to make any such promise, and stepped out of the race. He said in reference to his action:

"In withdrawing from the race for doorkeeper of the senate, I desire to return my thanks to the senators from every part of the state who so generously tendered me their support. My chief reason for withdrawal lies in the fact that I could not obtain the place without giving up the right to name my own assistants. It would have been impossible for me to reward my many friends in Marion county. I want no place for myself that will not benefit my party associates here at home. I was not a candidate in the beginning, but became such at the unanimous request of our senators. So far as honor goes, this is honor enough for me."—*Indianapolis News, January 4.*

The senate cabal has attended to all this very systematically. In this "combine" are twenty-six senators—none from Marion county. In their caucus at the Grand Tuesday morning they not only agreed upon the "slate," but also appointed a committee three to distribute the petty patronage. That committee consists of senators Chandler, of Hancock; Fulk, of Monroe, and McKelvey, of Owen. These statesmen met at the English Hotel last night, compared notes on promises, and made out therefrom a partial list. They were unable to see some senators to whom patronage had been promised, and could not complete it.

This petty patronage consists of a reading, roll, registry and file clerk, and five enrolling and engrossing clerks, nominally appointed by the secretary; a minute clerk, journal clerk and five copying clerks, nominally appointed by the assistant secretary; a postmaster, folding clerk, mail-carrier and fifteen doormen, cloak-room men, spittoon cleaners, etc., nominally ap-

pointed by the doorkeeper. But last night Messrs. Pleasants, Friedman and Mannix confessed to a *Journal* reporter that they had no idea whom they would appoint this morning. "Haven't received my list yet," was the answer of each.—*Indianapolis News*, January 5.

The demand for subordinate positions was not unusual, but it was felt to an uncomfortable extent by the legislators. In the senate the entire matter of appointments was referred by caucus agreement to a committee composed of Senators McKelvey, Chandler, Ellison and Holcomb. These gentlemen had a merry time farming out the places, and had not completed the task to-day. The heads of the various departments were notified that "their appointments" included the following:

FOR PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, PLEASANTS.

R. T. F. Abbott, Switzerland county, file clerk.
John McNew, Hancock county, reading clerk.
George H. Ball, Tippecanoe county, registry clerk.
Messrs. Spangler, of Huntington county, and H. H. Miller, of Marshall, engrossing clerks.
O. B. Burrell, Jackson, enrolling clerk.
A. M. Waltz, Blackford, roll clerk.
W. E. Stillwell, Gibson, unassigned.

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY, JOSEPH FRIEDMAN.

Charles Zuckreigel, Spencer county, journal clerk.
John Holland, Lawrence county, journal clerk.
Joseph B. Workman, Owen county, minute clerk (same as in 1891).
Charles Collius, Miami county, journal clerk.
J. M. Aiken, Sullivan, and Mr. Stillwell, of Gibson, journal clerks.

FOR W. T. MANNIX, DOOR KEEPER.

James Brovard, James Barnett, Charles F. Waltz, John Crabtree, William Snyder, Peter Hoffman, W. W. Kintner, W. L. Hulett, John Smith and five more not yet selected.

John C. Brophy, Minnie E. Galbreath and John Francin were added to the door-keeper's force this afternoon. Miss Galbreath will not "keep doors," but will be one of the folding clerks. The others are not yet assigned.

PAGES.

Fred Trevely, Warren; George Schley, Marion; O. Beck, Carroll; Leo. Lefkovits, Lake.—*Indianapolis News*, January 5.

The work of senators getting their sons positions as pages at \$2 a day, progressed fairly well yesterday. Senator Beck, of Pulaski, and French, of Warren, both unblushingly accomplishing the delicate task.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 6.

Senator Sweeny, of Perry, has seen, probably, more public service than any other man of his age in the senate. He has been sheriff three times, door-keeper of the senate, and was in the secret service under Cleveland. He is now engaged in farming near Tell City. He is yet a young man, and while not a public speaker, he knows what is going on and does not get left when it comes to obtaining patronage for his district, which also embraces Dubois. Mr. Sweeny championed Mr. Friedman's cause in his successful race for assistant secretary.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 7.

Just before adjourning yesterday morning, Senator Loveland, of Miami, offered this resolution:

WHEREAS, The debt of the state of Indiana is more than \$8,000,000, and

WHEREAS, The taxes levied for the support of the state and its institutions are burdensome, and were increased at the last session of the legislature, rendering rigid economy necessary, to the end that the debt and the taxes may be reduced, and

WHEREAS, Upon yesterday a resolution was passed by this senate providing for the appointment of eleven doorkeepers of the senate in addition to the four provided for in Section No. 4970 of the Revised Statutes of 1881, making a total force of fifteen, and

WHEREAS, There are only ten doors to the senate chamber, including all the doors to the gallery, cloak-room and ante-room; therefore

Resolved, That a committee of three senators be appointed to investigate and make report to the senate on Tuesday, January 10, 1893, with recommendations as to the number of doorkeepers and assistant doorkeepers actually necessary for the dispatch of the business of the Senate, and with such report state the facts on which such recommendation is based.

Before the resolution was read, Senator McHugh, of Tippecanoe, rose to a point of order claiming that it was no time for resolutions. Senator Loveland defended the propriety of his resolution at that time and read the rules that directly supported him, but President Griffith looked down with a beneficent smile, tapping his xylophone delicately while sustaining McHugh's point of order, and the army of unnecessary doorkeepers, against whose employment the protest of the republican minority was filed the day before, and against which every citizen of the state should protest, still holds the fort. This resolution was for the express purpose of giving Senator Kern, of Marion, Senator Wray, of Shelby, and Senator Morgan, of Johnson, a chance to withdraw their support, which they had given spontaneously when the original vote was cast that the order might be temporary. The clincher put upon the steal by Senator Magee, of Cass, who moved the day before to reconsider the resolution and table the motion to reconsider, was an adroit move not anticipated by the trio of democratic senators mentioned, who now claim to be ready for any kind of penance, and would willingly be on record with the republicans.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 7.

The following appointments additional to those already announced have been made by the senate:

Postmaster—Fred Zollars, of Allen county.

E. Wright, Johnson county, journal clerk; Edward Mullen, Spencer, copying clerk.

In the senate the appointees to date include fifteen doorkeepers and eighteen clerks—an excess of two in each department over the statutory number.—*Indianapolis News*, January 9.

Senator McHugh (Marion) offered the following resolution upon which over an hour of the senate's time was wasted by members indulging in the "old soldier racket." Both sides of the house participated:

WHEREAS, The ventilation of this chamber is so imperfect and the heat furnished so irregular as to make the chamber uncomfortable and the services of some one to look after the same needed.

Resolved, That Timothy Dawson, a soldier, be appointed at \$5 per day to attend to this duty.

Mr. Loveland was for the "old soldier,"

but thought some member of the existing force, who was not a soldier, ought to be discharged to make room for Capt. Dawson and offered a resolution to that effect, which was rejected.

THE AFTERNOON SESSION.

But the "ventilation" question came up again and an hour was taken up fighting the war over. Finally Mr. McHugh's resolution prevailed by a vote of 27 to 18, and Capt. Dawson will regulate the heat and ventilation during the remainder of the session.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 19.

The infant son of the Hon. James M. Fippen, of Tipton, a page in the House, was ill yesterday and the "Sleeping Beauty" did not appear on the floor until about 3 P. M. When he did his first act was to offer a resolution for the employment of three more pages. The members supposed he had three more children unemployed at home and were appalled. The member from Tipton explained with vehement eloquence that these boys were overworked. "I know," he cried in stentorian tones, "the patriotism of Tipton county don't ask us to proceed with insufficient force, and I introduce this resolution so's that we will not be impeded, and so's that the boys won't be impaired by their health." He was called down on points of order and it was explained that the rules required such a resolution to lay over three days, but he moved to suspend the rules.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 21.

ECHOES FROM THE PAST.

Another illustration of the way the administration used federal offices to secure Harrison's renomination is afforded by the story of the post-office at Princess Anne, Md., as told by E. F. Duer, the late postmaster. Duer was appointed about three years ago and has managed the office so successfully that it was not long ago raised to a higher grade, which brought the place within the range of a presidential appointment. The rule in such cases is for the President to name the incumbent if his record has been a good one, and his continuance is desired by the patrons of the office. There is no dispute whatever as to Duer's efficiency, or as to the satisfaction of the local public with his administration. He filed his papers with the department in due course on the 18th of May, and was told by the fourth assistant postmaster-general that the appointment would not be made before fifteen days. Notwithstanding this, seven days later W. F. Lankford was appointed, without even a notice to Duer that his claims would be heard, and without any examination by the postmaster-general of the papers which he had filed. The explanation is that Lankford's name was presented by Thomas S. Hodson, who was a delegate to the republican national convention, then soon to meet. As Duer says in his letter to the postmaster-general, "How far these things stood to each other in relation to cause and effect, is a question which each one can decide for himself, and in view of the charges generally made as to the manner in which the President's renomination was effected, it may prove an interesting question."—*New York Evening Post*, August 3.

The democratic campaign opened in Ohio to-day with a meeting at Woodsdale Island Park, near Hamilton, Butler county. It was estimated that fully five thousand people were in attendance. Ex-Governor Campbell, who was among his home neighbors, made a short and witty speech, confined mostly to sallies at the audience as some one would prompt him with a question. He spoke of Mr. Stevenson's record as a creator of democratic postmasters, relating an incident where the present candidate for vice president had, as a favor to him [Campbell], decapitated sixty-five republican postmasters in two minutes. He regarded a man of that sort as a vigorous and true democrat. When the cheers following this statement had subsided, Mr. Stevenson rose and said he considered that the highest compliment he had received in his whole life.—*Cincinnati Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Oct. 1.

THE ONSLAUGHT.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

COOPER'S DOMAIN.

FRANKLIN.—Office aspirants continue to multiply. Prominently mentioned for the post-office at Trafalgar appear the names of J. C. Slack, D. H. Hunter, J. C. White and Mrs. Van Cleve. The promise of Congressman Cooper to recommend Samuel Harris for postmaster here is still a favorite topic of discussion, and A. B. Colton, a defeated candidate, has challenged Mr. Harris to a public discussion why he (Colton) should have been the chosen one. The question may be put to a vote of the citizens. It seems to be authoritative dictum that the next pension board will include Dr. Province, of Providence; Dr. Myers, of Edinburg, and Dr. Whitesides, of Franklin.—*Indianapolis News, Dec. 13.*

PLAINFIELD.—Isaac Holton, has been recommended by Congressman Cooper as an efficient person to succeed William Stanley as postmaster at this place. Mr. Holton is proprietor of the Mansion House Hotel and one of the leading democrats of the town.—*Indianapolis News, Dec. 16.*

TRAFALGAR.—The post-office race is ended at Trafalgar, Congressman Cooper having written persons here and in that town to the effect that he had decided to recommend Carey J. Slack.

MOORESVILLE.—The race for the post-office at this place was brought to a sudden termination to-day by several letters to prominent democrats from Congressman Cooper, stating his intention to recommend the appointment of John J. Bayless to be postmaster. The notice was received before other applicants had forwarded their petitions.—*Indianapolis News, December 20.*

PLAINFIELD.—Could George W. Cooper, of the fifth congressional district, be in Plainfield for an hour or so any day of the week since it has become known that he had decided to recommend Isaac Holton for the postmastership at this place, he would have to listen to the preaching of his funeral before he was ready to plant beneath the sod. A madder set of office-seekers were never seen than at present in this vicinity. The democrats here do not regard Mr. Charlton as a simon pure, dyed-in-the-wool, Jacksonian democrat, and claim that he was a republican during the Grant campaign, and only abandoned that party in hopes of finding pastures more green in the fold of the party of broken promises and pledges. There has not been the best of feeling existing between the prominent democrats of this place and the reform school since the memorable democratic convention held at Gosport several years ago, in which the reform school delegates took such a prominent part against the renomination of Congressman Matson. It is also claimed that Mr. Charlton has held his position as superintendent through republican and democratic administrations solely through his indifference to politics. It is openly charged that Cooper listened to no one except Mr. Charlton in making the selection of a postmaster for Plainfield. One of the defeated aspirants for post-office honors said, in the hearing of the *Journal* correspondent, Thursday: "An election will be held by the democrats, and the lucky aspirant will be recommended to Congressman Cooper for appointment."—*Indianapolis Journal, December 23.*

SPENCER.—Congressman G. W. Cooper has announced his intention of recommending C. L. Wampler for the position of postmaster at Gosport.

He was at Spencer last night, and listened to the appeals of applicants for a like position here. Mr. Cooper reserved his decision, but it is conceded that Otto Dickerson, ex auditor, will be recommended. Many desire an election to settle the matter.—*Indianapolis News, December 27.*

SPENCER.—Congressman Cooper was in Spencer last night, and gave audience to candidates for the post-office and their friends. A majority of them favored holding a primary election, but this Mr. Cooper would not sanction. He has decided to recommend O. T. Dickerson. This is in return for personal favors to himself. When Cooper was needing votes to nominate him, Dickerson and S. L. Wallace (now of Indianapolis) were the only friends he had in Owen county. C. L. Wampler will be recommended at Gosport.—*Indianapolis Journal, December 27.*

GREENCASTLE.—Congressman Cooper has been here among his constituents and disposing of the patronage at his command. Applicants for the different post-offices in the county have been here to interview him. The fight for the office at Cloverdale is between Horn and Foster, with the chances in favor of Foster. Milroy Gordon and Oliver Hubbard are both named for the office at Bainbridge, with the chances in favor of Gordon, if he wants it. Charles E. Winn will probably be chosen at Russellville and Charles Lewis at Okalla. There will be no primary election held at this place for the purpose of choosing a postmaster, but the impression is that Willis G. Neff will be the lucky man. Mr. Neff held the office under Mr. Cleveland.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, Jan. 7.*

GREENCASTLE.—Hon. George W. Cooper visited this part of his political bailiwick to day, with a view to the distribution of political patronage among his henchmen. The principal bone of contention was the Greencastle post-office, and how to reconcile the conflicting claims of the legion of aspirants puzzled the congressman. It is given out that Willis G. Neff, who held the position under the former Cleveland administration, has the promise of a reappointment, and that the claims of the young democracy will be subordinated to the demands of the court-house ring. Mr. Cooper was urged to submit the contest to a popular election, but turned a deaf ear to the appeals, and the curses visited upon him by the disappointed aspirants were both loud and deep.—*Indianapolis Journal, January 7.*

BLOOMINGTON.—Last week Congressman George W. Cooper was in our city looking after the patronage which will be at his disposal after March 4. He made his headquarters at the Stockwell House where a large number of friends were cordially received. Almost every position in the county, which will be controlled by Mr. Cooper, had more than one applicant, and consequently he was placed in the exceedingly embarrassing position of making a choice between personal friends and equally good democrats. The choicest position was the postmastership at this place and it was sought by the following named well known citizens: Dr. Peter Bowman, John W. Bnskirk, Edwin Corr, W. P. Dill, R. H. East and Dr. S. K. Rhorer. Friends of each candidate presented the claims of their favorite, and be it said to the credit of all concerned that the contest was conducted in an honorable and gentlemanly manner. We are not prepared to say what disposition will be made of the applications, and until Congress-

man Cooper makes a definite statement we will not venture an opinion.

Delegations were here from other places in the county asking official favors for friends and to all these Mr. Cooper gave respectful attention. He has taken all applications under consideration and hopes to make known his decision for the entire district before March 4. There are about two hundred postmasters in this district, and these together with other applications will require all his extra time between now and the date of inauguration.—*The Bloomington World.*

THE TERRE HAUTE OVERLORDSHIP.

"My mail these days is something appalling," said Senator Voorhees. "I have had experience before on the approach of an incoming administration, but nothing like this. I am doing the best I can with the aid of short-hand writers to answer everything without much delay, but I find the task impossible. I hope my friends in Indiana will be patient. Every letter received will be carefully noted and filed away for future reference and for consideration. No one shall be overlooked or neglected. *My greatest regret is that there are so few offices to be given to so many worthy and capable applicants. It is a most painful duty, so far as I am concerned, to be compelled to decide between friends who are equally meritorious and capable.*"—*Indianapolis News, December 13.*

TERRE HAUTE.—The post-office fight at Terre Haute is between A. G. Austin, the hardware merchant, Robert Hunter, a liveryman, and Harry Donham, a young lawyer. The *Sentinel* correspondent is able to state that the latter will receive the appointment. Both of the other applicants are staunch democrats and well worthy in every way to receive this honor, but Mr. Donham's active services in the late campaign entitle him to this reward in the estimation of democrats who appreciate the value of Mr. Donham's services as chairman of the Vigo county democratic committee.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, December 23.*

TERRE HAUTE.—The Terre Haute postmastership is again to be a bone of contention. Two congressmen have been defeated for re-election by members of their respective parties on account of this office, and it looks as if Congressman Brookshire, the present congressman from this district, is to be the third victim. A few weeks ago Congressman Brookshire announced that he would leave the recommendation for postmaster entirely with Senator Voorhees. Under ordinary circumstances that would be sufficient excuse for the congressman's non-interference, but in this instance circumstances alter the case. A democrat whose name is familiar to all who have observed political affairs in this district, talking about the situation, said:

"I understand that Voorhees has said he will recommend the appointment of Harry Donham, and I suppose Donham will be appointed. The other applicants, and hundreds of democrats who are not applicants for office, would not object to Brookshire's action if they felt that the senator himself was the one who is to make the selection, but they know it would be waste of time for them to appeal to him unless John E. Lamb be on their side. Donham was Lamb's obedient henchman during the campaign.

Lamb and editor Ball, of the *Gazette*, have no liking for each other's political methods. The editor doesn't like bossism and Lamb doesn't like any one who bolts a 'regular' cut-and-dried programme. Ball was the steadfast Cleveland advocate here prior to the Chicago convention. As you know, he and Lamb had a bitter contest for delegate to the Chicago convention, Lamb capturing it, although 90 per cent. of the democrats in this district were for Cleveland. Lamb was recognized as an anti-Cleveland man, and did, in fact, lead the anti-Cleveland Indiana forces at Chicago after Senator Voorhees left the city in the midst of the struggle. For a year or more, until immediately after the election, it had been understood that Mr. Ball was to have the position of collector of internal revenue in the event of the election of a democrat to the presidency. Well, now comes in Mr. Lamb's master stroke. Without any delay it is made known, in a quiet way, to leading local democrats that Mr. Voorhees has decided to recommend Donham for postmaster. If Donham be made postmaster Mr. Ball can not be collector. Donham married Mr. Ball's sister not long ago, and it would not do for brothers-in-law to hold two big offices of the district."

Two of the other applicants for the post-office are Col. Bob Hunter, brother of Andy Hunter, elected congressman at large in Illinois, and Mr. A. G. Anstlin. The former is a carriage manufacturer and the latter a hardware dealer. Hunter was a member of the "Kickers' Club," or anti-Lamb organization, in 1886, when Lamb was defeated for congress. Mr. Anstlin is a good business man, but does not know much about political wire-pulling. He has reason to expect Senator Voorhees' aid, but, of course, he will be disappointed.

The impression here is that the Lamb faction has agreed upon Hoskins, of Clay county, for revenue collector. He was made chairman of the congressional committee by Lamb in a unique manner, early in the year. The ex-congressman was chairman of the convention, and, without assistance from the convention, so to speak, declared Hoskins the choice for the position, although the Parke county delegation had come instructed to vote for Dr. Gilum, of that county. But Lamb did it so smoothly that hardly any one realized how it had been done until after the convention had adjourned. Within the past few days the report has been circulated here that the Hon. Mason Niblack, of Vincennes, would be an applicant for the collectorship.—*Indianapolis Journal*, December 29.

The Washington dispatch to the *Journal* of yesterday, announcing that Senator Voorhees would recommend Harry Douham for postmaster is in accord with what was known here by the senator's friends before he went to Washington, and which was first made public in these dispatches. Since then Donham has proceeded upon the assumption that all yet to be done was the formality of placing Cleveland's signature on the commission. The more the local democracy, and especially that portion which espouses the claims of either of the other applicants, ponders over the cut-and-dried proceeding the greater becomes the resentment of what is termed bossism. The fact that the bosses are the ones who were bitterly opposed to the renomination of Mr. Cleveland and set up the primaries in this county, where 90 per cent. of the democrats were unequivocally for the renomination, so that an anti-Cleveland delegation was chosen, increases the feeling of indignation which is sure to result in an open revolt sooner or later. One of the reasons why it has not broken out before this has been the hope of the hungry to get some of the crumbs of office. Now that the hope of five hundred (more or less) has been shattered by the President's order there is more likelihood of the outbreak before the time for the appointment of a postmaster comes around.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 8.

CHIEFS OF HIGH AND LOW DEGREE.

The democrats of Indianapolis have been notified from Washington that Congressman Bynum has decided to leave the selection of a postmaster for this

city entirely with Senator Turpie. This announcement has been expected. It is related among democrats that, before he returned to Washington, Congressman Bynum said to some of his friends that he intended to escape all responsibility for the selection of an Indianapolis postmaster by turning the appointment over to Senator Turpie.—*Indianapolis News*, December 21.

Senator Turpie, who is at his home in this city spending the holidays, is besieged by office-seekers. The men who are after government positions go direct to the senator's residence, as he is remaining away from the hotel corridors where expectant democrats delight to congregate and lay in wait for men of influence. Among the callers on the senator today was W. D. H. Hunter, of Lawrenceburgh, who wants to be re-appointed collector of internal revenue for the southern district of Indiana. Dr. Hunter filled the office under Cleveland before, and he feels that he is entitled to it again. He requested that Senator Turpie say a good word for him to Mr. Cleveland. Another one of the callers the senator has received this week is D. F. Allen, of Frankfort, who is anxious to succeed Nicholas Ensley as United States pension agent for the district of Indiana. Captain Allen, like ex-Governor Gray, made a visit to Cleveland at Gray Gables, and he thinks his acquaintance with the President-elect, together with a few words from the Indiana senators, will secure him the office. Still another caller was Frank Griffith, of Muncie, who also wants to be collector of internal revenue in the southern Indiana district. John S. Williams, of Lafayette, has also paid the senator a visit since his arrival at home. Mr. Williams was fourth auditor of the treasury during Cleveland's former administration. He is anxious to go a step higher this time; he desires to be appointed third auditor of the treasury. During his stay at home Senator Turpie has also been furnished the names of the men who would like to be appointed United States attorney for Indiana. They are Judge Nelson, of Logansport; John W. Kern, John W. Holtzman, of Indianapolis; William A. Cullop, of Vincennes; Frank B. Burk, of Jeffersonville; W. O. Pickens, of Spencer, and C. E. Vohn, of Bluffton.—*Indianapolis News*, December 30.

FORT WAYNE.—It is learned from the best authority that on Monday Congressman McNagney, of Columbia City, will be in Fort Wayne and decide who shall be postmaster under the new administration. This will end a good deal of suspense and will probably be the cause of considerable ill-feeling. It is said Mr. McNagney will meet all the candidates and hear their respective claims. It will be decided probably some day next week, but the decision will not be known at the time. The most prominent candidates are William Meyer, proprietor of one of the leading furnishing stores; Wright Rockhill, proprietor of the Fort Wayne *Journal*; Prof. Ungemach, who is at the head of the Lutheran schools in this city; John B. Monning, a real estate agent; Dr. Samuel Metcalf and M. V. B. Spencer, a leading attorney.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 8.

DELPHI.—Congressman-elect Hammond, of this district, is having a lively time with applicants for office, there being from one to a dozen candidates for every post-office in the district. R. M. Isherwood, editor of the democratic paper, and chairman of the county committee, is the most prominent aspirant, and it will be the field against Isherwood. The men composing the field are now circulating petitions praying Hammond to leave the settlement of the question to a vote of the democratic patrons of the office, and these petitions are being generally signed. Isherwood will oppose such an election, taking the broad and comprehensive ground that he has earned the place. His claims will be seconded by Charles R. Pollard, who was a delegate to the Chicago convention and an uncompromising Cleveland man.—*Indianapolis Journal*, December 31.

It is stated at democratic headquarters that Congressman-elect Conn, of the thirteenth district, has decided to escape all responsibility by having an election for every postmaster in the district. So far as can be learned the other congressmen from the state are pursuing the old course of receiving all the applications and recommendations that come in, and

then appointing the man who seems to be the favorite in the community.—*Indianapolis News*, Dec. 21.

Congressman Jason B. Brown was in the city last evening. He came from Washington. Mr. Brown said that so far he had not been bothered by his constituents seeking office. "I have stated two or three times," he remarked, "that I would take no part in the struggle before Mr. Cleveland's inauguration. It would be hardly proper for me to do so, and my constituents know my position fully, I think, and I don't anticipate being troubled any."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 23.

SALEM.—The unsettled condition that has existed here since the election of Cleveland as to who should be postmaster took a sudden turn to-day. While it is generally understood that Congressman Jason B. Brown is opposed to a primary by the people about all the candidates met to-day and entered into an agreement to hold a primary, and the chairman of the democratic county committee, who is also a candidate, issued a call for it to be held February 4.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 17.

KNIGHTSVILLE.—The democracy have a post-office fight on hand. The office is worth about \$350 or \$400 a year. Scott Inge, postmaster under Cleveland, is an aspirant for re-appointment. David Lawson, the man who controls 1,300 miners' votes, but was opposed to Congressman Brookshire, is also an aspirant. Benjamin Males and George Hoaglin are also pressing their claims. One prominent young man wants to be gauger at Terre Haute. John O'Neal, who is a warm friend of Brookshire, will try and have Mr. McQuade's position as mine inspector. H. C. Payne is also an aspirant for mine inspector. 'Squire Eckles says he will be satisfied with fish commissioner. Taken altogether the fight for office is going to be hotly contested.—*Knightsville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 22.

ELWOOD.—The post-office is a plum that many democrats are eager to pluck. Although the term of the present incumbent will not expire for over a year, petitions by different democratic aspirants are being circulated and generously signed. The first applicant in the field is France Harbit. He is widely known here, and is a ceaseless and untiring worker for democracy. He is at present a member of the city council, from the first ward. "Dock" Peed is also an aspirant. He is making no flourish of trumpets, but he wants the office as bad as anyone. James Parsons is also in the field. He is working like a trooper and the race between him and Harbit is being watched with interest. The claims set forth by Parsons are known only to those who are on the inside of several political contracts and compromises, which were enacted between the democrats last spring and fall. Parsons was a candidate for the nomination for sheriff. Dave de Hority of this city, was also an aspirant for the same nomination. Both are popular men. The race was warm, but as both were from Pike Creek township the chances of each were impaired. Something had to be done. It was decided among the leaders that the only way out of it was for Parsons to withdraw from the race. A prominent democrat said a committee waited on Mr. Parsons and he consented to withdraw, after receiving \$100 from De Hority. The money was to pay the expenses already incurred by Parsons in his canvass. Besides this, it was understood (by Parsons at least) that, in case of a democratic victory, Parsons was to be indorsed for the post-office. The democratic victory came, and now Parsons demands his reward. At Anderson a number of prominent democrats signed an agreement to use their influence in securing the post-office for Parsons. This paper is said to be in possession of Mr. Parsons, and he will produce it in his claims. Leading democrats of Elwood gave a promise of a similar nature, but were wise enough not to do so in writing. Your correspondent's informant said that those who promised Parsons their assistance are falling to the rear. When the paper was presented to De Hority he refused to sign it, saying that he fulfilled his contract when he paid the \$100.—*Elwood Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 29.

PORTLAND.—The Portland post-office is now the bone of contention among eligible democrats, and

as Congressman Martin does not care to mix in the scramble, it is not unlikely that a city election will be held to determine a choice. Among the prominent candidates are W. W. Timmouds, editor of the *Portland Sun*; A. W. Evilsizer, justice of the peace; W. A. Humphries, chairman of the county central committee; S. T. McGovney, ex-member of the state legislature; L. S. Burkett, timber man; George F. Whittaker, ex-prosecutor, and S. A. D. Whipple, deputy clerk of the circuit court.—*Indianapolis News*.

GREENSBURG.—The democracy of this county openly declare that the republican office holders will not serve out their time, and this declaration is bringing out a new crop of office-seekers. Three new candidates have appeared for the post-office. S. F. Rogers, George Shoemaker and George Magee. Outside of Greensburg there are only six or eight paying post-offices in the county. At St. Paul the scramble is terrific. The candidates are Jeff. DeBolt, Daniel Dickey, ex-State Senator Howard, Luther Bailey and Benjamin Jenkins. The principal applicants at Adams are W. O. McKee, Robert Kirby, James Darby and John Turner. James Tarplee is booked for the office at Clarksburgh, and James S. Harper has the call at Sardinia. Sanford Grayson and Samuel Webster will contest at Westport. There is some talk here of having the choice of postmaster determined by popular election, and this is favored by those who consider themselves strong with the people but a little shaky with the appointing power.

ROCKPORT.—Mentioned for postmaster under Cleveland at this point are George Procrasky, the former incumbent, Henry Hoeh and Calvin Jones, ex-editor of the *Rockport Democrat*. C. N. Douglass, present editor of the *Democrat*, is an aspirant for a clerkship at Washington. A. E. Stevenson, formerly of the state committee, wants the position of judicial examiner, now held by Sam Kercheval, of this city. Allen Armstrong, who was the candidate for county clerk, stands a chance of entering the revenue service, and Hugh Haler, defeated candidate for sheriff, expects a position in the secret service.—*Indianapolis News*, December 7.

GREENSBURGH.—The democracy are preparing to boom Judge J. K. Ewing for collector of internal revenue. It is said that he will be supported by Congressmen Holman, Brown and Cooper, and the state officials. The Hon. William H. Bracken, formerly of this county, but now of Franklin, is also in the race. He was an elector-at large candidate, and made a strong canvass of the State. Bracken has congressional aspirations, and if disappointed in his present quest he may contest for the congressional nomination two years hence. Dr. Hunter, editor of the *Lawrenceburgh Register*, was collector under Cleveland before, and, it is said, is again aspiring. The Hon. Jacob Benham, of Ripley, is in training. He is a presidential elector. Other candidates for the collectorship are said to be Frank J. Hall, of Rushville, and Dan Manning, of Switzerland.—*Indianapolis News*.

NOBLESVILLE.—There seems to be no end to the list of applicants who will fight for the Cicero post-office. The number has already been increased to nearly a dozen. Among the prominent applicants are Samuel Dale, Grant Jacobs, Samuel Dunham, George Anthouy and J. S. Williamson.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 21.

GREENFIELD.—Captain Osafah A. Curry, ex-county treasurer and chairman of the county democratic central committee, and a highly estimable and well-known citizen of this city, at the solicitation of many of our prominent business men and citizens, has announced his intentions of being a candidate for postmaster, and will begin a vigorous canvass at once.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 13.

GREENTOWN.—After a wrangle over a choice for postmaster, the Greentown democrats concluded to ballot. L. C. Knight received 31 votes; Wm. Duncan, 29; T. H. Price and T. A. Scagraves, 15 each; J. B. Mazingo, 12; Chas. Hawberger, 8, and William Wooters, 7. Duncan is admitted to be the best qualified man for the place, and the result of the ballot has only increased the dissatisfaction.—*Indianapolis News*, December 13.

James Chapman has discontinued publication of the *Review*, at Converse. Mr. Chapman was a post-office candidate, but was defeated in a popular election. He complains of ill-treatment by the local democracy.—*Indianapolis News*.

PORTLAND.—James H. De Tray, of this city, is applicant for the position as minister to France under the next administration, and is circulating petitions to that effect. De Tray is a "Buckeye" by birth. He came to Portland in 1885. He is a fourth cousin of the famous General Lafayette, and at the time of the Yorktown celebration, in 1881, he was present by invitation from the secretary of state as the American representative of the Lafayette family.—*Indianapolis News*, December 17.

BEDFORD.—John Johnson, jr., is an applicant for the postmastership here, and it is stated that Congressman Bretz will probably see that he gets it.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 18.

RICHMOND.—The candidates for the Dublin post-office held a caucus Monday night to determine upon a plan for the selection of a postmaster. They determined upon an election to be held January 21. All known democrats who voted for Grover Cleveland will be entitled to vote at that time. The following persons are candidates: Ira Ellis, Mrs. Sarah J. Roberts, W. B. Smith, Dr. J. R. Hollingsworth, G. W. Steffy, Tolbert More and Thomas Kemmer.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, January 7.

LEBANON.—The question of Lebanon's next postmaster seemed to be a difficult one a few weeks ago, when there were as many as half a dozen aspirants, but now it seems narrowed down to a single person Henry C. Ulin, secretary of the county central committee, is circulating a petition which is being generally signed, and from the present outlook Mr. Ulin has almost a clear field.—*Indianapolis News*.

WABASH.—The post-office fight here is becoming decidedly interesting. A month ago less than a half dozen candidates wanted the place, but now there are seventeen. The contest is growing somewhat personal in its character, and so fearful are the democratic local managers that there will serious party trouble grow out of the scramble that an election has virtually been decided upon as a solution of the controversy. All but two or three aspirants have signed the compact, and the primary will take place February 14. The candidates are: Dr. M. R. Crabbill, John Katchem, Jonathan Haas, James Early, E. A. Edwards, James Jackson, Sam Junfee, H. H. Milllean, W. J. Alber, Frank Alber, Simon Swartz, John Hoover, Valentine Smith, William Collus, James V. Simpson, Ed Kinerk and John Hipskins. The commission of Postmaster Wood does not expire until December 10, 1895, and it is not expected there will be a change short of a year or two, as Mr. Wood is competent and in no sense an "offensive partisan."—*Indianapolis News*, January 18.

THE WORST CASE YET.

The report of Commissioner Roosevelt to the United States Civil Service Commission on the investigation of a peculiar political assessment case in Indianapolis, has just been given to the press. The facts ascertained from the witnesses examined point to a special variety of offense differing from any other that has yet come to the public notice.

It appears that the democratic campaign committee in Indianapolis found itself, at the close of the late campaign, several thousand dollars in arrears. The committee had its headquarters in the rooms of the Hendricks club, to which some of its members belonged. County Treasurer Backus, a prominent committeeman, spoke to C. J. Dunn, a letter-carrier, of the shortage, and suggested, apparently as a con-

clusion of the committee, that the democratic employes in the post-office—the so-called "hold-overs" under the present administration—ought to make up about four hundred dollars as their share of it. Mr. Backus further notified Dunn to request various employes to come to a meeting at the club "to see what they felt like doing."

Accordingly the invitations were distributed, mostly by Dunn, it being understood that the meeting was partly for the purpose of raising funds; partly with the idea that the employes should press one of their number, Mr. Lorenz, for superintendent of carriers under the incoming administration; and partly in order to meet a Mr. Sahn, who, according to the common talk among "the boys," had been decided upon as the next postmaster. Mr. Lorenz himself, also, seems to have been instrumental in inducing the carriers to attend the meeting.

Alexander McNutt testified that Dunn told him of the straits of the committee and asked "if we could reach in our pockets and help them out;" that Dunn approached him in regard to making a donation to make up the deficiency, the request being made in the letter-carriers' office, but no specific amount being named, although it appeared as if about ten dollars apiece was expected. McNutt said that he did not contribute, and that he and Dunn had not been on good terms since.

W. A. Balk, a letter-carrier, testified that Dunn asked him, in the carriers' room, for a contribution to a campaign fund.

R. O. Shriner testified that Dunn said to him: "The committee is short some money and we want to know if you can't help to make it up," or something to this effect.

Jacob Mathias testified that Dunn asked him to come down to the Hendricks club, saying that there was a shortage in the democratic campaign fund, and that he was authorized to notify "the boys"—meaning the democratic carriers in office—that they had to raise some money.

William Darby testified that Dunn said to him, in the street, that the committee would require ten or fifteen dollars apiece from "the boys," and invited him to attend the meeting at the Hendricks club.

F. A. Lorenz testified that Dunn told him, in the street, that the committee was short and wanted the democrats in the post-office to help it out, adding: "What will you do?" or "Will you do anything?" or "Can you do anything?" and stating that he expected the democratic carriers to contribute four hundred dollars.

C. W. Parish testified that Dunn mentioned to him the committee's need of money; told him to go to the Hendricks club on a certain date, and asked for a contribution, as it was desired to raise about four hundred dollars from office-holders. Parish refused to give anything.

W. P. Marlatt testified that Dunn told

him, in effect, that the democratic committee would be glad to receive any contributions any one desired to give to make up the shortage.

Dunn's sole defense was a lack of memory. He did not remember speaking about the finances when he invited "the boys" to the Hendricks club, but afterwards admitted that he "might have told one or two that there was a shortage."

About a dozen government employes, chiefly carriers with a sprinkling of clerks, went down to the Hendricks club at the time appointed. A number of the ordinary members of the club were present, but the carriers met in a room by themselves, no outsider except Mr. Backus being present. Mr. Salin was not in the room, though at the club at the time. Backus addressed the carriers, saying that there was a shortage of several thousand dollars, and that the post-office employes ought to raise three or four hundred dollars of the amount. The meeting, he said, was for the purpose of paying the campaign expenses, but no assessment would be made, the men being free to give or not. He added that "the next postmaster was named, and that he was a good democrat," and "that those that contributed freely would be remembered."

Some discussion followed as to how the money should be given, and objections were made at once to giving it to Mr. Dunn or taking receipts for it; and Dunn was warned that he had better be careful in his behavior lest he might get into trouble by coming into contact with the civil service law.

At one time Dunn intimated that he would receive the money himself, and again it was suggested that the contributions should simply be left in a box in the office.

Commissioner Roosevelt comments on the evidence as follows:

"This case seems to me to be akin to the cases of political assessments in the Baltimore post-office at the time of the republican primaries in the spring of 1891, and in the departmental service by the Old Dominion republican club in the fall of 1889. In both these cases the evidence showed that government employes had been endeavoring to assess other government employes, aside from what the evidence showed against outsiders. In each of these cases it was the opinion of the commission, on the evidence taken, that certain government employes were clearly guilty, exactly, as it seems to me, that the evidence shows Dunn in this case to have been clearly guilty of directly or indirectly soliciting money for political purposes from certain of his associates, and in one or two cases thus soliciting them in a government building. In each case the commission brought the matter to the attention not only of the attorney-general, but of the head of the department wherein the offi-

cials implicated were employed, being of the opinion that in many of these cases, even where there is difficulty in securing a conviction, there may, nevertheless, be amply sufficient evidence to remove all reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused and to warrant his dismissal from office, it being, in the opinion of the commission, very desirable that appointing officers shall take prompt action to punish the wrongdoers themselves, wherever they are in government employ. This case, and the two cases above mentioned, have, of course, many points of dissimilarity, although they resemble one another in this essential, all three including attempts to collect money for political purposes by certain employes from other employes of the government.

"In the case of the Old Dominion league, an organization composed partly of outsiders and partly of individuals in government employ, an attempt was made to collect funds from various employes in the departments at Washington, from the state of Virginia, for the purpose of aiding the republican campaign in that state. At Baltimore the postal employes, together with some of the employes in the office of the collector and the marshal, joined to assess one another and to solicit and receive from one another sums of money to be expended in the interests of one faction in the republican primaries. In the present instance a democratic letter-carrier, appointed when a democratic postmaster was in office at Indianapolis, but continued in office to this day under the operations of the civil service law, acts as the instrument of a local democratic campaign committee, in the effort to procure political contributions from various other democratic letter-carriers, in order to make up a shortage in the campaign account of the committee. This request is in the nature of a *reductio ad absurdum* of the arguments usually advanced in behalf of political assessments. Thus the circular sent out by the Ohio republican state committee in the last campaign requesting money from the various postal employes in Ohio, upon the ground that they owed their positions to the republican party. This was, of course, in so far as these positions are under the civil service law, a deliberate and willful untruth, and in any event furnished no excuse for the attempted blackmail. But the climax of iniquitous absurdity is certainly reached when an attempt is made to collect money from government employes by a democratic campaign committee on the ground that, thanks to the operation of the civil service law, these same employes have been kept in office nearly four years under a republican administration."

The Indianapolis case has been laid by the commission before the attorney-general and the postmaster-general for action.—*Good Government*, January, 1893.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Closed Ear.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
HAVERFORD, PA., Jan. 3, 1893.

Civil Service Chronicle, Indianapolis, Ind.:
We have been receiving the CHRONICLE for some time and it has regularly been put in our reading-room. We have understood that the paper is sent by a friend of the college; if this is not the case kindly discontinue and oblige. Respectfully,
ALLEN C. THOMAS, Librarian.

While writing I wish to say, while personally a civil service reformer, I doubt very much whether the cause is permanently helped by such unvarying and wholesale condemnation, and by such grudging praise when any commendation is given. I confess what I have read in your paper has, if anything, rather weakened my devotion to the cause than strengthened it. I believe in fairness to opponents, and while I have no doubt such is the proposed attitude of the paper, it does not convey that impression to me. One would think that the United States officials were the worst class imaginable—in fact about fit for the penitentiary—if the CHRONICLE's articles were fair accounts of the average official and office-holder and seeker. However wrong the "spoils-men" may be in their opinions, there is something to be said on their side, as the debates in congress when the present post-office tenure of office was passed, or thereabouts, will show. (Of course I write this as an individual.)

THE object of this paper has always been to set out the facts and circumstances connected with the use of the public service for personal and party ends, giving so far as possible the sources of information. Mr. Thomas makes no question about these facts. They are unpleasant and along with us, Mr. Thomas finds them so. But unlike us he can not bear that such things should be said about such nice men, as he knows many of them are. For they are nice men in the ordinary meaning of that term. They are respectable, they are carefully honest in all private relations, and they attend to all charitable and religious duties, as, for instance, Quay is determined that the Sabbath shall not be desecrated by a fair. But all the same, they buy votes, they steal public money, they use thugs and ruffians to cheat in primaries and conventions, they use public offices to quarter friends and relatives on the people, and they use the civil service to break down the will of the people. The only way to break up this business is to drag these persons and their acts out to daylight. Mr. Thomas is not alone in finding it too unpleasant. Everywhere there are multitudes of "good citizens" who think that something can be said on the other side. They, however, never say it. We have for years been trying to find some one who will argue for the "other side," and if Mr. Thomas will do it he can have room in the CHRONICLE. If his faith has become weak in proportion to the facts given in the CHRONICLE he must be a strong advocate of the spoils system by this time. If any thing can be said for the "other side" of Quay, it is time some one was saying it.—[ED. CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.]

The Open Ear.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
ITHACA, N. Y., January 4, 1893.

I beg to acknowledge with best thanks the receipt of your gift to the library, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, for 1892. The continuance of this favor of a free copy for the year 1893 will be very welcome.
Yours truly, GEO. W. HARRIS,
Librarian.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. I, No. 48.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1893.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THERE are but eight complete files of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE and one of these has already been sold. Several more files could be completed if numbers 5, 16, 17 and 22 could be supplied.

THE publication of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will be continued as heretofore. The subscription price will be one dollar a year, beginning with the second volume. The present number, which completes the first volume, has been delayed in order that this volume might include the whole of Harrison's administration. The index to the first volume will be sent to subscribers as soon as completed.

THE course of Mr. Cleveland since his election has been beyond criticism. He has shown himself master of the situation. He has proved that if a President-elect declares that he will not be harried by politicians about offices, there are no meeker men than those same politicians. He has been left to select his cabinet in his own way and from the men he wanted. The result is a cabinet made up of men who sympathize with his views and who will assist him in carrying them out. Are the people dissatisfied because he thus kicked out the bosses? They were never so well satisfied with Mr. Cleveland as they are now. Has the party been ruined? It never was so strong as it is to-day. What is true before inauguration will be true after. Let President Cleveland stand upon his constitutional rights and strike off once and for all the unlawful grip of congressmen upon the presidential office. Whatever the consequences let him put an impassable gulf between congressmen and the control of the civil service. If it must be, let us have the spectacle of congressmen refusing to perform their duties because the President will not pay them for it with offices. The country will make short work of such mercenaries.

WHILE Mr. Cleveland has been busy selecting his cabinet, with his judgment unhampered by party workers, the country has been treated to the sight of congressmen dividing the offices. They have no authority whatever in the law or in the constitution, and they do not seem to have the least au-

thority from Mr. Cleveland. Nevertheless, they are holding conferences, ordering elections to decide "contests," and deciding who shall have this post-office and who shall have that collectorship. In this business our Indiana democratic congressmen appear the most prominent and the most contemptible. Senator Voorhees and Senator Turpie do not "agree" as to who shall have the Indiana district attorneyship. Senator Voorhees claims the appointment of the collector for the Terre Haute district as his perquisite as against Congressman Brookshire, and so it goes. Every one of these men went about the country before election upon a platform which declared that offices ought not to be subject to change at every election, and yet they are working day and night to bring about the change. They know very well that the Harrison administration was ruined because it failed to keep its promises in relation to the civil service. Most of these men did all they could to baffle Mr. Cleveland's efforts to better the management of the civil service during his former administration, and they mean to repeat their efforts. They do not care what disaster is brought upon the party. They want spoil to give to heelers and henchmen, and they mean to have it.

IN this determination of congressmen, Mr. Cleveland has presented to him the gravest question for decision that will come before him. His decision will settle the question whether his administration is to be a success or a failure. If he shall determine that the great departments of the government shall be confined to the exercise of their legitimate functions, and that congressmen shall be absolutely cut off from influence in the management of the civil service, and if he shall hold to that determination regardless of the consequences he will justly rank among the first statesmen in the world. If congressmen will not legislate upon the tariff, or the finances, or make appropriations unless they are paid for it by him with offices, let the tariff, the finances, and the appropriations go unlegislated upon. The first step toward buying legislation with offices will be a fatal mistake. Mr. Cleveland need not fear. In any such struggle he would have the country back of him as he has never had it yet.

WE do not wish to be understood as saying that cutting congressmen off from the patronage is the beginning and completion of reform; it is an absolutely essential step. Nor do we wish to be understood as taking any interest in the retention of mere politicians in places. But we do say that if the promises of the democratic platform are to be kept, mere politicians can not be succeeded by mere politicians. There is no limit to the power of dismissal; but before dismissals are made the reorganization of the system of appointment should be completed to the extremest extent possible. The entire service capable of it and not so transferred should be transferred to the classified service. Higher positions below presidential offices should be filled only by promotion. Only such persons as are known to be friendly to the civil service law should be appointed by the President to any place connected with it. No laborer should be allowed to be hired in the federal service except under rules like those of the Boston labor service. If congress will not approve the plan by making a law the President has ample power to do so by an executive order. There should be no headsman of fourth-class postmasters. If congress will not pass the Andrew bill for filling fourth-class post-offices, then the President should leave in the present incumbents, and through the present force of inspectors he should fill vacancies in accordance with the principles of the Andrew bill. The balance of the service the President could manage with comparative ease and without need of any advice from congressmen. Above all there is no hurry. There is plenty of time to mature plans. It is not important that any of the present clamorers should have an office. They are not seeking office for the public good but for their own private benefit. The public good requires that measures be taken to end disgraceful onslaughts for spoil such as our columns show are now going on.

THE division of spoils has wrecked the usefulness of every administration since Andrew Johnson went out of office. The one prominent feature in the history of the country since 1869 is the struggle of the Logans, the Conklings, the Camerons, the Mahones, the Gormans, the Voorheeses and the Quays to get offices for their henchmen and to force the President to give

these offices. His yielding to these leeches against his own principles cast a blot upon Grant's noble career, and the last triumph of the division of spoil has been to make Harrison's administration a ridiculous and disgraceful failure.

THE viciousness of "politics" is unbridled in the present general assembly. The democratic politicians who control that body seem to think the people will stand anything. The law extending the terms of town officers is one of the most flagrant instances of swindling legislation that ever was enacted and it is well worthy of the cheats and swindlers who had a hand in it. Another worthy specimen of their work is the apportionment bill they are going to pass. It is practically the law lately declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. The proposed bill is such an impudent cheat and swindle that the Indianapolis *Sentinel* opposes it and Messrs. Hord and Wilson, two democrats from this county, voted against it. No such legislation is democratic or republican. It is imperialism applied by party bosses, and, like imperialism with a single head, under the form of law, it robs the people of their rights. A Fort Wayne paper has suggested that when this legislature finally adjourns, the people of Indianapolis should drum the rascals out of town, and it must be confessed that the spectacle would be gratifying and wholesome. And in this parade the true character of the members would be accurately illustrated by making each one carry in public view the property he has actually stolen from the state.

THE Indiana general assembly has transferred the power of appointing trustees in the various public institutions from itself to the governor. Indiana is now nearer a great office-holders' machine than she has ever been before. She also has some politicians who like to copy after Hill and Quay. It is useless to say that the law vests in superintendents the power of appointing subordinates. A request from a trustee, who may be a tool of the governor's, that certain persons be given places is not disregarded by a superintendent. This power to build up a personal machine was well apprehended by the opponents of the transfer, and in the lower house the change had to be carried through against a majority of the democrats and by a combination of the minority with the republicans. In this maneuver the republicans promptly voted down a proposal to make the boards non-partisan, although to so make them was one of the most ostentatious planks of their platform last fall.

A GREAT quarrel among the democrats is the result of this struggle over patron-

age. The state and the public institutions have in no manner been benefited. The state service will not be in any manner better. If the republicans elect the next governor, while the general assembly remains democratic, the latter will again take the power from the governor. If this general assembly had put the state service under the merit system it would have enacted one of those great reform laws which mark an epoch in civil administration, and it would adjourn with the party strengthened in this state as it never was strengthened before. Instead, we shall have no better service, and the party has on its hands the usual quarrel over spoils.

It is said that Mr. Frank Burke is seeking to be appointed district attorney for Indiana. Burke was a member of the general assembly two years ago, and as such he was one of the most persistent and malignant opponents of the bill which would have taken the benevolent institutions of this state out of politics. It is to be hoped that no such opponent of Mr. Cleveland's well known principles will be given an office. And before ex-Pension Agent Zollinger is given any office President Cleveland should be informed that while Zollinger held the pension agency here the clerks in his office were in plain violation of the law solicited for money for campaign expenses by his chief clerk and Zollinger has never denied that it was done at his instance. Now if it is answered that the federal grand jury investigated that matter and found no indictments, knowing something of that investigation, we are prepared to meet such an answer.

THE gift by President Harrison of a paymastership in the army to his private secretary, Mr. Halford, is a curious instance of the survival of royal favoritism among us, and sending him over seas to pay half a dozen agents their wages though all the world pays millions over seas every day by drafts, is a harmonious, further and probably final favor. Mr. Halford has in past years rendered service to General Harrison, and for this it would have been proper and republican for General Harrison to pay him at his own expense. Instead, he rewards him out of the public treasury as Elizabeth rewarded Burleigh with castles and estates. And some capable army officer who has waited all his life on slow promotion must wait still longer.

ANOTHER civil service reform paper is needed, one devoted simply to a chronicle of the doings of Tammany. The daily press of New York does its work thoroughly, and furnishes a great mass of material that ought

to be startling to any person of average intelligence and conscience. But the cumulative effect of facts scattered through daily papers is largely dissipated. These facts should be combined, and arranged month by month; above all they should be put into compact shape for exhibition at the next centennial.

There are four great and disreputable chiefs, McLaughlin, Murphy, Hill and Croker, who are sure to furnish instructive material in the next few months. If Mr. Cleveland declines to hand over the state of New York to them as booty, they will try to crush him. What they do and how they do it, given in detail, will be curious reading for the patriotic citizen. In fact the hand of Murphy is already felt. John B. Riley, chief examiner of the civil service commission, has just been removed, because, as one of Murphy's henchmen said, "he was not with us, that's all."

It is now stated that during the past year, Governor Flower has suspended the competitive tests for thirty five to fifty places in order that henchmen of the machine might be more easily provided for. This has been the case at the state agricultural station. At the suggestion of Lieutenant-Governor Sheehan, the rules were suspended to let three of his heelers into the dairy commissioners' office. These worthies get \$2,000 apiece. Last December Murphy had the rules suspended so that his henchman, Sternberg, could be appointed corporation bookkeeper in the secretary of state's office. In January the messenger in the office of the superintendent of public buildings died. There were men on the eligible list, but they were passed, and the place given to a heeler who had passed no examination. The attention of the civil service commission was called to this violation of the law, but the superintendent of public buildings is Murphy's father-in-law and nothing was done. Last week Labor Commissioner Dowling turned out six employes, and then applied to the commission to suspend the rules to enable him to make some appointments. So it goes. It is time for the civil service reformers of the state of New York to begin a crusade.

THE political reputation of Indiana has been such as often to embarrass her citizens who have outgrown their party bigotry and cant. Those who know the state best are not discouraged because Dudley and his sort have done a great deal of efficient "work," nor of the swinish onslaught going on now, but rather because of the apathy of those who regard themselves as good citizens, moral leaders by reason of intellectual or social position. As was noted in slavery times the northern man

with southern principles was most exasperating and obdurate, so in Indiana the greatest incubus on the movement to down the spoils system has been the indifference or the hostility of many sons of New England, or of New England colleges resident in Indiana. It was therefore a happy coincidence that Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, the guest of the New England society of Indianapolis, December 22, should say in his address:

We think that our form of government is the one best calculated to attain this end. It is, of all others yet tried in this world, the one least felt by the people, least felt as an interference in the affairs of private life, in opinion, in conscience, in our freedom to attain position, to make money, to move from place to place and to follow any career that is open to our ability. In order to maintain this freedom of action, this non-interference, we are bound to resist centralization of power; for a central power in a republic, grasped and administered by bosses, is no more tolerable than central power in a despotism, grasped and administered by an hereditary autocrat. Let us not be deceived by names. Government by consent of the people is the best government, but it is not government by the people when it is in the hands of political bosses who juggle with the theory of majority rule. What republics have most to fear is the rule of the boss, who is a tyrant without responsibility. He makes the nominations, he dickers and trades for the elections, and at the end he divides the spoils. The operation is more uncertain than a horse-race, which is not decided by the speed of the horses, but by the state of the wagers and the manipulation of the jockeys. We strike directly at his power for mischief when we organize the entire civil service of the nation and of the states on capacity, integrity, experience, and not on political favor.

MR. WARNER'S remarks are aptly illustrated by a recent occurrence. Early in the session of the present legislature of New York, a bill was introduced to put into practice in Oswego a scheme of municipal reform which aimed to do away with the power of the machine by providing for primary assemblies of the people in numbers drawn by lot, the persons so chosen to meet at once, and choose a representative to vote in their behalf for municipal officers. Dr. Clark, a citizen of Oswego, had been urging the plan for years. The town was anxious to try it. As the *New York Times* said of the bill, "as there was nothing in it contrary to the constitution or to good morals, and inasmuch as the experiment was to be tried at their own risk and charge, there seemed no good reason why they should not be allowed to try it. That seems to have been the view of the assembly, which passed the bill by 87 to 21." But Sheehan, the lieutenant-governor of the state, and the lieutenant of Hill and Murphy, frankly explained that he would not "let it pass" if every man in Oswego wanted it, because, to quote the language attributed to him by Dr. Clark, "it would knock parties and politicians to the devil," and, upon being reminded that the assembly had passed it, cheerfully made answer, "I know they did, the d—d fools."

THE Boston Civil Service Reform Association recently gave Mr. Roosevelt a dinner. Henry H. Sprague, who presided, said that—

"The coming administration can not more clearly demonstrate its fidelity to the principles of civil service reform than by demanding a continuance of his service in the future. A man who has proved the sincerity and integrity of his motives by never hesitating to hold with an unflinching tenacity the members of his own party to a strict observance of the law, certainly can not be charged with partisanship or partiality if he pursue the same course under the administration of another party."

It is well to take count now of how much we owe to Mr. Roosevelt. Publicity instead of secrecy in all matters of the records has been the most effective step ever taken to guard against tricking the law. The invitation that competition was open to all, at once disposed of the bugbear repeated by high civil service reform authorities that in a republican administration we must expect only republicans to apply for examination, and likewise only democrats when their party was in power. To realize the effect of courage and common sense, note in the reports of investigations and in the letters of civil service reformers to the papers, say six years ago, the halting, quibbling stand on evasions of the law and what Mr. Roosevelt said at this dinner, as reported in the *Springfield Republican*:

The last great addition and great advance, the inclusion in the classified service of the free delivery post-offices, has been a blow to the spoils system right in its home, the local politician is attacked, and there is a "fierce fight" ahead in enforcing the law in many of these offices, most of all in the smallest ones. I earnestly believe that it is the duty of the commission to proceed upon the assumption that any sweeping change of force in any one of these offices shows prima facie that there has been a violation of the law, and that in the event of such sweeping change the postmaster himself should be held to a full accountability and required to show cause why he should not be regarded as having made such changes for merely partisan reasons.

THERE is one rule that we hope will in all cases be adopted by the new administration. When a man fixes his eye upon an office he wants but finds a present incumbent in his way and then goes about and gets others to help him make "charges," let the charges in all cases be in writing and signed by the persons making them. Then let them be given out for publication a substantial period before action is taken. If it is known that this is to be the rule much moral deterioration will be prevented. Where the protection of secrecy is allowed, most of the "charges" have no foundation whatever, but are manufactured under the impulse of a wolfish desire for prey. Every congressman, every party committeeman, and every citizen should

be given to understand that what he has to say toward getting an officer out of his place must be said openly and that he must be prepared to take the consequences.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in New York in April at a date not yet fixed. Carl Schurz will preside and deliver the annual address. Any member of any civil service reform association may take part and vote in the League.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

CATSKILL, Feb. 20.—Brooding over the impending loss of his office, Postmaster Judson, of Prattsville, finally became violently insane, and to-day was brought before Judge Sanderson, who, upon the finding of physicians who examined him, decided that Mr. Judson be taken to the Hudson River Hospital at Poughkeepsie.

The next day a fever developed and later pneumonia. In his delirium the pressure that office-seekers and office-holders had distressed him with was made apparent by his ejaculations: "My dear Madam, I did not direct that your husband should be turned out. I did not know it. I tried to prevent it!"

At another time he cried: "It is wrong—I won't consent—'tis unjust!" And again: "Oh, these applications! Will they never cease?"—*Death bed of President William Henry Harrison.*

Gov. Altgeld's flight from Illinois for a health resort was caused by the office-seekers. This is what his physician said:—

If the horde of place-hunters would only give him peace, he would soon be on the road to recovery. As it is, as long as he remains here he will get no better.

THE MERIT SYSTEM.

In March 1892, post-master General Wanamaker announced that he would present a gold medal to the railway postal clerk, in each of the eleven divisions of the service who should make during the calendar year the best general record in his division.

Harry P. Swift of New York led all his companions. He is in the second class of the Greenport and New York railway post-office. In all he handled 35,309 cards in the examination, with a correct percentage of 96.84, and a record of 14 cards per minute. In connection with his work Mr. Swift showed remarkable development in his power to memorize. The distribution in the case work implied familiarity with the quickest method of forwarding, and the exact location of over 50 per cent. of the post-offices in the United States, covering most of the territory east of the Mississippi river. Mr. Swift has been in the service one year and a half.

THE ONSLAUGHT.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

COOPER'S DOMAIN.

DANVILLE.—Democratic patrons of the Danville post-office to-day protested, in no uncertain manner, against Congressman Cooper's action in recommending William A. King, editor of the *Gazette*, as postmaster under the incoming administration. There are 175 democratic patrons of the office and there were 162 votes cast in the election which resulted in the selection of Robert W. Wade. Four ballots were necessary to decide which of the six candidates had a majority. Feeling among local democrats is running high, and those who went into the election claim that they are supported by the State central committee, while Mr. Kiug is endorsed solely by Cooper.—*Indianapolis Journal, January 22.*

MARTINSVILLE.—Congressman George W. Cooper was in the city to-day. His apartment at the Grand Hotel was constantly crowded by office-seekers during the entire time. The fact has leaked out that he promised James A. Lewis, county chairman of the democratic committee, the post office. The appointment will not meet the approval of the democrats. There has been a general sentiment prevailing here, suggesting the election of a postmaster by democratic patrons of the city. Should such a thing occur, Mr. Lewis would probably little more than receive a complimentary vote. It is generally thought that Eb. Henderson and son Guthridge will receive fat plums. Eb's son Will., who received half a dozen appointments during Cleveland's former term, is also curling his hair in anticipation of a clerkship of some sort.—*Indianapolis Journal, January 25.*

MARTINSVILLE.—Hon. Geo. W. Cooper, while in this city, yesterday, appeared to be in excellent spirits, with the exception of the recommending of a postmaster here. That part of his job he would like to let out to some person and pay them to take it. He does not favor the selection by popular vote, and yet he dislikes to appoint one for fear of exciting enmity that may work disadvantageously two years hence, when Judge Cunningham, of Bloomington, will make his nomination improbable as matters now stand. Being asked what he had to say about the local pension board, Cooper remarked:

"I am taking little interest in that, for I do not know what will be the policy of the new administration—whether it will be to divide the members of the board between the two parties or to select all from among democrats. At any rate you may say that Dr. S. A. Tilford will be one of the members of the board." The congressman also said Eb Henderson wants his old position as deputy revenue commissioner, and thinks there is no doubt but that he will get it. Being asked of W. S. Shirley's chance of becoming district attorney of Indiana, he replied: "Well, I can't say. I am embarrassed there because I have another candidate in my district from the same place. It is William Pickens, of Spencer."—*Indianapolis Journal, January 26.*

Congressman Geo. W. Cooper was here all day yesterday, and the applicants for the post-office were on dress parade before the distinguished gentleman. While he did not definitely state his preference for the position, the aspirants are satisfied that James A. Lewis will receive his approval. Cooper was somewhat astonished when notified that an election had been held at Danville after his preference had been made public, and he intimated that it would make no dif-

ference in the selection of a postmaster for that place. Eb Henderson, he says, will undoubtedly be appointed deputy revenue commissioner. He further stated that he [Cooper] was poorer now than when he became congressman, and his purchase of Washington property was purely a business transaction. He had mortgaged his property in Columbus to obtain the money to make the first payment.

Some dissatisfaction exists here over Cooper's action in refusing an election to determine the postmastership, and four of the applicants have expressed a wish that an election be held over his protest.—*Indianapolis Journal, January 26.*

The five candidates for the post-office at this place held a meeting last night in the democratic central committee rooms to try and agree upon an election. Nothing was accomplished and the fight still goes on.—*Indianapolis News, January 28.*

DANVILLE.—The democratic patrons of the Danville post-office held an election recently and elected R. W. Wade for postmaster.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, January 31.*

PLAINFIELD.—Notwithstanding that William Stanley has been but recently reappointed postmaster here, an election will be held to-morrow by the local democracy to determine a choice. The main object of a large portion of the democrats is to thwart the plans of Congressman Cooper.—*Indianapolis News, January 27.*

None of the democratic candidates for the post-office at Plainfield would submit his chances to a popular election, thinking it no use, R. F. Hiatt alone excepted, and for him but forty votes were cast. Congressman Cooper has named Isaac Holton.—*Indianapolis News, January 30.*

A special from Danville stating that an election had been held there, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Cooper had decided upon the candidate whom he would recommend, was shown to the congressman, and he was asked if he wasn't meeting with some dissatisfaction in his selection of candidates.

"Yes," he replied, "that is to be expected. This, too, in spite of the fact that I have indicated whom I will recommend for the office. There has also been some dissatisfaction at other places."—*Indianapolis Journal, January 25.*

MARTINSVILLE.—W. S. Sherley, of this city, is a candidate for district attorneyship of Indiana. He was a delegate to the Chicago convention, and was one of the seven supporters of Cleveland from this state, giving him the nomination on the first ballot. Mr. Sherley says: "I believe I will be appointed to the district attorneyship. If Mr. Cleveland takes it upon himself to distribute the important patronage in this state, I am confident I will be appointed, for he can't be ungrateful to his friends, and the district attorneyship is the only office I would accept."

Among the twelve candidates, Judge Nelson of Logansport, Mr. Corbaley, of Madison, and John W. Kern, of Indianapolis, are recognized as Mr. Sherley's most formidable opponents, but as neither of these gentlemen was a delegate, while two of them, Kern and Corbaley, are from districts whose delegates opposed the nomination of Cleveland for a second term, the friends of Mr. Sherley claim he has much the lead in the race.—*Indianapolis News, February 13.*

MARTINSVILLE.—Eb Henderson, Sam Guthridge, James Lewis, and probably Charles G. Renner, will leave Tuesday for Washington to attend the inauguration. A ticket agent of an eastern line was here Thursday to see them tickets. Mr. Henderson is doing the negotiating for the crowd. After the rates and limitations of the tickets had been given, Mr. Henderson said:

"I don't want a ticket that will run out in eight days."

"How long," asked the agent, "do you want it to run?"

"Why, I can't tell, exactly. It might be four years. You don't think I'm coming home before I get an office, do you?"—*Indianapolis Journal, February 25.*

* * *

HAMMOND'S DOMAIN.

LOGANSPORT.—Congressman Thomas Hammond, of this district, has the largest post-office matinee on his hands that ever twitched the nerves of a politician, and all the fortune tellers in the Wabash valley could not give him a formula that would accomplish the appointment of candidates that would give entire satisfaction. In every town from the size of Logansport, which is 18,000 strong and the largest town in the district, to the snoring hamlet that goes by the classic name of Tailholt, is a following of enthusiastic office-hunters, and the new congressman has served notice on the party workers who have surfeited him with their supplications that he will name all postmasters within twenty days. Here in Logansport there are five prominent candidates for the post-office and about twenty others who are patrons of the black-horse style of campaign, and will feel as though commendable traits have gone uncrowned if they are not successful. The foremost applicants are V. C. Hanawalt, chairman of the county committee; Dr. H. D. Hattery, presidential elector; Harry Torr, ex-auditor, and John Hawkins, foreman of the Pan-Handle shops. Each of these gentlemen is entitled to credit for the zeal manifested in his work, while it is the calm, sober judgment of the vast majority that V. C. Hanawalt is entitled to the appointment from every standpoint from which the merit of a political figure can be reckoned. For thirty years he has been a hard-working party man and has been successively turned down, not because he was not popular, but because he was out-classed by the artifice of his opponents. He has never sulked in his tent, has labored strenuously for the ticket in campaigns when he had been treated shamefully by tricksters at the convention and when the only beneficiaries were those who had always fought him at the convention.

Harry Torr is a fine man, but has just retired to private life about \$60,000 better off than eight years ago, when he became county auditor. He hardly had time to brush the dust off of his private affairs before he appeared as a claimant for the post-office, much to general surprise, but he is making a vigorous fight and will go down only after he has fought valiantly.

Hattery is a shrewd, persistent worker, and he has not lost any opportunity since the morning of victory to strengthen his chances with the congressmen. The fact that he is a presidential elector, endows his cause with some additional prominence, and he realizes it, too.

The dark horses who have been groomed and will-

ing for three months are John Sheerin and B. F. Louthain. Louthain is proprietor of the democratic *Pharos*, has always been a potent factor in state politics and was postmaster during Cleveland's former administration. When it is remembered that Louthain was one of the intriguers that sprang the unexpected nomination of Hammond on the convention at the eleventh hour when there appeared to be no candidate but Zimmerman, it will be seen that Hammond must have gratitude for the editor.

John Sheerin is the brother of the Hon. S. P. Sheerin, national democratic secretary, and an official who can get almost anything under the coming dispensation.

In several other places the inhabitants have been given to novelties in the way of determining post-office contests. The scheme has been that of permitting all democrats to vote for the preferred candidate, and this man to be indorsed by the public as the desired appointee. When Congressman Hammond learned of this movement he thought it an invasion of his privilege to appoint regardless of any local assistance, and has notified all that he is not in sympathy with this procedure, and his language has been so positive that all who want to curry favor with him have dissolved connection with this proposition. Hammond will not permit the people to assume any position that threatens to lessen the dignity or patronage of his station, as he realizes it, but it is thought that the politicians who inside of an hour transformed him from a congressional delegate to a congressional nominee, will exercise an influence that will be heeded in the distribution of spoils.—*Chicago News Record*, February 9.

DELPHI.—There is nothing new in the post office situation. John Odell is still in the race with all his might, as are a half dozen others. Jim Weidner went up to see Hammond last week and reports a satisfactory interview. Isherwood, accompanied by Will Smith, also paid his respects to the next congressman, and it is said, fixed the whole thing up. When Odell, Weidner, Kennard, Rogers, Nieworth and the rest of them hear of Isherwood's appointment they can't say that I did not tell them about it in advance.—*Delphi Journal*, February 2.

Several weeks ago the leading democrats of this city decided that they would prefer to settle the question of postmastership at this place among themselves, and accordingly sent to Thomas Hammond, congressman elect, a petition to leave the matter to a vote of the democratic patrons of the office. The petition was signed by nine out of ten of the democrats of the city. In a letter to Hon. John C. Odell, whose name headed the petition, Mr. Hammond plainly and emphatically gives the petitioners to understand that he can name the postmasters in this district without any assistance. He said that petitions and recommendations would be received and filed and given due consideration at the proper time. Mr. Hammond's letter has aroused no little bad blood in the party here, but it has greatly stimulated the post-office candidates. No less than a half dozen are circulating petitions, and it is said that no one who can write is barred. The signatures of men and women, democrats, republicans and prohibitionists are gladly received. There can be no question but that R. M. Isherwood, editor of the *Times*, will receive the appointment. He is circulating no petition, but he stands in with the state machine, the members of which will name Mr. Hammond's postmasters for him.—*Indianapolis Journal*, January 27.

The Rochester *Sentinel* says that Congressman Hammond has named the incoming postmasters in Fulton county as follows: Rochester, J. Shields; Akron, Neal Hettmansperger; Fulton, H. M. Wood; Tiosa, Milton Fertz; Leiter's Ford, Wilson Brugh; Bruce's Lake, J. K. Smith; DeLong, Wm. Heeter; Blue Grass, John W. Rush; Grass Creek, Ed Cook; Bloomingsburg, S. Y. Grove; Grant, L. T. Barkman; Sidconger, Sol Burns, and Richland Center, Jesse Martindale.—*Indianapolis News* February 18.

DELPHI.—The post-office row at this place was brought to a focus yesterday when a letter was received from Congressman Hammond announcing to the contestants that he had decided to recommend the ap-

pointment of R. M. Isherwood, editor of the *Times*. Mr. Isherwood was chairman of the county central committee, and the son-in-law of Charles R. Pollard, who was a delegate to the Chicago convention that nominated Cleveland. This appointment is received with anything but joyous acclaim by the democrats of the city. The contestants were Hon. John S. Odell, a democratic war-horse, and James W. Weidener, a vigorous representative of the county democracy. Soon after the contest opened Congressman Hammond announced that the man who presented the best petition would be recommended for the place, and Odell and Weidener spent weeks circulating petitions. Isherwood circulated no petition, saying that if he could not get the appointment without thus humiliating himself he did not care for it. Without presenting the shadow of a petition he secures the place. This is what aggravates the other contestants and their friends more than anything else, and they are talking of dire revenge on the congressman. Isherwood will not give up the publication of his paper during his incumbency. The post-office and democratic organ will both be managed from the same tent and both will be auxiliary to the democratic county central committee, of which Mr. Isherwood will remain chairman.—*Indianapolis Journal*, February 26.

LOGANSPOUT.—Congressman Hammond will recommend V. C. Hanawalt for post master at Logansport.

CHESTERTON.—Among the petitions in circulation for appointment as postmaster, and there are a number of them, is one by F. F. Maroney, in which he says of himself: "There is no question about his democracy; it was born in him. His mother is a radical and cordially hates the politics of a republican and mugwump. All of his ancestors before him have been believers in the Jacksonian principles of democracy."—*Indianapolis News*, February 18.

* * *

HOLMAN'S DOMAIN.

GREENSBURG.—The candidates for the city post-office under Mr. Cleveland have agreed among themselves to submit their claims to the democratic patrons of the office and the action will be promulgated to the party in a day or two. The date for holding the election has not yet been fixed. The action on the part of the candidates, it is said, is due to a letter received from Congressman Holman, who advised such a step. Who the successful man will be it is hard to say, but at this time Mayor Cicero Northern and S. F. Rogers are the leaders.—*Indianapolis News*, January 31.

GREENSBURG.—The post office election occurs tomorrow, and the ten candidates have been unusually active to day in an effort to pull themselves together in good shape for the contest of the ballots. Charges and counter charges are being made on every hand. The struggle has caused much bad blood among the rival candidates, and it will be many a day before all the sore places have been healed.—*Indianapolis News*, February 27.

GREENSBURG.—The following was the vote for postmaster to-day: C. F. Northern, 29; W. N. Boyles, 29; William Haas, 9; John Lugenbell, 89; S. F. Rogers, 153; G. W. Magee, 15; G. P. Shoemaker, 89; M. Jackson, 13; Bernard Keeb, 65; Miss Lida Black, 6. Total vote, 445.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 1.

SHELBYVILLE.—The scramble for political spoils among the democrats is amusing. Before the official count disclosed the victor in the last election, men made their claims known for the various places. When it was announced that Holman was recommending elections, the applicants who did not possess the necessary political pull commenced to ask for an election for the post-office. There are already eight applicants for the postmastership, and if there is an election several more will shy their castors into the ring. The applicants up to date are John W. Vannoy, formerly mayor of the city; Wm. Buxton, ex-county recorder, and for years chairman of the county central committee; Ed Major, city clerk; Adam Flaitz, Joe Kennerly, deputy postmaster under Cleveland and the Harrison appointee; Wm. Ryse, an old and intimate friend of Mr. Hol-

man, besides 'Squire Higgins, justice of the peace for years. S. S. Major, Cleveland's postmaster, is strongly talked of, but as yet he has made no statement. The friends of the candidates are anxious to hold an election, but those who possess influence desire to leave the matter to the appointive power.—*Indianapolis News*, February 15.

RUSHVILLE.—The democrats who are patrons of the Rushville post office have determined upon an election to settle the matter of a postmaster. It has been arranged by the candidates to hold the election Saturday, March 11, under the Australian system. This means of settling the matter has been suggested by the Hon. William S. Holman.

There are now in the field twelve candidates for the position, each of whom good naturedly pledged himself to abide by the results. The names of the worthy aspirants who desire to handle the U. S. mails are as follows: Perry Parrish, T. B. Monjar, Albert English, John Cavitt, J. T. Nixon, Perry Alexander, D. P. Shawhan, Patrick Lynch, Douglas Morris, T. M. Ochiltree, W. C. Meredith, J. F. Bigger.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 27.

TO THE EDITOR.—Sir: The communication published in your issue of this date from Rushville relating to an election of postmaster is far from stating the facts. Mr. Holman did not suggest an election, and parties here have letters from him of very recent date expressly saying he did not, nor has not intended, to suggest an election. This mode of settling the matter has not been agreed to by a part of the aspirants named in the published article. Some of them have expressly refused to engage in or take part in an election called in this manner. The central committee of this county, or the executive committee of this township, has not been consulted in the matter, and the call, if call there is, has been made by no one with authority to call an election. I do not understand that a few seekers for a petty office can disregard the constituted party authorities and have an election under any arrangements they may think proper and whenever they may think proper. If they can, then we will soon be having an election every day. I would be glad if you would publish this to correct the false impression made, or intended to be made, by the article referred to.

JOHN D. MAGEE.

Rushville, February 27.

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 28.

TO THE EDITOR: SIR—In your issue of the *Sentinel* to-day I notice an article over the signature of John D. Magee in relation to the call for an election to be held here on the 11th of March, to determine who is the most popular democrat in the city for postmaster.

In his article he states that the election was not officially authorized by any one and that it is not the work of Mr. Holman. In reply to these statements I desire to say that the notice for an election is regularly signed by Thomas J. Newkirk, chairman of democratic central committee of Rush county, and that we have in our possession a letter from Mr. Holman requesting the post-office matter to be settled here by the democracy of this city.

Rushville, February 28. THOMAS M. OCHILTREE.

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 1.

RUSHVILLE.—The democrats of Milroy concluded to decide their choice for postmaster at that place, a few days ago, by holding an election. There were several worthy aspirants for the position, and the election was held according to previous arrangements. The result was that a Miss Susie Pegg was chosen, she having received the necessary majority of votes. It has since leaked out that Miss Pegg is a strong prohibitionist. This result has brought about quite an uproar among the faithful, who declare that another election should be held to settle the matter.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 10.

MOORE'S HILL.—It is a reliably stated that there are thirty nine applicants for the post office at Aurora.

MOORE'S HILL.—A bitter post-office war, which threaten to involve the entire neighborhood, is waging at Boston. More's the pity, for the salary of the postmaster at the hamlet is not \$40.—*Indianapolis News*, February 25.

BYNUM'S DOMAIN.

ANDERSON.—But little interest is taken in the post-office fight here. This is probably due to the prevailing impression that Dale J. Crittenger, editor of the Democrat, and a warm personal and political friend of Congressman Bynum, is an applicant for the place and has the inside track. Other candidates mentioned are Thomas J. Fleming, John Baker and B. W. Scott. Mr. Crittenger has the support of the leading men of his party, and it looks now that he could not fail to get the appointment, as it is understood Mr. Bynum is pledged to his support.—*Dispatch to Indianapolis News, February 4.*

HAUGHVILLE.—There is a strong tendency toward having J. M. Taylor for Haughville's next postmaster. There is no dissatisfaction with the present incumbent, but the change in administration makes possible a change in postmasters, and the popular J. M. Taylor is the almost unanimous choice.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, February 10.*

The Irish element of the Haughville democracy are putting forward John Gallagher as a candidate for the post-office.—*Indianapolis News.*

There are as many aspirants for the Indianapolis post-office as there are local democrats, almost, but the knowing ones say that Albert Sahm is the one "Vic" Backus had in mind when he told the clerks at the post-office that the postmaster was already selected.—*Indianapolis Journal, February 27.*

MARION.—W. J. Houck, editor of the Marion Leader, is a candidate for collector of internal revenue for the sixth district. A petition urging his appointment for this position has been circulated by his friends, and the names of a great many of the prominent local democrats secured. Mr. Houck at first was a candidate for the post-office at this place.—*Indianapolis News, January 5.*

Local democrats say that the question of federal patronage for this city has been settled; that the only appointment Indianapolis will get is that of the post-office and collector of customs. Cleveland has not been heard from, but "Bynum and the boys have fixed it all up." Congressman Bynum is reported to have said that Albert Sahm would be appointed postmaster, and it has been inferred from Mr. Bynum's talk that the collectorship would go to Maurice C. Donnelly; that Sahm would be appointed as a representative German and to satisfy the German-American club, and that Mr. Donnelly's appointment would be as an Irishman and a representative of the Shields club. J. L. F. Steeg, who is an applicant for the collectorship, had a talk with Mr. Bynum, and soon discovered that there was no chance for him, even when he said to the congressman from this district that he did not ask the office as a representative of the German, French, Irish or American element, but as a Democrat, he did not receive any encouragement. He has withdrawn from the race. Smith Myers, however, has not given up all hopes. He says that the man who beats Maurice Donnelly will be appointed. The appointment of United States marshal and district attorney will not, it is believed, be made in Indianapolis. It is believed that Captain Allen, of Frankfort, will be appointed pension agent; Judge Nelson, of Logansport, United States attorney, and Mr. Hawkins, of Sullivan, for United States marshal.—*Indianapolis News, February 23.*

AT INDIANAPOLIS.

Mr. Erwin yesterday introduced a resolution, which the house adopted, asking the Cleveland administration to "fire" all the mail clerks employed during the Harrison administration, and replace them with democrats.—*Indianapolis Journal February 25.*

* * *

The Cleveland Club gave a benefit last (Sunday) night at the Empire Theater, and drew as large an audience as was ever seen there. The object of the entertainment, was to secure funds for an excursion of the club to Washington, to attend the inaugural ceremonies. The show netted the club about \$1,000. The first part of the entertainment consisted of regulation blackface minstrel show. Numerous pictures of Cleveland were hung about the boxes, and on the stage, and bunting was freely used. The first row of

people on the stage were the performers, black faced, and dressed in swallow tail coats. In the center sat James Fennessy, the manager of the house, interlocutor for the nonce. A row of members of the Cleveland Club sat on raised seats just behind the performers, clad in light overcoats and silk hats, holding their canes rigidly before them. They were designed to help the decoration of the stage, and were much and loudly admired by friends in the audience. The great disappointment of the evening burst upon the audience when the curtain rose. The "Honorable Simeon Coy," so advertised to appear as one of the end men, at the last moment backed out. He was seen however, in the second row on the stage, wearing a silk hat and looking sublimely uncomfortable. During the whole of the first part he was not seen to move a muscle of his face. The lower boxes were filled with politicians. The Rhake family occupied the left box, and Ollie Lanham, with his family was to the right. The performers seemed to think the presence of these gentlemen a good joke, and various references to "7 and 11" were made which seemed to be thoroughly understood by the audience.

The first part was composed of songs and choruses in the best style of amateurs, and when such songs as "Push Dem Clouds Away" and "Sunday at Fairview Park" were sung the enthusiasm of the audience refused to be restrained.

When the curtain went down the male portion of the audience rose en masse and filed out of the house, and during the wait filled the wide open saloon across the street, drinking and congratulating each other on the success of the entertainment. Chief of Police Colbert looked benignly on. During the intermission Police Judge Buskirk appeared in front of the curtain and made a speech, in which he told the "boys" their duty, and emphasized the fact that "to the victors belong the spoils." Nothing was said by him or by the chief about the violations of law before them. It was the first evening, so far as is recalled, that a row of patrolmen was not in line in the foyer of the theater. There had been some curiosity to know if the authorities would interfere, as the entertainment was like others that had been suppressed.—*Indianapolis News, February 27.*

* * *

The politicians and applicants for places were flocking around "Gil" Shanklin last night in such a force that he was hardly able to eat his supper, and he got little sleep. "Where's Gil?" was an interrogatory heard about every five minutes, and, as a final resort, a room at the Bates was given to them, and from it they marched in on Mr. Shanklin in a solid platoon. Mr. Shanklin, who had a two-hours' talk with Mr. Cleveland, said to his friends that he found the President-elect thoroughly informed on the condition of Indiana politics, and that the result of the interview was that "Cleveland men" will be rewarded above all others.

Mr. Shanklin is advocating the cause of Maurice C. Donnelly for collector of customs, and this leads the friends of Donnelly to believe that he will be appointed. John Reaume and John Reardon are also mentioned for the place. John H. Foley wants to succeed Hart, of Frankfort, in the sixth auditor's office, or Colonel Shaw, of the treasury department. Charles Rogers has put in his application for superintendent of the railway mail service in the fifth district. "Denny" Colbert is an applicant for the same place. "Billy" Colbert wants a place in the Indianapolis post-office, and Thomas Colbert is a candidate for United States marshal. M. F. Kelly, now employed at the Central Hospital for the Insane, is applicant for consul at either Belfast or Londonderry, Ireland. "Con" Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, is after the same place. George W. Geiger wants the United States marshalship. John Higgins, assistant doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, will ask for a place in the navy department. "Wils" McGinnis's friends are at work to secure his appointment as deputy revenue collector in place of L. F. Harvey.—*Indianapolis News, February 24.*

* * *

The friends of Isaac P. Gray say there is no doubt that he will be sent to Mexico to represent the United States. They say that he is well aware that the

President will have a cabinet that will accord with his own views. Mr. Gray feels that he might differ with him on some things, and therefore it would be better that he be not in the position of a confidential adviser. He has, it is claimed, signified his desire for the mission to Mexico, and has been slated for that place. His friends say, that while they would prefer that he be given an office of more importance, they are satisfied, if he is. The office pays \$12,000 a year.

It was hoped that Mr. Gray would be in a position to dispense a little patronage, and about half of the members of the club named in his honor, it is said, had their plates ready to hand out as soon as their patron was in a place to fill them. It is said, however, that Mr. Gray has not lost sight of his friends in his own good fortune, and will make an effort to have some of them remembered.

Captain Allen, of Frankfort, is in the city. He has returned from a political mission east. Captain Allen has been the steadfast friend of ex-Governor Gray. He has done everything that a loyal follower could do, and now that there is nothing else to do for Gray there are evidences that the captain is looking out for himself. He is a candidate for the Indianapolis pension agency. He has the support of the Indiana senators and has been asked by them to return to Washington about March 10. He was told while down east that Governor Gray would be given a place under the new administration.

Sheriff Hawkins, of Sullivan, is a candidate for United States marshal for the Indiana district. It is said of him, politically, that he has possessed himself of every political honor he has ever sought, and that his reputation and backing are of the best. He is not a relative of Edward Hawkins, who was marshal under Cleveland four years ago.—*Indianapolis News, February 20.*

* * *

Isaac Pusey Gray will go to Mexico as United States minister. All doubt of this has been set at rest by Mr. Gray himself, who said so, confidentially, to a friend. The Mexican mission was suggested for Gray by Mr. Cleveland himself. In a financial sense it is the best of the missions.

There is really only one candidate for the Indianapolis post-office who is making a determined fight, and that is Albert Sahm. Mr. Sahm has the indorsement of nearly the entire Indiana delegation, and the local leaders have made frequent trips to New York in his behalf. Those of his friends who have talked to Mr. Cleveland and to the latter's advisers say that there is no doubt but the appointment will be given to Mr. Sahm.

Fred Lorenz is the latest applicant for the position of superintendent of carriers at the Indianapolis post-office.

Local politicians who are watching events closely, say that the election of United States Senators is having a strong influence in the Federal appointments. There is a reconnoiter going on at this time. Senator Voorhees wants to succeed himself. The intimate friends of J. G. Shanklin say that he will be a candidate. W. D. Bynum is anxious to go up a step and is taking care of himself for the senatorial race. Governor Mathews' friends are insisting that he will make a good candidate for senator. Isaac P. Gray, his friends declare, has not lost his love for the senate. Thus it is shown that Federal appointments are mixed up to a great extent with political aspirations and ambitions, and the result is a great deal of confusion. *The candidates for senator, it is said, will aid those who will best serve their future interests, and an office-seeker who has the indorsement of one of the aspirants will find it difficult to secure an indorsement from the others.*—*Indianapolis News, March 2.*

D. F. Mustard, of Anderson, is in the city to-day. He was mentioned for United States treasurer, but says he had never thought of such a thing. A number of his friends, Mr. Mustard says, have urged him to apply for the pension agency at Indianapolis.

"I have not," said Mr. Mustard, "declared myself, and I am not, understand, a real sure-enough, applicant. If the matter gets all tangled up by the various candidates and an outsider is selected, why, I will try and be the outsider. I think I am competent

for the place and I am a democrat. But I will not make a canvass or fight against any one else for the position."—*Indianapolis News*, March 2.

* * *

The *Indianapolis Journal* and *Indianapolis News* have been printing during the last two weeks a series of absurd statements touching ex-Governor Gray and his prospective relations to the new administration. The fact is, as intimated in these dispatches many days ago that due provision has been made for the ex-governor. As is pretty well known in political circles, both here and in Indiana, the ex-governor was quite anxious to enter the cabinet. His preference was the post-office department or the interior department. Quite a strong pressure was put by the ex-governor's close friends upon the President-elect to secure his appointment to one of these posts, or, in lieu of these, to some other position in the cabinet. The President-elect, however, after canvassing the situation thoroughly, could not see his way clear to tender the ex-governor a cabinet position. He thereupon determined to offer him the Mexican mission. The tender was made through a close friend of the ex-governor, and promptly accepted. His nomination will be sent to the senate very shortly after the inauguration—certainly not later than some day next week—and will undoubtedly be confirmed at once. There is not the slightest prospect of opposition to the confirmation from any quarter. The Mexican mission is a comfortable berth, with little to do and a good salary. But, of course, there is no patronage attached to it.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 28.

BRETZ'S DOMAIN.

Congressman Bretz has gained the reputation of being one of the frankest dispensers of federal patronage in either house of congress. Already, a month before inauguration, he has settled on the men he will recommend for the principal post-offices in his district, and makes no concealment of his choice. He read off a list of some of those he will recommend for appointment as postmasters under the new administration to the *News* correspondent to-day: Vincennes, Royal E. Purcell, editor *Vincennes Sun*; Bedford, John Johnson, editor *Democrat*; Shoals, Al Hacker, editor *Democrat*; Jasper, Charles Egg; Mitchell, Joseph T. Dilley.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, January 28.

OVER LORDS VOORHEES AND TURPIE.

The Indiana senators will have a lively question on hand when it comes to settle the post-office at Richmond. Luther M. Mering, who was defeated for congress by Henry U. Johnson, believes he is entitled to the appointment, but his democracy is not old enough to meet the requirements of some of the old time Jacksonian school, who believe that democracy like Bourbon ought to be at least ten year old before it is put on tap. Vigorous protests have already reached Washington against the appointment of Mr. Mering.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, January 28.

* * *

Mr. Luther Mering, of Richmond, who made an unsuccessful race against Congressman Johnson, is at the capital, and it is reported that he claims the privilege of dispensing the patronage of Mr. Johnson's district, which, by an arrangement between the senators, had been allotted to Senator Voorhees. Mr. Mering is an applicant for postmaster at Richmond.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

The two collectors of internal revenue have, it is stated most positively, been agreed upon. It is stated that Judge Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, has been "officially" informed by the arbiters that he shall be collector of internal revenue for that district, and that Capt. William Bracken, of Brookville, who has recently been here, was informed that he would be appointed collector for that district. These selections are said to be positive and definite, and the *Journal* correspondent is authorized to say that unless President Cleveland turns down the delegation these men will be appointed, as there recommendation is to be unanimous. A great many men applied for these two places. Judge Holman, when informed that his district would get one of the

places, and that he could name the man, nearly fainted. He had pretended to be anxious to secure the place, but when confronted with the responsibility he got red in the face, was confused, and finally acknowledged, before the delegation, that he was "placed in an embarrassing position," as he had two men for the place, and it leaked out that he had been playing fast and loose, and both of the applicants believed they had the judge's undivided support. Finally Senator Voorhees said he was willing to relieve the judge of his "embarrassment:" he would take the responsibility and name Captain Bracken, of Brookville. The judge, rather than permit the senator to take the responsibility, and consequently the credit, said he would also name Captain Bracken, so Dr. Hunter, of Lawrenceburg, who thought he would surely have his neighbor's support, is left out in the cold. There will likely be trouble over the appointment of Jump, of Terre Haute, to be collector of internal revenue. Editor Moss, of the *Bloomfield Democrat*, is said to be entitled to the place, if indorsements and general fitness count for anything. He is said to have by far the greatest strength in indorsements, and it is hinted that he intends to appeal to President Cleveland, in which event it is hard to foretell the result.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, February 23.

* * *

The announcement from Washington that Senator Voorhees would recommend ex Judge Joshua Jump for collector of internal revenue for this, the seventh district, was so much of a surprise that but few persons believed there was anything in it. In all the general discussion of applicants his name had not been used. It seems, however, that the Voorhees Lamb faction of the democracy had quietly agreed, several months ago, to get the appointment for him. That he is the choice of this faction is now frankly admitted by those who are best acquainted with the situation. Ex-Judge Jump is ex-Congressman Lamb's law partner and was not supposed to want office of any class. The firm has the best paying law practice in the city, but the collectorship, with the \$4,500 salary, is a decided inducement for him. It is now well understood that Lamb has prevailed on Senator Voorhees to recommend Harry Donham, another lawyer, for postmaster. The report has been received here through private channels from Washington that all the democratic members of the incoming congress have consented to recommend the appointment of ex-Judge Jump. Among the other applicants are William M. Moss, the *Bloomfield* editor; J. M. Hoskins, of Clay county; George Dixon, of Evansville, and James Bolton, of this county.—*Indianapolis Journal*, February 24.

* * *

It is definitely settled that the matter of recommendations for the local patronage in the two republican districts of Indiana will be settled by Senators Turpie and Voorhees. The two senators have virtually agreed upon a division of the spoils, Senator Voorhees to deal out the appointments in Congressman Johnson's district, and Senator Turpie to have the say as to the appointments in Congressman Waugh's district.

George L. Dixon, of the firm of Mackey, Dixon & Co., of Evansville, is a candidate for collector of internal revenue in the Seventh district, and will have the indorsement of Representative Taylor, congressman-elect from that district. The appointment, however, as stated in the *News* some time ago, has been practically settled upon Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, law partner of the Hon. John E. Lamb, who seems to have his heart set upon this particular piece of federal patronage.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

As already announced in a *Journal* special, Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, who is John E. Lamb's law partner, is to have the place, if Senator Voorhees, Jason Brown and Judge Holman can deliver it to him. There are other applicants for the place who are at this moment engaged in making trouble over Mr. Jump's selection. They are alleging that Jump is the creature of Crawford Fairbanks, a large distiller of Terre Haute, and that if he should be appointed it would give Fairbanks undue advantages.

Representative Brookshire has a candidate for that collectorship, and he is not discouraging the rumpus which is brewing.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, February 26.

* * *

Indians are beginning to arrive here for the inauguration, and incidentally to get government obs. Interest centers in the U. S. district attorneyship, marshalship and pension agency. Indiana will probably present candidates for pension commissioner, public printer, commissioner of internal revenue and at least one important diplomatic appointment, perhaps more.

John W. Kern, of Indianapolis, and Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville, continue to be in the lead for the district attorneyship. Senator Turpie will support Mr. Kern. Burke will have the support of Senator Voorhees and Representative Jason Brown. Senator Voorhees and Mr. Brown committed themselves in favor of Burke, before Kern sought to secure any influence. There will be no hard contest between the friends and supporters of these two rival candidates. Senators Voorhees and Turpie usually agree on all matters affecting the best interest of the state, and although each one of the senators will earnestly work to secure the appointment of his respective candidate, there will be no very great rivalry, and the appointment will be made according to merit.

It was reported a few days ago that Representative Brookshire would insist that he should be allowed to name the internal revenue collector for the Terre Haute district but as Senator Voorhees is not quite ready to concede this much to Brookshire, Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, will probably be appointed, as heretofore stated in these dispatches.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 26.

* * *

And still they come. The Indiana sight-seers and office-seekers are coming in squads and battalions. Among the prominent arrivals to-day is Thomas B. Buskirk, of Poali. He is after the United States marshalship for Indiana, and, it is said, will have the support of nearly all of the Indiana delegation. James M. Hoskins, of Brazil, arrived to-day. He wants to be internal revenue collector. Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, is said to be Senator Voorhees's choice. Representative Brookshire, of the Eighth district, will recommend another man for the position. Mr. Brookshire was asked to-day why he would recommend a man to oppose Senator Voorhees's candidate. He said because Holman was to be allowed the privilege of naming the collector of internal revenue for the Seventh district. He thought he ought to be conceded as much by the Indiana senators. Mr. Brookshire does not state whom he will recommend for the place, but it is believed to be Mr. Hoskins, of Brazil. S. H. Taylor, of Daviess county, and O. M. Packard, of Plymouth, are the leading candidates for bank examiner, although there are a few other applicants for this position, which pays \$3,000 a year. Pugh, of Rushville, who is here, would like to have the place. Senator Voorhees promised to recommend Taylor if he was physically able to perform the duties. Senator Turpie will be for Packard, who is highly esteemed in his section of the state. All of the Indiana representatives in congress who know him intimately have the highest praise for his character and ability.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 28.

* * *

Thomas Hanlon, of New Albany, who has had his eye upon the collectorship of internal revenue, gives up that chase. He concedes that Mr. Jump, of Terre Haute, has it nailed down, and now Thomas says he will take any other good place which the delegation may give him. If he gets nothing under Uncle Sam he proposes to go back to railroading, provided he does not fall into the position of warden, of the prison south, a place now held by Mr. Patten. Mr. Hanlon has had the wardenship in view for some time, as a last resort before going into private occupation.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 1.

MARTIN'S DOMAIN.

NORTH MANCHESTER.—Samuel McCutchen has been elected postmaster by the local democracy of this city and vicinity, receiving a plurality of seven

votes. The board will recommend Mr. McCutchen to the President through Congressman Martin for appointment.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 14.

Congressman Martin has within the last two days decided to recommend the following gentlemen for appointment as postmasters in his district: C. M. Hawkins at Marion; W. W. Timmonds, editor of the *Sun*, at Portland; W. A. Gutelius at Bluffton; Ed Smith at Converse (formerly Xenia); W. H. Campbell at Fairmount, and George Peele at Upland.

There are two candidates for consulships in the Eleventh district. They are J. H. Detray, of Portland, for consul to Havre, and Herman Wiecking, of Bluffton, for one of the German consulships.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 25.

Representative Martin has determined upon the men he will recommend for appointment as postmasters at a number of the most important cities in this district. They are as follows: W. A. Gutchins, at Bluffton; C. M. Hawkins, at Marion; W. W. Timmonds, at Portland; Ed Smith, at Converse (formerly Xenia); W. H. Campbell, at Fairmount, Mr. Martin will try to name the successors to the Hon. Warren G. Sayre, of Wahash, who is one of the Cherokee commissioners, and General James N. Tyner, of Peru, who is an assistant attorney general, assigned to the post-office department. He hopes also to name the successor to the superior of special post-office agents located at Cincinnati, who is also a Peru man, although this position rightfully belongs to the civil service classification.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 1.

THE GENERAL SCRAMBLE.

ROANN.—The local democracy of Roann have named Dr. Baird as the choice for postmaster.—*Indianapolis News*, January 31.

SALEM.—At an election held here to-day for postmaster, John D. Alvis received 133 votes; Henry M. Munklet, 110; John Stherlan, 33; Collin McKinney, 17; John Warner, 9. John D. Alvin was postmaster under Cleveland four years ago.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 3.

John J. Hoover was the successful candidate in the election for postmaster at Wabash to-day. There were eight names on the ticket.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 6.

NOBLESVILLE.—The post-office fight is fairly on. The candidates are G. W. Ingermann, who was postmaster under Cleveland and is ex-chairman of the democratic county committee; F. M. Applegate, F. W. Applegate, R. H. Goeble, O. A. Harnish, W. F. Lacy, E. Lacy and Henry Sappa. It has been decided that no election shall be held, but that each one shall go before the appointive power on his merits.—*Indianapolis News*, February 15.

TIPTON.—The post-office fight is now on in earnest here, and six candidates are in the field. Last night a meeting was held by the candidates, and it was decided, by a close vote, that they would hold a primary, nothing but democratic patrons of the office being entitled to a vote. The time was fixed for Saturday, March 4. The candidates are E. C. Elliott, Samuel Vawter, W. B. S. Ressler, J. R. Bowlin and Charles Means, of this city, and Wm. Smart, a farmer, with a prospect of one or two dark horses in sight. [Also Alpheus Bennett and J. W. Pope].—*Indianapolis Journal*, February 27.

NEW CASTLE.—A merry war is in progress among the numerous applicants for fourth-class post offices in Henry county. At each town there are from one to a dozen applicants, each confident of success. On Saturday elections to decide who should be the appointee were held in several towns. At Lewisville and Middleton, two of the most important offices, some of the applicants would not agree to allow the democratic patrons of the office to settle the vexed question and are still circulating petitions and seeking the influence of the more prominent politicians. The condition of affairs is daily growing worse and will only be settled when President Cleveland makes the appointments. At this place all is harmonious, and from outside appearances one would not judge that a new postmaster is to be

named before a year rolls by.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 21.

Ed Smith, of New Castle, arrived in the city last night to secure a little "floodence" to aid him in his candidacy for postmaster of that place. He was chairman of the county central committee, and has always been an active democrat. His friends say that he is strongly indorsed. There are several other applicants for the place.—*Indianapolis News*, February 28.

* * *

James T. V. Hill, the colored lawyer, is a candidate for recorder of the general land office.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 28.

* * *

About all of the prominent federal offices in Indiana have been parceled out already by the Hoosier democratic delegation in congress. There has been a conference, at which consideration was given the claims of the army of applicants. As a result it is known by the delegation, "on the dead quiet," you know, who will get the places, provided, always, that Mr. Cleveland does not enter a veto to the arrangements. As has been announced frequently in dispatches to the *Journal*, ex-Governor Gray has been left out altogether, upon the request of Messrs. Morss, Shanklin and Bynum, but an effort will be made by Senators Voorhees and Turpie to veto that decision. The ex-governor has sent word that he does not propose to be left out or sent away on some third or fourth-class mission, just to be gotten rid of, so that he will achieve neither wealth nor fame. Although beggars should not be choosers, the ex-governor will recognize the fact that he is regarded as having no real claim to office. He says that if he is to be sent away he will go only to Mexico and take the mission which is now held by ex-Representative Ryan, of Kansas. The Mexican mission has been made first-class, and has a salary attachment of \$17,500 a year. It is not believed that Sir Isaac Pusey will get nearer the Mexican mission than he is at present—that is if the three distinguished Hoosier democrats named can keep him out of it, but if he is not given it, his friends send word here that he will remain in Indiana and "see his enemies later."

It is stated that Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville, who is the protegee of Representative Jason Brown, will likely be United States district attorney, although John W. Kern is pushing him hard. Others "prominently mentioned" for the position are Judge Nelson, of Logansport; Charles Offut, of Greenfield; Mr. Cullop, of Vincennes, and Mr. Sherley, of Martinsville. Offut is "Bynum's man" it is said.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, February 23.

* * *

Ex-Editor Luther Short, of Franklin, wants to go to Constantinople as consul-general.—*Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

Luther Short, secretary of the Indiana editorial association, would like to visit Constantinople as consul-general. John F. Sherman, of Waterloo, wants a consulship. Just which one he has not decided upon. Dr. Leibecker, of Aurora, thinks a German consular post would repay him for his services during the late campaign; but Prof. Rucker, of the Lawrenceburgh high school, says he has a claim on that at Leipzig. Prof. Wright, of Valparaiso, would like to represent the United States at Victoria, B. C., and believes he could put a stop to the smuggling of Chinamen at that port.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel* March 2.

* * *

E. B. Swan, of Rockport, is a candidate for district attorney; J. G. Winfrey, of Evansville, for assistant district attorney general; Leroy Wade, of Posey county, wants a territorial judgeship; W. L. Hargrove, of Gibson, aspires to the United States marshalship; Thomas Fuller, of Warren county, would like to be a territorial district attorney; Henry Mellen, a Boonville lawyer, wants a consulship; Dr. Fritsch, of Evansville, would like to go as a consul to Germany, and Henry Kramer, of Rockport, who made an unsuccessful race for the democratic nomination for congress in the First district, would like a South American mission or consulship.

Congressman-elect Conn, of Indiana, has a candidate

for public printer in the person of Editor Wadsworth, of the *Laporte Argus*. He will probably be indorsed by the entire Indiana delegation and formally entered as a candidate in a day or so.

The Hon. Eli Brown, who was here a few days ago, has been slated for the Frankfort post-office, according to the gossip. George Mitchell, of Batesville, is also here in quest of the post-office.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

The *Sentinel* correspondent learned to night that practically the whole Indiana delegation will present the name of H. E. Wadsworth, editor of the *Laporte Argus*, for public printer. Representative Conn, of the South Bend district believes that Mr. Wadsworth will stand a very good chance for the appointment. It is understood that Senators Voorhees and Turpie, Representatives Bynum, Brown and Martin have agreed to support Wadsworth.

Brookshire had proposed a candidate in the person of W. C. Ball, of the *Terre Haute Gazette*, but it is not certain that that gentleman will be an applicant. If not, Brookshire will probably support Wadsworth. Bretz will act with his Indiana colleagues. Shively and Martin will talk with Holman and endeavor to secure his influence in favor of Wadsworth, Taylor, McNagney, Patton and others of the Indiana delegation have as yet had nothing to say with respect to Wadsworth's candidacy, but all of the Indiana men will doubtless soon be in line for Mr. Conn's man. Wadsworth has telegraphed Conn agreeing that his name be presented.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 24.

* * *

Gen. John S. Williams, of Lafayette, arrived to-day. He wants to be commissioner of internal revenue. Mr. Williams made a very efficient third auditor of the treasury under President Cleveland's administration, and as he may have the support of the Indiana delegation, his prospects for the appointment ought to be very good.

Col. C. A. Zollinger will probably be appointed pension agent at Indianapolis.

The petition in favor of the appointment of Henry E. Wadsworth, of *Laporte*, as public printer has been signed by Senators Voorhees and Turpie, Representatives Bynum, Brown, Holman, Martin, Shively, Brookshire, McClellan, Bretz and Representative-elect Conn, who is working earnestly for Mr. Wadsworth's appointment. Representatives Cooper, Parrett and Patton and Representatives-elect Hammond, McNagney and Taylor will sign the petition, thus making the Indiana delegation solid for Wadsworth, both as it is constituted in the present congress and as it will stand after March 4 next.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 26.

* * *

There is a new Richmond in the field for marshal for the Indiana district. It is ex-Sheriff Joseph C. Gray, of Versailles, Ripley county. It is said he made a very good sheriff, and believes he is well qualified for the office of marshal.

Colonel Jous, of Manilla, Rush county, Ind., one of Judge Holman's constituents, has made application for appointment as commissioner of pensions. This causes some surprise and comment here, in view of the candidacy of Colonel McLean, of Terre Haute, who, up to this time, has been the only candidate from Indiana, and seemed to have the united support of the delegation.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

Not much is being said as yet concerning the postmastership of Indianapolis. The name of Albert Sahm is frequently and favorably mentioned for this appointment.

There are several candidates for the Indiana bank examinership, the place formerly held by Samuel H. Taylor, of Washington, Daviess county. Mr. Taylor's health will not permit his candidacy again, and it seems to be the impression here that the appointment will go to Orlando M. Jackson, of Plymouth, who would make a most excellent officer in the opinion of the Indiana representatives in congress who are intimately acquainted with him.

It is generally known that Gil Shanklin would like to be consul general to London. Some of the Indiana

representatives will soon announce a complete list of post-office appointments in their respective districts. Representative Brown is inclined to appoint as postmaster at North Vernon James Remie, editor of the North Vernon Sun.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 26.

* * *

Among the candidates for the office of collector of customs for Indianapolis is W. T. Steele, ex superintendent of the Citizens' Street Railroad.—*Indianapolis Journal*, December 17.

* * *

D. F. Mustard, of Anderson, is mentioned for United States treasurer. His brother "Dick" says he (Dick) wants to go back into the railway mail service long enough to "fire" the republican who took his place. Thomas B. Buskirk, of Paoli, who bases his claims for United States marshal on the ground that he was chairman of the first democratic convention in the state to indorse Cleveland as a candidate for President, is the bearer of 116 letters and recommendations representing fifty-five counties of the state. He also says he has always been a democrat and a worker. His friends say his chances are bright. Lewis Jordau, it is said, is to have a place in one of the departments at Washington. Crawford Fairbanks, of Terre Haute, has not asked for anything, but it is said that he can be appointed one of the Mississippi river levee commissioners if he so desires.—*Indianapolis News*, February 24.

* * *

"Full little knowest thou, that hast not tride,
What hell it is in suing long to bide;
To loose good days, that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eate thy heart through comfortless dispaïres;
To fawne, to crouche, to wait, to ride, to ronne,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

* * *

W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, has two opponents for the district attorneyship who are strongly indorsed. They are Charles Korbly, of Madison, and ex-Senator Ewing, of Decatur county, son-in-law of Governor Matthews.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 17.

* * *

The Indiana candidates for office are beginning to arrive. John W. Kern, of Indianapolis registered at the Riggs house to-night. He is a candidate for district attorney. W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, and William A. Pickens, of Spencer, are also mentioned for the office. It is said Gil. Shanklin would like to go as consul-general to London. He is at the Willard hotel. C. E. Allen, of Frankfort, who is here, and Col. Zollinger, of Fort Wayne, are among the applicants for the Indiana pension agency. Prof. Moss, of Bloomfield; Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, and Dr. C. C. Cole are among the many applicants for collector of internal revenue for the Terre Haute district. Jump will be appointed. Representative-elect Taylor will recommend Mr. Nolan, postmaster at Terre Haute. Thomas B. Buskirk, of Orleans, wants to be United States Marshal for Indiana. Dr. W. D. Hunter and Capt. William Bracken are among the candidates for internal revenue collector for the seventh district. Representative Bretz will recommend John Johnson for postmaster, at Bedford, and J. T. Lilly, at Mitchell.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 19.

The visit of John W. Kern, of Indianapolis, to Washington, has been fruitful of results. It is stated on good authority now that he has a walkover for district attorney. The fight, it seems, had narrowed down to the field against Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville, and the field, according to latest reports, is prepared to combine on Kern. Mr. Burke has been backed by Congressman Jason Brown. The Gray and anti-Gray elements have figured in the district attorney fight to the disadvantage of Burke, who was a Gray man against Cleveland. Kern, it is claimed, was an original Cleveland man. Congressman Bynum has stated that he favored Charles G. Offut, of Greenfield. W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, who had a promising boom, some time ago, is declared now to

be out of the race altogether. If Kern is made district attorney it will necessarily take the United States marshalship away from Indianapolis.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 21.

* * *

John C. Nelson came down from Logansport yesterday to add something, if possible, to his prospects as a candidate for United States district attorney. Judge Nelson has the support of S. P. Sheerin, secretary of the democratic national committee, whose standing and influence with the incoming administration is believed to be potential. Judge Nelson's most formidable competitor for the district attorneyship is Senator John W. Kern, of Indianapolis, who went to Washington last week to lay some pipes extending toward the office.

When Mr. Kern's friends recall the eulogy pronounced by him when he presented the name of the candidate recently elected United States senator, they think it is fair to presume that Turpie is for Kern. Senator Voorhees is understood to have a leaning in the same direction.

"I believe my chances are as good as those of any other one man," said Judge Nelson. Another man said he would rather have the backing of Mr. Sheerin than to be recommended to Cleveland by the entire Indiana democratic delegation in congress.

In Mr. Kern's favor it is urged that he was one of the earliest and most aggressive Cleveland men, while Judge Nelson and his most influential backer were identified with the opposition.

The other aspirants for the position are: W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes; Courtland Ewing, of Greensburg; Mr. Corbaley, of Madison, and Mr. Ballow, of Bluffton. Mr. Ewing is a son-in-law of Governor Matthews.

What is regarded as a serious stumbling block in the way of Mr. Cullop is the difference that has been stirred up between him and the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, it being taken for granted that Mr. Morss has some influence with the coming administration. Messrs. Corbaley and Ballow are not regarded as formidable factors.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 21.

* * *

The next United States district attorney, it is now said by those who believe they know, will be Judge John C. Nelson, of Logansport. He is a personal friend of Si Sheerin, secretary of the national committee, and it is understood that Sheerin is urging him for the place.—*Indianapolis Journal*, February 25.

* * *

At a meeting held at the opera house last evening resolutions were adopted by a rising vote favoring the candidacy of John Brodie, chairman of the Porter county democratic committee, for the U. S. marshalship of Indiana.—*Valparaiso Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, November 21.

* * *

Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, is an avowed candidate for United States marshal of Indiana.—*Indianapolis News*, December 18.

* * *

Northern Indiana politicians are crediting John Brodie, of Valparaiso, Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, and George W. Reid, of La Porte, as avowed candidates for district marshal of Indiana under the incoming administration, while Judge Pollard, of Delphi, wants to be commissioner of immigration.—*Indianapolis News*, January 16.

* * *

Thos. B. Buskirk, of Paoli, who wants to be United States marshal for Indiana, and who was supposed to be backed by the solid delegation of Indiana democratic congressmen, is, it is believed, drifting away from the goal. It is stated that he has not now the solid delegation, and that he may not have half of it.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 1.

* * *

Tom Newkirk, last clerk of the lower house, is making a fight for the office of collector of internal revenue for the southern district. He has the support of three of the seven congressmen in the district, and says if good backing amounts to anything he will get the office.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, December 23.

J. W. Nusbaum, of Elkhart, Ind., has written to Congressman Shively and others of the delegation saying that he is a candidate for collector of internal revenue of the sixth district, and will file strong petitions later.—*Indianapolis News*, January 12.

* * *

W. H. Osborn, of Lawrenceburg, the well-known democratic politician and son-in-law of Dr. Hunter, is at the capital. His business here is to try to advance the interests of Dr. Hunter for appointment as revenue collector. Mr. Meudenhall, another democratic politician, of Greensburg, is here.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 15.

Dr. W. H. H. Hunter left for Lawrenceburg to-day. While here he was the guest of Judge Holman, and saw other members of the Indiana delegation about his candidacy for revenue collector of the sixth Indiana district. His hurried trip here was due to a report that Wm. Bracken had secured the indorsement of the Indiana congressmen. He returned in better spirits.

Judge Gooding, of Greenfield, arrived to-day, and called on the members of congress from Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, January 31.

* * *

The internal revenue collectorships of Indiana afford the liveliest contests that are now going on among the Hoosier democrats. Early in the week editor W. H. O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, arrived and took a hand in the fight that is being waged between his father-in-law, Dr. Hunter, and William Bracken, of Franklin county, for the collectorship of the sixth district. The pins had already been set up for Bracken, but O'Brien, who is a clever politician, has been expending his efforts quite freely to change the arrangement. James Mendenhall, of Greensburg, another democratic editor, was here Tuesday and Wednesday urging Bracken's appointment.

In the seventh internal revenue district there is quite as interesting a complication. Wm. M. Moss, editor of the Bloomfield Democrat, started out soon after the election to secure indorsements for appointment as revenue collector. The result is that he is the most strongly indorsed applicant for federal office now in the country. He has presented letters from the governor, Chairman Taggart, a majority of the Legislature, and nearly all the democrats of prominence in the state. In his own district he has also the indorsements as second choice of the friends of several of the other candidates. The fight will probably be between Moss and Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute. The latter is Hon. John E. Lamb's law partner, and it is understood that Mr. Lamb is very anxious to have the appointment go to Mr. Jump. Another point in his favor is that most of the revenues in the district are collected in Terre Haute. An effort is being made among Lamb's influential democratic friends to have Moss withdraw as a candidate for the collectorship, and apply for something else. But he is reluctant to do so. It is understood that a letter was sent out from Washington this week advising Moss to withdraw, as it had been practically settled among the Indiana delegation to recommend Mr. Jump's appointment.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, February 17.

AT WASHINGTON.

Hoosier democrats, up to the present time, have been content to fire at the federal patronage at long range. The Indiana delegation in congress has received as many petitions and letters for places as have come from any other state in the Union. But the number of "visiting statesmen" is not large. The fight that is attracting most local interest at this time is the contest for revenue collector of the sixth district. Apparently the two senators and most of the representatives who live in the sixth district are disposed to favor the appointment of William Bracken, of Brookville. But Congressman Holman is playing a mysterious part in the proceedings, and it is the opinion that he is secretly in favor of Dr. William H. H. Hunter, of Lawrenceburg, who was collector under the Cleveland administration. If Mr. Holman secures the appointment of Dr. Hunter,

he will have to overcome the Bracken boom, which up to this time has had the field.

* * *

W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, is the most popular candidate for United States district attorney for Indiana who has yet entered the field, although it is understood that he will have many competitors.

Wm. M. Moss, of Bloomfield, and Dr. W. A. Cole, of English, are candidates for revenue collector in the seventh district.

Dr. Woolen, of Vevay, has been at the capital for several days. He was chief of the swamp lands division of the land office under Commissioner Stoekslager, and is said to be looking for his old position again.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, January 28.

* * *

The mail of the average Indiana member of congress is a burden to him these days. The candidates for office are more numerous than ever before. There are forty or fifty applicants for the two collectorships of internal revenue in Indiana. The pension agency is another office for which the candidates are as thick as blackberries.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 3.

* * *

Orlando M. Packard, of Plymouth, Ind., arrived at Willard's hotel to-night. Mr. Packard's friends believe he stands a chance to be appointed bank examiner. He will secure the support of Senator Turpie and Representative Conn. It is understood that when Senator Voorhees visited Washington, Davies county, during the late campaign, he assured S. H. Taylor that he would indorse him for the position. Mr. Taylor held the place under Mr. Cleveland's first administration.

Plymouth has another candidate. Dan McDonald, editor of the *Plymouth Democrat*, wants to be made third auditor of the treasury. Some of Mr. McDonald's friends aver that he was an "original Cleveland man" but there are those who remember that Mr. McDonald, just before the Chicago convention, requested that his name be withdrawn from the published list of Indiana editors who were for Mr. Cleveland's nomination.

William Merrill arrived from Connersville to-night. He is a candidate for postmaster. He is backed by the democratic organization of his county. Chairman Tom Taggart has also indorsed him.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 27.

* * *

Indiana will present another candidate for an important federal position not heretofore mentioned in these dispatches. Dick Johnson will try to be third assistant postmaster general. George W. Cooper, representative from the Columbus district, may be able to secure the support of a good many of the Indiana people for Johnson.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 1.

* * *

James C. Carleton, of Bedford, has arrived, and will seek a chiefship of division in one of the executive departments as soon as the administration changes.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, February 26.

* * *

E. J. Smith, of Connersville, is here. He used to be a special examiner in the pension bureau, and will be willing to take the place again providing he can get nothing better.

Solomon E. Jackson, formerly of Greenfield, Hancock county, now of Indian Territory, is here, and is a candidate for United States district attorney down there. He will probably be indorsed by Representative Bynum and perhaps by Senators Voorhees and Turpie. Mr. Jackson removed from Indiana about four years ago, and has already made himself prominent in the politics of the territory. He was a delegate to the Chicago convention, and voted for Mr. Cleveland's nomination. There is a spirited contest for the United States district judgeship for Indiana Territory, the place now held by Judge Shackelford, formerly of Evansville, Ind. There are three candidates for the position.

Thomas Hanlon, of New Albany, is here. He was being piloted around by Representative Jason Brown. Mr. Hanlon would, no doubt, like to be collector of

internal revenue again. It is hinted that Mr. Hanlon would accept the United States marshalship if he were pressed hard, but failing to get anything better would be content with the postmastership of New Albany.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 28.

* * *

Dr. Jere Roberts, of Holton, is a candidate for local medical pension examiner. He is now in the city urging his candidacy. A little deal will be arranged to-day which will probably knock out the ambitions of two Indiana men, Col. McLean, of Terre Haute, and Col. Jones, of Mr. Holman's district, both of whom want to be commissioner of pensions. Col. Charles A. Zollinger, fourteen years mayor of Fort Wayne, and a politician of adroitness, will swoop down on the capitol to-day, and his coming portends the collapse of at least two booms. A deal is already arranged which awaits only the sanction of Colonel Zollinger, and that has been procured in advance, which amounts practically to the dropping of the names of Col. McLean and Col. Jones for pension commissioner and the putting forward of Col. Zollinger's name for deputy commissioner. Col. Zollinger was formerly pension agent. This position, according to the programme, arranged to-day, will go to Capt. Allen, another Indiana man. Editor Will A. King, of the *Danville Gazette*, who is to be recommended by Congressman Cooper for postmaster at Danville, arrived last night with Mrs. King. W. H. Hargrove, of Princeton, is said to be in the lead to-day for appointment as United States marshal. There are a number of candidates here, among them Buskirk, of Paoli, and Hawkins, of Sullivan. Samuel Harris, who is to be recommended for postmaster of Franklin, is here. James R. Ryan, of Bloomington, is desirous of being appointed inspector of supplies at an Indian agency. He arrived this morning. Edward D. Pugh, a national bank cashier of Rushville, is here seeking the position of national bank examiner for Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 2.

Among other arrivals are C. A. Zollinger, candidate for pension agent, Royal C. Purell, of the Vincennes Sun, candidate for Vincennes post-office, ex-State Senator Hudson, of Indianapolis, who wants to be consul to Toronto, and Capt. Kilaus, of Madison, who is an applicant for postmaster of that city.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 3.

* * *

Roscoe C. Griffiths, a well-known and popular lawyer of Muncie, Ind., arrived this evening. He comes to secure the collectorship of internal revenue for his district, a position which Dr. Hunter, of Lawrenceburg, and Captain Bracken, of Brookville, have been wrangling over for some time. Mr. Griffiths has strong backing and promises to be a winning compromise. L. A. Kirkwood, of Muncie, has also arrived, and wants his position of four years ago—that of post-office inspector on the Pacific slope.

Hon. Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville, a candidate for district attorney of Indiana, arrived last night.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 2.

* * *

Col. C. C. Matson arrived to-day. He is stopping with Hon. George W. Cooper. It is generally understood that Mr. Matson is after some prominent position in the treasury department. The *Sentinel* correspondent was told to-night that he wants to be commissioner of internal revenue. This is the position which John S. Williams is after. Whether Mr. Matson wants this commissionership or not, it is said that he will certainly be provided for in a handsome manner. Senator Voorhees and Mr. Carlisle are very good friends and the latter's recommendation of Matson, coupled with Senator Voorhees' indorsement, would go a long ways in securing the position for Mr. Matson.

Another candidate for district attorney arrived to-night. He is Elbert M. Swan, of Rockport, Ind. It is said that Tom Newkirk, of Rush county, has written a letter here, withdrawing from the contest for collector of internal revenue for the sixth district in favor of Tom H. Bracken, of Brookville. George C. Griffiths, another candidate for this place, arrived to-day. The contest is between Bracken and Griffiths. The latter lives at Muncie. Alexander Kirkwood of

Muncie wants to be a post-office inspector again. He is also on hand.

W. A. Hawkins, of Sullivan, candidate for marshal of Indiana, is at the National. Mr. Hawkins' friends believe he will receive the support of Senator Voorhees and most of the Indiana delegation.

C. A. Zollinger and Capt. Allen, the latter of Frankfort, are the principal candidates for pension agent at Indianapolis. The *Sentinel's* correspondent received a tip that Zollinger would be appointed, but Allen's friends declare that he is a winner.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 2.

* * *

One of the most interesting rivalries is over the position of special bank examiner. There is only one to be appointed for Indiana, but there are four active candidates and a number of dark horses. The active candidates are Col. Taylor, of Washington; W. H. McIntyre, of Auburn; O. A. Packard, of Plymouth, and E. B. Pugh, of Rushville. Mr. Holman seems especially interested in Mr. Pugh's behalf. Congressman McClellan and Congressman-elect McNagney are backing McIntyre and are said also to have the quiet support of Congressman-elect Hammond. Congressman Conn is behind Packard's candidacy. The Indiana senators are said to be somewhat disposed to favor Col. Sam Taylor, of Washington. Geo. W. Geiger, of Indianapolis, has been putting in some pretty strong work for the United States marshalship. A short time ago it looked as if Mr. Kern would be taken and Mr. Geiger left, but in the last few days Geiger has sent on a large number of strong petitions, particularly from the traveling men over the state who are recognized as political factors that can not be ignored. Thomas B. Buskirk, of Paoli, who is backed by Congressman Bretz for United States marshal, is here also, and is making a strong fight. It is stated, however, on high authority, that he will hardly be appointed.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 3.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HAVERFORD, PA., Jan. 24, 1893.

To the Editor of the *Civil Service Chronicle*:

SIR—The January number of the *CHRONICLE* has just come to hand. You will doubtless allow me space to disclaim altogether the interpretation which you have put upon an informal note. A hasty personal postscript to a business letter, written without an idea of publication, might easily be so expressed as to be misconstrued, but, even taking this fact into consideration, I fail to find in my postscript anything to justify or excuse the use made of it, the title prefixed to it, or the comments made upon it. I distinctly stated that I was a civil service reformer, and yet because I criticised the methods employed by the *CHRONICLE*, and because I happen to live in Pennsylvania, you jump to the conclusion that I support Mr. Quay. No conclusion could be more inconsequent or further from the truth. It would be about as inconsistent for me to defend "spoilsmen" as for the editor of the *CHRONICLE* himself; yet nevertheless I believe in fair play, even towards those who do not support civil service reform, and even to—correspondents.

Respectfully, ALLAN C. THOMAS.

We quote the following from a correspondent at Crawfordsville:

"No papers published are doing so much good as those exclusively devoted to the civil service of the country, and I prize the *CHRONICLE* more than any other paper I get. The civil service is gradually extending, and if the President will extend the rules to the extreme limit that he can under the law, he will have the applause of the great body of the people who expect no office, and whose highest interest in office is, that the holders of them discharge their duties faithfully.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. II, No. 1.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefit already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed, or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods.—*President's Inaugural.*

ALREADY the field seems broad for the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE during the next four years, and we earnestly invite all to subscribe who are interested in the cultivation of this field. The only promise we can make is to be thorough and impartial. The greater the support, the greater will be the usefulness of this paper.

SO FAR it does not appear that the President has determined upon any fundamental changes looking to the disuse of the offices as patronage. To make the applications public, to refuse to appoint ex-office-holders, to refuse to appoint editors unless they will give up their papers and other rules which have been given out from time to time, will lead to more or less improved administration but they do not and will not constitute reform. That can only come by such fundamental rules as will kill the patronage element in executive acts. Of these we have spoken elsewhere. Meanwhile our columns show the rush of office-seeking, and our President sitting patiently while the torrent boils and seethes around him. We are the going curiosity of the continents and hemispheres. We are the civic fool of the world.

THE appointment of Frank B. Burke, of Jeffersonville, to be United States district attorney for Indiana, is so unfortunate that it ought to be withdrawn. Burke was a member of our state senate in 1889 and 1891. He was one of the leaders in defeating the civil service bill which would have taken the benevolent institutions out of politics. He opposed the Australian bal-

lot bill and was the only democrat in the general assembly who voted against it. He opposed the new charter for this city. Any measure that was for the general benefit could safely count on Burke's opposition. He is one of the most vicious men who ever got into public place. His appointment seems to be due to the influence of Senator Voorhees. After being the chief factor in bringing Mr. Cleveland's former administration into disgrace in Indiana, it is strange that Voorhees should have any influence. He is working solely and only to secure the re-election of Daniel W. Voorhees to the senate without friction. He cares nothing for the public service. He is a bourbon of the bourbons; he has never been known to lift up his voice for any kind of reform. There is a reform element in the democratic party in this state. It has had to fight steadily against such men as Burke and Voorhees, and against them it has already accomplished important work.

THE editor of the *Anderson Democrat* has been appointed postmaster of Anderson, Indiana. This is a good illustration of the way we do public business. Anderson is a large and flourishing city. Handling mail matter has become in the highest sense an expert business. Yet to take charge of it in a place like Anderson, we go out into the street and pick up a politician who never worked at the business an hour in his life. This is not done to further the public business, for public business is advanced in the same manner that private business is, and no private business ever goes into the street and picks up a politician for a manager. But by this appointment Congressman Bynum pays the editor of the *Democrat* for past and future services to himself. The principles of private business would have chosen from the lower ranks of the postal service some thoroughly skilled postal man for postmaster at Anderson. This would have been for the interest of the people, while the above appointment is against the interest of the people. Mr. Bynum and the whole crew who are now preying upon the public service could long ago have brought the proper application of business principles to the people's business; but they fight such application at every step.

It is claimed to be settled that Mr. Albert Sahn is to succeed Postmaster Thompson in the post-office of this city. Mr. Thompson's commission has two years and more yet to run. In this connection, Mr. Sahn says in an interview in the *Indianapolis News* of March 14:

"Should I be appointed postmaster here, I will not, as some have said, make a clean sweep from cellar to garret. In taking the office the incumbent takes oath to observe the laws, and I propose to follow the laws, especially the civil service law, in letter and spirit. So far as my liberties extend I shall appoint democrats to positions in the office, but otherwise the law will be enforced. Another thing that a misapprehension exists about is the time when I shall succeed Thompson. Mr. Thompson will fill out the time for which he has been commissioned."

Mr. Sahn's expression indicates the general political progress which has taken place among political workers. It is to be hoped that before Mr. Thompson's time is out such rules will be made as will leave very little "liberty" for partisan proscription. All but one or two of the chief places in this post-office should be filled by competitive promotion from among the under-employees of the office.

CONGRESSMAN CONN, of South Bend, Ind., has won immortality like only to that of Flannigan of Texas, who in the Chicago republican convention of 1880, hearing talk of civil service reform, with honest surprise inquired, "What are we here for if not for the offices?" Conn has promulgated some rules limiting the class among whom he proposes to divide spoil. One of these limitations is as follows. "No person can be a candidate for the office of postmaster who is not a good democratic voter in good standing, * * * and who has not been an active worker for the democratic party in past years." This is the view of public office held by the average politician and party manager, but very few of them are callow enough to put their views in writing. Cromwell made religion a test for office. How does he differ from Congressman Conn? King James II insisted that none but those who approved his policy should have a license for selling wine, beer or coffee. How does he differ from Congressman Conn? The test proposed by Conn is the one peculiar test of absolutism, and has been used by every absolute ruler who has governed since the world began. Men of the stripe of Congressman Conn had better stop talking about "democracy," and make their words square with their actions and

beliefs. They like monarchical institutions; they like feudalistic notions, and they are doing all they can to perpetuate them. The only known democratic method of awarding public employment is by methods of selection which exclude politics, religion, race, or color. Yet Conn and his associates fight the application of this method with a desperation born not of a willingness to stand equal with all their fellow-citizens, but of a knowledge that only by the ways of the pirate and the buccaneer can they hope for place and profit.

GEORGE W. RUSSELL, has been postmaster of Irvington, a suburb of Indianapolis and the seat of Butler university, for some twelve years. The people like him, and more than two-thirds of the voting population, including all parties, have asked that he be retained. It seems that Congressman Bynum has determined upon a change. We shall watch with interest to see if this office will be kept "near to the people" by forcing a change when two-thirds of the people are against it. This is another proof of the humbug of the claim that the people demand "rotation in office." The only people in this country who demand rotation in office are the comparatively small number who want to quarter themselves upon the rest. The rest care no more for the change of a republican gauger for a democratic gauger in the public service, than they do for the change of a republican boilermaker for a democratic boilermaker in the Pan Handle shops.

THE Boston correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* writes to that paper an interesting letter upon Josiah Quincy, now assistant secretary of state. He quotes Mr. Quincy as believing "that it would be a waste of strength for the administration to neglect the tariff and currency problems to devote attention to the civil service in the way the National Civil Service Reform League would have it done." He would, further, "devote the strength of the reformers to extending the rules for the classified service." Mr. Quincy has long been a civil service reformer and he will take pleasure in doing his utmost to bring the foreign service to the greatest practicable extent under the classified service rules. We shall be much mistaken if the subordinate places in that service are given over to be the spoil of congressmen. As to the rest, we would rather think that the correspondent had misunderstood Mr. Quincy. Securing extensions of the classified service rules has come to be only one part of civil service reform. Probably the greatest evil that now exists in connection with the public service is the practice of allowing congressmen to station watch-dogs for themselves in the shape of fourth-class

postmasters at every cross-roads. Is this to be repeated lest congressmen may refuse to legislate upon the tariff and the currency? Are congressmen to be bribed with offices to legislate upon these subjects? As to neglect of the tariff and currency problems, if left alone by congressmen, the President will have plenty of time to do his share upon these problems, while if congressmen are cut off from the offices they will have more time than they have ever had before in their congressional lives. The only true course in this matter is the straight and narrow one of doing right and the whole right, though the heavens fall, and leaving the people to take care of mercenary congressmen.

IN urging the gift of places to editors the Brooklyn *Eagle* says: "There are thousands of country newspaper men seeking to eke out an adequate income from petty but respectable sheets by obtaining little places." This fact is one of the greatest public abuses with which the country is afflicted. The law of Indiana requiring the printing of the ballot in newspapers, before elections, has just been repealed. It cost the people two hundred thousand dollars a year and was of little practical value; yet its repeal was taken as a personal insult by the "petty but respectable sheets" that are trying to eke out an adequate income. The political morals of the *Eagle* need regenerating. Fully one-third of the newspapers of the country exist only because they are in some manner quartered upon the public treasury. It is a truth that ought to be branded into newspaper ethics that the opinion upon public affairs of such papers, or of any paper that is receiving money from the public treasury except in the way of ordinary business competition is worthless. No paper should exist which can not be free and unbiased in its opinions. There is no greater misuse of power than the distribution of offices among editors to pay them for "fighting battles."

THE *Eagle* also says: "So long as government is run by parties, parties will be run by organizations. That long, too, the cause and case of parties will be forwarded by 'workers,' and by putting 'workers' in places." This is a well-worn statement usually called into play when there is no other excuse for seizure and division of plunder. It has been answered every day for many years in England, where, for instance, in the long struggle and repeated elections turning upon the Irish question, there has not been so much as a messenger's place with which to reward "petty but respectable sheets" or "workers," or any other agency that helped in the campaign. It will be so in this country. Ad-

ministrative reform will make it so. When elections cease to be a fight for spoil, every American citizen will take a keen interest in the questions to be decided. Campaigns will be conducted with much less expenditure. Instead of levying blackmail upon office-holders, all the money needed will be raised without difficulty from the great body of citizens, for each will feel that he has something at stake. This is Sunday-school politics, but it will prevail. The false course of great and influential papers like the *Eagle* simply puts off the day.

IN his call for the coming meeting of the national republican league, Clarkson invites all "who believe in practical civil service reform, such as will separate the spoils idea from politics and yet preserve the people in control of public offices and all public affairs." What is control of the offices by the people? Is it distribution of places to henchmen by an oligarchy of politicians, or is it an impartial distribution of public employment after competitive tests in accordance with a law made by the people? What is "practical civil service reform?" Is it the Clarksons removing thirty thousand postmasters a year, or is it the Andrew bill, the Boston labor service, and the merit system as we have it to-day in the Indianapolis post-office? When it meets in May, if it means well, it will be better for the national republican league to say what it means. It will hardly be worth while to attempt to hoodwink any one by a general declaration for "practical civil service reform."

THE announcement that the civil service commission has canceled all examinations scheduled to be held between March 21 and June 30, in six states and in a number of cities, comes at an unfortunate time. The addition to the classified service made by President Harrison at the last moment increased the expenses of the commission, and it asked congress to appropriate a thousand dollars additional to pay the traveling expenses of examiners. This was refused, and the commission has been obliged to curtail the number of examinations. At the beginning of Harrison's administration the commission was unable to get eligible lists ready, and advantage was taken to put into the railway mail service more than two thousand heelers of congressmen—an act of treachery that cost the republican party dear. A similar condition has now come about. We trust to President Cleveland to do right in this matter. It will not be right to repeat republican treachery by hurrying in new postmasters and permitting them to carry out the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils. We are not speaking in the interest of the retention of ward workers

whom the republicans may have put into the offices in question. We are speaking in the interest of improved administration, of civil service reform. It is President Cleveland's duty to see to it that no unusual change takes place in these offices until the eligible lists are ready. It is hard to believe that if the President's time had not been so taken up by office-seekers, some way could not have been found to avoid this unfortunate postponement. A way has been found in a similar case in the bureau of engraving and printing. The resolutions of the National League, at its annual meeting in Philadelphia in October, 1889, declared it to be a "flagrant violation of pledges" that "a brief necessary delay in the preparation of eligible lists by the civil service commission was improved to sweep out of the railway mail service hundreds of employes, regardless of efficiency, and into these vacancies were hurried hundreds of partisans of the administration, with but a subordinate regard to their fitness." It is to be hoped that the League, which meets again in April, in New York, will not have a similar disagreeable duty to perform.

FOUR years ago President Harrison virtually invited the party-workers of the United States to "pitch in" for the offices. He disregarded the rule established to a large extent by his predecessor that officers should serve out their terms. He hustled out incumbents to make room for his party-workers at a rate never heard of before. Now, President Cleveland says that offices ought not to be used to pay party-workers and that present incumbents shall serve out their terms, no matter how long it may take. In these two policies there is a vast and refreshing difference in favor of the latter, and show in Mr. Cleveland a purpose to have reform instead of a debauch. We entirely credit him and his cabinet with this purpose. But while a change of officers made at the end of each officer's term is more orderly, it is, nevertheless, a change, and if each officer shall proceed, as heretofore, to discharge his subordinates to make room for his partisans, a clean sweep will occur the same as always and with the same motives; and before the end of his term Mr. Cleveland will have turned out more than 100,000 place-holders, and will have put partisans into their places. This is not reform. This is the power of official patronage which endangers free institutions. Again, congressmen are seeking to make the appointments the same as ever. Their motives are not changed. Senator Voorhees hardly slept nights until he got Isaac P. Gray an office that Gray would take, because Voorhees feared that Gray would interfere with his re-election to the senate.

Every congressman has some analagous motive with every appointment. As the Indianapolis *Sentinel's* Washington correspondent said, March 12, of the groan of congressmen at the President's refusal to appoint editors unless the latter would give up their papers: "What good can they do us with their papers under the control of others, perhaps disappointed office-seekers?" Appointment by congressmen is not reform. No permanent reform can come without the absolute separation of congressmen from patronage. They will never let go of themselves; they must be cut off.

EXPECTING TOO MUCH.

WE are receiving advice from various friendly quarters that, while we are undoubtedly honest and patriotic, we are asking altogether too much; that it is unwise and a waste of strength to press administrative reform to an extreme, and that such a course would endanger tariff reform and the silver question. We have no desire to be misunderstood. We want to be understood as pushing administrative reform to the utmost extreme. Now is the time. We want to be understood as holding that neither tariff reform nor the silver question are of a feather's weight when put by the side of the necessity of bringing about administrative reform and of bringing it about now. Taxation not in accordance with sound economic laws is a mistake and the people suffer pecuniary loss, but it is a passing evil like the routine evils that come and always will come in every period of government and are and will be corrected in every period. For a government to purchase and store a man's product to keep up its price is the very depth of economic stupidity, but it bears its own inevitable punishment and cure. If administrative reform is to be postponed to such questions as these it will always have to be postponed, for they will always be present. But the struggle against those who prey upon the people by seizing public offices and by controlling public contracts is a mortal one to government. If this struggle fails and comes to an end it is only a question of time when republican government will cease. Every postponement makes failure more imminent. The people get used to the warning and cease to listen.

Those reformers who fear for tariff reform and the silver question are but playing into the hands of both party machines. Mr. Julian, an eye witness of the movements of 1852, in his life of Giddings, says of the Free-Soilers of that date, "They saw clearly that what slavery needed was two pretty evenly divided parties pitted against each other upon economic issues so that under cover of their strife it could

be allowed to have its way." The perpetuation of the spoils system needs just that condition now. We can not be a party to the scheme. We call upon the President to stand upon his constitutional rights and to take the great measures now left to be taken to complete the revolution which has been going on for more than twenty years. We are aware of the difficulties. We know that the road at some points is obstructed. But, in urging this action, we are not viewing President Cleveland as a pigmy or as a figure-head, but as a giant. A giant can make a way where there is none.

We are asking that the transfers to the classified service shall be completed to the fullest extent; that the system of promotion by competition in the lower grades shall be carried to the extent that the great body of even the nominations by the President to the senate shall represent the sifting process of merit in the service; that the Boston labor system already in force in the navy-yards, shall be applied to the entire federal labor service; that fourth-class postmasters shall only be chosen by some impartial method such as is set out in the Andrew bill; and that these and similar measures shall be carried to the extent that there is nothing left in federal appointments for congressmen or partisans to exercise their influence upon.

There is an element among reformers, weak-kneed, half-hearted and supercilious, withal, who declare that the civil service commission would be swamped and that the co-operation of congress is essential to the full completion of administrative reform. We know that, and to that we insist that if congress refuses to co-operate, the President shall not, thereupon, turn over the federal reins to congressmen nor to any other men as party plunder nor to "reward" anybody for anything. Because congressmen tie his hands it will not be any excuse for him to permit a repetition of Clarkson's disgraceful career, nor will it be any excuse for him to use the public service to "recognize" anybody. With the co-operation of congress in the application of non-partisan and impartial principles to government appointments, let the President express himself ready and willing to rid the service of mere politicians now in it. If congress, demanding plunder, refuses, let the President sit down and wait. Let the issue be defined and let the people discuss it. Let us see how long congressmen can stand that fire—the President refusing to prostitute the public service to personal and party ends—the congressmen demanding it. This is not the first President we have urged to make this stand, nor would President Cleveland be the first to refuse and to turn to the vexatious and

unhappy course of temporizing with spoils hunters and trying to make one loaf go where twenty would not suffice—a course that surely leads to personal and party failure. There is now no half-way. To deprive a congressman of a cross-roads post-office infuriates him as much as to deprive him of all. After President Harrison had given everything, those to whom he had given most turned against him, and he only saved his nomination by whipping in thousands of place-holders whose bread he controlled. War there is bound to be. Then let it be for something great. If Mr. Cleveland is a great man he will appreciate and take advantage of the greatness of his opportunity.

TWO SPECTACLES.

Two great political spectacles are now presented to the world. In 1886, Mr. Gladstone and his party went out of office overwhelmingly defeated because they demanded home rule for Ireland. They began the work anew. There was not a post-office, nor a clerkship that could be hoped for by any voter who sided with them. Out of more than a hundred thousand offices not a hundred would be vacated by their success. They had but one principle upon which they could ask for success—that home rule was right. There was but one reward they could hold out—that home rule should be made a law. For seven years they urged this argument, and in converting the British people they achieved the triumph of popular government of this generation. After the election, Mr. Gladstone does not have to give public notice that office-seekers must keep away from him while he selects his cabinet. He goes into office but aside from the places immediately around him, he does not control a clerkship. Members of parliament do not come streaming around him introducing office-seekers by the thousand, nor at all. All his energies, all the energies of his cabinet, all the energies of members of parliament, and all the attention of the British people are given to the subject of incorporating into legislation the principle upon which the victory at the election was won. This is government by the people. And yet the offices of Great Britain are distributed upon the most democratic system known in the world—a system that gives the son of a day laborer an equal chance with the son of a peer.

The other spectacle is to be seen in this country. We have an election in which public questions are discussed with great earnestness and the result is decisive. The victorious party started into the campaign with the declaration that offices ought not to be subject to change at every election. Now what is the result? Have con-

gressmen been busy with measures which would do away with a change of officers? Have they spent the time trying to get even a surface knowledge of the principles of taxation? Not at all. Some of them have traveled from county to county preparing for a change of officers. They have nominally attended a session of congress but their waking moments have for four months been given to dickering with party-workers relating to changes in offices. Forbidden by Mr. Cleveland to speak to him on the subject, before inauguration, they kept on, full swing, planning changes in office without Mr. Cleveland. The day after the inauguration they and the party-workers passed through the White House and looked at Mr. Cleveland. The next day, the wolf could no longer be restrained and the despatches say that Voorhees and other congressmen called upon the President, not to confer upon methods of incorporating into legislation the principles of the campaign, but to demand when the changes in office would begin. With this the scramble for office began. It seems likely to go on for months. Not a word is said in favor of any principle that was a part of the campaign. Every issue upon which the election was won has apparently been forgotten. This is government by an oligarchy of congressmen.

Which is the nobler spectacle, Mr. Gladstone and his host, daily and nightly fighting the battle of home rule, or Mr. Cleveland sitting at his desk day after day while congressmen, party committeemen, editors, party workers and all the other belongings of a party machine crowd around him in succession by thousands demanding post-offices, consulships, clerkships and all the other offices pertaining to the government system, not because of merit but as pay for service claimed by them to have been rendered to himself or to his party?

In order that there may be no mistake about the way in which public employment is awarded in England, we quote Mr. Gladstone's own words in a speech made in Greenwich, October 28, 1871. He said:

"It has been our happy lot in almost every department of the state—I believe there are but two exceptions—to give up that which has always been considered the special patronage and the highly prized patronage of a government, namely, the appointment of clerks to the civil offices of the country. We have abandoned that power; we have thrown every one of them open to public competition. The transition is now nearly complete, and, with regard to the future, I can say, that as to the clerkships in my own office—the office of the treasury—every one of you have just as much power over their disposal as I have. *

* * And in order that the public service

might be indeed the public service, in order that we might not have among the civil officers of the state that which we had complained of in the army, namely, that the service was not the property of the nation, but of the officers, we have now been able to remove the barriers of nomination, patronage, jobbing, favoritism in whatever form, and every man belonging to the people of England, if he so pleases to fit his children for the position of competing for places in the public service, may do it entirely irrespective of the question, what is his condition in life, or the amount of means with which he may happen to be or not to be blessed."

How immeasurably Mr. Gladstone and the English government would be lowered in the estimation of the world if instead of leading the liberal party to a triumphant result in the contest for home rule he should sit "patiently" in his office while members of parliament crowded around by hundreds introducing their heelers by thousands and demanding for them post-offices, clerkships, consulships and places as watchmen, dog catchers, and what not, to pay them for services rendered to Gladstone or to his party. What a travesty upon Gladstone's great career and what an indignity upon the noble cause of home rule such a sight would be!

THE annual meeting of the National League will be held in New York April 26 and 27. The address will be delivered by Carl Schurz on the evening of the 26th, in the Madison Square Garden assembly room and the other usual meetings will be held. The dinner will be on the evening of the 27th. It is to be hoped that the west will be well represented. Any member of a civil service reform association is entitled to take part in the proceedings. Further information can be obtained by writing to William Potts, Secretary, New York.

"SOME removals" said President Jefferson "I know must be made. They must be as few as possible, done gradually, and bottomed on some malversation or inherent disqualification. Good men to whom there is no objection but a difference of political opinion, practiced on only so far as the right of a private citizen will justify, *are not proper subjects of removal.*" We commend these Jeffersonian principles to the Jeffersonian democratic congressman and their followers now engaged in an onslaught upon the public service.

Probably the hottest contest now on is that over the public printer, with 2,700 places to give out. No less than thirteen candidates are in the fight, each one working vigorously to win.—*Buffalo Express*, March 13.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The interference of senators and representatives with nominations and minor appointments in the civil service is not only without constitutional warrant, but it is an indecent and dangerous confusion of two functions which the constitution carefully keeps distinct. The senator or representative who makes himself an office broker, to pay his own parasites from the public purse, should stand well exposed in the pillary of public contempt, and by reason of such interference should forfeit the respect of the country and the confidence and support of his constituency.—*George William Curtis.*

The oath I now take to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of these United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional demands as the rule by which my official conditions must be guided.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural.*

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us constrain me to remind those with whom I am to co-operate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task we shall hardly be excused, and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.—*President's Inaugural.*

To-day Senators Voorhees and Turpie called on President Cleveland and had a long talk with him. Their call was for the purpose of ascertaining the President's policy in regard to changes in the federal offices in the State of Indiana. The Indiana men have at least solved the difficulty presented by the candidacy at one and the same time, of Colonel Zollinger, of Ft. Wayne, for deputy commissioner of pensions, and that of Colonel McLean, of Terre Haute, for pension commissioner. One of the Indiana congressmen said this morning that both names would be presented to Mr. Cleveland, properly recommended, and the President would be left to choose either or both, as he saw fit.—*Indianapolis News, March 7.*

For bank examiner, Mayor Packard, of Plymouth, has secured the majority of the delegation, including Turpie. Congressman Conn has been very diligent in his behalf and has induced Dan McDonald, of the Plymouth Democrat, to withdraw in his favor.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 7.*

Mayor Packard, of Plymouth, has gone home to await his appointment as bank examiner. He has the endorsement of both senators.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 10.*

Judge Jordan, of Indianapolis, has filed his application for the first auditor of treasury. He says his interests will be taken care of by Turpie and Voorhees, and will return home to-morrow and wait there for his commission.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 7.*

Senators Voorhees and Turpie are pushing Colonel Taylor, of Washington, for the position of national bank examiner of Indiana, while E. B. Pugh, of Rushville, Cashier McIntyre, of Auburn, and O. A. Packard are indorsed by individual members of the delegation. Pugh promises to be a compromise candidate.

Senators Voorhees and Turpie have an engagement with President Cleveland to-morrow morning. They will try to decide what ex-Governor Gray is to have, and will present the names of Colonel William E. McLean, of Terre Haute, for commissioner of pensions, and Mr. Zollinger, of Fort Wayne, for a dep-

utyship under the commissioner of pensions. They will leave the President to decide which place the state shall have, and let him also decide between McLean and Zollinger.

Representatives Bynum and Martin saw President Cleveland to-day. They wanted to know about the rapidity with which changes are to be made in the offices.—*Indianapolis Journal, March 8.*

There seems to be a disposition among the Indiana delegation to repeat the mistakes of 1885 and to crowd upon the administration professional office holders. For example, the first candidate to be pushed for a place by the two senators is J. C. Carleton, of Bedford, who was postmaster under Cleveland and Buchanan, and several previous administrations. One of his sons has held an office in the house for eight years. To-morrow the two senators and Mr. Bretz will call upon the postmaster-general to urge his appointment as chief of division at \$2,000 a year.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 8.*

The two Senators claim as their own the marshalship, attorneyship, pension agency and the two collectorships. They had agreed to give the northern part of the state—the pension agency—to Zollinger, but now that he is ruled out on account of being an ex-officer the twelfth district, with Allen county, which gives nearly all the democratic majority of the state, was left without a representation on the Voorhees-Turpie slate. Congressman McNagney began to raise a vigorous kick against this discrimination, and threatened to appeal to the President. This morning he was reinforced by ex-Senator Barrett of Fort Wayne. The two senators were soon convinced that such treatment would not do. McNagney wants the collectorship or the U. S. marshalship for the twelfth district, and in this he is supported by other congressmen who desire to see fair play. Senator Turpie announced to-night that he would not enter into any arrangement by which that part of the state would be left out, and would not decide whom he would support for collector of the eastern district and marshal until he and Senator Voorhees could arrange matters from a geographical standpoint.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 9.*

It took Representative John L. Bretz, the blunt German democrat who presides over the political pap of the second Indiana district, only fifteen seconds to-day to extract from President Cleveland a job lot of information which a number of more timid congressmen have been trying all week to ascertain. It had been reported that Mr. Cleveland had made up his mind to appoint no one to an office who ever held office under him; that this was to be an entirely new deal; and, having a number of constituents here who wanted to enter the post offices at their homes, Mr. Bretz thought he would find out the truth of the report going the rounds of the hotel corridors. So Mr. Bretz was early at the White House this morning and asked to see the President for a moment only. As soon as he appeared before the President he plumped it right out.

"I just came to know if it was true, as reported, Mr. President, that you will appoint no one who has ever held office under you?"

"It is true, sir," was the President's direct reply.

"Well," said Mr. Bretz, slightly out of breath, "does that apply to postmasters?"

"It does," came the President's answer. "It applies to all offices."—*Indianapolis Journal, March 9.*

It was stated yesterday upon apparently good authority, that Senators Voorhees and Turpie had reached an understanding as to the distribution of offices in the two republican districts of Indiana, and that Senator Voorhees would look after those in the sixth, and Senator Turpie those in the Ninth district. An aspirant for office in the sixth district to-day asked Senator Voorhees as to this reported arrangement, and the senator replied: "Appointments in those two districts will be made, as we understand, upon the joint recommendation of the two senators. We have not divided the territory."

Senator Voorhees' committee room was visited to-day by about one hundred Indiana office seekers. The senator is being run almost to death, but he is patient and good tempered about it. He says he recognizes the fact that the men who are seeking places have as much right to do so as he has to ask for re-

election every six years. The excursion tickets expire with to-morrow, when the exodus for home will begin.—*Indianapolis Journal*, Mar. 9.

One of these fair days Mr. L. M. Mering, of Richmond, who was the democratic candidate for congress last year, will get himself into a delightfully lively political complication with Chairman Taggart and Indiana's two senators. It is stated by prominent democrats that Mr. Mering has for some days been trying to control the appointments in the sixth congressional district of Indiana. He takes the position that inasmuch as he was nominated for congress by the democrats of that district, and since he would have been entitled to distribute the offices if elected, he is the choice of the district democrats in the distribution of the patronage at this time. The score or more democrats from the sixth district who are now here are up in arms about it, and say that it is none of Mering's business; *that tradition and custom have awarded the job of giving out offices in minority districts to the senators in the majority, and that Senator Voorhees and Turpie have not requested Mr. Mering's interference.*—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 9.

Congressman Bynum called at the White House this morning with John W. Kern. Mr. Bynum has been for another candidate for district attorney, but now that Kern is so far in the lead, Mr. Bynum, it is understood, will not withhold his indorsement, as his own candidate is out of the race.—*Indianapolis News*, March 10.

Representatives Holman and Martin of Indiana saw the President. They have many friends who want places, not counting ex-Gov. Isaac Pusey Gray.—*New York Times*, March 9.

As for the collectors of internal revenue, they are not settled, except that Senator Voorhees will recommend Jump of Terre Haute, and that Mr. Holman claims the privilege of naming the collector of the eastern district and that Senator Turpie has not opposed them. However, Mr. Brookshire will make a desperate fight for Hulet against Senator Voorhees' man.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 14.

Senators Voorhees and Turpie, it is said, have agreed upon the following slate:

Marshal—Ex-Sheriff Hawkins, Sullivan.

District Attorney—J. W. Kern, Indianapolis.

Bank Examiner—O. M. Packard, Plymouth.

Collector of Internal Revenue—Joshua Jump, Terre Haute, and W. H. Bracken, Brookville.

For Second Comptroller or Commissioner of Internal Revenue—Col. C. C. Matson.

This leaves the Fort Wayne district, with its large democratic majority, without a state or federal office, as Zollinger can not be pension agent, Congressman McNagney entered a vigorous protest and demanded the U. S. marshalship. Senator Turpie was willing to concede it, but Senator Voorhees remained firm and said Sullivan county must have the place, and Hawkins must be the man. McNagney

will appeal to the President, but the two senators claim these offices.

Hawkins is a bright young man; has served as sheriff of Sullivan county. He is but thirty years old. The appointment will be made Monday. A few days ago Mr. Voorhees hesitated about pressing Hawkins' claim, fearing it would interfere with Jump's chances for the collectorship, but the President informed him that the present republican collector would be allowed to serve until October. Voorhees concluded that Hawkins' appointment would not jeopardize Jump's interest. Jump is a law partner of John E. Lamb. Brookshire is still in the ring, with Hulet for the same place.

Bracken is a lawyer of Franklin county. He was an elector at large. Sam Ralston, of Boone, had a large number of indorsements for United States collectorship of the Terre Haute district. He did not come here but left the matter in the hands of friends here. It has been stated that Senators Turpie and Voorhees had divided the republican territory as far as it relates to the post-offices, Mr. Voorhees taking the sixth district and Turpie the ninth. Mr. Turpie denies this. He says the post-office appointments will be made upon the joint recommendations of the two senators. In Frankfort the fight is between Eli Brown and Mr. Marvin. Mr. Brown was postmaster under Cleveland in Columbia City.

This morning T. B. Buskirk withdrew his name as a candidate for United States marshal. It is said that Senator Voorhees notified him this morning that Hawkins, of Sullivan, would be appointed.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 10.

Congressman Taylor has decided to recommend ex-Representative John J. Nolan for postmaster at Evansville.

Congressman Brookshire is still making a valiant fight for his favorite, Mr. Hawlett, of Crawfordsville, of the position of internal revenue collector for the seventh district, which Senator Voorhees seems disposed to confer on Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute.—*Indianapolis News*, March 11.

To-morrow the President will settle the controversy which has been practically settled by the two senators, who have agreed upon all the state offices but the district attorney. Mr. Turpie is for John W. Kern actively, while Mr. Voorhees will present Burke's name. But he will make no fight against Kern. Mr. Kern called upon the President to-day and had a satisfactory interview. He will be appointed.

With this exception Mr. Voorhees' men get everything else in the state: Hawkins of Sullivan for marshal, Bracken of Franklin for collector sixth district; Jump, collector seventh district. Mr. Turpie will not oppose these selections by Voorhees.

The twelfth district is thus entirely ignored, notwithstanding the protest of Representative McNagney. *He intended to appeal to the President, but he was advised by the other members of the house that such a course would result in no good, as the two senators would insist on controlling this patronage.*—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 11.

Capt. Allen, who wants the pension agency at Frankfort, Ind., was accompanied by Senator Voorhees. The Senator and Representative Bynum also filed papers indorsing John W. Kern, of Indianapolis, for the attorneyship of his district.

The United States marshalship is settled, and the United States district attorneyship for Indiana is still in doubt, but the chances are in favor of Kern. Senators Voorhees and Turpie joined hands in presenting Hawkins, of Sullivan, for marshal.

It was generally understood that Mr. Voorhees would yield the appointment of the United States district attorney to Mr. Turpie, in consideration of the latter's support of Hawkins; but Congressman Brown insisted on presenting Frank Burke, of Jeffersonville, for the attorneyship, and Mr. Voorhees stood by him. Both Burke's and Kern's claims were laid before the President to-day. Mr. Brown urged the appointment of Burke. Mr. Voorhees was not present, but sent a written request for his appointment. Messrs. Turpie and Bynum urged the appointment of Kern, and the President now has the matter under advisement, but Mr. Turpie feels confident that the President will nominate Kern.

Monday morning the Indiana delegation will meet and in a body present ex-Congressman Patten, of the tenth district, for commissioner of immigration, the place which his predecessor, Billy Owen, now holds.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

The announcement made by the President that no newspaper man would be appointed to office until he had relinquished his connection with the papers has caused another howl of discontent. The President wants every man appointed to an office to give up his business, and devote his whole time to the business of the government. This is directed especially against country editors who intended to run the post-offices and newspapers at the same time. In Indiana several editors have already been indorsed for postmasters, and this will come hard on them. They will have to give up their papers or the post-offices:

"In the first district, Philip Zoercher has a cinch on the Tell City post-office and he edits the *News* of that place. Representative Bretz has recommended three editors in the second—Purcell, of the *Vincennes Sun*, John, of the *Bedford Democrat*, and Hoker, of the *Shoals News*. They must give up their papers or get no post-office. In the third, there is Mercer, of the *Brownstown Democrat*, who has been selected by Mr. Brown. In the fifth, the editors of the *Nashville* and *Danville* papers have both been recommended by Mr. Cooper. In the sixth, McKillop, of the *Muncie Herald*, is the postmaster selected by Senators Voorhees and Turpie. In the seventh, Mr. Bynum has selected Crittenberger, of the *Anderson Democrat*, and Eugene Lewis, of the *Greenfield Democrat*. In the ninth, Eli Brown wants the Frankfort office, and he runs a paper there. In the eleventh, Fawcett, of the *La Grange Democrat* wants the post-office, and throughout the other districts are many editors whose services have been justly appreciated by their members with post-offices."

Of course, they can dispose of their papers, but say the congressman: "*What good can they do us with their papers under the control of oth-*

ers, perhaps disappointed office-seekers." These editors are appointed because they can do the members some good in securing renomination, and without their county organs they are powerless.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

Editor L. C. Christie, of the *Indianapolis World*, the colored organ, was presented to the President to-day by Congressman Holman. Mr. Holman urged his appointment to the office of recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, now held by Blanche K. Bruce.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

Captain Allen, who wants the pension agency at Indianapolis, called at the White House, accompanied by Senator Voorhees. The senator and Representative Bynum also filed papers indorsing John Kern, of Indianapolis, for the attorneyship of his district.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 12.

The Indiana senators have united in recommending Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, for consul to Calloa.—*Indianapolis News*, March 13.

Congressman Martin presented the application of Mr. Waugh for district attorney to-day.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 14.

Postmaster-General Bissell has requested all members of congress to file the indorsements of every applicant for postmasterships for consideration before appointments can be acted upon. This was construed as meaning that the recommendation of members of congress would be ignored and that the postmaster-general would take the matter in his own hands and decide upon the merit of the applicants, regardless of the wishes of members. This caused a general alarm among members and this morning Congressman Conn submitted in writing a number of interrogations, among the number being the following:

Will the recommendation of congressmen govern appointments of postmasters or will the petitions and letters of indorsement be considered in your department and appointments be made accordingly?

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 14.

Secretary Reiley, of the state central committee, Judge Jordan and C. C. Kerr, of Indianapolis, left to-night for home. Judge Jordan's application for appointment as first auditor of the treasury has been favorably acted upon. Both senators urged his appointment and Chairman Taggart, Secretary Reiley and Mr. Bynum made especial efforts in his behalf.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

Senators Voorhees and Turpie took John G. Shanklin to the President to-day to urge his appointment to a consular office.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 16.

Mr. Bynum has made the following recommendations for postmaster:

Elias Hitghshire, Traders' Point; T. C. Wyrick, Maywood; Henry C. Cook, Bridgeport; James W. Webb, Southport; Charles C. Weaver, Acton; William M. Brown, Clearmont, Hancock county; A. T. Wilson, Mohawk; A. C. Vanduyne, Shirley; James M. Trul, Edinburg; John Gerner, Philadelphia; Frank Brandenburg, Charlottesville; Ira Beville, Cleveland, Madison county; James W. Barrett, Lapel; Assian Cook, Pendleton; William H. Barnes, Florida.

Weaver, Brown, Wilson, Bradenburg and Beville are "exes" and may be rejected by the post-office department. It is understood that the Indianapolis post-office will be filled by a democrat when the four years of republican rule have expired. Albert Sahm will be appointed. Postmaster Thompson will have served four years, part of the term as deputy. Had he succeeded a democrat he would then be allowed to go on. While he has a commission for four years, he is really filling out Wallace's unexpired term. The appointment of a new postmaster belongs to Senator Turpie, and Mr. Bynum says that as soon as the senator takes the initiative in the matter he will join him in the movement to replace Thompson with a democrat.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 17.

The Indiana congressmen are getting out of the city for their homes rapidly. Mr. Conn has been overrun with applications for office, and has been giving close attention to arranging the recommendations he intends to make, will leave for his home this week. Mr. Hammond will probably go the latter part of the week. Mr. Hammond, too, is wrestling with a large number of applications for office, and is finding it very difficult to appoint them to his own satisfaction. Congressman McNaghy has a room at Willard's, and has been holding levees from early morning till late at night daily, with the crowds of Indiana politicians who stayed over until after the inauguration. Mr. McNaghy hopes to return to his home this week also.—*Indianapolis News*, March 9.

Representative Hammond makes no secret of the fact that he has promised the Logansport postmastership to N. C. Hanawalt. Although there will be no change under several months, Mr. Hammond has come to the conclusion that the best way to avoid trouble is to anticipate vacancies as far in advance as possible, in which conclusion he has many followers. He has selected editor R. M. Mishelwood, of the *Delphi Journal*, for the Delphi postmastership, but there is a hitch in that selection.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 15.

Congressman Conn has addressed the following to his constituents:

Now that the policy of the administration with reference to the appointment of postmasters has been defined there can be no further objection to the selection of those officials for the thirteenth Indiana district, and whenever a majority of the democratic voters of the same post-office present a petition before April 15, 1893, requesting me to call an election for the selection of postmasters I will do so under the following conditions:

1. No person can be candidate for the office of postmaster who was an office-holder under the former Cleveland administration.

2. No person can be a candidate for any post-office where the salary of such an office exceeds \$800 per annum who is connected with any other business of any kind or character.

3. No person can be a candidate for the office of postmaster who is not a good democratic voter in good standing, who is not a man of good business ability, who does not bear a reputation for honesty, morality and sobriety, and who has not been an active worker for the democratic party in past years.

4. No person can be a candidate for a post-office who will not pledge himself to give his time and at-

tention to the duties of the office, provided he is elected. In other words, every postmaster in the thirteenth district is expected to be a postmaster and not turn the office over to a paid employe.

5. No petition for the election of a postmaster will be accepted for consideration after April 15, 1893, and all recommendations for postmasters will be made before May 15, 1893.

The above qualifications of postmasters are necessary to applicants for post-offices where they are elected to appointment or recommended, and I earnestly request all democratic voters in the thirteenth district to give me their assistance in selecting postmasters who will discharge the duties of their several offices with fidelity, zeal and honesty to the general public.

C. G. CONN,

M. C. Thirteenth Indiana District.

—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 14.

Representative Conn and wife will leave tomorrow for home in Elkhart. Mr. Conn will return in a few weeks to deal out the post-offices.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

Representative Conn, of Elkhart, deprecates the Cleveland order forbidding the appointment of country editors to post-office and other positions, and in an interview in this evening's *Star* he says:

"My district is an agricultural district largely. I canvassed it very thoroughly and was brought in contact with the editors of the local rural press. No class of men do more in a campaign to further the interests of their party than do the editors and newspaper men. This is particularly true of the country editor. The circulation of their paper is small, they work very hard and they fight their battles as if the fate of the nation and their own lives depended upon the success of their candidates. They are certainly deserving of reward and should be the very last class of recipients for presidential favor who should be discriminated against."—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 15.

Congressman Conn left this morning for his home at Elkhart, Ind. He will be in Indiana two weeks closing up post-office matters.—*Indianapolis News*, March 15.

Congressman Conn, who left the city, accompanied by his wife, yesterday, goes home for the purpose of settling a number of post-office disputes in his district. He expects to settle up most of the offices and have his recommendations ready in about two weeks, when he will return to Washington.—*Indianapolis News*, March 16.

COLUMBUS.—The post-office war has broken out here in earnest and promises to result in a factional fight that threatens to disrupt the party. At the close of the last campaign Congressman Cooper recommended Capt G. E. Finney, who formerly held the office under Cleveland, for postmaster, over the protest of nearly every democrat here except himself. Delegations of prominent democrats waited upon Mr. Cooper and tried to persuade him to be silent, but he refused to listen to their supplications and claimed he had absolute right to appoint the postmaster, and proposed to exercise that right, regardless of what his constituents might think or say. Now, since Cleveland has ruled out the old office-holders, the fight has been

renewed, and last night one hundred representative democrats met, and speeches were made denouncing Congressman Cooper in the most violent language as a dictator and usurper of power that by right belongs to his constituents. The result was the appointment of a committee to wait upon Mr. Cooper and demand of him that he "shall appoint" whom the democrats select, in such manner as they determine on. Cooper was specially invited to attend the meeting, but he left the city, it is said, to avoid being present.—*Indianapolis News*, March 14.

Congressman George W. Cooper was in the city an hour yesterday afternoon, en route home from the national capital.

"What do the office-seekers think of President Cleveland's policy concerning those who held positions under his former administration?" Mr. Cooper was asked.

"Well, it has caused a great many heart-burnings and disappointments. I have no objections to the rule if he applies it to the republicans who are now holding office, but if he does not I can see serious reasons why such a policy should not be pursued. I don't believe the fact of a man once having held office should disqualify him from holding again if he has performed his work in a satisfactory manner." Congressman Cooper says it is the President's policy to only appoint such men to office who will give their whole time to the duties of their respective places. This he believes will not work very successfully, and it is doubtful if it can be carried out at all. He thinks John W. Kern is sure of the district attorneyship, and looks for his nomination during the coming week. "Senator Voorhees," said he, "is making no fight on Kern, but is simply carrying out pledges made to the friends of Frank Burke."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 13.

Congressman Taylor, of the first district, has been wrestling with Washington malaria. In consequence of his illness, Mr. Taylor has not had an opportunity to give close attention to the interesting array of office-seekers that is here from his section, and consequently will be detained in Washington for some time yet. Mr. Hammond will be here about the first of May, and the others will probably come about the same time, for then, it is expected, the administration will be prepared to take up and deal with the small offices. *Congressman Hammond said to-day that he had not settled any of the large post-offices in his district yet, but would do so during his stay at home.* He has had quite a number of applications for consulships and other places as bureau chiefs, etc., which he will file with the President before he leaves. One of the strongest applications which he will file is that of ex-Congressman Patton, who is a candidate for superintendent of immigration, which office was vacated by Mr. Owen, of Indiana, a resident of Mr. Hammond's district. Congressman Patton has the indorsement of all the Indiana and Kentucky delegations and has nearly all the representa-

tives on the democratic side of the last house.—*Indianapolis News*, March 17.

Representative Bynum is still at the wheel, trying to turn out an office or two for his constituents, but he expects to get away when the decks are cleared. Jason Brown, Mr. Taylor and the other representatives here from Indiana are all anxious to go home.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 18.

Among the callers upon President Cleveland this morning were several Hoosiers, besides the two senators and Governor Matthews. Representative Martin brought an uncommon name when he presented that of Jerome Herff, of Peru, as a candidate for the Havana consulship. Congressman Bynum introduced S. W. Ralston, of Lebanon, who wants to be appointed collector of internal revenue for the seventh district. Mr. Brookshire was also at the White House. The name of Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, was presented for collector of internal revenue by some of the Indianians.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 18.

Congressman Taylor has filed the application of Dr. George W. Buckner, of Evansville, for recorder of the land office. He is a colored man.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 18.

Representative Pendleton, of West Virginia, was one of the early callers. He urged that Frank H. Jepson of his state be appointed United States treasurer. He also discussed for a few minutes the policy of allowing office-holders appointed by President Harrison to serve out their terms.

Representative Kilgore, of Texas, who has called daily at the White House, was there again to-day. He introduced Judge Robert McCart, of Texas, who would like to be appointed minister to Belgium.—*New York Times*, March 11.

* * *

Representative Entoe, of Tennessee, introduced R. H. Coe of his state, who is a candidate for United States marshal for the western district of that state.

Senator Lindsay, of Kentucky, with Representative Montgomery, presented the name of Gen. Richardson of that state for marshal, and Judge Severs for collector of internal revenue for the second Kentucky district.

Senator Palmer, of Illinois, came next, and he had a candidate for marshal for the southern district of Illinois. He recommended Capt. Brinton for that position.

Representative Oates, of Alabama, presented the name of Hannis Taylor, of Mobile, for the Spanish mission.

Representative Bynum was with the President long enough to say a good word for John Kern, of Indianapolis, who would like to be district attorney for that district.

Senators Proctor, Voorhees and West, George R. Tingle, and Representative Onthwaite, of Ohio, made brief calls. Mr. Onthwaite brought Thomas Wetzler, of Lancaster, editor of the *Eagle*, who wants to be public printer.—*New York Times*, March 11.

* * *

"This must be Kentucky Derby day," remarked Congressman Caruth this morning, as he walked into the President's anteroom and saw three Kentucky congressmen with thirteen friends, who are in the race for office, awaiting their turn. "That being the case," he continued, "I guess I'll make a few entries myself. Here's my friend, W. R. Kinney, whom I'll back for collector of the fifth internal revenue district. He's a good goer, too." Mr. Caruth also filed the papers of Caleb Dorsey for United States marshal of his district in New York.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 14.

* * *

The report that Mr. Cleveland had told congressmen that he did not intend to appoint newspaper

men to office for the reason, among others, that he might be accused of subsidizing the press, does not hold good. *Congressmen Dockery, De Armond, Cobb, Burns, and Morgan, of Missouri*, called on the President to-day for the express purpose of ascertaining the truth about the "no journalist need apply" rule.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 14.

* * *

Representative Kilgore and Bailey, of Texas, were among the early callers. They came to present the name of C. B. Stewart, of Gainesville, Tex., for appointment as judge of the Muskogee (I. T.) court.

"Will you request a federal appointment?" Mr. Kilgore was asked.

"Not much," he replied. "I am coming back to congress to raise Cain."

Representative Springer, of Illinois, presented the name of Edgar Morrison, of Morrisonville, cousin to William R. Morrison, with an application for appointment as consul to Kanugawa, Japan.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

* * *

The Brooklyn contingent is not going to be satisfied with a small share of customs service patronage. *Hugh McLaughlin wants both the appraiser and surveyor. He is said to care very little about the naval office, but he does want the other places.*—*New York Times*, March 15.

* * *

Senator Irby (S. C.) with Judge Earle, ex-attorney general of South Carolina, who wants the district attorneyship for his state, visited President Cleveland to-day.

Representative Mercedith (Va.) introduced a candidate for the Lyons consulate—George S. Shackelford, of Orange, Va.

J. A. Manson, of Memphis, and E. P. Bond came with Representative Patterson (Penn.). Mr. Manson is a candidate for the United States marshalship of the western district of his state, and Mr. Bond wants to be internal revenue collector for its middle and western districts.—*Buffalo Express*, March 16.

The Mississippi senators are conceded by the representatives from that state the right to suggest and insist upon the appointments to some of the offices in Mississippi. To keep all disputes concerning the offices allotted to the senators from coming to the President, the senators to-day had a conference, and agreed upon certain nominations which shall be recommended and urged by both senators.

The Alabama senators and representatives have decided to meet at the capital March 28 and "consider fairly, fully and carefully all applications that have heretofore been or may up to that day be submitted to us for such joint recommendation, together with all papers filed in support of each such application, and shall act upon the same."—*New York Times*, March 14.

* * *

"The men who went to Washington after offices do not move out very rapidly, in spite of the hints which have come from the White House," J. J. Richardson, member of the national democratic committee from Iowa, said to a *New York Times* reporter at the Fifth Avenue Hotel yesterday. Mr. Richardson has been in Washington ever since the inauguration, and has called on the President several times. He made several recommendations for federal offices in his state.—*New York Times*, March 15.

* * *

Although Pennsylvania and New York candidates are scarce, this does not apply to the northwestern corner of the Keystone State. The democrats of that section want office, and they are not afraid to ask for it either, and their representative, Mr. Sibley, is hustling with all his might to gather in as many loaves and fishes as possible before the other Keystone democrats awake to the situation.—*Buffalo Express*, March 15.

* * *

Speaker Crisp, who is a daily visitor, appeared about 11 o'clock with Mr. J. W. Walters, of Albany, Ga., who wants to be district attorney for the southern district of Georgia.

Mr. Edgar Morrison, of Illinois, called at the White House to-day with *Representative Springer*. Mr. Morrison is a cousin of the Hon. William R. Morrison, who is now asking the appointment and would like to be consul to Kanagawa, Japan.

Mr. Harry Hawkins, of Duluth, Minn., who desires to be governor of Alaska, was presented to the President this morning by *Representative Baldwin* of Minnesota.—*New York Times*, March 12.

* * *

Speaker Crisp was another of the early birds. He escorted Col. Blackburn, of Atlanta, who desires a foreign mission; Mr. Lindsey Johnson, of Rome, who would like to go abroad as consul, and Mr. T. W. Rucker, who wants to be the district attorney for the northern district of Georgia.

Senator George, of Mississippi, introduced to Mr. Cleveland Major Dockery of his state, who wants to represent the United States at Rio de Janeiro, and Col. Gordon, who is after the consulship at Hongkong. Lieut. Gov. Evans, of Mississippi, was also presented.

Senator Martin, of Kansas, came with Charles H. T. Taylor, the colored Kansan, who desires to succeed Mr. Bruce as recorder of deeds. Mr. Taylor left his papers with the President.

Representatives Dockery, Morgan, Burns, Cobb and Dearmond of Mississippi sought an interview with Mr. Cleveland in order to ascertain whether it was true that their editorial constituents need not hope for any appointments. Mr. Cleveland assured them that the report to the effect that newspaper editors would not receive any consideration at the hands of the administration was incorrect, and he could not imagine how it gained currency. So far as he was concerned, he said, newspaper men would be treated just as considerately as any class of citizens who might desire to serve the government. This information put the Missouri delegation in a very good humor.

The presence of *Representative Wilson*, of West Virginia, in Mr. Cleveland's office this morning was said by the gossips to have a close connection with the movement to make Senator Faulkner of West Virginia, chief justice of the new district court of appeals.—*New York Times*, March 14.

* * *

When the President passed into the public hallway, after his conference with the bishops, on his way to his office, he was waylaid by several congressmen and stood for a time in the hallway talking to them.—*New York Times*, March 16.

* * *

All the visitors to the President came between 10 and 11 o'clock, and consisted chiefly of senators and representatives, including Senators Berry of Arkansas, Voorhees and Turpie, of Indiana; Vance, of North Carolina; Mills and Coke, of Texas; Carey, of Wyoming; Palmer, of Illinois; Stanford, of California; Gordon, of Georgia; *Representatives Brookshire, of Indiana*; Amerman, of Pennsylvania, with John J. O'Boyle, of Scranton, who wants the postmastership there, and John J. Fahey, sheriff of Lackawanna county, Pennsylvania; *Bynum, of Indiana*; Painter, of Kentucky; Forman, of Illinois; *Martin, of Indiana*; Henderson, of North Carolina; Hicks, of Pennsylvania; Paschal, of Texas, and Henderson, of Iowa.—*Indianapolis News*, March 17.

The Pennsylvania delegation have come to a pretty good understanding among themselves, and, feeling that the situation with them is too serious to admit of their risking any mistakes, have assumed the waiting policy, having armed themselves against Harry as well as they can.

Representative Sibley's mail contains but little else than letters about the post-offices in his Pennsylvania district. The applicants began work on the day after the election in November and have kept it up ever since. For every presidential office in his district there are from five to eleven, and in one or two instances thirteen candidates. And the contest for the small fourth-class offices is nearly as brisk. For the Erie post-office there are said to be seven candidates.—*Buffalo Express*, March 15.

Whenever the Minnesota men can agree upon a method of procedure there are many men whose claims will be presented. Some have filed applications with the President to-day. Ex-Representative W. H. Harris wants to go to Alaska as governor, and he has some backing among democrats of his state. If he can not have that place his friends say he will be urged as collector of internal revenue for the Minnesota district.—*New York Times*, March 9.

* * *

It will be a week or more before the democrats of New Jersey will be ready to make an organized effort to secure the offices which they think should be bestowed upon them. They would have been clamoring at the White House before now but for the advice of several of the congressional delegation to the effect that from a well-organized plan of action much better results might be expected. In deference to this opinion the eager Jersey men are restraining themselves, and arrangements are making for a meeting of the New Jersey senators and democratic representatives to be held next week for the purpose of deciding upon the policy to be followed in besieging Mr. Cleveland.

So far, each of the New Jersey democrats in congress has received about 200 applications for post-offices from his constituents, and there is no sign that the deluge will cease at once. The question of post-office will probably be settled outside of the general patronage conference. Each senator and democratic representative will do his best for the men finally decided upon. From present indications there will be plenty of work to be disposed of at the conference. Candidates for internal revenue collectors, ministers, and consuls have already sent their names to members of the delegation, and they will be on hand when the time comes to decide upon the prize winners. Afterward the tug of war will come at this end of the line.—*New York Times*, Mar. 9.

* * *

The business of handling the office-seeker is being systematized, at least by one of the Texas senators. He is keeping a list of all the applications sent to him by his constituents, and his crop of 1893 promises to be an abundant one. So far he has received and placed on file 500 communications asking government jobs for as many men.—*New York Times*, March 8.

* * *

New Jersey's share of federal patronage is to be distributed decently and in order. In about a week the democrats of the state's delegation in congress will get together for a conference to settle the various questions arising in the distribution of offices, and such fighting as has to be done is to be settled by the delegation. In the conference the two democratic senators will take the places of the two republican members of the house. It is likely that to the senators will be left the settling of questions concerning appointments which have to be confirmed by the senate, while the congressmen will look after the others. Where the meeting will be held is in doubt, but the chances are very good that the Jersey men will get together in New York City.—*New York Times*, March 8.

* * *

Senator Palmer, of Illinois, called on the President this afternoon and presented the name of Judge Browning of Illinois for the position of commissioner of the general land office.

Ex-Representative Rogers, of Arkansas, is backed by some of the congressional delegation from that state for the office of solicitor general. His name has been presented to President Cleveland for that place. Senator Jones of that state called on the President this afternoon, and the appointment of Mr. Rogers was said to be one of the topics of conversation.—*New York Times*, March 8.

* * *

A Virginia delegation, consisting of *Senator Hunton* and *Representatives Wise* and Meredith, presented to the President the name of Judge John Goode, of Virginia, for the solicitor-generalship.

Senator Lindsay, of Kentucky, came with C. T. Allen, of his state, and asked Mr. Cleveland to ap-

point the latter an assistant postmaster-general. Mr. Wheeler and Mr. McKenzie want foreign missions and Mr. Watts would like to be a consul at one of the British ports. Their claims are being pressed by *Congressman Wittiam J. Stone*, who called on the President this morning. Chief Justice Bennett, of Kentucky, who came with Congressman Stone, merely paid his respects to Mr. Cleveland. Judge Bennett's claims will probably be pressed for the circuit judgeship left vacant by the promotion of Judge Jackson to the supreme bench.

Senator Palmer and *Representatives Newberry* and *Durbin* were ushered into the President's presence with several Illinois applicants for prominent offices behind them. They were ex-Congressman Scott Wike, Mr. Delos Phelps and Gen. R. J. Smith. Mr. Wike is after the position of comptroller of the currency, and Mr. Phelps wants to be a consul to some prominent place. General Smith is after the position of postmaster at Chicago.

Congressman Kilgore, of Texas, had a little talk with the President about the Mexican mission, the position for which he has been indorsed by the Texas legislature. *Congressman Amos J. Cummings* introduced to Mr. Cleveland a delegation representing typographical organizations. They entered a protest against the appointment of C. W. Edwards, of Wilmington, Del., to the office of public printer. A hot fight for the office has already begun.—*Indianapolis News*, March 8.

* * *

Two other visitors came a short time after who attracted some attention. They were *Senator Irby* and *Governor Tillman*, of South Carolina. They were among Mr. Cleveland's most bitter opponents up to the time of his nomination, but since that time have been "placated." Since the election they have been protesting that they admire Mr. Cleveland exceedingly, and they have said with considerable frankness that they believe the Tillman faction of South Carolina should be given a good share of the federal offices which will naturally go to that state.—*New York Times*, March 9.

* * *

Senator Mills, of Texas, was one of the early visitors at the White House, and after he had gone away *Senator Hunton* and *Representatives Wise* and *Meredith* called. They presented the name of John Goode for the position of solicitor general.—*New York Times*, March 9.

* * *

Another applicant for his former position appeared in ex-Minister Buck, of Kentucky, who had the Peruvian mission during the first Cleveland term. With him was *Representative Breckenridge*, of Kentucky.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

* * *

Postmaster-General Bissell has on his desk a "little list" which will cut an important figure for a few months to come. It is a list of 356 congressional districts of the United States, and alongside every district is, or will be, the name of the man who will contest the post-office patronage of that district. The list shows 217 democratic districts, and in each of these the name of the democratic congressman appears as the one who is to advise on offices.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 12.

* * *

Congressman Springer, of Illinois, was one of the earliest callers, and he went away with the knowledge that Mr. Cleveland intended to adhere to his rule about not appointing former office-holders to their old office. As he himself jokingly expressed it: "My worst suspicions were confirmed." This is the second talk Mr. Springer has had with the President on the subject.

Undeterred by the no-reappointment rule, Col. Childs, ex-minister to Siam, asked the President to send him back to the land of the white elephant. He was with *Representative Dockery*, of Missouri, who put in a good word for him.

Congressman Richardson saw the President in behalf of Chief Justice Lerton, of the Tennessee supreme court. Judge Lerton wants to succeed to the circuit court vacancy caused by the promotion of Justice Jackson to the federal supreme bench.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

THE ONSLAUGHT.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrines lately boldly preached in the United States senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals and dangerous to the liberties of the country.—*Democratic platform 1832.*

THE SCENE AT WASHINGTON.

Judge Gresham was feeling well this morning and did not seem to be in the least fatigued from the strain that had been put upon him by the events of two days and the importunities of many place-hunters.—*Indianapolis News, March 6.*

* * *

The steady tramp, tramp of the office-seekers sounded through the White House all day. There was practically no cessation in the line of people who ascended the stairway leading to the President's room, and nearly all who came saw Mr. Cleveland.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 8.*

* * *

If some tents could be pitched in the spacious grounds about the White House and rations be served there, a large crowd of people now in this city would doubtless be very thankful. They would thus be spared the trouble of doing so much walking, as they are now doing, between their hotels and the executive mansion. In effect they have gone into camp before the President's door, and they lay almost continuous siege in an effort to reach the interior rooms where Mr. Cleveland does business. They want offices for themselves or their friends. The crowd is said to be larger than the most sanguine person had anticipated. Delegation after delegation has been admitted to see the President to day, and there has been almost a constant line before the White House doors of those who come alone to present their claims. Much of the President's time has been devoted to these visitors. For the most part, however, the President has been very accessible, and has received his visitors with a degree of good nature and interest in their errands which has been surprising.—*New York Times, March 9.*

* * *

The President was in his office at nine o'clock, and within two hours had exchanged greetings with a dozen senators and as many more members of the house, listened to a dozen or more pleas for appointments, and devoted the remainder of the time to some delegations from different states who wanted to discuss his policy with reference to appointments.

Soon after Senator Hill went away the crowd began to gather and at 10 o'clock the office hunters were there in a throng. As soon as they had gone there came a delegation who wanted to protest against the appointment of ex-Governor Gray, of Indiana, to be minister to Mexico.

A delegation of the Virginia democratic association saw the President. From other states the number of office-seekers is increasing and the siege at the White House and at some of the departments is kept up with a zeal that is exhausting. There are a dozen candidates for some of the fat positions and the claims of some are pressed on all possible occasions.—*New York Times, March 16.*

* * *

Secretary Carlisle has been so overrun with callers since he assumed office that he has not had time to give the subject of changes in the offices his attention. To-day he took possession of a private room in

the treasury department, far removed from his office, where he could work without being constantly interrupted by office-seekers. The location of this room is kept secret. There he has begun work on a pile of applications of office that would have discouraged a less determined man.—*New York Times, March 12.*

* * *

The desire of members of congress and applicants for office to see the papers on file for positions has retarded the work of appointment division so much that Secretary Carlisle has issued an order on the subject.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 11.*

* * *

For an hour and a half prior to the assembling of the cabinet Mr. Cleveland saw a large number of visitors, the greater number composed of office-seekers and their advocates.—*Indianapolis Journal, March 11.*

* * *

To-day the new secretary of the treasury got a taste of the wiles of persistent office-seekers. His room was fairly filled with callers. Mr. Carlisle's mail this morning was so large that it was taken to the appointment room in a great basket. It measured several bushels and nearly all of the letters were applications and indorsements for office. Five additional clerks have been detailed for work in the appointment division to assist in keeping the work up.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 9.*

* * *

The President has been just as busy to-day as he has been every day during the week, and the number of callers ceased only when the word "Closed" was fastened at the main entrance.

It was said at the White House, late this afternoon, that Mr. Cleveland was anything but worn out with his week's work, and that the onslaught of the office hunters had apparently affected him no more than if he had been a rock.

The crowd began to call about 10 o'clock this morning. It included senators, representatives and place hunters in large numbers, and the waiting room was filled to overflowing.—*New York Times, March 12.*

* * *

To-day witnessed but little diminution in the number of callers at the state department.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 12.*

* * *

Despite the inclement weather, there has been a great rush of patronage seekers in the different departments to-day. The ante-room of Mr. Hoke Smith of the interior department was crowded at noon. Soon after 12 o'clock the door opened and Mr. Smith appeared. He seemed to be in good humor, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear upon him since he assumed office.

During the day a large number of politicians from all parts of the West called upon Mr. Smith. Among them were half a dozen senators and a dozen or more representatives, all of whom came on political errands.

Mr. Smith told the correspondent of the *New York Times* that he had not been able to pay much atten-

tion to business since he took charge of the department.

Secretary Morton had a breathing spell to-day and at once began to familiarize himself with the details of the office.—*New York Times, March 12.*

* * *

The thunderbolt which burst over the heads of the patronage-hunters when the President announced that old office-holders would be barred for reappointment momentarily cleared the atmosphere, but only for a moment. It might be thought that this announcement would suspend applications while the old men were falling to the rear and the new ones getting to the front, but no sooner were the old applicants turned down than each senator and representative reached into his inside pocket, where he had a little list of available applications ready to spring upon the President.—*Indianapolis Journal, March 12.*

* * *

When Mr. Cleveland entered his office this morning, ready to take up the work of receiving senators and members of congress with their friends, he found a bigger crowd waiting for him than he has seen on any previous day since his inauguration. Possibly the bright sunshine had something to do with the size of the throng. It is more likely, however, that the rumors circulated within the past twenty-four hours to the effect that Mr. Cleveland did not intend to make the barrier against the office-seekers quite so heavy as had been at first intimated had much to do with the outpouring.—*New York Times, March 12.*

* * *

The calling at the White House was renewed this morning with about the same vigor that it was continued last week, but it did not last so long, the rush being over at one o'clock, leaving the President some time in which to consider business that required quiet for the attention that it demanded.

An object lesson in office-seeking is daily presented to every visitor to the Metropolitan and National hotels. These are the houses most popular with southerners, and at present they are full to overflowing. Democrats from all parts of the south crowd their corridors, the majority of them clad in black and wearing the inevitable black wool hat with expansive brim.—*New York Times, March 14.*

* * *

To-day closed a busy week for President Cleveland, and the last day was marked by as much activity and bustle among those seeking office as the first or any of the intermediate days.

Secretary Hoke Smith does not, however, reach his office a moment too early to suit the crowd of office-seekers, many of whom he finds when he arrives, waiting around the doors of the department until the hour of nine o'clock arrives, when they are admitted to the building.

At the post-office department there was the usual crowd waiting to see Postmaster-general Bissell, and the President's announced determination to permit all efficient postmasters to serve out their four years' term has produced a depressing effect. But many of the applicants for places are men of resources and

they try to convince Mr. Bissell that the postmasters in their respective towns are anything but efficient and richly deserve dismissal in case they refuse to resign forthwith.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

* * *

The crowd at the White House has become so objectionable, from the standpoint of the man who thinks business ought not to be interfered with, that a set of rules for the government of the official portion of the mansion has been formulated.

This is the text of the rules:

The cabinet will meet Tuesdays and Fridays at 11 A. M. Monday will be reserved by the President for the transaction of public business requiring his uninterrupted attention.

The President will receive senators and representatives in congress from 10 to 12 o'clock on other days, except cabinet days, when he will receive them from 10 to 11 o'clock.

Persons not senators and representatives having business with the President will be received from 12 to 1 o'clock every day except Mondays and cabinet days.

Those having no business, but who desire merely to pay their respects, will be received by the President in the east room, at 1 o'clock P. M. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The President intends to devote the hours designated for the reception of senators and representatives exclusively to that purpose, and he requests their cooperation in avoiding encroachments upon the time set apart to their business.—*New York Times*, March 15.

* * *

To all his political visitors Mr. Bissell said that the matters to which they had directed his attention would be considered in due time, and that he did not intend to rush things. Fourteen clerks have been detailed for duty in the office of the fourth assistant postmaster general in anticipation of the arrival of Mr. Maxwell. When the latter is confirmed and assumes the duties of his new position he will find several thousand applications for postmasters' places stacked upon his desk, and it will be his task to consider them in their order. The applications are coming at the rate of about a thousand a day now, and they are being acknowledged and filed for future action.—*New York Times*, March 14.

* * *

The second week of this reform administration opened with fully as large a crowd of office-seekers pulling and hauling as was here on inauguration day. But many of the old faces were missing. The Old Guard, the term applied to former office holders, had many of them gone to their homes, but the vacancies thus created were speedily filled by new arrivals. The consequence was that it was a large audience which awaited President Cleveland when he began the work of receiving senators and representatives with their friends this morning.—*Buffalo Express*, March 14.

* * *

There is a big book in the office of the chief of the appointment bureau of the treasury which is in great demand these days. It contains the names of all the democrats who have thus far asked for offices in the treasury under the new administration, and, after examining it, one is apt to ask himself whether there are any democrats in the country who are not office-seekers. Every state in the union is represented in this huge volume, and thousands of names have already been inscribed upon it. One of the employees of the office has been assigned to the duty of recording the names as fast as they are received, and he is kept almost constantly busy.—*New York Times*, March 15.

* * *

Up till noon there was a steady stream of visitors and cards fell like a steady snowstorm. Early in the day there were a number of senators who called to see the President and they were fortunate in that they were able to reach the ear of the chief executive at once. They were the envied of all the less fortunate mortals who were compelled to cool their heels in the ante-rooms, and who were fortunate if, after waiting all the forenoon, they were able to get as far as the private secretary's room. Among the visitors were Senators Mitchell of Wisconsin, Jones of Arkansas, Camden of West Virginia, Palmer of Illinois, Turpie of Indiana, Dolph of Oregon, White of Louisiana, Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Mc-

Millan of Michigan, George of Mississippi and Gordon of Georgia; Representatives Wilson of West Virginia, Enloe of Tennessee, Paschal of Texas, Black of Georgia, Forman and Cable of Illinois, Washington of Tennessee. Representatives Wheeler, of Alabama, and Washington, of Tennessee, accompanied Col. Ed Baxter, of Nashville, president of the Tennessee state bar association, and Joseph L. B. McFarland, of Memphis, who presented additional papers urging the appointment of Judge Lerton to the circuit judgeship made vacant by the promotion of Judge Jackson to the supreme bench. Senator Palmer brought Judge Southworth, of Litchfield, Ill., and William McCabe, of Chicago, who want to be an auditor of the treasury department and public printer respectively. Representative Onthwaite, of Ohio, presented additional papers indorsing Thomas Werts for the public printership.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 17.

* * *

"You are very much in the minority," said Mr. Cleveland this morning when Representative Honk of Ohio called with a friend and announced that neither of the men were looking for office. The majority were represented in undiminished force this morning, and Mr. Cleveland was very busily occupied until lunch time.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 16.

* * *

So many office-seekers, mostly from Indiana, appeared in the corridors of the capitol to-day that when a recess of the senate was taken, shortly after 12 till 3 o'clock, the doors leading to the floor of the chamber were kept closed "under executive orders." Thus the senators had a rest free from callers. When the doors of the senate are closed in executive session a senator can not be communicated with by any one on the outside.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 16.

* * *

The visitors at the White House began coming somewhat earlier than usual to-day, and the larger number of them consisted of congressmen.—*Buffalo Express*, March 17.

* * *

As soon as the body had adjourned the army of officers who have been thronging the corridors for days past found entrance and opportunity to see their senators, and all found their way to the democratic side of the chamber, with the result that nearly every senator seated there was soon surrounded by a group of wistful-eyed men, or was obliged, in self-defense, to flee to the retiring rooms of the committee rooms.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 17.

* * *

Office-seekers swarmed about the senate wing of the capitol to-day and made life miserable for the senators who ventured into the corridors. After the adjournment the doors were not opened to the public for a full half hour, in order to enable as many of the senators as desired to make their escape from the horde of place-hunters. Some of them availed themselves of this opportunity, while others remained and braved the storm. The sight of a senator importuned by a dozen or more men, with petitions in their hands and determined looks on their faces, is enough to impress the observer.—*New York Times*, March 17.

* * *

Postmaster-General Bissell naturally is anxious to have Mr. Maxwell confirmed as speedily as possible in order that he may relieve him of some of the pressure now centered against his department. The strain has been awful, but so far Mr. Bissell has seemed not to mind it, although it is apparent that he is anxious to shift the load of office-seekers upon Mr. Maxwell's shoulders in order that he may have the time to give his attention to the work of the department.

When the *Express* correspondent called upon him to-day, Mr. Bissell said: "I really have not a line of news. All of my time has been taken up by the office seekers and their friends. If you want to give the people of Buffalo some idea of this rush for office, tell them that I have been compelled to detail forty clerks from other divisions to help out the large force of clerks in the appointment division in briefing and filing the applications. I have not had time to consider whom I desire for my assistants."—*Buffalo Express*, March 17.

"GOOD POLITICS."

Ex-Governor Gray is the subject of considerable political speculation this morning. If not here now, he will show up soon. His chances for securing the Mexican mission are variously estimated, but it is impossible to predict how he will come out, in view of the rivalry for that office. The towering form of the Hon. J. G. Shanklin was seen about the rotunda of Willards to-day. He is the object of considerable interest to the Indiana politicians, and his recommendations are being sought with much eagerness. He will remain here several weeks.—*Indianapolis News*, March 6.

* * *

About 10 o'clock Secretary Gresham received a call from Senators Voorhees and Turpie, who remained with him nearly an hour. They were alone with the new secretary of state, and while they declined to discuss their visit, it is certain that their call was for the purpose of urging the appointment of ex-Governor Gray, of Indiana, as minister to Mexico.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 6.

* * *

Ex-Governor Gray and Hon. W. A. Cullop left last evening for Washington city over the Pennsylvania road.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 7.

* * *

Ex-Governor Isaac P. Gray has his reward. He will be appointed minister to Mexico. It is stated on good authority that the appointment will be made at once. Official announcement of his appointment is likely to be given out from the White House at any time. Ex-Governor Gray spent last evening at the White House. Nearly all the prominent Hoosier democrats in the city called on him at his hotel yesterday afternoon and last night. This morning he appeared in the rotunda of the Ebbitt House, dressed in black broadcloth, with decollete vest, and a huge diamond stud that looked decidedly diplomatic. Mr. Gray came to Washington in response to a telegram from Senator Voorhees.

At the last moment the local influences that have always opposed the ex governor made a final stand against his nomination as minister to Mexico. They were willing to concede him the Chinese mission, but Governor Gray stated positively and unequivocally that he would not accept the appointment to the Celestial empire. He had back of him, for the Mexican mission, the influence of the Indiana senators, most of the congressmen and many influential men from other states. Finally Mr. Gray's political enemies gave up the fight.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 8, 1893.

* * *

Gray, it may be added, has only the support of Senators Voorhees and Turpie in his aspirations. Representative Bynum openly opposes him. Of course John Gil Shanklin and Editor Morss and their friends will not encourage Isaac's preferment. The most serious part of the Gray situation is found in the fact that Mr. Shanklin stands infinitely higher with the President and Secretary Gresham than Gray does, and Mr. Shanklin is to be given a place himself. Both can not be given first class missions. Indiana democrats declare it would be shameful to give Gray the higher place, and the friends of Mr. Shanklin say he would not accept an office lower in rank or less remunerative than is given Gray.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 8.

* * *

Gray's nomination as minister to Mexico has been made out, and it will be sent to the senate to-morrow. This announcement was made by ex-Congressman Courtland C. Matson as he emerged from the state department this morning, after a conference with Secretary Gresham. Senator Voorhees saw the President again this morning, and this evening stated in most positive terms that Mr. Gray's appointment as minister to Mexico was a certainty, and that the President had assured him that it would be sent to the senate without delay, probably to-morrow. Of course the selection of Gray for a first-class mission, and especially the one of his first choice, is a hard slap at the Shanklin-Bynum combination, and it is a victory for the Voorhees-Turpie crowd.

Indiana's two senators have stood faithfully by Mr. Gray. They have made his appointment to Mexico the first requisite to their friendship for the administration, but ex-Governor Gray has not been idle. He has been looking out for No. 1. When, some time ago, he dispatched to Lakewood Hugh Dougherty, of Bluffton, and James Murdock, of La Fayette, his personal friends, to ascertain direct from Mr. Cleveland what it was intended the democratic ex-governor of Indiana should get in the way of an office, Mr. Gray showed an acumen which should recommend him to his party as a practical politician. He did not intend to take anybody's word for it, but was determined to learn for himself what the incoming President intended doing for him. "I shall take early occasion," Mr. Cleveland is reported to have said to Mr. Gray's emissaries, "to tender Mr. Gray a place which will be commensurate with his ability, and I hope satisfactory to him and his friends." This Mr. Cleveland said after the Mexican mission had been mentioned, and he said it in a way which led Messrs. Dougherty and Murdock to report to Mr. Gray that the mission was his own.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 9.

It has come to light that the nomination of Isaac P. Gray as United States minister to Mexico was practically agreed upon in this city. The night of Governor Matthews's inaugural ball a secret meeting was held, in a law office here, of prominent democrats from all parts of the state. At that time Gray was considered a cabinet possibility, and there was much opposition to him, and the feeling among some was that Gray should not be recognized at all, and especially should not go into the cabinet. John G. Shanklin took an active part in the meeting, and urged that in the interest of "good politics," Gray should get something. "If he does not," said Mr. Shanklin, "he will be the man about whom all the disappointed democrats in Indiana will rally, and in two years he will have the most powerful following in the state." Mr. Shanklin urged that Gray be sent out of the country so far that he would not be in touch with the Indiana democrats. John P. Frenzel was opposed to any recognition for Gray, but finally agreed with Mr. Shanklin that it would be "good politics" to have Gray recognized and send him across the sea. While the subject was under discussion S. E. Morss came in. He was in evening dress and did not remain more than ten minutes. Mr. Morss when asked for his opinion replied that his name was pending for an appointment and he did not think it proper for him to take any stand, but personally, he said, he was in favor of Mr. Gray being recognized. The Mexican mission was mentioned and Mr. Shanklin opposed it. He thought that would keep Gray too near home. It was finally decided to urge him for the Chinese mission. This knowledge of meeting came to the ears of Gray's friends, and James Murdock, of La Fayette, and Hugh Dougherty, of Bluffton, hurried on to New York and saw Mr. Cleveland, and from him received the understanding that Mr. Gray would be appointed minister to Mexico if he desired. Gray was communicated with and said he would take the place, and it has been given to him. Had the meeting mentioned not been satisfied that Gray would not be appointed to a cabinet place, a strong fight would have been made against him. Now it is said that Gray's friends will "remember" some of the men in that meeting when they come up for office.

Many democrats who have been opposed to Gray do not like to put themselves in print as approving the appointment, though they profess themselves to be pleased over the situation. They are glad that Gray is to be sent abroad. They would have preferred the Chinese mission, or something even farther away, but Mexico will suffice. They did not want Gray to stand in the attitude of a martyr to gather about him all the disappointed office-seekers and make trouble, as they say he undoubtedly would do had he not received substantial recognition. Some of his friends and some of his enemies wanted him sent to Russia. Others would have preferred Siberia. The Russian mission, however, was considered out of the question, as all the countries represented in

St. Petersburg send their most skillful diplomats, and Mr. Gray's knowledge of diplomacy is not considered great.—*Indianapolis News*, March 9.

The first list of appointments sent to the senate by President Cleveland to-day fulfilled two predictions that have been made in the dispatches to *The News* and will probably prove a double disappointment to the Cleveland wing of the Hoosier democracy. In the first place, ex-Governor Gray's appointment as minister to Mexico was the severest blow of all. But Mr. Shanklin went down fighting bravely. Two hours before the nomination of Gray was sent to the senate, Shanklin, accompanied by Maurice Donnelly and Captain Baker, of Indianapolis, called at the White House and entered a solemn protest against Gray's appointment as minister to Mexico, on behalf of the Cleveland wing of the Indiana democracy. Mr. Shanklin stated to a reporter on leaving the White House that the appointment of Gray was a disappointment to the Cleveland men in Indiana and would be generally regretted by them. He was willing that Gray might be sent to China or some other mission, but objected to his being given the Mexican mission because he felt that it would lessen the chances of recognition of other Indiana democrats. When the rumor got abroad on the street yesterday afternoon that Gray's nomination would be sent in to-day, Shanklin hurried over to the White House and asked Private Secretary Thurber if he might be permitted to see Mr. Cleveland. Being informed that the President was very busy, Mr. Shanklin said he would call this morning, as he did.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 9.

The chief interest to the Indiana office-seekers in to-day's developments at the capital was in the nomination of ex-Governor Gray to be minister to Mexico. The selection was received with much favor by the office-seekers, most of whom have been long-time adherents of the ex-governor and who seem to think that he will have sufficient influence with the administration to land them in soft berths.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 10.

"Gil" Shanklin left for New York this morning, and it is reported he will not return to Washington. Ex-Governor Gray left his hotel this morning and went to the house of a relative. He will return to Indiana Saturday night. His indorsement is being solicited on every hand by the Indiana office-seekers. The ex-governor spends much time in the company of Senator Voorhes, and the two seem to be shaping affairs for Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 10.

"I regard the Mexican mission as the most desirable for a man of my temperament," said Mr. Gray to the *Journal* correspondent, "and it was my first choice. I would rather have the place than a cabinet office. I can make frequent trips home, and the climate is pleasant and the country most beautiful."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 10.

The Indiana democrats who led the "ninety per cents" at the Chicago convention, and, as they believe, made the nomination of Cleveland possible, do not attempt to hide their disappointment at the turn Indiana democratic politics has taken. To use the expression of them: "We are wondering where we are at." They say they have not lost faith in President Cleveland, but they believe it was impolitic for him to recognize the "ten per cents" or the Gray wing of the party, so soon after his inauguration. When J. G. Shanklin came here fresh from a visit to the President-elect, he was besieged by place-hunting democrats as long as he remained in the city. It was taken for granted that he was nearer the President than any other man from Indiana. No one then thought of going to Isaac P. Gray for a recommendation under the new President. It was frequently reported from apparently reliable sources that the President would appoint Gray to the Mexican mission, but the original Cleveland men refused to believe the story. As a result of the appointment, Indiana democrats who are seeking the smaller offices do not know which wing of the party should be asked to recommend them. They are asking

themselves these questions: Is the Gray-Matthews wing the one to which the President intends to listen? or, is it the idea of the President to get Gray out of the way and then allow Gil Shanklin and the other members of the party who were for Cleveland "first, last and all the time" to control the patronage.—*Indianapolis News*, March 10.

The *Post* this morning prints an interview with editor J. G. Shanklin, of the *Evansville Courier*, on the appointment of ex-Governor Gray as minister to Mexico, in which Mr. Shanklin relates the following incident of the ante-convention campaign of Indiana: "The personal relations of Governor Gray and myself were pleasant up to a time that is now something more than a year ago. I telegraphed him to meet me in Indianapolis and took the train from Evansville. In order to have a witness to our meeting, I also telegraphed Mr. Taggart, chairman of the state democratic committee. Mr. Taggart, however, did not reach the hotel until after the talk had ended. The purpose of my visit was to secure Mr. Gray's support of Mr. Cleveland, and thereby place him (Gray) upon the national ticket as the vice-presidential nominee. He flatly refused, saying that he did not want the vice-presidency, and that the man who stood, or could stand, between him and the nomination for the highest office within the gift of the nation was David B. Hill, of New York. I laughed, telling him that Indiana would be glad to see him the Vice-President just as I would be glad to see him, but that 90 per cent. of its democracy were in favor of Mr. Cleveland against anybody. He said that Grover Cleveland's name would not be mentioned in the convention, save in the casual manner I said it would; that not only would its wearer be mentioned, but that he would be nominated and elected.

"Gil Shanklin," he declared, "you think that you are a politician. I am a politician—that is my business—and I am willing to put my judgment against yours."

"It is very true, Governor," I answered, "that I am merely a newspaper man, but I tell you that the presidency is utterly out of your reach."

"Subsequently, I went down into Orange county and made a speech to its convention. Its delegates to the state convention were instructed for Mr. Cleveland; Gray has not forgiven me. We do not speak when we pass by, which is not very often."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 10.

The fact is not concealed among leading politicians here that Governor Gray's appointment was to discharge an obligation made at the Chicago convention, by which he withdrew at an opportune time for Mr. Cleveland. It is understood that Mr. Whitney and Governor Francis, of Missouri, and other managers of the Cleveland boom, gave Gray's friends to understand that the latter would be given a cabinet place, although the position was not definitely agreed upon. The announcement made by Governor Gray's friends from Indianapolis, even before election, that in the event of Mr. Cleveland's success the ex-governor would be made postmaster-general, was doubtless founded on the deal at Chicago, and the expressed choice of ex-Governor Gray. When Mr. Cleveland found it impossible to confer a cabinet place on Indiana's ex-governor he did the next best thing and gave him the choice foreign mission. While Mr. Shanklin lost in his fight on Indiana's ex-governor, he has not, according to the general belief, injured his own prospects for abundant recognition at the proper time. Mr. Shanklin has said that he was a candidate for no office, and never asked Mr. Cleveland for anything, but when some of his friends had consulted him on the subject he had told them that there was only one position he would care to have, and that was consul-general to London. One reason assigned for President Cleveland's persistence in appointing Mr. Gray over the protest of Mr. Shanklin and other representatives of the Cleveland democracy is a respect for the pledge made by Mr. Whitney and Governor Francis. It is said that Mr. Whitney felt very much disappointed that President Cleveland did not confer a cabinet place on Mr. Gray.—*Indianapolis News*, March 11.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoils, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. II, No. 2.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1893.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefit already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed, or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods.—*President's Inaugural.*

THE eye of the world still remains upon Mr. Gladstone. Night after night, he stands forth for the right of local self-government, and behind, and in support of him, watching every movement of the contest, and with every faculty enlisted, stand a majority of the British people, moved alone by the justice of the cause. He is a true leader of the people. He commands the admiration and approval of all nations. He is adding a crown of glory to a great career.

The eye of the world also still remains upon our American President. He too is occupied to the utmost point of endurance. Let any man read how, and then tell the American nation where it can turn to hide its shame and humiliation :

Senator Voorhees gathered together this morning all the Indiana candidates for consular positions still in the city and took them to the President in a body. They were Jerome Herff of Peru, who wants the Havana consulate; Editor Jennings of the *Salem Democrat*, who would like to go to Hamburg or some other place in Germany; Dr. Chitwood of Connersville for Berlin, or some other place equally as good; Con Cunningham of Crawfordsville, for Belfast; Dick Johnson of Johnson county, for a Canadian or South American port, and last but not least, that rising statesman from the Kankakee regions, George D. Glazebrook of Starke county, who thinks Buenos Ayres about a place suitable for his talents. Mr. Herff was introduced first. The President remembered meeting him and told him frankly that no change would be made at Havana for the present. He told him he could have something equally as good. Congressman Martin was also present to urge his appointment, and the President requested Mr. Martin to leave a list of six places that Herff

would accept, which was promptly done, and Herff's friends feel confident that his name will be sent to the senate this week. It may be sent to-morrow. Senator Voorhees says there is no doubt of Herff's appointment.

The President catechised Cunningham about his business and nativity. Con said he was born forty miles from Belfast.

"Suppose that I find another good democrat for the place, what will you take then?" asked the President.

"Take the next best thing," replied Con with a profound bow, then gave way to Glazebrook, who bowed, too—not quite so low, however, as Con. "Many good democrats want the same place," said the President. "Yes, Mr. President," replied Glazebrook, and said no more. Jennings simply shook hands with the President, remarking that he was happy to meet him. Johnson and Chilwood had met the President before. The net result of this interview is that Herff will be appointed to an office worth about \$5,000.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, April 6.*

This was the most fatiguing day the President has had since his inauguration, and he was completely tired out after three hours and a half talk with senators, representatives and office-seekers.

"Did any of them get away?" asked the President when Senator Palmer entered his office at the head of a delegation of about twenty.

"I think not, sir; there appears to be a quorum present," answered Senator Palmer, gravely, as he ran his eye over the group.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 30.*

A WASHINGTON dispatch to the *Indianapolis News*, April 6, says :

Congressman Martin made a clean sweep of the pension medical boards in his district yesterday. All the republican examiners were replaced with democrats, as follows: Wabash, Drs. Hale, Kidd and Barnet; Bluffton, Drs. Cook, Harton; Marion, Drs. Shirely, Horn and Barnes; Peru, Drs. Boggs, Passage and Helm; Huntington, Drs. Carson, Sprowl and one to be appointed soon; Portland, Drs. Hale and Dicks, one vacancy to be filled.

No administration with an adequate notion of pension reform would ever permit such use of pension offices for private ends as this. Under Mr. Cleveland's former administration the pension office, so far as Indiana was concerned, was one of the worst political machines that ever existed, and if tools of congressmen are to become pension examiners it will become so again. The only improvement now proposed is to appoint younger physicians. It will prove a worthless remedy. A congressman's tool is a congressman's tool whatever his

age. Here, too, we must call upon the administration to show evidence of greatness. The reform must be from the bottom. The pension examiners must be as independent of congressmen and as free from political control as the army and navy surgeons are. This must apply to all branches of the pension service. Without this freedom from the political whip pension reform will be a failure, no matter how unexceptionable the pension commissioner may be.

THE work of Headsman Maxwell goes grimly on. It is given out that removals are largely for cause. Maxwell is not particular about exact meanings. That congressmen want the changes, is sufficient "cause" for him. It is also said that republicans have learned to resign. This is a lesson peculiar to clean sweeps. In some way the republican postmaster is given to understand that if he resigns his office, his traps will be bought by his successor; but if he refuses to resign, he will be removed and will have to store his traps in his woodshed for want of a purchaser. It is also said that, by order of the President, no fourth-class postmasters will be removed without cause unless they have served four years. Are they to be removed if they have served four years? If so, they will go at the rate of over thirty thousand a year. Does the President mean for the country to understand that, notwithstanding the platform upon which he was elected, and after all his own talk, he means to dismiss sixty thousand fourth-class postmasters to make room for sixty thousand of his own partisans? That is a question he ought to answer plainly. He can stop Headsman Maxwell by a word. He can put him out of office, and put in a man who looks upon office as a public trust, and not as a party snap. He can say to congressmen that when they give him the means and the machinery to appoint fourth-class postmasters upon business principles, he will rid the service of mere politicians. Then he can sit down and wait, and time will do the rest. We say this with entire confidence in Mr. Cleveland's power to destroy the greatest and most wide-spread source of corruption now remaining in the federal service. We urge it with the utmost earnestness, and in the belief that the President and his cabinet want to do what is best for the country.

As soon as Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell was named, we received reliable information concerning him from his neighborhood. He is from a western New York village, and his political ideas are such as grow and fester in the small wards of such a village. His experience away from home was to hold an office under Hill, which in some way he managed to hold until Mr. Cleveland had offices to give out. He is a very small partisan. He will trail his forehead in the dust before congressman, and thank them for the privilege. But he is dragging the administration into the dirt along with himself.

THE information comes from Washington that the administration thinks it should be judged by comparison with Harrison's administration. This is an unconscious admission that it is doing what it ought not to do. The claim that one party is not doing as much wrong as the other did, under the same circumstances, has been made a cover for wrong-doing long enough. The comparison must be made with what the present administration ought to do. To determine that, the platform upon which it went into office, the constitution and the laws, and the oath of office are the standards. Do these standards warrant the setting up of Headsman Maxwell to remove sixty-thousand fourth-class postmasters solely to make room for watch-dogs of congressmen?

It is in one sense a good sign when for any reason officers engaged in making clean sweeps deem it necessary to cover up their work. It shows a realization that they are doing that of which the people would not approve. The attempt to keep from the public the changes in fourth-class post-offices broke down before the day was out. A second "stagger" at secrecy was made in the notice to congressmen not to tell the names of those they recommend. The administration has now put itself in the light of wanting to make a clean sweep if it can catch the people looking the other way. This is all very silly. In other governments, secrecy is the dread instrument of iron-handed despotism; in a republic, it is the hiding place of the ashamed, the resort of the witless and the cover of the sly.

If anything is clear, it is the fact that there is no demand among the people for the carnival of spoil which is rapidly gathering full headway in Washington. On every hand those who have always been the warmest supporters of Mr. Cleveland, are expressing open disapprobation. One says, "Mr. Cleveland is acting very badly." Another says, "Cleveland could stop this postmaster business if he wanted to." Already the effect has been to bring the republican

party into a state of convalescence. What has become of the new party which Mr. Cleveland and Judge Gresham were to build up? No candle ever went out any quicker than that party will go out if the division of spoil is continued. From present prospects it will be the duty of every independent to be more independent than ever and thousands in every state who have not been independent will find it their duty to become so. This will have to go on until both parties are destroyed, and a new one formed, or until one or the other learns that promises made before election will have to be kept after election.

It has been decided that the administration will not prepare a tariff-reform bill, lest congress should be jealous of encroachment upon its rights. Now let the President be equally jealous of congressional encroachment into his field. An amazing encroachment is now being made. There has never been a greater insult offered to the rights, the power, and the dignity of executive government than is now cast upon President Cleveland by congressmen in attempting to force him and his officers to quarter their primary and convention manipulators upon the public treasury. The true parallel to this is to be found in the pretorian guard of Rome and in the janissaries of Constantinople.

THE Springfield *Republican* aptly brushes aside the flimsy excuse attempted to be put forward in the statement that Maxwell in the same time has not removed postmasters so fast as Clarkson did. It says:

"Custom does not make right. If Headsman Clarkson put a stop to the official life of thousands of republican postmasters, that is no reason why Headsman Maxwell should do likewise. If the administration of President Harrison cast off all restraint in this matter, such policy, does not justify President Cleveland in doing the same thing."

And again:

"But the people of the United States are not going to be satisfied with any demonstration that this administration is less a sinner than its predecessor in dealing with the fourth-class postmasters."

The *Republican* also discusses most profitably the senate of the United States with its small items of party plunder. After the "battle was over and the victory won," and it was settled that a number of clerks were to lose their means of support for no cause in the world, the democrats fell to moralizing. The *Republican* thus describes it:

Nor did the democrats rejoice; far from it; they were as glum as the republicans. They acted as though they were ashamed of the job in hand, as well they might be. They professed to be driven to it by stern necessity, and to approach it as Jephtha approached the sacrifice of his daughter, with grief unspeakable. Said Senator Voorhees. "Sometimes after the battle is over and the victory won there are circumstances which are sorrowful in their nature. I, so far as I am concerned, encounter one of those circumstances now in parting from the able, courteous, kind and efficient officers of this body." Senator Blackburn could not trust himself "to speak of the sense of regret with which I contemplate his (Secretary McCook's) retirement from this chamber."

Senator Palmer said that if the proposition had been to change the secretary of the senate violently, "I am not now prepared to say what course I should have been compelled to pursue." Even Mr. Gorman, avowed spoilsman as he is, voiced the same note of regret that stern necessity compelled the removal of a set of officers who were competent, efficient and faithful, and who, he declared, had conducted the affairs of the senate as well as they have ever been conducted during the forty years he has known the senate.

AN interview with District Attorney Burke, in the Indianapolis *Journal* of March 28, runs as follows:

"The civil service reformers have a grievance with you," was suggested.

"Yes; they wanted a bill passed which gave the state board of charities power to select the employees of the state institutions. I was opposed to that because I believed that Dr. Wright, here at Indianapolis, and the several boards of trustees, were more competent and better equipped for this work than the board of charities."

It is hardly worth while for Burke to try to deceive about a matter so plain as this. The bill gave the board of charities no power to select employees. It directed the board to apply certain tests to those who desired employment in the state benevolent institutions. Those tests were to be such as would reach the practical fitness of the applicants for the duties to be performed, without regard to politics or influence or any other matter having nothing to do with the performance of those duties. From among those who best stood such tests, the present appointing officers were to select the employees. Burke was not in favor of such a plan; it was too democratic. He and Voorhees, and their likes, prefer the monarchical system of appointing by favoritism.

THE appointment of Burke to be district attorney was undoubtedly due to the fact that recommendations are kept secret in Washington. There is no more absurd notion. If a recommendation must be kept secret, the President should discard it. If recommendations were open to public inspection, men would stop lying about applicants for office. It is said that Burke had the approval of a number of circuit judges. That showed nothing; almost every man signs every recommendation for office that is laid before him. Mr. Francis T. Hord, a member of the late Indiana general assembly, became "singular" because he refused to sign recommendations of persons with whom he was not acquainted. If indorsements were not kept secret in Washington, the weakly yielded and chiefly baseless eulogy of Burke by Judge Elliott would have been buried out of sight by a flood of protests and facts showing Burke's unfitness.

It was well known that Senator Voorhees would seek an antidote for the "poison" which his efforts in behalf of Anti-Labor Burke instilled in the minds of workmen. As a starter he declared the other day in the senate, that "the most dan-

gerous question now before the country is the encroachments of corporations with their power of colossal wealth against those who are helplessly in their power." Every pet of Voorhees in Indiana, beginning with John E. Lamb, is and has been for years a tool of corporations, ready at all times to do any work corporations want done. The following from the Indianapolis *News* of March 22 sets out the true nature of the Voorhees crowd:

"It is recalled that immediately after the adjournment of the Indiana general assembly, two years ago, there was great rejoicing over the defeat of the co-employees bill, and of other bills in which the railroads were interested, particularly the Pennsylvania and Vandalia railroads. The Vandalia railroad company placed at the disposal of Mr. Burke, who had fought so hard for the railroad companies, John E. Lamb, who had been an industrious lobbyist of the railroads, and other democrats, a private car in which they traveled to Hot Springs in elegant style. Champagne was the cheapest drink aboard. At Hot Springs there was a gathering in which were Senator Voorhees, Lamb, Burke, Crawford Fairbanks, the Terre Haute distiller Joshua Jump, and other democrats of that character. It was during the stay of that party at Hot Springs that, according to Senator Voorhees, the United States attorneyship was promised to Burke.

THE state of Missouri has passed a very complete corrupt practices act. The daily papers have given it such extended notices that it is not necessary to give a synopsis here. It was mainly brought about by the efforts of the Missouri Civil Service Reform Association, of which Charles Claflin Allen is president. This association includes in its work other subjects than its name would strictly indicate, and the passage of such a bill shows that it is in an active and healthy condition.

No bills are sent to non-subscribers who receive the CHRONICLE. An increase of subscribers is, however earnestly desired, and we ask all who are friendly to the objects of this paper to interest themselves in increasing its circulation. The second volume will cover President Cleveland's administration, as the first did that of President Harrison. Those who contemplate having the first volume bound should wait until the index, now being prepared, is ready. For number five of the CHRONICLE, fifty cents each will be paid.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in New York Tuesday and Wednesday, April 25th and 26th. The headquarters will be at the City Club, 677 Fifth Avenue. The annual address will be delivered by Carl Schurz at the Madison Square Garden Assembly Hall, Madison Avenue and Twenty-sixth streets, Tuesday evening, April 25th, at eight o'clock. The first meeting will be held Wednesday, at 10:30 A. M.

at the City Club. At 1:30 a collation will be served. Another business meeting will be held the same afternoon. Wednesday evening at seven P. M. the New York Civil Service Reform Association will give a dinner to the members of the League at the Hotel Savoy, Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth streets. Every member of any civil service reform association is a member of the League, and is entitled to vote in its meetings.

POETIC JUSTICE.

When President Harrison extended the civil service law to the free-delivery post-offices, the examinations necessary to the preparation of the eligible lists led the civil service commission to ask congress for a thousand dollars to pay traveling expenses of examiners. Congress, under the influence of Holman and Dockery, refused. Holman advises Mr. Shanklin, of this state, to accept a Mississippi river commissioner-ship because it is a sinecure. The commission is a sinecure. It does nothing but take pleasant trips at public expense. There is no more need of a Mississippi river commission than there is of a Lake Ontario commission, or a Lake Champlain commission, or a Pogue's Run commission, yet Mr. Holman and congress vote twenty thousand dollars a year for this sinecure without any twinges of conscience. But a thousand dollars to hold a hundred examinations for perhaps ten thousand applicants can not be allowed. The consequence is that examinations have to be cut down in number. But we were mistaken last month in saying that they had been postponed as to the free-delivery offices recently classified. The civil service commission determined that the offices newly added were entitled to attention first, and therefore examinations in all of those offices will be held at once. This will furnish the new postmasters as they come in with eligible lists from which to fill vacancies. An object lesson in civil service reform will now be given in many cities in Indiana and all through the country. The commission has, however, been compelled to postpone in many places examinations for the departments at Washington, the railway mail service, and for the formerly classified service generally. True, congressmen are besieged with applicants for positions in these parts of the service. They can only tell applicants to get on the eligible lists. But applicants can not get on the lists unless examinations are held. Examinations can not be held because congress refused the thousand dollars. The siege will therefore have to go on. It is not the kind of a siege congressmen like, but they have only themselves to blame for it.

A LATTER-DAY DOUGHFACE.

THE Boston *Herald* of April 4 says that the best opportunity for the rapid advance of civil service reform was lost under Harrison. That the republican party had more in its ranks favoring the reform; it returned to power promising to promote it; and, having held office twenty-four years out of twenty-eight, it was peculiarly in a position to be magnanimous toward democrats then in office. That it hunted them out ruthlessly and retaliation was inevitable, and there is no occasion for surprise that it has come. That President Harrison has had to take the responsibility for this and justly. That the offices should be taken out of politics; but that it is not to be expected that the democrats will agree that civil service reform shall begin with themselves tabooed, and with the republicans in full possession, and that, too, after having been in possession so much more than their share of the time. That the American people like fair play, and will be at least charitable toward the democrats in this transaction. That the greediness of the republicans under Harrison put a discouraging obstacle in the way of ever having civil service reform. That a see-saw has been established between parties which is difficult of relief from executive quarters; and we must therefore rely more upon the legislative branch of the government.

It is such doughfaced talk as this that has kept, and will keep Massachusetts a republican state. The American people do like fair play, and one of the kinds of fair play they like, is to see one President judged by the same standard that another is. The *Herald* had better read over the platform upon which Mr. Cleveland was elected last fall, and also what he has said upon the subject of patronage. The platform covered, and was intended to cover by those who drew it, every phase of civil service reform. It covered the subject just as much as Harrison's platform covered it, and it carried with it as fair a promise as ever was made to stop the use of the offices as spoil. Now upspring reformers to whose mind responsibility and treachery were never charged too sharply upon Harrison, and to whose notion the lash could never be laid too heavily upon republican patronage pirates, and tell us that democratic patronage pirates, resistless and unresisted, will probably have President Cleveland by the throat until he delivers to them all the offices, but that we must not hold him responsible, and our proper course is to ask these same pirates to cut themselves off from spoil. We decline to join in this craven surrender. The officer in whom the constitution vests executive authority must be held responsible for executive acts.

To say that President Cleveland can not help himself is to offer him the greatest insult. It is to say that he is not a giant, but only a pigmy and a figure-head. He can help himself. The way to stop the use of public offices as spoil is to stop it. The man or the paper that says that because we had a Headsman Clarkson, we must therefore have a Headsman Maxwell, is the enemy of good government, and is a partner in the ward-rounder politics with which this country is infested. President Cleveland has but to refuse to change employees unless congress will make provision for the appointment of new ones upon business principles. The plans are well digested. There is not a shadow of an excuse. Any other course will not be from necessity, but from choice, and the responsibility will be fixed where it belongs.

THE PRESIDENT'S OPPORTUNITY.

We must not forget that President Cleveland's opportunity is almost the greatest that ever in the history of government came to a man the second time. In his first term he was not successful in his management of the civil service. His defeat followed. It was not caused by his attitude upon the tariff. As *Harper's Weekly* recently said, that attitude was the only thing that gave the campaign of 1888 any affirmative life. Now, again, by the drunken folly of the republicans, the opportunity has come to him. There is nothing for him in tariff legislation beyond what there was for Polk. There is nothing for him in currency legislation beyond what there was for Grant and Hayes. But the patronage system eats away public morality; in its perfection, as in Tammany Hall, and as in Maryland under Gorman, it destroys free government. Mr. Cleveland can kill this system in the federal service, and, in killing it, he can do the greatest work which has come to the hand of any American since Abraham Lincoln. But mere expedients, such as refusing to appoint ex-office-holders, if the places are filled after all as patronage; and such as refusing to remove fourth-class postmasters unless they have served four years, if the sixty-five thousand are after all removed to make room for partisans, will not kill it. They will leave it as flourishing as ever. The remedy must go to the root. Measures must be taken to exclude favoritism of every kind from the exercise of the appointing power. We do not represent that the contest will be mild or petty or easy. It will be one which Hercules might relish. The time is ripe. The means are at hand. The call to duty will not be stilled. The golden opportunity will soon pass by. If Mr. Cleveland lets it pass, he will refuse the greatness which is fairly thrust upon him.

THE SUMMARY.

The summary of the present state of the new administration as shown by public information, and in the columns of the *CHRONICLE*, is in general, as follows: The President and every member of the cabinet spend about all their time with office-seekers. The daily applications for postmasterships exceed two thousand. There have been over eighty thousand applications for consulships. A congressman takes as high as twenty office-seekers before the President at a time. All of the rules against appointing editors, ex-office-holders and so on are readily overstepped. Fourth-class post-offices are being filled with partisans of the administration at the rate of more than thirty thousand a year. There was an appearance at Washington of paying attention to other recommendations than those of congressmen, but practically there was nothing of this beyond such exceptions as have always occurred. It was regarded as worthy of note that three Indiana post-offices, out of several hundred already filled, have lately been filled with persons not recommended by congressmen, and Congressman Conn, in asking to have seventy of his favorites put into post-offices at once solely on his recommendation, seems to have offered too strong a dose even for Maxwell. In general, so far as the division of offices has proceeded, it has been made among the favorites and henchmen of congressmen; the latter are giving out the offices with an eye to controlling the primaries and conventions next year. They are constantly travelling over their districts, and to and from Washington, solely engaged in distributing offices. Positions of chiefs of division have not been put under the civil service rules, but they are being filled slowly with democrats. Hughes East was given one of these places with some hundred and forty men under him. He was correctly described in the *Indianapolis Journal* as a curbstone and bucket-shop lounge.

It is expected that Chester R. Faulkner, an Indiana illiterate, a chronic placeholder, and a favorite of Voorhees, is to have another. A small proportion of notably good appointments has been made, but the seemingly admirable selections for members of the cabinet have not been followed up by corresponding reform plans. The cabinet officers, in their acts, are not up to expectation from a reform point. The only distinctive action for reform so far taken by the administration is found in the declaration of Secretary Herbert, of his determination to maintain and extend the labor service system in the navy, and in the declaration of the President that he will divorce Indian affairs from politics. There is so far no sign of the reform influence

Secretary Gresham was to exercise. No movement has been made to place the consular service upon a permanent business basis, but, on the other hand, the places are being given out as "plums." The appointments of Burke and Risely were bad. The new Indian commissioner has no knowledge of Indian affairs, and he is said to be not much of a civil service reformer. If he is let to go as Maxwell is we may expect another wreck of Indian affairs to aid in bringing disaster to the administration. The appointment and retention of Maxwell with free scope to act is in direct violation of platform promises. The general conclusion must be that the administration has no fundamental plans of reform. The general aspect is that of a wild scramble for place, where the scramblers in squads, headed by congressmen, crowd in upon the President and other appointing officers and stop public business. Congressmen have entirely abandoned legislative duties or preparation, and have become simply squad leaders, marching their squads about the streets and through the public buildings of Washington in the onslaught upon the executive. The scene beggars description, and what we give elsewhere in the *CHRONICLE* is an almost infinitesimal part of what is actually occurring. The worst of it is that there is no demand among the people for a continuance of this system, and the great proportion of those who are demanding places have been paid in actual cash for all services they ever rendered to the party.

APPOINTMENT OF NEWSPAPER MEN.

Hoke Smith, of the *Atlanta Journal*, Secretary of the Interior.

Claude Meeker, of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, consul at Bradford.

Louis C. Hughes, editor of the *Tuscan Star*, governor of Arizona.

A. C. Hacker, editor of *Martin County News*, postmaster at Shoals.

M. P. Pendleton, editor of the *Belfast (Me.) Age*, consul at Picton.

A. Allison, of the *Nashville Democrat*, postmaster at Nashville, Indiana.

Charles W. Clare, editor of —, postmaster at Watertown, New York.

Robert B. Brown, editor of the *Messenger*, postmaster at Meadville, Pa.

Samuel E. Morss, editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, consul general at Paris.

Philip Zoercher, editor of the *Tell City News*, postmaster at Tell City, Indiana.

Ernest P. Baldwin, editor of the *Laurel (Md.) Democrat*, first auditor of the treasury.

Dr. Joseph A. Senner, of the *New York Staats Zeitung*, commissioner of immigration.

Benjamin Lauthier, of Massachusetts, editor of two French papers, consul to Sherbrooke.

Dale J. Crittenger, editor of the *Anderson Democrat*, postmaster at Anderson, Indiana.

Ambrose W. Lyman, of the *Helena (Montana) Independent*, collector of internal revenue.

Lewis Baker, proprietor of the *St. Paul Globe*, minister to Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Salvador.

Herman Van Lenden, editor of the *Paducah (Ky.) Standard*, private secretary to Secretary Carlisle.

Royal E. Purcell, editor and proprietor of the *Vincennes Sun*, postmaster at Vincennes, Indiana.

George F. Parker, editor of the *Globe* [and author of a Campaign Life of President Cleveland], counsel at Birmingham.

THE ONSLAUGHT.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrines lately boldly preached in the United States senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals and dangerous to the liberties of the country.—*Democratic platform 1832.*

THE SCENE AT WASHINGTON.

March 18.—For two hours to-day it seemed to the White House attendants as if all the office-seekers in the country were in the mansion. For two hours, which is the prescribed time for the reception of congressmen who call to present the claims of their constituents for office, the public rooms of the White House were thronged. A list of the senators and representatives who were there would comprise the major part of the names on the rolls of both houses of congress. Mr. Cleveland was in a good humor.

"I intended to call and pay my respects to the President, but deferred it until some other time, on learning of the great pressure of visitors, and the many cares of office which were pressing upon him. The pressure for office is fearful, but not greater than usual at this period of a new administration. Indians were numerous, some of them probably a little over noisy, and too zealous in demanding recognition. There was more zeal than good judgment shown in many instances."—*Wm. H. English, in Indianapolis News, March 20.*

"Why, the hotels are full, the corridors are packed with office-seekers from everywhere, and they are making life a burden to the members of congress and senators from various states."—*Governor Matthews, in Indianapolis Sentinel, March 20.*

March 20.—There were a great many callers at the White House to-day, but none but those who had appointments with the President were permitted to see him.—*New York Times.*

March 22.—Secretary Herbert spends most of his time with office-seekers, and has had little opportunity to attend to departmental matters. To-day on his desk there were 500 letters. This pile of correspondence mainly related to places which will be filled by the President and were not confined to any department. Yesterday Mr. Herbert answered 105 letters. The people who have charge of the record book in the appointment division of the treasury department are beginning to wonder if there are any democrats in the country who have not applied for positions under the secretary of the treasury. To-day the flow of applications was as heavy as on any previous day since March 4.—*New York Times.*

March 23.—The rush for office continues, and the number of callers on the President to-day showed no falling off as compared with previous days. Senators and representatives formed the bulk of the visitors, but their missions were mostly in connection with local offices.—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

March 23.—From all the visitors to the White House there comes one account of the reception of callers by the President, and that is an assurance that he is taking his arduous duties very calmly, and that he is not permitting the monotonous round of appeals to him to try his temper. Men who have had occasion to call upon the heads of several of the departments and afterward to go back to the White House, have declared that no member of the administration is so easily approached or more amiable when reached

than the President. He does not appear to be worried; he listens to everybody as if he was willing to hear the applicant out, and he manifests an interest in every case that indicates that his attention has been fixed upon the story of his visitor.—*New York Times.*

March 23.—This was another busy day for Secretary Lamont at the war department and Secretary Herbert at the navy department. Each official had many callers, many of whom staid until after four o'clock before they secured an audience. Neither Secretary Lamont nor Secretary Herbert has had very much time to attend to departmental matters, and beyond the perfunctory signing of the daily mail—quite a task itself—the business of the government must wait until the office-seekers have been disposed of.—*New York Times.*

March 25.—Beyond the inward rush of scores of place hunters, with their escorts of senators and representatives, there was little of interest at the White House to-day. The President's office was crowded constantly.—*Indianapolis News.*

March 26.—Secretary Lamont is tired. Since he came to Washington he has worked without interruption when he was so free from visitors as to be able to work. But the contact with callers, some of whom are brief and business-like and some prosy and tenacious, has been almost constant. They come early and late. Before he leaves his rooms at the Arlington they are at his door. As soon as he reaches his rooms in the war department they arrive in crowds, and they stay there until he is obliged to go to the cabinet meeting or to luncheon, the luncheon hour being interrupted by the bold approach of the importunate. This is the experience, as a matter of fact, of each of the members of the cabinet. Their strength is sapped by this wearying receiving of callers, who come for the most part to urge the appointment of some one who is not satisfied to have filed his application for office.—*New York Times.*

March 26.—The congressmen say that the President reserves Monday to himself, and that, in consequence, they are left but three days in each week in which to transact their business at the departments. It is understood that an effort will be made to bring about a modification of the order, but it is unlikely that Mr. Cleveland will make any change which will give the office-seekers any more leeway.

For the past three weeks it has been practically impossible for any of the heads of departments to perform their legitimate duties, because of the free access to their apartments given members of congress and their friends. At all the departments the work is in arrears because of the unprecedented rush of place hunters. At present the daily applications for postmasterships at the post-office department exceed 2,000, with a good prospect that these big figures will soon be increased.—*New York Times.*

March 26.—Most of the leading railroad lines running south from here have arranged excursion rates for office-seekers, and the daily returns show that

travel has never been so heavy as it has been since Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated. Mr. Evan Howell, of the Atlanta Constitution, made the declaration some time ago that Georgia was entitled to 2,400 government offices, and it is reported that arrangements are now being made to run a special train from Atlanta to Washington for the exclusive use of office-seekers.—*Washington Special.*

March 29.—The departments were thronged with visitors to-day, mostly political, who made up for the time they were compelled to lose yesterday. The secretaries had scarcely a minute to themselves, and were practically unable to attend to the regular departmental business. The question has arisen as to the expediency of amending the President's order prohibiting the reception of visitors at the departments on cabinet days, so as to include one or two more days of the week. If to-day's experience is repeated throughout the week the heads of departments will have to transact all their official business on Tuesdays and Fridays, and surrender the remaining four secular days of the week to the office-seeker and his friends.—*Indianapolis Journal.*

March 30.—This was the most fatiguing day the President has had since his inauguration, and he was completely tired out after three hours and a half talk with senators, representatives and office-seekers.

"Did any of them get away?" asked the President when Senator Palmer entered his office at the head of the delegation of about twenty.

"I think not, sir; there appears to be a quorum present," answered Senator Palmer, gravely, as he ran his eye over the group.—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

March 31.—There were no signs of letting up in the rush of office-seekers at the White House to-day. They came early and stayed late and some of them would have stayed later if opportunity had been presented.—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

April 1.—Secretary Hoke Smith has announced that on next Monday afternoon, at four o'clock, he will see persons interested in the appointment of a governor of New Mexico, with the view of obtaining information for the President's use in making the selection. On next Wednesday, at the same hour, he will see all persons who may wish to be heard on the subject of the appointment of the governor of Utah, and on Thursday next, citizens of Oklahoma and others will be given a hearing on the subject of the appointment of a governor of that territory. The secretary has also announced that during the coming week he will not be able to take up any applications for appointments as surveyors general and registrars and receivers of land offices.—*Indianapolis Journal.*

April 1.—Mr. Cleveland devoted three hours to the politicians to-day. They were at the White House in unusually large numbers, and there was a crush outside the door of his private room, which continued up to the hour when the sign was hung out that the reception was over.—*New York Times.*

April 3.—People who stopped in front of the door

of the secretary of the treasury this afternoon found attached to it a card with this inscription on it:

"No visitors or cards received after 1 P. M."

Inquiry developed the fact that Mr. Carlisle had benefited but little by the recent order barring cabinet officers from the general public on cabinet days by reason of the fact that on the remaining days of the week the office-seekers managed to make up for the time lost through its issuance.—*New York Times*.

April 4.—This was a "show" day at the White House, the calling of the visitors being checked at 11 o'clock by the arrival of the members of the cabinet to attend the regular meeting. Before that hour, however, there were many southern callers, who came in quest of appointments, asking for large and small offices. They are not easily discouraged, and the congressional visitors begin to be a little more importunate as adjournment of the senate seems imminent.—*New York Times*.

April 6.—There appears to be a new crop of office seekers in town. These are the men who want the post-offices, the clerkships in the departments here, and the smaller places. They wear broad-brimmed sombreros, yellow and stiff, and some have bulging hip-pockets, and a few wear their "pants" in their boots. There are so many of these brawny sons of election victories here that two or three extra sheets of the nominations sent to the senate each day are posted in the senate corridors for their benefit. It has been the custom for years when the President sends a list of nominations to the senate about 12:30 or 1 o'clock to make a dozen or more manifold copies for the information of press representatives and others. Three or four copies are immediately sent up to the press galleries of the senate, and a copy posted in the large room occupied by the clerks to the secretary of the senate. When the clerk from the White House appeared with his nominations, before the present arrangement, the fellows with the broad hats and bulging hip-pockets made a dash for him, and he could scarcely dodge into the senate chamber. When the copy for public posting was sent out, these fellows almost fell over one another. It was a mob. They wanted to see if their names were on the list. It is the same the next day. About the hotel corridors, day and night, the typewriters are driven to their utmost capacity. The applicants want their papers all copied in the nice, bold hand of the typewriting machine so the appointing power can readily read.—*Indianapolis Journal*.

April 8.—Candidates for consulships have been the last to go. During the last week they became a little mutinous and wanted to chew up each other. If one candidate for a consulship happened to get a hearing with a senator or a congressman, the others demanded like recognition at once. Each seemed to feel that some other applicant was trying to advance his own personal interests at the expense of all the rest. The senators have complained that all the candidates have injured their chances by insisting on going to the White House in a body whenever the senators arranged for a meeting with the President. One day this week there were seven applicants for consulships in the President's room at one time from the state of Indiana, and the impression which they made on the President by going thus in a body was not at all favorable.—*Indianapolis News*.

April 11.—A private letter from Washington, written by a gentleman who is deeply interested in the public questions which are calling most imperatively for attention from the Cleveland administration, contains the following:

"I do not believe that either the President or Secretary Carlisle has been able to give a moment's thought, since taking office, to either the tariff or the silver question, because of the offices and the office-seekers. Mr. Carlisle looks as if he were about to break down under the strain."

It is said by other observers that President Cleveland is also very weary of the struggle for office, which absorbs all his time, that his visit to ex-Secretary Bayard at Wilmington was taken for the purpose of giving him a brief respite from it, and that he is especially disgusted with the conduct of many public men in signing the "indorsements" of candidates for office, and then writing privately to him asking

that he give no weight to their signatures. Every member of the cabinet is in a continual state of seige, and if Mr. Carlisle proves to be the first to break down under the strain, it will be only because he has less power of physical endurance than the others. Secretary Lamont, who is supposed to represent the President in his frequent trips to New York, finds himself accompanied by a small army of office-seekers, who take passage on the trains with him and "present their cases" to him en route. There were no less than thirty who adopted this method on the latest rally.—*New York Evening Post*.

THE GUILLOTINE.

Robert A. Maxwell began his duties to-day as fourth assistant postmaster-general. His predecessor, Mr. E. G. Rathbone, introduced him to the employes and then relinquished to him his chair and desk.

The new officer was prepared to begin work, but office-seekers made their appearance, and for the remainder of the day Mr. Maxwell listened to the "claims" of democrats from all parts of the country. It will be a week or more before Mr. Maxwell will be able to get down to business. There are thousands of resignations demanding his attention, and thousands of applications which must be considered. As soon as the office-seekers permit him to attend to the business of his office, it is likely that changes in the post-offices of the country will be rapid enough to suit the most exacting democrats.—*New York Times*, March 23.

Congressman Cooper is on deck again ready to tackle a republican postmaster.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 23.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster Maxwell's first day in office resulted in the appointment of forty-four fourth-class postmasters, and of this number five were to fill vacancies caused by the removal of the incumbents. Yesterday's appointments aggregated thirty-one, which included four removals.—*Washington Dispatch*, March 26.

The guillotine is doing rapid work among the fourth-class postmasters, making up for the time lost by Mr. Maxwell in getting started. The record of yesterday with sixty-seven removals in a total of one hundred changes, is not matched in absolute numbers to-day, but the percentage is greater, being thirty-seven removals in a total of forty-eight changes.

From this day forth we may expect to see greater speed than ever, for the entire clerical force of the department [about 400] is to be turned loose upon the work of preparing the documents. The regular employes of the appointment division have been found unequal to cope with the mass of matter accumulated in relation to the 58,000 post-offices within their jurisdiction. The letters containing charges and recommendations have therefore been sorted as well as possible and distributed through the several rooms in the department building, where they lie in heaps in corners against the wall, or under tables and in other out of the way places. This afternoon at four o'clock every clerk will drop his regular routine work and attack his pile, continuing at it for an hour. Every day the whole force will stay till five o'clock in the afternoon for this purpose till the work is finished.

Every letter has to be read, every newspaper clipping skimmed, the names attached to every petition counted and briefs made of all matters relating to the present postmaster or the person urged as his successor. Each bundle is then to be packed and endorsed, and placed in a cupboard devoted to its particular state. Mr. Maxwell will thus be able to make his changes by hundreds where he now makes it by dozens.

There is no business in the department more repugnant to the clerks who have to do it. They have a fellow-feeling for the men and women in whose decapitation they are assisting. They realize, as outsiders can not, how flimsy the pretexts are on which removals are made, and how little real scrutiny any of them get.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, March 28.

The largest number of changes was made in the state of Wisconsin, where there were twenty-two ap-

pointments, fourteen of the incumbents being removed. In Arkansas there were eight appointments and four removals, and in Tennessee seventeen appointments and ten removals.—*Washington Dispatch*, March 28.

Congressman Brookshire, who has been down with the grip, is now able to prepare victims for the Maxwell ax.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 29.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell to-day appointed forty-nine fourth-class postmasters. All but thirteen of these involve removals.—*Washington Dispatch*, March 29.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell has indicated the line of policy which will govern him in the selection of about 50,000 fourth-class postmasters this year. "In the first place," said he, "I don't propose to permit unsuccessful politicians to dictate appointments. Ex-congressmen and men who ran for congress and were defeated will not control appointments under me. In states where there is not a democratic senator, and the districts are represented by republicans in congress, the state, district, or county democratic committees, will be asked to make recommendations for postmasters. We want to deal with live democrats, men of influence, not worn-out politicians."

"Men and women who held post-offices four years ago will not be appointed if new blood can be found. The 'no-ex,' as a rule, will apply in the selection of fourth-class postmasters. Of course, if we can not get democrats who have not held the offices to accept them, we will reinstate the old postmasters, rather than permit the republicans to hold the offices. We are now ready for business, and changes will be made as rapidly as possible. It is the intention to reorganize the service and put in as many new postmasters as possible. There is no tenure to these offices, and changes can be made at any time."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 29.

Of forty-nine changes among fourth-class postmasters announced this morning, thirty-five are removals. No New York or New Jersey appointments were among them. Bradley B. Smalley, of Vermont, has been paying close attention to business since he arrived here from Vermont, and in one instance he spent thirty-five minutes at the post-office department, and secured twenty-one charges from republican to democratic postmasters. He considers this a strictly democratic administration.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, March 29.

The following fourth-class post offices in Indiana were filled with democrats to-day by Executioner Maxwell.

First district, on recommendation of Congressman Taylor: [Here follows list of 13.]

Second district, recommended by Congressman Bretz: [Here follows list of 26.]

Seventh district, recommended by Congressman Bynum: [Here follows list of 2.]

Eleventh district, recommended by Congressman Martin: [Here follows list of 2.]

It will be seen that Messrs. Taylor and Bretz did a good day's work in placing the post-offices of their districts in the hands of democrats. Hacker, of Shoals, is editor of the *Martin County News*.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell to-day appointed one hundred and eighty-eight fourth-class postmasters, and of this number eighty-five were to fill vacancies caused by removals. The largest number appointed from any one state was forty-five in Indiana, which involved eleven removals; in Kentucky there were twenty-four appointments and six removals; in Vermont there were twenty appointments and ten removals; in West Virginia fifteen appointments and eleven removals, and in Wisconsin ten appointments and five removals.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 30.

Representative Cooper got one post-office to-day. Mr. Bretz obtained one, also. Maxwell promises to swing his ax to-morrow.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

The rapidity with which the post-offices of Crawford county are changing hands is pleasing the ultra democrats very much. Seventeen new postmasters have already been chosen, and the others are daily expected.—*Boston [Indiana] Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 30.

* * *

Quite a number of New York politicians congregated in the Arlington lobby to-night. Ashbel P. Fitch and Judge Truax came over this evening.

J. W. Hinckley, editor of the *Poughkeepsie News-Press*, spent an hour or more in conversation with Senator Murphy.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Maxwell dropped in about 10 o'clock, and Mr. Hinckley and he had a few minutes of private conversation. Mr. Maxwell was quite fatigued as the result of examining and signing the commissions of one hundred and eighty-eight postmasters during the day. Eighty-five of the places thus filled were made available by removals. Forty-five Indiana Democrats were rewarded with postmasterships. The increased force of clerks now at work under Mr. Maxwell enables him to swing the ax much more vigorously than he did last week. In a few days he expects to strike a much livelier gait.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 30.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31.—Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell again remembered the Indiana democrats, especially those of southern Indiana, well to-day. He removed thirty-six republicans and put in their places as many stalwart democrats, who had been designated by the congressmen in the districts in which they are located. Congressman Taylor of the first district, who fared so well yesterday, got the following democrats into post-offices to-day: [Here follows list of 2.]

In the second, Mr. Bretz, who also got more than his share yesterday, succeeded in landing the following additional to-day: [Here follows list of 5.]

Third district, recommended by Congressman Brown: [One.]

Fifth district, recommended by Congressman Cooper: [Here follows list of 3.]

Seventh district, recommended by Congressman Bynum: [Here follows list of 6.]

Eighth district, recommended by Congressman Brookshire: [Here follows list of 16.]

Eleventh district, recommended by Congressman Martin: [Here follows list of 2.]

Twelfth district, recommended by Congressman McNaghy: [One.]—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

* * *

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell to-day appointed 136 fourth class postmasters, which involved fifty-nine removals. The largest number of appointments was made in Indiana, where there were thirty-six, involving eighteen removals. In Missouri there were sixteen appointments and seven removals; in Tennessee twenty appointments and seven removals; in Vermont eleven appointments and ten removals; in Kentucky nine appointments and two removals, and in West Virginia eight appointments, all the incumbents having resigned.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 31.

* * *

Indiana got fifteen new fourth-class postmasters to-day.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 1.

* * *

Beside the two presidential offices, Indiana got eleven fourth-class post-office appointments to-day, as follows:

Eleventh district—Congressman Martin: [Here follows list of 6.]

Congressman Taylor secured two more republican scalps in the fourth class.

Congressman Cooper got W. N. Smith at Dolon, Monroe county; and Mr. Bretz obtained J. W. Right's appointment for Wright, Green county.

Cannellton and Tell City, Perry county, became presidential offices last January, and President Harrison sent to the senate two republican postmasters who had been in nearly four years as fourth-class officials. Had they been confirmed they would have held four years more, and to avoid this Congressman Taylor, who was only an elect then, came here and spent the last three weeks of Harrison's administration to pre-

vent their confirmation. He succeeded, and these two thriving cities of Perry will have their post-offices conducted by democrats, at Tell City by Phil. Zoercher, who has already been confirmed, and at Cannellton by the man who was nominated to-day. Dickerson of Spencer, is the second presidential post-office secured by Mr. Cooper. Harris of Franklin, was nominated last week. So far every appointment made has been upon the recommendation of congressmen.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 3.

* * *

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell to-day appointed one hundred and nineteen fourth-class postmasters. Illinois heads the list with 19, Kentucky with 16, Missouri 14, Maine 13, Tennessee 13, and Virginia and Indiana 7 each.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 3.

* * *

Indiana postmasters appointed to-day: [Here follows list of 5.]—*Washington Dispatch*, April 4.

* * *

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell appointed one hundred and forty-three postmasters to-day. Mr. Maxwell said this evening to the correspondent of the *New York Times* that for the next few days he would devote his time to filling the vacancies caused by resignations. There were several thousand of these, he said, and the list was constantly increasing.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, April 4.

* * *

The following fourth-class appointments were made to-day for Indiana post offices: [Here follows list of 10.]—*Washington Dispatch*, April 5.

* * *

For the first time in the history of the post-office department the fourth assistant postmaster-general declined to-day to give for publication the names of the fourth class postmasters appointed yesterday. The only excuse given is that it was too much trouble to prepare the list. It is alleged that the real reason for discontinuing the publication of the names was to relieve the administration from the references which the press has been making to the work of "Headsman" Maxwell, and the disparaging remarks about wholesale removals.—*Associate Press Dispatch*, April 5.

* * *

Mr. Maxwell to-day appointed 134 fourth-class postmasters. Of this number 13 were in Indiana, 11 in Georgia, 22 in Pennsylvania and 14 in Kentucky.

Secretary Smith to-day directed the removal of 25 pension examiners now in the field. In making the selections for dismissal, it is said that the politics of the examiner has not been considered, but that the only question taken into account was that of proficiency.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 5.

* * *

Secretary Hoke Smith announced that to-morrow he would be glad to see at the department all persons who are interested in the selection of suitable persons to fill vacancies now existing, or which will exist within the next thirty days in the offices of registers and receivers of land offices, and also in the offices of surveyors general. He also requests those who intend to present charges upon which removals are asked, either for registers, receivers or surveyors general, to at once file their charges in full with the commissioners of the general land office.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 5.

* * *

Fourth assistant postmaster Maxwell, yesterday appointed one hundred and twenty four fourth-class postmasters.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 5.

* * *

At the bottom of the list of appointments made to-day appeared a note explanatory of the changes, and intended to excuse the large number of removals of republicans. After stating the number of appointments for to-day, the number of removals, resignations and vacancies created by death which were filled, the explanatory official note observed that "twenty-six of the postmasters removed served four years and over, and thirty-three served over three years. The fourth-class postmasters appointed to-day for Indiana were as follows: [Here follows a list of 17.]—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 6.

* * *

The following fourth-class appointments were made yesterday for Indiana postoffices: [Here follows list of 11.]

The total number of appointments to fourth-class post-offices to-day was 131, of which seventy-two were to fill vacancies caused by resignations and deaths, and fifty-nine to fill vacancies caused by removals. Twenty-six of the postmasters removed served four years and over, and thirty-three served over three years.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 1.

* * *

Forty-eight field pension examiners were removed to-day, including a number of Hoosiers, but their names could not be learned this morning.

Congressman Martin made a clean sweep of the pension medical boards in his district yesterday. All the republican examiners were replaced with democrats.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 6.

* * *

Congressman Cooper got another scalp to-day. Ford, the assistant chief of division in the pension office, who figured in the Raum scandal investigation, was removed to-day.

Congressman Bretz had the board in Dubois county changed to-day.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 6.

* * *

The Kansas office-seekers are in a bad plight. The office-seekers were completely knocked out when President Cleveland decided that until they settled their internal disputes and agree upon who shall receive the Federal patronage, no further offices of any kind whatever shall be filled in Kansas or by Kansas.

"A plague on both your houses," said Mr. Maxwell to-day to Mr. Mitchell, the Kansas stalwart. "I will have nothing to do with them."

Mr. Maxwell said that he was carefully investigating the various factions, and until he reached a conclusion would appoint no postmasters of that class in that State.—*Washington Dispatch to Buffalo Express*, April 6.

* * *

Postmaster-General Bissell has been taught by his experience of the past few days that he can not afford to attempt to muzzle the press, and has, therefore, transferred his efforts toward the suppression of news to the congressmen, whom he evidently expects to find more subservient. Every congressman who called at the post-office department to day was notified by the postmaster-general that hereafter he must not disclose to newspaper correspondents the names of the persons recommended for appointment. In every case the congressman promptly obeyed the order.

Headsman Maxwell's "explanatory note" accompanying the list of postmasters appointed to-day was as follows: "Total number of fourth-class postmasters appointed to day, 117, of which eighty-three were to fill vacancies caused by resignations and deaths and thirty-four removals. Of the postmasters removed twelve served four years and over." The changes for Indiana were as follows, all being appointments to fill vacancies created by resignations: [Here follows list of 21.]—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 7.

* * *

Although the heads of 120 fourth-class postmasters rolled into the sawdust under headsman Maxwell.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 8.

* * *

The President has called a halt on indiscriminate removals of fourth-class postmasters. Consequently Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell has announced that, by order of the President, no more removals will be made, except for cause or where the incumbent has served four years. The effect of this order will be to establish a four-year term of office in fourth-class offices just the same as that which is established by law for the presidential postmasters and other important officers. The enforcement of this rule does not make much of a reduction in the numbers of fourth-class postmasters appointed daily, however, for there are a large number of vacancies by resignation to be filled yet.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 8.

* * *

Indiana received four fourth-class postmasters to-day as follows: [Here follows list of 4.]—*Washington Dispatch*, April 8.

* * *

Indiana received the following new fourth-class postmasters to-day: [Here follows list of 7.]

The total number of fourth-class postmasters ap-

pointed to-day was 119. Of these, ninety-nine were to fill vacancies caused by death and resignations, and twenty by removals. Of the postmasters removed, seventeen had served four years and over.

Mr. Edwin C. Fowler, the chief clerk to the first assistant postmaster general, has been detailed to assist Mr. Maxwell. During the first administration of President Cleveland, Mr. Fowler was acting first assistant much of the time, and as chief to Mr. Stevenson, became thoroughly familiar with the duties of the office.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 10.

* * *

The total number of fourth-class postmasters appointed to-day was 119. Of these 99 were to fill vacancies caused by deaths and resignations, and 20 by removals. Of the postmasters removed 17 had served four years and over.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 10.

* * *

Of the 117 fourth-class postmasters appointed to day 19 are for Indiana as follows:—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*.

* * *

Political-butcher Maxwell had his partisan abattoir running in full blast to-day. His executioners dragged 177 republican postmasters under the guillotine, and beheaded them in the interest of office-seeking democrats. Indiana got 19 of the changes made by the bloody work. Fourteen of the decapitations were made by force, that number of republicans being forcibly executed. The appointments were as follows.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 11.

* * *

Representative Conn, of Elkhart, will arrive tomorrow. He hopes to be able to recommend a number of post-office changes for his district as soon as he arrives. Mr. Conn says there is nothing gained for any one by mincing matters, and that the only way to make changes in offices is to make them, and that he will openly recommend appointments as rapidly as he agrees upon the men.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 11.

* * *

Congressman Conn returned to the city to-day and made a beeline for Azman Maxwell with a complete list of fourth-class postmasters for his district. In most cases the terms of the republican postmasters do not expire till next winter. However, the fourth-class postmasters will be decapitated next week.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 14.

April 10.—The Maxwell ax did a poor day's work in Indiana to-day. The following democrats were appointed in the places of decapitated republicans: [6.]

April 11.—The total number of fourth-class postmasters appointed to-day was 177. Of this number 114 were to fill vacancies caused by resignations and deaths, and 63 by removal.

April 12.—One hundred and twenty-one republican fourth-class postmasters were beheaded to-day and as many democrats appointed. The slaughter continues unabated. Thirty-nine of them were removals. Indiana got thirty changes, fourteen of which represented removals of incumbents.—*Indianapolis Journal*.

April 13.—Indiana is still at the bat. She continues to get her share of the game of changes in fourth-class postmasters. To-day she got twenty-three, of which nineteen were removals. There is a greater per cent. of removals from Indiana postmasterships than in any other state. The changes to-day were as follows:—*Indianapolis Journal*.

THE ASSAULT UPON THE CONSULSHIPS.

Indiana has more candidates for consulships than any three other states in the Union, according to the estimates made at the state department. The number is between sixty and seventy, and is being augmented daily by new applications. In Mr. Bynum's district alone there are said to be about twenty-five. From the best information to be had Indiana will secure three foreign missions and four

consulships. One of the foreign missions is already settled. Another will probably go to the Hon. Will E. English, and for the third there a large number of men on the waiting list, one of the most prominent being Montgomery Hamilton, of Ft. Wayne.—*Indianapolis News*, March 13.

Jonathan S. Lee, ex-member of the legislature from Vigo county, wants to be consul to the city of Mexico. He has been getting signatures to his petition among the state officials.

Colonel I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, left to-night feeling certain that he will be sent to Hong Kong as consul.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 10.

Col. I. B. McDonald of Columbia City has a dangerous rival for the Hong Kong consulate in the person of State Committeeman Charles Buchanan of Union City. He left for home this evening well satisfied with his prospects.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, Mar. 12.

Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, is said to be booked for the consulate at Callao.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 13.

Mort Hamilton, of Fort Wayne, arrived to-day with an application for a second-class mission.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 10.

H. E. Matthews, the well-known merchant of Indianapolis, it is said, can have the Belfast consulate if he wants it.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 13.

The Hon. John G. Shanklin has again returned to Washington. When he left here last week for New York it was reported that he would not come back. Mr. Shanklin is here and expects to remain for several weeks. He is said to be a candidate for a consulship. He is desirous of securing the consulship to Liverpool, but is ready now to take any other lucrative post.

One of the Indianapolis contingent who is back home and cheerful is M. A. Kelly, who wants to be consul to Belfast, Ireland. Kelly's friends are telling this story, part of which he says is true. He was presented to the President by Congressman Bynum, who said:

"Mr. Kelly is an applicant for the consulship at Belfast, Ireland, Mr. President."

"Yes, Mr. President," chimed in Kelly, "and a good man he is for the place, too."

At this the President bowed, and Kelly (so says that faithful chronicler, P. H. McNelis), not to be outdone in bowing, lifted his hat and bent nearly to the floor.

"Well, if I don't get the place," said Kelly, "the President can not say that I was not as polite as he was."

Will E. English, who has been making a strong fight for the Swiss mission, will, it is understood, apply for the mission to Sweden if he fails to be sent to Switzerland.—*Indianapolis News*, March 13.

A telegram has been received by Secretary Gresham, signed by all the state officers of Indiana, stating that the appointment of the Hon. Will E. English to be minister to Sweden would give general satisfaction to the democrats of Indiana.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

J. H. Defoe, of Portland, wants to go to Havre as consul. He speaks French, and as the Germans and Irish are recognized he claims that democrats of French descent who have always stood by the party should at least be given one place.

Dr. Chitwood, of Connersville, wants the Berlin consulate and D. W. Krisher, of North Manchester, Eleventh district elector, wants the Hamilton (Ont.) consulate. He was postmaster under the first administration, which fact rules him out of the race.

Dr. Egbert, of Richmond, left for Indiana to-night confident that he will get the Victoria consulate. Egbert has always been a hard worker for the party, has never held office and Wayne county made the largest gain in the last election.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

Representative Hord, of Indianapolis, says he is not here to apply for assistant district attorney, but to secure the appointment of his cousin, Percy Hord, to a consular position.

James H. Willard, of Bedford, who was a candidate four years ago for the Spanish mission, is now an applicant for appointment as consul to Frankfort, Germany. He reached the city a few days ago, and has been making an active canvass for the place.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 15.

George E. Trow, of Madison, who has been here several days, is an applicant for a consulship.

Will H. O'Brien, editor of the *Lawrenceburg Register*, and one of the active politicians of Mr. Holman's district, has been here several days quietly looking over the field. He is suspected of having designs on a consulship. He returned yesterday to Lawrenceburg.

Kirahm Walsh, of Fultou county, a retired farmer, has made application for a consulship at some point in Ireland.—*Indianapolis News*, March 17.

Louis Holtman, editor of the *Brazil (Ind.) Democrat*, arrived yesterday. He wants to be consul-general at Berlin.—*Indianapolis News*, March 16.

The Leipsic consulate is now held by Prof. Diederich, of Fort Wayne, and Congressman McNaghy has entered for the place Joseph Storm, of Fort Wayne.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 28.

J. C. Carlton, of Bedford, has returned to urge his appointment to a good soft snap. A few weeks ago he filed his papers for a two-thousand-dollar job in the post-office as postmaster, but now he is inclined to transfer his papers to the state department for a place in the consular service.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 7.

Dr. Teal, of Kendallville, who wanted the Glasgow consulate, has taken a toboggan slide since Morse's appointment to the post. He has come down to Leeds. Dr. Teal was a member of the last house.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 28.

Dr. Teal, of Kendallville, who came here shortly after the inauguration with his family, is desirous of going to Leith, Scotland.—*Indianapolis News*, April 7.

Tenney, of the Marion county auditor's office, has arrived with an application for the Ottawa consulate.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 28.

D. A. Jennings, editor of the *Salem Democrat*, has arrived, and is making a still hunt for the consulship to Hamburg.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 4.

D. A. Jennings, editor of the *Salem Democrat*, is dragging the Potomac river now for the Hamburg or Dresden consulate. He was at first undecided what to apply for, but when once he made up his mind he began with earnestness.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 5.

Dick Johnson, of Frankfort, was also introduced by the senators. He wanted a consulship. Dr. Chitwood, of Connersville, who wants to go as consul to Berliu, and Dr. Jennings, of Salem, were also of the party.—*Indianapolis News*, April 5.

A. E. Manning, of the Marion county clerk's office, arrived to-day with an application for the Liberian mission, which is now held by Prof. McCoy, of Indianapolis. Manning is an

original colonial democrat.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 5.

A. E. Manning, of County Clerk Wilson's office, has returned from Washington. He says that he has not made application to the state department for the Liberian mission, but that when he arrived there he was told that an application had been made for him, and that the place had been assigned to Indiana. He says that he talked with Secretary Gresham on the subject, and asserted that he would prefer any other position. He was assured that if he was not appointed to Liberia he would receive a place equally as good. The Liberian mission, which pays \$5,000 a year, is now held by W. D. McCoy, of this city.—*Indianapolis News*, April 10.

Jerome Herff, of Peru, has secured the entire state delegation for indorsement for consul-general to Havana, salary \$6,000 and fees.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 16.

Jerome Herff, the member of the state committee from Peru, left yesterday for his home, after having filed a strong petition for appointment as consul to Havana. There is a sharp rivalry for this place, but Mr. Herff has no opposition from Indiana and will be indorsed by the delegation. His Indiana friends believe he stands a fair show of appointment.

Jerome Herff, of Peru, is still in the city confidently expecting appointment as consul to Havana. He will remain here another week.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 23.

Jerome Herff's prospects for consul-general to Havana are improving. The Eleventh district has not yet been recognized, and Herff will be the first to get a big office from the district. Herff did some good work during the campaign. He has always been an active democrat, and has never held office. He is indorsed by the whole delegation.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 28.

Two candidates are on the ground, and will remain this week and perhaps longer—Jerome Herff, of Peru, who is looking in the direction of Havana, Cuba. There seems to be some doubt as to whether or not Mr. Herff will get Havana, as that consulship is so desirable that it has called out lively competition from all parts of the country. If he fails to land on the island it will not be for lack of Indiana encouragement and indorsements. He has the united state delegation and nearly every influential democrat within the Hoosier borders. The support that has rallied to Mr. Herff's cause is not purely perfunctory. There seems to be a strong desire, because of his active connection with Indiana politics, among the Hoosier leaders for Mr. Herff's political promotion. If he does not go to Havana it is averred that he will land one of the other choice consulships that are yet dangling over Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 31.

Jerome Herff, of Peru, was at the state department to-day, pressing his application for

the consul-generalship of Havana, a position worth \$15,000 a year, fees and salary combined.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 5.

Jerome Herff, of Peru, thinks his name will be bulletined for a good consulate.—*Washington Dispatch*, April 10.

Representative Martin said to-day that Jerome Herff, of Peru, would be appointed to a consulate this week. Mr. Herff became discouraged last week, and was about to leave for his home, when Mr. Martin assured him that if he would remain a few days longer the appointment would be made. Mr. Herff wanted the consul-generalship to Havana, a position worth \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year. Where he will go is not known, but the Cairo (Egypt) consul-generalship is mentioned as the place he may get.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 11.

Con Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, formerly of Indianapolis, has filed his application for the Belfast consulate.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

C. W. Cunningham, a Crawfordsville merchant, has been here several days. He came over from New York with "Gil" Shanklin, and has been keeping pretty quiet until yesterday, when he confided to some of his friends his ambition to be consul to Glasgow.

C. W. Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, is securing signatures to a petition to be appointed consul to Belfast.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 23.

C. W. Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, has not given up his designs on a consulship. He arrived here yesterday, and was taken up to the White House by the senators this morning.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 5.

The candidacy of Cornelius Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, for the position of consul of Belfast, Ireland, and the fair chance he has of winning, is causing the democracy of Montgomery county to growl quite angrily. It was noticed that he was rather quiet during the last campaign, but when a couple of months ago he sold his stores and announced himself as a candidate for the consulate at Belfast, the triumphant democracy bade him God speed, and Congressman Brookshire, Senator Voorhees, John Lamb, Gil Shanklin, and others promised him their influence.

It had been whispered about for some time that the loyalty of Cornelius to Jeffersonian principles was questionable, to say the least, and the republicans laughed loudly as they boasted of Cunningham's offers to sell out last summer. John Johnson, ex-county recorder and a prominent Irish republican, has taken peculiar delight in spreading the good news and relating his own personal experiences and chats with the candidate for the Belfast mission. The most reliable charge, however, is one that comes from John S. Brown. He is one of the most prominent republicans in the state, and naturally when Mr. Cunningham felt a little shaky last summer in his faith, he could settle upon no better father-confessor

than Mr. Brown. Mr. Cunningham stated that he had, through reading and observation, been converted to the principles of the republican party, and intended to vote for Harrison. He also intended to bring with him into the fold twenty heretofore staunch democrats. He desired some recognition for all this, however, and wanted Mr. Brown's assurance that in case victory alighted on the banner of the republican party that he would receive the district's indorsement for the position he now seeks from Cleveland.—*Crawfordsville Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 27.

Those who know B. D. L. Glazebrook, doorkeeper of the last house of representatives, will be surprised to learn that he aspires to represent the government in the consular service. He is not particular where the position may be so long as he gets it.

Three judges of the supreme court—Howard, McCabe and Hackney—recommended him in a letter to the President as "a young man of ability and splendid morals." Governor Matthews also writes a letter for him, in which he testifies to his fitness for a place in the consular service. Ed Hawkins, president of the board of public safety, indorses him as "a sterling young democrat of northern Indiana, with influence." Oscar Henderson drops in line also, with a testimonial as to the applicant's ability. Other prominent democrats do likewise.

Glazebrook has been an office-seeker ever since he arrived at age. He is only about thirty years old now, and has already held one or two government positions, besides being given other places by his party.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 9.

It seems that an injustice has been done in the intimation that Doorkeeper Glazebrook is a chronic office-holder. With the exception of the legislative office of doorkeeper, he has held but one public office. He was in the railway mail service during the last half of President Cleveland's first term. Mr. Glazebrook carries with him to Washington a lot of as fine indorsements as were ever taken by any man from Indiana.—*Indianapolis Sentinel* March 10.

Ex-Doorkeeper Glazebrook of the late lamented house has arrived. He has not made up his mind what he wants.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

Ex-Doorkeeper Glazebrook of the Indiana house has selected his post. After consulting the Blue Book he decided to apply for the consulate at Buenos Ayers, Argentine Republic. The office is worth \$5,000.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 13.

Ex-Doorkeeper Glazebrook was relieved of his pocketbook last night. Since the inauguration the city has been full of sneak thieves, and Glazebrook is not the sole victim.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 15.

Ex-Doorkeeper Glazebrook, of Starke county, announced to his friends to-day that he had "a dead cinch" on the Buenos Ayres consulate. Mr. Glazebrook has certainly been sleeping on his office ever since he came here, for he has not lost sight of it.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, Mar. 17.

Senator Voorhees introduced P. F. Glazebrook, of Indiana, a candidate for consul to Buenos Ayres, to the President to-day.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 25.

Glazebrook, of Stark county, has not used his toboggan yet, and is still sticking for Buenos Ayres.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 28.

P. F. Glazebrook lacks none of the staying qualities that are said to be essential to political success. He is bringing every influence possible to bear on the White House.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 31.

One of the most persistent office-seekers is

B. D. L. Glazebrook, late doorkeeper of the lower house of the legislature. After the legislature adjourned he concluded he wanted more of public life, and wanted to go to Washington to urge his claims. He had no money when he left this city, and would have been embarrassed about his board bill at the hotel if some friend had not stood good for it. But he managed to raise \$30, and he started for Washington. He had \$15 when he arrived there, but took a carriage, as bigger politicians with no more money have been known to do, and drove to the Arlington, the headquarters for the time of the administration leaders. The terms were \$6 a day, but he did not care for that. "That the way to do!" he confided to a friend. "You have got to put on style in Washington. The Arlington is where the big fellows stop, and they take notice of who is there."

Glazebrook staid there two days. Of course he was by this time nearly broke. Then came the old story. He announced that he had been robbed, and on the strength of that borrowed \$40 of his congressman, Conn. He soon ran out of money again, and was making no progress in getting an office. He telegraphed his father at LaPorte to send him some money in care of a certain bank. Day after day he called at the bank for some response, but he was as regularly disappointed. He finally telegraphed his father that he was appointed and must have some money. His answer was a telegram, which he opened expectantly. All it contained was: "Congratulations." The ruse had not worked, but at last accounts he was in Washington, still in the same quest of office.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 1.

Senator Voorhees has asked the President to remove the consul at Buenos Ayres and appoint Ex-Doorkeeper Glazebrook, of Indiana. The President said he would think about it. "There are a great many applicants for the South American consulships," said he.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 5.

Glazebrook has been the most persistent office-seeker from Indiana, and he thinks he has made himself solid with the administration by abusing newspaper men here as well as in Indianapolis. The Buenos Ayres consulate is the most important in South America, and it has been filled by Baker for thirteen years. It requires a man of cool judgment and ability to fill the place. Baker, who is an old newspaper man, has been kept chiefly for his graphic reports on the resources and progress of the country, yet Glazebrook, whose only experience outside of a drug store has been as a postal clerk and doorkeeper of the Indiana house, has been indorsed by all the state officers, judges, members of the legislature, as a man eminently qualified to fill any position in the gift of the President. It is also true that some of his indorsers have written the President that their indorsements were given because they understood such documents don't count, anyway.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 11.

MISCELLANEOUS.

There is quite a lively fight on for the Ft. Wayne post-office between Col. W. W. Rockhill, of the *Ft. Wayne Journal*, and M. V. B. Spencer.—*Indianapolis News*, March 13.

County Chairman Merrill will be appointed postmaster of Connersville. Editor Hicks, of the *Examiner*, being an "ex," is out of it.

Editor McKillop, of the *Herald*, will be postmaster of Muncie. He was county chairman and is entitled to the place on account of his telling service to the party of Delaware county.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 11.

* * *

There is a story related among the democratic politicians of Indiana, which gives much encouragement to the original Cleveland men. The story is to the effect that the appointment of Gray to the Mexican mission does not mean that the President intends to allow the Gray-Voorhees-Matthews wing of the party to control the patronage in Indiana. The appointment of Gray, it is said, is the fulfillment of a contract made at the Chicago nominating convention by ex-Secretary Whitney. According to the story, the contract was made with Gray by Whitney without Mr. Cleveland's knowledge or consent, but that the President, much as he disliked to appoint Gray, could not well fail to fulfill the agreement entered into by his manager at Chicago. It is said that before the Indiana delegation in the convention agreed to vote solidly for Cleveland, there was an express understanding with Mr. Gray's friends on the delegation that the ex-Governor was to be well taken care of by the administration in case he failed to secure the nomination for vice-president, and in the event of Cleveland's election. It is further told that to make certain that the agreement was to be kept, Mr. Gray visited Gray Gables before he raised his voice for Mr. Cleveland.—*Indianapolis News*, March 13.

* * *

Editor Shanklin, of Evansville, who was so enraged yesterday at ex-Governor Gray's appointment, has postponed his departure for home, and will take a leading part in the hunt for spoils. In discussing the Gray appointment to-day, he said: "It is a humiliation, because Gray does not represent in any sense the democrats of a state which cast its electoral vote against one of its own sons in favor of Mr. Cleveland, of New York. He was not a Cleveland man, is not now, and will never be. I am, and the people for whom I am speaking, have been constant supporters of the man who will be our executive for the next four years.—*Washington Dispatch to Buffalo Express*, March 11.

NEPOTISM.

Vice-President Stevenson, made his son his private secretary.

Secretary Carlisle to-day appointed his son, Logan Carlisle, chief clerk of the treasury department, vice Stocks, resigned.

Senator Peffer has appointed his daughter clerk of the civil service committee of which he is chairman.

James S. Ewing, minister to Belgium.

[April 6.—Vice-President Stevenson was very much pleased over the appointment of Mr. Ewing, for he is his law partner at Bloomington. Mr. Ewing is about forty-five years of age, and has long been an active democrat. He is a cousin of the vice-president. Mr. Ewing was originally a candidate for a judgeship in Illinois, but surrendered that ambition when he discovered that the President desired to give him a foreign mission.—*New York Times*.]

Senator Voorhees has appointed his son, James P. Voorhees, clerk of the senate committee on finance.

[The appointment by Senator Voorhees of his son "Jim" as clerk to the committee on finance, was something of a surprise. It was said, a few days ago, that Chestner Faulkner, a protege of the senator who was formerly chief of the record division of the pension office, would be named for the place. It is said that "Judge" Faulkner will have a position with the committee. In addition to the clerk will be an assistant clerk and a messenger to be appointed. The salary of young Voorhees's position is \$2,500 a year. It has been held under the republican organization of the senate by Benjamin Durfee, an authority on the tariff schedule.—*Indianapolis News*, March 16.]

Senators Cockerell, Blackburn, Pugh, Morgan, Vance, Mills and Harris removed experienced clerks to give their places on the senate committees, of which they are chairman, to their sons. Cockerell's son was clerk of his father's committee at the same time that his name appeared in the catalogue of Harvard college as one of its students. Senator Palmer made his daughter private secretary, at six dollars per day.—*South West*, March 24.

R. W. Springer, son of Chairman Springer, of Illinois, was clerk of the committee on ways and means, at \$3,000 a year; B. A. Enloe, son of Chairman Enloe, of Tennessee, was clerk to the committee on education; B. U. Stump, son of Chairman Stump, of Maryland, was clerk of the committee on immigration and naturalization; the son of Chairman Peel, of Arkansas, was clerk of the committee on Indian affairs; the brother of Chairman Wise, of Virginia, was clerk to the interstate commerce committee; the son of Chairman Reilly, of Pennsylvania, was clerk of the committee on Pacific railways; the son of Chairman Tilman, of South Carolina, was clerk of the committee on patents; the son of Chairman Bankhead, of Alabama, was clerk of the committee on public buildings and grounds; the son of Chairman Catchings, of Mississippi, was clerk of the committee on railways and canals. Each one of these committee clerks drew \$2,000 a year. The son of Speaker Crisp held a clerkship in the house at \$2,200, and the brother of the sergeant-at-arms of the house held a \$3,000 position.—*Indianapolis Journal*.

Asa Dickinson, brother of Confidential Messenger Don Dickinson, consul to Nottingham.

James Blackburn, of Kentucky, brother of Senator Blackburn, United States marshal. Eight years ago Mr. Cleveland deemed Blackburn unfit for the same office and refused to appoint him.

John Tracey, of New York, brother of Representative Charles Tracey, superintendent of charities for the District of Columbia.

John E. Risley, of New York, brother-in-law of Senator Voorhees, minister to Denmark.

James McKenzie, of Kentucky, cousin of Vice-President Stevenson, minister to Peru.

Newton B. Eustis, of Louisiana, son of Ambassador Eustis, second secretary of Legation at Paris.—*Buffalo Express*.

Seth Shepard, of Texas, nominated to be associate justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, was delegate at large at the Chicago convention.

James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky, who goes as minister to Peru, has been a delegate to the last two national democratic conventions. It was McKenzie who made the celebrated humorous speech at the St. Louis convention, wherein he likened Cleveland to a thoroughbred Kentucky racehorse ready for victory. At the Chicago convention he broke away from Henry Watterson's lead, and by another timely and funny speech carried a number of his fellow-delegates from Kentucky over to the Cleveland line.—*New York Times*, March 31.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The interference of senators and representatives with nominations and minor appointments in the civil service is not only without constitutional warrant, but it is an indecent and dangerous confusion of two functions which the constitution carefully keeps distinct. The senator or representative who makes himself an office broker, to pay his own parasites from the public purse, should stand well exposed in the pillory of public contempt, and by reason of such interference should forfeit the respect of the country and the confidence and support of his constituency.—*George William Curtis.*

The oath I now take to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of these United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional demands as the rule by which my official conditions must be guided.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural.*

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us constrain me to remind those with whom I am to co-operate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task we shall hardly be excused, and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.—*President's Inaugural.*

COOPER'S DOMAIN.

Editor A. Allison of the *Nashville Democrat* was appointed postmaster to-day at the request of Congressman Cooper. To-morrow the ax will fall on sixty republican postmasters in the first and second districts.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 23.*

There were many surprised democrats in Spencer when it was announced that the appointment of postmaster had been made for this place, as it was not expected for some time yet. In fact, three remonstrances were being circulated against O. T. Dickerson, the choice of G. W. Cooper, which over one-half of the democratic patrons of the office had signed. Dickerson heard of the effort being made against him, and telegraphed Mr. Cooper, who hastened the appointment.—*Spencer Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, April 5.*

The appointment of Isaac Holton as postmaster at Plainfield is one to be commended. Mr. Holton is a good business man, and from a party standpoint he had well earned the office.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, April 13.*

[Readers are referred to the December and succeeding numbers of the CHRONICLE for further information regarding these appointments. Harris, Allison, Dickerson and Holton were Cooper's "men" and Cooper, in spite of the protests of a large number of democrats claimed his right to name their postmaster, and he has done so.]—*Editor of Chronicle.*

The fight for the postmastership of this city has broken out again, and threatens to be more fierce than ever before. For a time after Congressman Cooper had publicly given out that George E. Finney, an ex-editor, who held the office during Cleveland's first term, should have the office again, there was a great stir among the other applicants for the place, and Mr. Cooper was publicly denounced. Now that the President's no-reappointment rule shuts out Mr. Finney, the strife for the place has become more fierce than ever. Publicly advertised meetings have been held, at which communications were read demanding, in very emphatic terms, that Mr. Cooper allowed an election to be held to determine who shall be postmaster.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, March 20.*

Two hundred democrats held a public meeting at the court-house last night to "agree upon some plan to select a postmaster," and to receive a report from a committee deputed by a former meeting to wait upon Congressman Cooper and demand of him that he shall appoint, or recommend, whom the democrats select.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis News, March 21.*

The democrats of this city are greatly stirred up over the matter of the appointment of a postmaster. Congressman Cooper has pledged himself to the man who held the position four years ago. He left for Washington Monday, and will see President Cleveland in regard to the rule that no ex-postmasters are eligible for reappointment.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, March 22.*

For three months past the democrats here have been clamoring for a primary election in order that the masses, as well as the party bosses could have a voice in the selection of a man for postmaster. The plan was strenuously opposed by the *Daily Dispatch*, the party organ, the editor, C. H. Havens, being himself a candidate and unwilling to go into a contest for the place at an election. Last Friday petitions containing the names of three hundred representative democrats were presented to Capt. M. W. Barnes, and he, in his capacity of central committee chairman, issued a call for a primary to take place March 25. Accordingly, the election will be held Saturday. To-day a paper signed by fifty prominent democrats, was presented to the *Dispatch*, protesting against the course of the paper in opposing a popular expression from the patrons of the office. The bitterness is growing every hour, and the election will but add fuel to the flames.—*Kokomo Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, March 23.*

The post-office election in this city Saturday puts the local democrats in a strikingly peculiar position. Charles H. Leach, who won at the primary, is an old soldier, a good man, and out of a total vote of 886, with six candidates he secured 463 votes, or a clear majority of 40 over all his competitors. Havens declined to go into the primary. Havens has the indorsement of Senators Voorhees and Turpie.—*Kokomo Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal, March 28.*

Harris, who was appointed by the President, postmaster of Franklin, is the chairman of Johnson county. He was recommended by Congressman Cooper.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 25.*

Congressman Cooper has written a letter here that President Cleveland has refused to entertain the nomination and appointment of Capt. G. E. Finney as postmaster, for the reason that Mr. Finney was postmaster four years ago.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis News, March 30.*

[Yet Congressman Bynum has just re-appointed three of his old postmasters.]

Kokomo is in the throes of a "post-office election." The movement is opposed by a number of leading democrats, and it has the hearty disapproval of the democratic newspaper organ, the *Dispatch*. The primary plan was suggested several weeks ago, and the advice of Senators Voorhees and Turpie asked. They answered, in effect, that all applications would receive due consideration, primary or no primary. This settled the matter until the appointment of Dale Crittenberger at Anderson. Crittenberger's father-in-law resigned in his favor, and the aspirants for the Kokomo office feared a like coup de etat here. C. H. Havens, who has had the editorial management of the *Kokomo Dispatch*, is said to be seeking the place. His father-in-law is the present incumbent of the post-office.—*Kokomo Dispatch to Indianapolis News, March 21.*

Congressman Cooper has made the following nominations for postmasters:

Morton, A. V. Thomas; Roachdale, John Dodd; Ellettsville, J. E. Steele; Whiteland, J. F. Tracy; Stinesville, G. B. Easton; Hall, Dr. A. S. Tilford; Bean Blossom, Wm. Crosser; Beek's Grove, Andrew A. Manuel; Spearsville, E. E. Urich; Mt. Liberty, W. H. Seitz; Freedom, James H. Courim; Hartsville, John W. Bline; Morgantown, George M. Montgomery; Gosport, Clinton L. Wampler; Mooresville, James H. Bayliss; Raceoon, J. F. Shannon; Alaska, A. H. Seerest; Waverly, Samuel —; Hazlewood, E. V. Millan; North Salem, Wm. W. Hoeker; Ninevah, Addison M. Dunham; Trafalgar, Cary J. Slack; Cartersburg, Thomas A. Prewitt; Clifford, John F. Heyworth; Brownsburg, W. A. Enliss; Catawaet, Miss Levina Meek; Clayton, Henry Johnson; Taylorsville, George W. Cook; Elizabethtown, Phillip J. Sater; Bainbridge, Milroy Gordon; Clear Creek, George C. Wingfield; Mt. Clair, Morton Ellis; Victor, John W. Whitaker; Unionville, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Kerr; Romona, Sidney S. Bryant; Barnard, Noah H. Bar-

lett; Kirksville, Joseph W. Crane; Reelsville, Wm. Poster; Bellunion, James M. Hurst; Needmore, John C. Chitwood; Cleona, Wm. Cook; Nashville, Alonzo Allison; Fincastle, Mrs. Era Edwards; Kinder, F. M. Kiphart; Samaria, C. L. Paris; Smith's Valley, Wm. L. Rush; Pittsboro, V. D. Richardson; Eminence, John R. Mannan; Mead, George L. Craven; Stone's Crossing, Albert Browning; Brooklyn, Levin H. Gamble; Friendswood, Frederick V. Beeler; Landersdale, John W. Park; Ramelton, James A. Mead; Hope, E. A. Norman; Rocklane, E. A. Shipp; Cloverdale, W. E. Horn; Smithville, Theodore Thrasher; Portland Mills, Fay Hamilton; Alaska, Arthur H. Secrest; Mt. Meridian, Wm. Hurst; Dolan, Wm. Smith; Amo, John W. Newman.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 4.

Dalton Wilson has been appointed postmaster of Greenwood, at the request of Mr. Cooper.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 6.

Congressman Cooper has secured the removal of Philip King, superintendent of the pension office building.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 15.

BROOKSHIRE'S DOMAIN.

Congressman Brookshire has settled eighty postmasterships in his district. During the last ten days he has devoted his entire time to the consideration of the applications.

Mr. Brookshire is just recovering from a bad case of the grip. Had it not been for this illness he would have visited each important town of his district to settle the post-offices on the ground.

Following is a list of the post-offices, and the names of the candidates he will recommend for appointment:

Clay County—Matt Jones, Ashboro; J. W. Sutton, Martz; Scott Inge, Knightsville; John Schoer, Poland; Mrs. Clarissa Varsley, Cloverland, C. G. McClintock, Staunton; Thomas Anderson, Carbon; N. H. Vego, Perth; Lewis McCullough, Asherville; Wm. McCullough, Center Point; Richard Gantz, Saline City; John S. Stongh, Brazil; Wm. Folsom, Bowling Green; Frederick Mackel, Turner; R. J. Hill, Harmony; D. W. V. Morton, Cardonia; Esau Bolin, Hoosierville; F. A. Staggs, Cory.

Vermillion County—John Cade, Gessie; David M. McDonald, Cayuga; Frank H. Munson, Newport; H. A. Sturm, Eugene; John W. Winterwood, Hillsdale; John L. Smith, Dana; O. N. Ayres, St. Bernice; Wm. Bebefel, Perryville.

Fountain County—H. J. Davidson, Hillsboro; J. W. Shuster, Stone Bluff; Monroe Barker, Yeddo; S. D. Alexander, Kingman; W. R. Etchison, Coal Creek; Mrs. Ellen Basham, Wallace; C. H. Quinn, Newtown.

Montgomery County—John E. Talbott, Ladoga; John Adams, jr., Parkersburg; Miss Jennie Sweeny, Yountsville; John W. McCordle, New Richmond; J. W. Kirkpatrick, Kirkpatrick; Charles McBee, Linden; Henry D. Serves, New Market; R. C. Cording, Wingate, Isaac Woodard, Bowers.

Parke County—Mrs. Anna White, Lena; Ellis Branson, Milligan; R. R. Pence, Catlin; J. C. Vickory, Bloomingdale; Frank Randolph, Waterman; Thomas Trump, Marshall; Norvil Hamilton, Bellmore; Geo. Kemp, Montezuma; L. B. Humphries, Rockville.

Vigo County—W. A. Michaels, St. Marys; Jessie S. Harrold, Lewis; B. H. Gallagher, Fonntnette; A. F. Miller, Macksville; R. H. Modisett, Seelyville; Chas. J. Asperger, Riley; James Hauger, Prairie Creek; Wm. Hansell, New Goshen; Edward Davis, Coal Bluff; Zina Doty, Burnett.

Sullivan County—Miss Minnie Duncan, New Lebanon; J. K. McClain, Farmersburg; Dora Beckett, Hymera; Harry Conkle, Farnsworth; Albert Gilmore, Pleasantville; Owen Kissner, Fairbanks; Robert Gambill, Allen Cave; W. H. Burks, Sullivan; W. C. Watson, Paxton; W. F. Latshaw, Carlisle; Mrs. Sadie McKissick, Dugger; W. L. Hunt, Meron; Wm. H. McGrew, Case; E. G. Carithers, Graysville; H. V. Stark, Shelburn.

The postmaster of Terre Haute will be named by Senator Voorhees. It is the custom to allow a U. S. Senator to name the postmaster of his own city.

Mr. Brookshire has not yet decided whom he will recommend for Covington, Attica, Crawfordsville and Clinton—all presidential offices. In Clay city a democrat was appointed by Harrison during the last days of his administration, and there is a strong effort made on the part of the local democrats to have him sustained by a democrat of Cleveland's choice.

Mr. Brookshire says that he will file all the applications, together with letters of indorsements and petitions, but will also file his own recommendation. *Thus far the member's recommendation has not been overruled.*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 31.

Representative Brookshire, who has been confined to his room at the National for several days with the grip, came out to-day and made the rounds of the departments in the interest of his office-seeking friends.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 2.

BRETZ'S DOMAIN.

A letter has been received from Congressman Bretz, stating that he has indorsed the application of John W. McCarty for postmaster of this city. *McCarty is chairman of the county democratic central committee.*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*.

About three months ago Congressman Bretz named the man that he would recommend for postmaster here, but since Cleveland's statement that he considered an election a good recommendation for appointment, *application was made to Bretz to let the matter be settled by an election. He refused, and now the matter will be carried to the postmaster-general for decision.*—*Mitchell Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 29.

Miss Lois Buskirk has been recommended by Congressman Bretz for postmaster of Paoli. She is the daughter of Tom Buskirk. [Candidate for U. S. Marshal and failed.]—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

The announcement in Friday's Journal of the appointment of A. C. Hacker as postmaster at this point, and A. T. Ackerman at Loogootee, the two principal post-offices of Martin county, though not wholly unexpected, has created a great hubbub in the camp of the local democracy. The appointments are condemned in unmeasured terms by the better element of the party, and Congressman Bretz is being roundly denounced by the leaders. At Shoals Fabius Gwin, a popular and sterling young democrat, who has ever been an active and ardent champion of the party, and who has been giving the best of satisfaction as an officer, is displaced to make room for the above appointee, who for the past few years has been the editor of the *News*, the democratic official county organ.

At Loogootee the successful applicant is even more obnoxious, he being an ex-saloon keeper, who for many years, until the past few

weeks, has been running a dram show continuously.—*Shoals Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 3.

The appointment to-day of democratic postmasters for Marion and Vincennes, caused some rejoicing among democrats here, because in both cases the republican postmasters were removed. These two appointments indicate the policy of the administration next January. *Hawkins*, who was appointed postmaster for Marion upon Mr. Martin's recommendation, was chairman of the Grant county democratic committee in the last campaign. He is a man of business capacity. *Purcell* who secured the Vincennes office through Mr. Bretz, is editor of the *Vincennes Sun*, the oldest paper in the state.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 31.

In the second district Congressman Bretz has settled a number of post-offices. For Bedford he will recommend John Johnson of the *Democrat*; for Vincennes, R. E. Purcell of the *Sun*; Mitchell, T. J. Dilley; Worthington, Mr. Wilson, who is in the grocery business; Linton, a Mr. Beasley, and Jasper, Charles Egg.

Huntington has not been settled. Capt. Fisher, Ed. Pickhardt of the *News*, and Frank Burns are the candidates, with the chances in favor of Pickhardt. At Paoli, Dave Murr of the *News*, and John Pro are the candidates. James Frost for Orleans has been selected by Mr. Bretz.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

The following physicians were appointed medical examiners to-day upon the recommendation of Congressman Bretz: [Here follows list of 15.]—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 1.

Congressman Bretz has appointed A. C. Hacker, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Shoals.

TAYLOR'S DOMAIN.

Leonoy Wade of Posey county seems to have a "cinch" on one of the assistant generalships of the department of justice. *He is backed by Congressman Taylor and two senators.* *Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 24.

Congressman Taylor of Indiana, has filed the application of Thomas Fuller, of Barnesville, for seal agent to Alaska, also that of Dr. W. Fritsch, of Evansville, for consul at Frankfurt.—*Indianapolis News*, March 24.

Congressman Taylor has not settled all the post-offices in his district. Two of the presidential offices, Tell City and Cannelton have already been filled. Philip Zoercher of the Tell City *News* is the new postmaster of his city, and Albert A. May will be appointed for Cannelton. For Evansville he has recommended John J. Nolan, who was a member of the legislature of 1889 and 1891.

Mt. Vernon has four candidates. John C. Leffel of the *Star*, A. A. Sparks of the *Democrat*, Silas Jones and Connty Chairman Harlan. Mr. Taylor will recommend Harlan. Poseyville has two candidates, J. Haynes of the *News* and A. R. Trenor. New Harmony held an election, and Wm. Richards was nominated by a large majority, but they are petitioning against the appointment. For the Princeton office are Dr. A. R. Burton, A. W. Lego, W. H. Evans, O. M. Knobb and Thomas Nichols. At Oakland City,

Lewis Deltch, Mr. Phillips who keeps the Phillips Hotel, George Mayo, Green Brashire and Martha Robinson are the applicants. At Petersburg, Thomas K. Fleming, Dan C. Ashley, Perry Chapple, Milton Mitchell and O. R. Patterson. At Boonville, Francis D. Sches, Thomas B. Thel, Robert Taylor and Griffith Taylor. At Rockport, George Pracusky, John Nester and Mrs. Conin.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 31.

Congressman Taylor went to the White House this morning, and afterward to the department of justice accompanied by judge E. A. Ely, of Petersburg. Judge Ely comes from Congressman Taylor's home town. He was entered in the race for a territorial judgeship, either of Arizona or Oklahoma.—*Indianapolis News*, April 1.

In the First district Congressman Taylor secured the appointments of Drs. Hutchinson, Lomax and Clothe for Perry county, and as pension examiners for Warrick Drs. McVey, Tucker and Guyatt. They are all democrats.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 7.

If Representative Taylor, the new member from Petersburg, Ind., representing the First district, is not careful he will have more applicants for office on his hands than he can well take care of. His list, large as it is, has so far been anything but a mascot, and plums do not seem to be dropping into his hands. To-day he comes to the front with another lot. Among them is Dr. Wm. A. Fritch, of Evansville, who wants to be consul to Stuttgart. Mr. T. W. Venneman, also of Evansville, is another applicant for office who appears to be well qualified. He wants to be one of the board of Mississippi river commission. He has been connected with the river service for the past thirty years, and is now the president of the water ways commission. Another newcomer, fresh from Indiana and in search of office, with a record behind him which would do credit to any man, is Capt. John J. Sinzicuh, also of Evansville. Capt. Sinzicuh is a candidate for supervising inspector of steamboats for the Sixth district.—*Washington Dispatch to Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*, April 10.

Congressman Taylor, of the First Indiana congressional district, has secured the appointment of the following medical pension examiners, all democrats:

Gibson County—Drs. M. W. French of Ft. Branch; G. P. Powell, of Princeton, and George Strickland, of Francisco.

Spencer County—Drs. Molasky, Hackleman and Curry.

Three county boards remain yet to be changed in the First district. They are Vanderburg, Posey and Pike. They will be reorganized soon.

Congressman Taylor will secure the removal of Postmaster Stokes Bennett, of Evansville, in a few days, and the appointment of the Hon. "Jack" Nolan in his stead.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 12.

BYNUM'S DOMAIN.

It is stated that Congressman Bynum, who wants to act with the greatest circumspection in his recommendation of an appointee for the office of collector of customs, will return to the city soon and take up the matter. He hopes to nominate a collector without stirring

up any more ill feeling than is now manifesting itself about other appointments.—*Indianapolis News*, March 23.

Mr. Bynum has made the following recommendations for postmasters: Alfonte, Samuel Denton; Carrollton, Asa Hutton; New Palestine, Sophia Mitchell; New Augusta, George Avery. Avery was appointed to-day.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

Romeo L. Depuy, the ex-laundryman of Indianapolis, was to-day appointed chief of the eastern division of the pension office, to succeed Captain Wilhite, of Crawfordsville, removed. Depuy was recommended by Representative Bynum.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 31.

Congressman Bynum, who returned to the city yesterday, called at the White House this morning. "I just stepped in to see if things had been running all right during my absence," said he. The Indianapolis congressman was alone.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 4.

Irwin Dickson of Indianapolis came here a week ago to accept a position which Congressman Bynum had secured for him—treasury watchman. Dickson went home last night and will return his commission as soon as he reaches Indiana. He is a one-legged soldier and draws a pension of \$40 a month. He owns two houses and lives in one. His salary here was \$55 a month, which would have paid house rent with but \$15 surplus. He concluded he could save more by remaining at home in his own house and live on his pension money.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 8.

Congressman Bynum arrived from Washington yesterday afternoon. He will spend this week, and perhaps a part of next, in his district consulting with constituents as to merits of the many candidates for federal office. The special object is to gather information that will enable him to make up his list of candidates for postmasters intelligently. Mr. Bynum went to Anderson to-day, and will spend three or four days in the eastern part of the district. He says it is his desire to ascertain what the local sentiment is in each town, and to follow it in making recommendations.

Yesterday afternoon and last night Mr. Bynum had many callers at the Grand Hotel. Albert Sahm, who is booked for the Indianapolis post-office, spent some time with him, but Mr. Sahm says that the Indianapolis post-office was not mentioned during the conference. It is the understanding that Mr. Bynum has consented that Senator Turpie shall name the Indianapolis postmaster, but the congressman, it is said, is willing to second the request of Senator Turpie that Mr. Sahm be appointed.—*Indianapolis News*, April 16.

Congressman Bynum is in Madison county, looking after the fourth-class postmasters in that district. He is very anxious, it is said, to build up a following which will steer him over the shoals of a renomination two years hence.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 12.

Congressman Bynum found it necessary to-day to flee from the office-seekers. It was al-

most noon yesterday when he wrote his name in the Grand hotel register, and from that time until after midnight he did not have a moment's rest. It is estimated that not less than two hundred persons called on him in the interest of themselves or some one else. About half of the callers wanted places in the departments at Washington; the others wanted post-offices, or recommendations for positions under the chief federal officers in this state. This morning Mr. Bynum said to some of his friends that he could not endure the pressure. During the afternoon he took a train for Greenfield, where he will remain two or three days considering the applications for post-offices in Hancock county.

Congressman Bynum has had a hundred callers a day at the Grand Hotel. Among them was Dr. Joseph D. Youart, who wants to be a member of the pension examining board. Youart says he "made it possible for Bynum to secure the nomination for Congress the first time."

Mr. Bynum has, so far as it is possible for him to do so, settled one question of interest to those concerned. The Irvington post-office through several administrations has been in the hands of George W. Russell, republican. He is an applicant for reappointment, and has the support of George W. Julian and other influential democrats, as well, of course, as of republicans. Dr. Dougherty, physician and druggist in the suburb, also applied for the post-office. Dr. Long and other democrats obtained signatures to a petition in Dougherty's behalf, which, together with democratic argument, was sent to Bynum. Russell's friends used the wire effectively, they hoped, and made a plea that, on civil service principles and because there had never been politics in the office, Russell ought to be retained. A third candidate also appeared, and the entire community took sides. No small affair has recently given the suburb so much more or less good-natured concern.

"Have you settled the question as to who is to be postmaster at Irvington?" Mr. Bynum was asked to-day, as he wearily opened one of many letters. The congressman looked over the spectacles to which he has been driven by stress of service in behalf of applicants, and said, decidedly:

"Yes, it is settled. The post-office will go to Dougherty. There was nothing else to do."—*Indianapolis News*, April 13.

Congressman Bynum is in town, and is besieged by office-seekers and friends at the Grand Hotel, having just returned from a short trip to Madison county. When asked what had been the object of his trip, he said: "Well, I am looking after the appointment of postmasters, though I can't say that anything of importance has been done as yet. I am just making a survey of the situation, so as to know better what is expected. I go from here to Hancock county to continue my survey, and may have something more interesting to say on my return," concluded Mr. Bynum.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 14.

In the March CHRONICLE was a partial list of Bynum's intended postmasters. Since then the post-office department has made official his choice at Acton, Southport, and Charlottesville.

MARTIN'S DOMAIN.

A few days ago *Congressman Martin* wired John Young, of Huntington, that he had been appointed state agent of the agricultural department by Secretary Morton; the next day *Congressman McNagney* also wired Argo, of Ft. Wayne, that he had been appointed to the same place. Both claimed that Secretary Morton directed his chief clerk to issue the commission to their respective candidates in their presence. An investigation shows that no commission has been issued. Mr. Morton admits that he promised both men, but under misapprehension, and that he must recall his promises and reconsider the whole matter. As it stands now Young is indorsed by Voorhees and Martin, Argo by Turpie and McNagney.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 31.

The controversy that has been going on for a month between Messrs. McNagney, of the Fort Wayne district, and Martin, of the Bluffton district, for the control of the state agent of the agricultural department, was settled to day by the senators. N. E. Argo, of Allen, Congressman McNagney's man, was appointed, and John Young, of Huntington, Congressman Martin's man, was given a job at Hammond as beef inspector, at \$1,200 a year. Argo will receive \$900, but will have nothing to do but guess at the condition of the crop and send a report accordingly.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 6.

Congressman Martin has appointed C. M. Hawkins, chairman of the democratic county committee, postmaster at Marion.

Congressman Martin said this morning that he expected Jerome Herff to be named for some good consulship this week.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 12.

HOLMAN'S DOMAIN.

Judge Holman said to-day that if John G. Shanklin would accept the position of Mississippi river commissioner, he could undoubtedly secure the appointment. "To my mind," said Judge Holman, "the Mississippi river commission is the greatest official snap going. The salary is \$5,000 a year and it involves no labor to speak of. For my part I have been in favor of abolishing it. But, if Mr. Shanklin wants the office he certainly can get it and I don't see why he should not draw the salary as well as anybody else so long as the commission is to be maintained."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 7.

Judge Holman has not acquiesced in the movement to appoint O. A. Packard, of Plymouth, bank examiner.—*Indianapolis News*, April 8.

Rumors of a new arrangement of the political slate, particularly on bank examiner for Indiana, has brought O. M. Packard, of Ply-

mouth, to the capital, and he has been trying to strengthen his indorsements. He already has the two senators and a majority of the representatives, and it is believed he will get the appointment, although Congressman Holman still thinks that cashier Pugh, of the Rush county bank, has a fighting chance.—*Indianapolis News*, April 13.

S. K. Gold, of Dearborn county, is here. He says he wants nothing, but the fact that he has been hobnobbing with Congressman Holman and other Indiana statesmen looks suspicious. Gold wants something.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 7.

S. K. Gold, of Dearborn county, returned home with his wife to-day. He was offered a \$1,200 office in the treasury department through the influence of Congressman Holman. Gold declined, as he could not support his family on such a salary.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 11.

Congressman Holman has made the following recommendations for medical examining boards: Rush county, Drs. Megee, Smith and Hacklemen; Ripley county, Drs. Roberts, Anderson and Abbott; Dearborn county, Drs. Gatch, Rectamns and Freeland.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 15.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Yesterday Congressman Conn was informed by Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell that letters of recommendation and petitions must accompany the congressman's indorsement for the appointment of postmasters. Mr. Conn had previously filed with the department his own recommendation for postmasters, but not the indorsement of the patrons of the offices. He was then given to understand that the congressmen would settle every post-office contest. To-day Maxwell informed Conn that under no consideration would the recommendation of the congressman be final. Conn replied that he could not afford to make recommendations and then be turned under; that if he could not have the influence to name a fourth-class postmaster he would make no recommendations whatever. In three cases postmasters have been appointed in Indiana lately where the congressman had recommended some one else. This new rule which Conn has just discovered is not to the liking of congressmen.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 16.

Henry C. Paul and John Peters, of Fort Wayne, were here to-day in consultation with Representative McNagney over the Fort Wayne postmastership. There is a serious hitch over this place. Two or three men are demanding it, and say they will have nothing else. Each one has strong claims. It is believed here that the editor of the Fort Wayne Journal will get it, although ex-Pension Agent Zollinger's friends believe he is a sure winner.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 12.

The Hon. Jason B. Brown arrived home yesterday from Washington City, and is looking

unusually well considering the vast amount of arduous labor performed by him since the adjournment of congress.—*Seymour Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 8.

OVERLORDS VOORHEES AND TURPIE.

This morning a grand rush was made on the White House. Senators Voorhees and Turpie and Congressmen McNagney and Martin took Colonel Zollinger, of Ft. Wayne; Dr. Chitwood, of Connersville, and Judge Lowry, of Ft. Wagne, to the White House and introduced them to the President. Judge Lowry has been here for nearly a month. It was rather amusing to witness the way in which Judge Lowry got ahead of another office-seeker this morning, who wanted to get in the White House. A well-known Hoosier who is a candidate for a consulship, and has been hanging on to Washington for several weeks, had an engagement with the two senators and one congressman to take him up to the White House, and present him to the President. He wanted to go alone with the members of the delegation, because he thought it would have more effect than if he came in company with a number of other office-seekers. Last night he quietly went around and made engagements to meet the senators at the Riggs house this morning at 10 o'clock. They came at the appointed hour, but Judge Lowry had heard of it meanwhile and was on hand, and when the two senators and one congressman stepped into the carriage to be driven to the White House, Judge Lowry stepped in and completed the circle, while the candidate for consulship elevated his nose in supreme disgust and walked away.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 1.

Two months or more ago the question of a primary election was broached to about ten gentlemen who were known to be seeking the place. The vote on the question broke in the middle and it was determined to ask the advice of Senators Voorhees and Turpie, who, it is supposed, will make the recommendations for the "orphaned" ninth district. They replied, and by the strongest possible inference disapproved of the primary plan.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 25.

Eli W. Brown, of the Frankfort Crescent is not only an applicant for the Frankfort post-office, but he claims the right to name all the postmasters in the ninth congressional district. In the last campaign the democrats made two or three nominations for congress, but they all declined to make the race, as the district is 4,000 republican. Mr. Brown volunteered to make the race, and a few days before the election his name was placed on the ticket by the district committee. He made no canvass of the district and paid no campaign assessment. His name was used simply to fill up the place on the ticket. But now he bobs up as a defeated candidate, claiming the same right to name postmasters that members have. It has always been the custom to let the senators look after the post-offices in republican districts and Senators Voorhees and Turpie have

an understanding in the disposition of post-offices of the sixth and ninth districts. Tomorrow Brown will meet the two senators to talk the matter over, but it is not likely that they will yield to him this power. They are more competent to settle the post-office appointments than Brown.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 29.

Senators Voorhees and Turpie, Messrs. Sheerin, Murdock and Eli W. Brown, editor of the *Frankfort Crescent*, held a conference this afternoon to decide who shall name the postmasters in the ninth congressional district. Mr. Brown claims the right, as the last democratic candidate for congress, to control this patronage, but Senator Turpie does not concede it, for by an arrangement with Senator Voorhees just after election he was to control post-offices in Waugh's, and Voorhees in Johnson's districts. "Jim" Murdock and Sheerin also want to take a hand in the matter. Brown may have a say in the offices, but it will not be final. It is conceded that while Senator Turpie will have the ostensible say, Murdock will really control matters.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, March 29.

Senator Turpie presented to the President to-day Col. J. M. Hoskins, of Brazil; M. S. Scudder, of Washington and John T. Taylor, of Guthrie, Oklahoma. Hoskins is an applicant for internal revenue collector.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 30.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE BROKERS AT LARGE.

Congressman-elect Latimer has made a spectacle which is a little the worst yet presented. He is the man who introduced the resolution at the democratic convention last May which declared:

"We shall look upon the nomination of ex President Cleveland, if forced upon the party at the Chicago convention, as a prostitution of the principles of democracy, as a repudiation of the demands of the farmers' alliance, which embody the true principles of democracy, and a surrender of the rights of the people to the financial kings of the country."

In spite of that, he is now assuming to have influence with Mr. Cleveland, and has begun a programme of distributing fourth-class post-offices to his friends in the farmers' alliance. He called a meeting at Seneca City recently, which had for its object the discussion of the distribution of patronage in his district. Thirty or forty were present, nearly all alliance men. Mr. Latimer acted as auctioneer, and, while the alliance men were ready takers, he disposed of about all the offices in the district. He called out the offices, and nominations were made, and then, according to published reports of the meeting, came speeches of commendation.—*Columbus, S. C., Dispatch to New York Times*, March 8.

* * *

A representative of the Connecticut delegation in congress submitted to the President the name of Daniel M. Morgan, of Bridgeport, Conn., for the position of United States treasurer. He is a banker and is said to have the indorsement of all the democratic congressmen from his state and of Carlos French, the member of the national democratic committee.—*New York Times*, March 9.

* * *

F. R. Richardson, of the *Atlanta Journal*, Cleveland delegate-at-large, is an applicant for appointment as minister to Guatemala. He is backed by about the entire delegation in congress.—*New York Times*, March 11.

* * *

Representative A. J. Pearson, of Ohio, called and presented the name of Ross J. Alexander, of Bridgeport, Ohio, for first assistant postmaster general.

Representatives Catchings and John Allen, of Mississippi, called with Joseph Johnson, of Alabama, and introduced Col. W. M. Inges, of Mississippi, who is a candidate for United States minister to Guatemala.

A delegation from Iowa called and made recommendations for one or two places. They were Representative J. T. Hamilton, Thomas Bowman, W. H. Butler and F. E. White. They recommended Mr. Butler for superintendent of the railway mail service.—*New York Times*, March 10.

* * *

Senator Palmer brought with him Messrs. Brinton and Shutt, of Illinois, the former an applicant for the United States marshalship for the southern district of Illinois, and the other a candidate for the office of district attorney for the same district.—*Indianapolis News*, March 10.

* * *

Representative Springer, of Illinois, who was also one of the President's callers to-day, asked him if the rule of not appointing men who had held office under him four years ago was to prevail as reported. The President replied in the affirmative, and when asked if the rule was inflexible, Mr. Cleveland responded that it would be so substantially. There might be exceptional and extraordinary circumstances which might cause some departures from it, but he could not call to mind any possibilities to justify change from the policy decided upon. Mr. Springer asked if the rule was also to apply to fourth-class postmasters. Mr. Cleveland's response was that he had not thought about that, but he gave the decided impression that it would prevail to as great an extent as possible with the small postmasterships.—*Indianapolis Journal*, March 10.

* * *

The delegation in congress from Minnesota, with Michael Doran, the national committeeman, proposes to make an onslaught on the White House, en masse, as soon as possible. Its members had intended to do so to-day, but decided to postpone it, and Representative Castle was the only one who came.—*New York Times*, March 9.

* * *

This morning the Missouri delegation in congress called upon Postmaster-General Bissell and asked him to define his policy regarding the appointments of postmasters and others that came under him. The delegation stated that they desired this information in order that they might be governed by it in making their recommendations.—*Buffalo Express*, March 11.

* * *

A delegation from Minnesota called and was at once allowed to enter the private office of the President. Michael Doran, the national committeeman, and Judge Charles E. Flandrau, of St. Paul, headed it, and Representative Hall was one of the party. When it was their turn to talk to the President, they asked him to appoint Louis Baker, the editor of the *St. Paul Globe*, to one of the foreign missions. They said Mr. Baker would like a mission of the second class, and that Brazil would probably be agreeable to him. They asked that James Bowers, of Minnesota, be appointed solicitor-general, and they named some of their candidates for the local federal offices.

"Are the applications filed at the proper departments?" asked the President.

"They are," was the reply.

"That is the proper course," said the President.—*New York Times*, March 11.

* * *

Up to date 847 unterrified democrats of West Virginia have filed their applications for federal offices. The list is headed by Joseph S. Miller, of Cabell county, who was commissioner of internal revenue during Cleveland's former administration.—*Buffalo Express*, March 15.

* * *

Senator Edward Murphy, Jr., of New York, was one of the first callers. He had with him Editor John M. Francis, of the *Troy Times*, the ex-minister to Austria, and his grandson, who desired to pay their respects to the President. They remained only a few minutes. A reporter called Mr. Murphy's attention

to the general absence of New York office seekers, and the senator is credited with this reply: "That shows the power of organization. New York will be heard from at the proper time. Instead of having every Tom, Dick and Harry running down here to Washington and bothering the life out of the President, the leaders of the party in New York will decide upon the men whom they desire to have appointed to positions in the federal employ and whose appointment they think will benefit the party most. These names being decided upon, the men will come on to Washington, present their papers, and will, if necessary, be introduced to the President. Yes, organization is a great thing."—*New York Times*, March 14.

* * *

Troy is the home of Edward Murphy, Jr., chairman of the democratic state committee, to-day the most powerful democrat in the state outside of New York and Kings counties. In this county Mr. Murphy's will is the law of the land. No appointment to office is made without his endorsement, nor can an aspirant for a political nomination reach the coveted goal without his approval.—*New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1892.

* * *

Representatives McMillen, Enloe, and Richardson also of Tennessee, and a party composed of G. B. Murray, J. N. McKenzie, W. R. Chambers, Dexter Reed, L. D. Hill, George C. Elston, and A. C. Weleh, of the same state, made the President a short visit. They would like to have him appoint Judge Lerton, now chief justice of the state supreme court, to succeed Circuit Judge Jackson, who was promoted to the United States supreme bench.

Speaker Crisp and Senator Gordon, of Georgia, were among the visitors. They presented the name of Bascom Myrick, of Americans, who was a Hill delegate at Chicago, for a foreign appointment, and R. W. Patterson, of Macon, for a government directorship in the Union Pacific Railway.—*New York Times*, March 12.

* * *

Representative Washington, of Tennessee, was one of the morning visitors. He fell to discussing appointments for places in the District of Columbia. Mr. Enloe presented F. W. Moore, a candidate for pension agent at Knoxville, and Mr. Washington introduced Judge H. H. Ingersoll, of Knoxville, who has an application on file for the position of solicitor-general. Mr. Washington also presented James H. Bible, of Chattanooga, who would like to be district attorney for the eastern district of Tennessee. Some of the party with Mr. McMillen are also candidates for the positions. Mr. Murray wants to be district attorney. Mr. McKenzie would like to be marshal of the middle Tennessee district, and W. R. Chambers would like to be consul at Melbourne.—*New York Times*, March 12.

* * *

George William Carnth, editor of the *Gazette*, of Little Rock, Ark., and a brother of Congressman Carnth, of Kentucky, presented an application for the position of minister to Turkey. He was vouched for by Senator Jones of Arkansas.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, March 12.

* * *

Telegrams from Washington convey the information that Congressman John M. Clancy is to keep his weather eye open for federal patronage at that end of the line. The announcement runs: "He has been officially designated by Hugh McLaughlin to represent him on all questions of patronage affecting Kings county."—*New York Times*, March 12.

* * *

Congressman McMillan, of Tennessee, brought J. N. McKenzie, a candidate for marshal of the fourth district of Tennessee, and G. B. Murray, of Gainesville, who wants to be district attorney for the same district. With Congressman Cobb, of Missouri, came Judge Speck, who has made application for the surveyorship of the port of St. Louis. A. W. Bascom's claims for collector of internal revenue in the Lexington district of Kentucky were presented

by Congressman Paynter, of Kentucky.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 18.

* * *

The Texas delegation saw the President, and state that he will probably nominate A. W. Terrell, of Texas, minister to Turkey.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 18.

* * *

Wm. F. Harrity, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the national democratic committee, and Attorney General Hensel, of Pennsylvania, were among the first to enter the President's apartments. They had come in response to invitations, and they remained some time. The object of their visit was to discuss the question of the Pennsylvania appointments. Both gentlemen are uncommunicative to-night concerning the result of their visit, but those who understand the political situation in Pennsylvania say there is little doubt that they made satisfactory arrangements for patronage for Pennsylvania democrats.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 21.

* * *

The visitors declined to reveal anything concerning their conversations with Mr. Cleveland and his assistants, but those to whom they talked have not proved so reticent. In the first place it was absolutely determined that the political patronage of Pennsylvania should be disposed of upon the recommendations of Mr. Harrity and his friends in the state administration. No man will be appointed to office in the Keystone commonwealth who is objectionable to those gentlemen. To such an extent will this be carried that Postmaster General Bissell is credited with having presented Messrs. Harrity and Hensel to Assistant Postmaster General Maxwell, the "headman"—as he is humorously known in Washington—with the remark: "These are the friends whose counsel we will follow in Pennsylvania." That decision determines the selection of over 4,000 postmasters.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 22.

* * *

The Illinois delegation is again cast down. For several days its members have been pressing upon the President the advisability of appointing Judge Browning, of Illinois, as commissioner of the general land office. Senator Palmer and others have been at the White House repeatedly to recommend their man, who was set forth as a candidate of exceptionally high character, of thorough integrity, and free from all railroad and speculative entanglements. There was an anxious caucus this afternoon at Willard's of the Illinois senators and several of the representatives, the upshot of which was that Senator Palmer went to the White House even at 5 o'clock, to make one more appeal for Judge Browning. Mr. Palmer was oppressed to learn from the President that it would be useless to urge further the appointment of Judge Browning, for the reason that he had decided to appoint Mr. Lamoreux, of Wisconsin. Mr. Lamoreux is the candidate of Senator Vilas.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 22.

* * *

The nomination of Daniel M. Browning, of Illinois, to be commissioner of Indian affairs, made yesterday, occasioned a good deal of astonishment, as the President was supposed to be looking for a man who had made a specialty of the study of the Indian question. Mr. Browning is an Illinois lawyer, with some experience on the state bench. He is a great friend of William R. Morrison, but was backed by the solid delegation of Illinois for the commissionership of the general land office, and the Indian office appears to have been given him as a consolation prize. Republicans admit that he is a good lawyer, a man of excellent character, and gifted with abundant common sense in business affairs. He is said not to be much of a civil service reformer, however. It was supposed that if the office was given out as a political place it would go to John H. Oberly, but Mr. Eckels, nominated for comptroller of the currency, is a brother-in-law of Mr. Oberly, and this, together with the extraordinary number of Illinois appointments, has probably worked against Mr. Oberly's chances.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, April 13.

Mr. Cleveland is bound to have difficulty in distributing the patronage in Kansas. There are two factions of the democratic party in the state, the "stalwarts" and the "fusionists." Senator John Martin and ex-Governor George W. Glick represent the "fusionists" here. To-day David Overmyer, J. B. Crouch and W. M. Mitchell, representing the "stalwart" democracy, reached the city. The avowed object of their visit is to see that none but "stalwart" democrats are given offices. So far Senator Martin has shown a disposition to forward the interests of populists as well as democrats. He has already presented to the President the names of a number of Kansans for office, and the "stalwarts" declare that the most of these are populists at heart. They claim also that Mr. Martin proposes to make further fusion between the populists and democrats of Kansas possible by giving offices to men of this stripe.

Senators Martin and Peffer have daily conferences, and it is an open secret that they are trying to have the offices bestowed in the interest of the fusion element.

Next week there will be many Kansas men at the White House, and the troublesome question of the patronage will be brought squarely before the President.—*New York Times*, March 18.

* * *

It is understood here that Congressman Alexander and Senators Ransom and Vance have made up a slate. They propose to have the President appoint Col. W. R. Kenan, collector and G. L. Morton, postmaster. It is also understood that the men for the places under these two heads have been selected. There are several other applicants for both offices and the friends of these men have combined to see what can be done. A telegram has been sent to Mr. Cleveland and a public meeting has been held to protest and formulate a petition. Four hundred signatures have already been secured. A strong delegation will go to Washington to try and "knock out" the congressman and senators.—*Wilmington N. C. Dispatch to New York Times*, March 24.

* * *

The Virginia delegation in Congress held a caucus last evening at the Ebbitt house, all of the members being present. After a discussion of nearly three hours they came to the conclusion not to indorse any applications at this time but to present to President Cleveland the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

We desire to act in harmony and union, and wish to ascertain what are your wishes as to the mode of presenting or indorsing the names of applicants for the marshalships, district attorneys and internal revenue collectorships.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 24.

* * *

A large delegation of Illinois democrats, escorting Jerry O'Donnell, a candidate for public printer, appeared at the White House to-day, led by Senator Palmer.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 30.

* * *

The senators from Missouri were exceedingly gratified to find that Mr. Cleveland had respected their wishes and appointed Mr. Max Judd to be consul-general at Vienna. Mr. Judd is one of the most prominent Hebrews in Missouri. He is very wealthy and has long been identified with St. Louis politics. Prominent Missouri democrats say that his nomination at this time will add several thousand votes to the democratic ticket in St. Louis in the coming municipal election. Besides being an expert politician and business man, Mr. Judd enjoys the distinction of being one of the best chess players in the United States.—*New York Times*, March 23.

* * *

The crowd was very great. Tenuisce was represented in force. Representative Washington had with him six constituents, whom he presented to Mr. Cleveland.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, March 23.

* * *

Minnesota had a hearing to-day. Congressman Hall, Representative-elect Baldwin and Mr. Lawler presented the name of Mr. Lewis Baker, editor of the *St. Paul Globe*, for minister to Brazil. Mr. Harry Hawkins, of Duluth, for governor of Alaska, and Mr. C. F. McDonald for receiver of the land office

at St. Cloud.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 23.

* * *

Congressman Barnes Compton, of Maryland, was at the Fifth Avenue Hotel yesterday.

"Is it true that word was passed around to Maryland democrats that their chances would not be helped by a visit to Washington?"

"Yes," said Mr. Compton. "Our delegation in congress advised them to stay at home and not worry the President.—*New York Times*, March 26.

* * *

There is a determined fight over the Raleigh post-office. Senators Vance and Ransom are pressing Chas. M. Busbee, and Congressman Bunn is for W. C. Stronach. Mr. Bunn was here yesterday and announced, after a consultation with his friends, that he would protest to the postmaster general and President Cleveland against the impertinent interference of the two senators as to this office, on the ground that by custom he has the right to dictate who shall fill this important office. Mr. Bunn was much incensed at Senators Vance and Ransom, and he does not intend that they shall rob him of this important piece of patronage.

Mr. Busbee married a niece of Mrs. Vance, and this fact will be called by Mr. Bunn to the attention of the President as suggesting a species of nepotism.—*Raleigh Dispatch to New York Times*, March 27.

* * *

For the information of all the democratic candidates for offices in Erie county it might be stated that ex-Representative Bunting, of Hamburg, is the proper man to apply to, and not to Mr. Hertel, who made the hopeless contest against Judge Daniels last fall. It is understood among the post-office department officials that Postmaster General Bissell has directed that Mr. Bunting's indorsement be recognized in all cases but one in Erie county outside of Buffalo, and that exception is the office at Hamburg, the home of Mr. Bunting.—*Washington Dispatch to Buffalo Express*, March 29.

* * *

As there are no democratic senators from Iowa, the referees for the state will be the representatives in the fifty-second congress and the state organization. Whatever the recommending authority, it is understood among the Iowans that there shall be no exhibition of differences at the White House over the offices, but that there shall be a settlement of all disputes before the preferred names are sent to the executive for approval.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, March 31.

* * *

Mr. W. J. Brinton, treasurer of the state central committee of Illinois, is registered at the Denison House. He arrived yesterday from Washington, where he has been for several weeks in the interest of his application to be appointed United States marshal for the southern district of his state. When asked what his chances are, he said:

"I have no opposition as yet, and I think I will be appointed. We did not ask for the removal of the present marshal, whose term is not out until July 1, and between now and then one can not tell what may happen. I have, however, the recommendations of Senator Palmer and of the congressmen of the state, besides many business men.—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 1.

* * *

Senator Camden, of West Virginia, escorted Col. W. C. Handlon and Dr. Charles W. Cowan, of Wheeling. Dr. Cowan has his eye on the Ottawa consularship. Judge Long, of New Mexico, was introduced to the President by Delegate Joseph, of that territory.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, April 1.

* * *

Many senators and representatives were in the throng. Senator Bate, of Tennessee, introduced one of his constituents who presented a card upon which was printed "Jacob Schaefer, applicant for United States consularship, Cologne, Germany." Mr. Schaefer wants that office, and he does not care who knows it. Senator Bate also presented J. W. Gaines, who has applied for the district attorneyship at Nashville.

Congressman-elect Cockerill and Cooper, with Congressman Kilgore, of Texas, brought Col. Dick Ware, of Mitchell county, who wants to be marshal of the western district. They also presented John McConnell, of Childress county, who would like to be marshal of the northern district.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times*, April 2.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 3.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1893.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE USE OF PATRONAGE TO INFLUENCE LEGISLATION.*

The President of the United States is a legislative officer. He is required by the Constitution, he was expected and intended by its framers, to aid in making the laws he executes; to this end he is given powers, in a measure atrophied by disuse, which, wielded by a true leader of freemen would profoundly, affect, if they did not control, the work of congress. It may be well to briefly consider what are his means of legitimate influence before dealing with the special subject of my paper, for I believe that, while many good citizens are now troubled lest congress refuse the President practical support for a policy which the people endorsed by his choice, comparatively few realize that such anxiety questions his statesmanship no less than the enlightenment and patriotism of senators and representatives.

I need not dwell upon the more familiar feature of the President's legislative power; everybody knows that he has "power, by and with the consent of the senate, to make treaties," although everybody does not know, or, at least, constantly remember, that treaties are laws and may override and repeal other laws enacted by congress. In more than one country the principles professed by our tariff reformers were embodied in treaties of commerce for the very purpose of thus eluding a hostile chamber. All have heard of his right of veto, but all have not reflected that this constitutes him a standing "committee of conference," wherewith the author of every proposed law must deal, or how seriously and positively this act may affect the course of legislation. The *tribunicia potestas* was a prime factor in shaping the old Roman polity.

The President, however, has further legislative duties and is armed with the authority these imply. "He may convene both houses or either of them." If congress tries to run away from its work, to hide itself from public opinion, he can chain it to its post. And he not only may but "shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." In the stormy days of Andrew Johnson a senator once proposed that a message from the President be not read; a night's reflection, however, convinced every one that, when he chooses to talk, congress is bound to listen. Indeed, to refuse him a for-

mal hearing, would be to hand him a trumpet; he speaks over the heads of the people's other servants to their and his common master; if they stuff their ears with cotton, that master will be the more certain to listen, the more ready to act.

The value of such a privilege to a President depends on the President himself. A critic of the constitution of the German Empire, writing when this was newly framed, said it ought to have provided that the chancellor should always be a man of genius and never grow old or fall ill. Our fathers were less exacting, but in the Presidency they created a place far too big, as they conceived and shaped it, to be filled by a little man. They foresaw that its incumbent might be great enough to be dangerous, they did not think of him as small enough to be contemptible. Therefore the trust committed to him and the means granted him to fulfill this trust are not devised on the hypothesis of his own insignificance. If he has no thoughts worth the uttering, or if neither he nor any of his chosen advisers can clothe what thoughts he has in language worth the reading, then it is a matter of little moment that he is ever entitled to the country's ear when he sees fit to claim this. It is no great boon to a dumb man that we always recognize his right to the floor. But from a President who has something to say, and can, either himself, or through a fitting mouth-piece, so say it that his countrymen will stop to hear him, this privilege has an enormous value. He can lay bare to public scrutiny in any exigency what he would have the people know; he can, in any controversy, place his adversaries on the defensive and summon them with unequalled authority, to the bar of public opinion. When he speaks he compels a hostile congress to answer him, and the answer, whether given by a hundred orators, whose discordant words the country will have no time to heed, or in the cumbrous pronouncements of large assemblies, is of necessity far less effective than his speech. If, wielding these weapons, a President can not so awaken and guide public opinion that even an unwilling congress must give the form of law to his policy, this shows either that his policy is not the people's or that he is unfit for his place. Should he ask indulgence for irregular and unworthy means employed to the same end, because otherwise he had failed, he stands as a lawyer, who for lack of skill, learning and eloquence to gain his cause, has bribed the jury; and indeed bribery in a form more than ordinarily repulsive and noxious, has been too often the resource of helpless mediocrity, struggling with the responsibilities of his mission.

The President, as first servant of the people, chooses, or ought to choose, an immense num-

ber of under-servants to help him in his work. Their offices no more belong to him than does the furniture of the White House; and he has as little right, either in law or in morals, to place one at the disposal of a complaisant congressman as to reward the latter for his vote with a piano or a painting for which the treasury has paid. Bishop Latimer called bribery "a princely kind of thieving;" it may have seemed so in his day, but I, at least, see little room for the adjective, when the President of the United States uses his patronage as a huge corruption fund to repay official perjury and breach of public trust in the national legislature.

The nature of the legislation obtained is altogether beside the question. Lord Bacon professed to have never decided any cause against his judgment of its merits, although he had often exacted pay for his decisions, but posterity has ratified the finding of his judges that this fact (if fact it were) in no wise lightened his guilt. The southern or western congressman who believes in free silver or inconvertible greenbacks or agricultural "sub-treasures," is to my thinking foolish or ignorant, or both, but he may be an honest man; if, while so believing, he votes for the best law which the most experienced financier can devise to restore a sound currency because, by thus voting, he will get a foreign mission for his brother-in-law or a consulate for his invalid nephew, or a post-office for his best "worker," then I pronounce him a scoundrel, and those who pay him the price of his infamy no whit better than himself.

There is one feature about this beggarly business which makes it superlatively mean. The plaintiffs or defendants who greased the itching palms of the Lord Chancellor in Bacon's days did so out of their own pockets. What they gave him may have been unfairly earned or wrongfully withheld but it was at least formally their own. They were accessories to his breach of trust, but were not themselves unjust stewards. When, however, a President distributes appointments in return for legislation, this costs him nothing personally but his self-respect and the esteem of good men. He is no less bribed than is the senator or representative with whom he bargains; each of them buys up the other. For one servant to pay another to betray the confidence of their master is sufficiently shameful. That he should do this with the talents that very master has placed in his keeping deepens to ink the shade of his perfidy.

This abuse is no less dangerous than odious. The President called for by the constitution is well nigh omnipotent in legislation where he inspires and voices public opinion but as nearly powerless when this no longer sustains him. He ensures the constant supremacy of the

*A paper read at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, held in the city of New York, April 27, 1893, by Charles J. Bonaparte.

whole country over local prejudices or interests; he can do little or nothing to thwart its will. He is a demagogue in the first and best sense of the word; by him the people can be always led, but never driven. And if he is sternly and vigilantly limited to his lawful instruments of agitation and influence he can only—therefore he will—be such a man as can handle these. A nonentity or worse could never reach the chair that was fashioned for and first filled by Washington.

But something much worse than a nonentity will serve to swap off pounds of patronage for yards of law-making; for this occupation "statesmen" who tamper with bills and choose for judges purloiners of election returns have a right of pre-emption, if not a patent, which those of another type should not seek to infringe. Such methods may seem at times to advance public welfare; England appeared to owe many years of peace and comparative prosperity to the systematic corruption of Walpole; but no free people can long tolerate them and remain long free. When the executive can say of the legislature truly and safely, as the lady said of her hair, "It is my own, for I have paid for it," although not, as she added, "with my own money," a system of legal checks and balances, however elaborate, may serve to disguise but will not qualify a practical autocracy. The forms of a republic lasted at Rome long after Augustus, and subsist now with much parade throughout Spanish America.

Against this peril the founders of our government sought to safe-guard by constitutional provisions which suffice only to prove their solicitude. That "No senator or representative shall, during the times for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such times; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office," is of little avail; that the President can appoint only "by and with the advice and consent of the senate," is, for this purpose, of less than none. Our real protectors are the strong common sense and sturdy honesty of the American people. Some well-meaning persons may from time to time persuade themselves that to secure good laws when these seem sorely needed, the President can be forgiven a prostitution of his constitutional powers, a violation of his oath of office. I believe the people can, and, if need be, will be made to see that as well might a woman sell her chastity to give the profits in alms.

The strangers who this year throng our shores may perhaps report on their return home, that they found in Chicago, with other exhibits of our civilization, a specimen of the model American mayor; such of them as pass through Albany can tell their fellow-countrymen what manner of men triumphant democracy delights to honor in the rulers of our greatest state; let us hope, however, that they may not find the fair image of popular government

* * * 'moulded into calm completeness,' by an auction-booth at Washington, where senators peddle out votes for places with a President who peddles out places for votes.

PARTY PLATFORMS AND PROMISES.*

The workmen in the navy yards and a few places in the Indian service and under the fish commission were all that Mr. Harrison gave us in fulfillment of

*From the paper of William Dudley Foulke before the National League, April 27, 1893.

his extensive engagements, until after the election of 1892. It is when an administration is *in extremis* that its heart turns toward reform. It was amid disheartening surroundings in 1893 that the republican party favored the enactment of the civil service law. It was after his defeat in 1888 that Mr. Cleveland classified the railway mail service. It was after the writ of ejectment was served last November that President Harrison included all free delivery offices. Our chief executives are not wholly unlike that other distinguished ruler with whom the affliction of disease was a condition precedent to his desire to assume the sacerdotal office. In a civil service reform sense it may be said of more than one of our Presidents that nothing in his official life became him like the leaving of it. The retiring administration resembles the swan, it sings sweetest in the hour of its passing. And so may it continue to be until the time when it shall be no longer necessary for the people to decree the death of the singer before they can hope to listen to the music. Rotation in *political* office is not without its uses. In the last campaign the respective situations of the two parties were reversed. It was the republicans who were stricken dumb by the paralysis of office-holders, it was the democracy which lifted up its voice like one crying in the wilderness. For it is with parties as with Presidents, there is no greater incentive to the culture of self-sacrificing patriotism than exclusion from the table of patronage. Public virtue resides principally in the party out of power. Sweet are the uses of adversity. It is sorrow that chastens and purifies the soul. It is largely in recognition of this fact that Indiana civil service reformers are so often found in the ranks of the opposition. We want to be in the company of those who stand most for political rectitude. * * *

It was the exiled democracy who could see much more clearly that things were not going on as they ought to go. And as theirs is the platform intended for the guidance of the present administration, it will be well for us to consider, somewhat in detail, the meaning of the language, and what we have a right to expect from a fair reading of its terms taken in connection with the declarations of Mr. Cleveland since it was adopted. I will promise that this is not done in any spirit of prophecy. We have had both words and acts from the same sources before and we know that they have not always kept step together. There was great appropriateness in Dante's punishment of the Soothsayer, "Because he wished to see too far before him; backward he looks and backward goes his way." The outlook in retrospect is not always so comforting as that which fancy pictures for the future. "Retrospect," as President Harrison informs us, "will be a safer basis of judgment than promises."

The question is simply this, what have we the *right* to expect from the platform? "Public office," it says, "is a public trust." If it be this, it can not be used to pay personal or party debts. It can neither be made a family prerequisite, nor a fund for the reward of those who have rendered efficient service in conventions and campaigns. It is the administration of the office to the benefit of the people which must alone be considered, otherwise the trust will not be performed. A trustee can not deal either personally or as a member of a firm or corporation with the trusted property. A President can not so deal with the offices either for himself or his party.

"We reaffirm," so says the platform, "the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876, for the reform of the civil service and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same." The enforcement of such laws can not be expected if men who have the appointing power in the classified service are themselves unfriendly to the law, and like the late Aquilla Jones, say "that they despise it." Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. The law can not be enforced unless the commissioners are men of unflinching integrity, earnest purpose, ability, energy and enthusiasm. This is not enough, but the law can not be enforced if other officers of the government fail to do their duty in regard to it. It can not be enforced if the department of justice fail to prosecute those who violate its penal provisions. It can not be enforced if cabi-

net officers, heads of divisions, postmasters, collectors and all other officers in charge of classified subordinates fail to remove men who violate it. If the postmaster-general or the secretary of the treasury should, like their predecessors, retain in the service men who by their own confession are guilty of collecting prohibited political assessments, it can not be enforced. The party has promised then that this thing will not be done.

The platform of 1876 referred to in these resolutions declares "Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if the civil service be subject to change in every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ." We are therefore to have no "clean sweep." The civil service is not to be subject to change as the mere result of the election. We are no longer to see the participants in the political contest rewarded by the offices. That is what the platform means. These places are to be posts of honor assigned for *proved competency*. How shall this competency be proven? Within the classified service no doubt by examinations and probation, and outside of that service is there any better proof than experience? And yet we find that the President looks with disfavor upon applications of persons who held office under his former administration for reappointment to their old places. No doubt in some cases this disfavor is justified. But is not the rule which excludes the good as well as the bad rather inconsistent with the platform? But the declaration goes further. The place must not only be assigned for proved competency, but must be held for fidelity. If this rule is observed no man who has been thoroughly faithful to his trust will be removed or supplanted. There is no question of any four years term in this; fidelity is to be the criterion of retention.

The platform of 1876 says something even more important: "The dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of our public men nor the instrument of their ambition." If this be carried out in letter and spirit democratic congressmen can no longer seek re-election by apportioning federal offices in their respective districts. The postmaster-general will no longer regard as conclusive the recommendation of a congressman, nor indeed as valuable in any other sense than as giving information of the qualifications of the man to be appointed. The domain of public office is no longer to be held upon feudal tenures by those congressional barons and divided among their henchmen. It is no longer to be a tax upon the time of representatives in congress nor the instrument of their ambition. When patronage shall be abolished as completely as this platform calls for we shall have passed the turning point in civil service reform.

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

[Committee on Resolutions: Carl Schurz, William D. Foulke, Archibald M. Howe, Charles J. Bonaparte, C. W. Watson and Lucius B. Swift.]

"On the 4th of March last the democratic party took charge of the national government. The platform upon which the people intrusted it with power declared that public office was a public trust, and they have a right to expect a fulfillment of this assurance by the present administration. Public offices can not be used as a reward for party services, but should be bestowed without other consideration upon those best fitted to administer them.

"The platform reaffirmed the declaration of the democratic convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and called for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The people, therefore, have the right to expect not only that the civil service commission shall be composed wholly of men of courage and devoted to this reform, but that the heads of departments and bureaus and chiefs of divisions, as well as all officers of the department of justice shall be impartial and vigilant in prosecuting violators of the law and in otherwise promoting its efficiency."

"The platform of 1876 declares that the dispensing of patronage should be neither a tax upon the time

of our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. This declaration implies the abolition of congressional patronage, and we look to the President to see that the system by which offices are distributed among congressmen and by them are portioned among their political friends and supporters shall entirely cease.

"These declarations further tell us that the efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if the civil service be subject to change at every election. We are, therefore, justified in expecting that under this administration there will be no general change in the offices, and the declaration that such places should be posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ, assures us that there will be no removals of faithful and efficient public servants, no matter what may have been the term of their service.

"The President himself has in frequent public utterances explicitly declared his conviction that the system which distributes public position purely as the reward for partisan service, threatens utterly to demoralize our political life, puts our government to a dangerous strain, and undermines the working of our free institutions. Declarations so clear and emphatic justify the belief that he will use his whole power to secure the extension of the civil service law to all branches of the service to which it is applicable and to apply its principles likewise to all executive appointments.

"As it is the evident duty of the President to remove unfaithful or inefficient public servants and bring to justice offenders against the laws of the United States, the league demands the dismissal of every federal officer who has failed to obey in letter and spirit the civil service law, and also demands the effective prosecution of all who have violated its penal provisions. And it expresses its hearty appreciation of the zeal and energy of the civil service commission in exposing abuses and crimes among unworthy officers during the last presidential campaign.

"The civil service commission has performed its duties in a manner which deserves and has the approval of the country. The League declares that congress in refusing to appropriate funds sufficient to provide for the necessary examinations, did not represent the sentiment of the people, and it earnestly commends the action of the commission in providing, nevertheless, for immediate examination in the newly classified free-delivery post-offices. And as four years ago the League condemned the late administration for taking advantage of a brief delay in the preparation of eligible lists, to sweep hundreds of employes out of the railway mail service and fill their places with partisans, so now the league would regard a like change in the newly-classified offices as an evident evasion of the law and deserving of the like condemnation.

"The removal of office-holders upon secret charges without opportunity for defense, denial, or explanation on the part of the accused, is unjust, inquisitorial, promotive of slander and falsehood, utterly inconsistent with the spirit of American institutions and a disgrace to a great government, and the League earnestly urges its immediate discontinuance.

"The unequivocal utterances of President Cleveland justly raised the hopes of all who believed in civil service reform. It is, therefore, with regret that the League must record the fact of the allotment of fourth-class postmasters as the prize of political service, and it hopes that a method may be adopted in the near future by which such appointments and removals in this, the most numerous class of office-holders, may be made in accordance with the principles of civil service reform.

"Fourth-class post-offices as prizes for political service have long been and still are the treasured fields of the spoilsman, and since the adoption of the civil service law appointments of fourth-class postmasters have constituted the most widely advertised as well as the most scandalous exhibition of his activity. Arbitrary removals in the postal service, for political reasons alone, impose upon the country the

delay and expense which necessarily result from replacing efficiency and experience by ignorance and inexperience.

"The League again commends the bills introduced by the Hon. Sherman Hoar providing that all postmasters should be removed only for cause stated, and by the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge providing that fourth-class postmasters shall be appointed without regard to political consideration."

THE ADDRESS OF CARL SCHURZ.

When I was honored with the request to deliver this annual address, I accepted the charge with very serious misgivings. For I remembered that on many successive years on occasions like this you have been wont to listen to a voice the exquisite charm of which still lingers in our ears, and will never cease to echo in our hearts. No man can succeed George William Curtis here without being oppressed by the consciousness of inability to fill his place. It would be a vain attempt to rival his annual addresses in their abundance of knowledge and illustration, their ripeness of thought, their strength of reasoning, their delicacy of humor, and their literary grace. They were so complete an arsenal of facts and arguments that it is almost impossible to speak on the same subject without repeating him; and the repetition will always fall short of the original. And no one succeeding him at the head of this National League can hope to be so naturally, so spontaneously, accepted as the ideal leader of an organized endeavor for purity, justice, and honor in politics. It may be said without in the least straining the sense of words that George William Curtis and the cause of civil service reform were made for one another. All that the reform aspires to was illustrated and exemplified in his personality.

Who can speak of him in other than tones of eulogy? It is a consoling satisfaction to the soul of a friend to do so. We, members of the League, who have worked with him so long, are fond of recalling the many titles he held to leadership among us; his sincerity, unselfish devotion, and singleness of purpose; his profound understanding of the subject and large experience; his fearlessness in the defense and in the application of his principles; his keen discernment of opportunity; his absolute freedom from small jealousies; his cheerful and generous recognition of the merits and services of others; his gentleness in meeting adverse opinions; his sense of justice and his fine tact in composing differences; in the inspiration flowing from his very being in the common endeavor for high aims—all these things gave him without question the first place in our councils. The leadership, therefore, fell to him by a general consent the absolute unanimity of which, never broken, proved that we all felt it to be due to our cause and due to him. Thus the death of Mr. Curtis is to us in the truest meaning of the word an irreparable loss. He could not bequeath to us his genius nor his virtues. He could leave us only his teachings to remember, the inspiration of his zeal to quicken our

own and his noble example to follow as best we can.

But if he were now here to dictate my speech, he would call it away from himself and direct it to the cause which he cherished so much, and which was in so large a sense his own. Indeed, the ultimate victory of this cause will be the fittest monument of this great citizen whom we who knew him well so warmly loved, and whose memory the American people can never too highly honor.

It is a comfort to his surviving friends to know that, although he did not witness the full consummation of his endeavors, he lived at least long enough to see his cause rise from small beginnings to a measure of success promising complete triumph at no very distant day. The question is only what President and what political party will carry off the greatest honors of the achievement.

I speak of this with so much assurance because civil service reform has grown and flourished in spite of the bitter hostility of an overwhelming majority of the professional politicians in both parties. They have exultingly proclaimed its death and burial a hundred times. It has survived an endless number of obituaries. They have derided it, and reviled it, and plotted for its destruction in a hundred ways. Without knowing it, by their very enmity they have advanced its progress. Men have begun to respect and to love it for the enemies it has made. We have not far to seek for the reason. What is civil service reform? It is the application of common sense and common honesty to the public service. And the American people are in the main a sensible and an honest people. It is the restoration to full power of honorable and patriotic motives in our political life. And the Americans are, in the main, an honorable and patriotic people. Therefore they will insist upon the general application and enforcement of civil service reform principles in the same measure as they recognize how sensible and honest and patriotic those principles are. In the acquisition of this knowledge they are at times powerfully aided by striking object lessons. Recently they had one of them.

OFFICE SEEKERS AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

The fourth of March last a new administration went into power. Untold thousands of men poured into the national capital clamoring for office; not for offices that were vacant, but to be vacated in order to make room for the clamorers. No matter whether he was ever so good a public servant, the man who was in was to be kicked out, to let him in who was out, no matter whether he would be not half so good a public servant. The office-hunting throng swept into the White House and into the departments like a cloud of locusts. The President, sturdy as he is, could hardly stand up before the impetuous onset. The cabinet ministers, all new men in their places, who felt the urgent need of studying somewhat their departmental duties, were hunted down so that they had hardly time to eat and to sleep, much less to study. When

their cry for pity availed nothing, they at last barricaded their doors with strict regulations. They went into hiding in order to save some hours for the business of the government. The post-office department was not only overrun by the crowd, but snowed under with written applications and recommendations for office which in huge heaps covered the floors of the rooms, and the whole force of the department had to work after business hours merely to open and assort them. Senators and members of the house of representatives ran wildly about like whipped errand boys to press the claims of greedy constituents or mercenary henchmen. It was what Mr. Cleveland calls the madness for spoils in finest efflorescence.

And what are these claims for office that are so vehemently urged? I know them well from long and varied experience. Special fitness for the duties of the office is the one thing which even the most daring claimant but seldom dares to claim. He does indeed claim that he can do one thing as well as another if he is only permitted to try, like the Yankee who, when asked whether he could play the violin, answered, he guessed so, but he had never tried. So the office-seeker is ready to try his hand at administration. In most cases the claim to office is based upon party service, the payment or collection of money for the campaign chest, the making of speeches, or other political work deserving reward. And this claim is fortified with all sorts of reasons appealing to sympathy. Here is a patriot who has a large family to support and needs a post-office to help him along. There is another who wants a consulship abroad because he himself or his wife is in bad health and a change of climate would do good, or his daughter has a fine talent for music which should be developed in Europe. There is still another who wants the prestige of official recognition in the shape of a collectorship or a marshalship to enable him to exercise still higher political authority over the minds of his fellow-citizens. A man in Kansas, so the papers report, recently urged the appointment of his daughter to some place in the postal service in connection with the World's Exhibition at Chicago, on the ground that she would be the largest public servant in the country, weighing 472 pounds. And for aught I know, this qualification is as good as many of those seriously urged.

This spoils carnival has been going on since the 4th of March, and it is not ended yet. In a measure it continues through the larger part of the Presidential term. I affirm and maintain that the American people are heartily disgusted with a spectacle so absurd, so ludicrous, and at the same time so barbarous, shameful and revolting—a spectacle exposing the American name to ridicule and reproach. When speaking here of the American people I do, of course, not mean *all* the people. I do not mean the machine politicians of the two parties, who live on spoils. I do not mean Tammany Hall. I do not mean those poor creat-

ures in congress and in other high places who know they have not ability enough to sustain themselves as statesmen, and depend upon a following bought with patronage to prop them up. I do not mean the selfish speculators in politics who find in the corruption underlying the patronage trade a congenial element. Nor do I mean those who like to be fed at the public crib, no matter whether they furnish an equivalent for their salaries. All these classes are the fast friends of the spoils system; but they form only a small minority of the American people. When I speak here of the people, I mean the men and women who earn an honest living by honest industry. I mean the patriotic citizens who have the welfare of the country, the success of free institutions, and the honor of the republic sincerely at heart.

In their earnest endeavor to serve the public interest, these people may be warm partisans. They wish their party to be successful and to win control of the government. But a large majority of them are in their inward souls disturbed and disgusted when they see, after a party victory, hordes of partisans pounce upon the offices of the government like a band of greedy mercenaries plundering a captured city. They are ashamed when, after the incoming of a new administration, they hear of President wishing to abolish this scandal but not being permitted to do so by the ravenous spoilsmen of the party, and of an official guillotine at work and of so many heads falling every day. This shame and disgust may not, by all who feel it, be loudly expressed in words; but nevertheless it exists, as in times gone by the conscientious abhorrence of slavery existed among the masses of the northern people long before exciting events loosened their tongues.

THE CLASSIFIED SERVICE.

But there is one part of the public service which now remains untouched by the tumultuous debauch of the spoils carnival. It is like a quiet, peaceable island, with a civilized, industrious population, surrounded by the howling sea. The President and the chiefs of the government departments contemplate this part of the service with calmness and contentment, for it gives them no trouble while the turmoil of the office-hunt rages all around it.

The good citizen, anxious for the honor of his country, beholds it with relief and satisfaction, for here he finds nothing to be ashamed of, and much that is worthy of this free and great nation. This is the "classified service," covered by the civil service law, the creation of civil service reform. On the portals the words are written: "Nobody enters here who has not proved his fitness for the duties to be performed." The office-hunting mob reads this and recoils. The public servant within it calmly walks the path of his duty, undisturbed by the thought of the greedy cormorant hungering for his place. He depends upon his merit for his security and advancement, and this consciousness inspires his work. This is the application of common sense and

common honesty to the public service. It is civil service reform.

The present civil service law was enacted under President Arthur. Under the rules established by virtue of it applicants for clerkships and other subordinate places in the government departments in Washington and in the greater custom-houses and post-offices in the country have to pass appropriate competitive examinations to prove their fitness for the places they seek, and the appointments are made from those rated highest, without any regard to political affiliation or influence. Removals are discretionary with the appointing power; but inasmuch as the element of favoritism is eliminated from appointments, removals are no longer made merely to make room for more favored individuals. The public servant who proves himself faithful and efficient is, therefore, wherever the law is honestly observed, substantially secure, no matter to what party he may belong. And it may be said that, under the national government, the law, as far as it reaches, is honestly observed. That it is universally recognized to be so is due, more than to any other man, to Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, who, as a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, has performed his duties with rare fidelity, energy, and fearlessness. All the high officers of the government whose working force has been under the operation of the civil service law have, without any notable exception, borne emphatic testimony to the fact that the law has relieved them of serious difficulty and trouble, and has given to the country a greatly improved service.

At the close of President Arthur's administration in 1885 the number of places classified, that is, covered by the civil service law, was about 15,500. At the close of President Cleveland's administration, in 1889 it was about 27,300. At the close of President Harrison's administration in 1893 it was about 43,400, to which should be added several thousand laboring men in the navy yards placed under similar rules by the voluntary and most laudable act of Secretary Tracy. As the whole number of places under the national government amounts to about 180,000, we may say that more than one-fourth of the service of the national government has ceased to be treated as mere spoils of party warfare. In one-fourth the party boss has lost his power. One-fourth is secure from the quadrennial loot. In one-fourth influence and favoritism go for nothing. One-fourth has been rescued from barbarism. One-fourth is worthy of a civilized country. So much civil service reform was accomplished in the time of three presidential terms. But great and encouraging as its progress has been civil service reform, having conquered only one-fourth of the service, has done only one-fourth of its work.

There are still the laborers in the government departments and the higher grades of the clerical force, such as the chiefs of division, to be brought under the civil service rules. These rules are to be extended to many offices in

which they are not yet in operation. The quadrennial slaughter, this relic of American savageness, has to be abolished first with regard to the fourth-class postmasters, of whom there are at present about 65,000, and whose execution *en masse* has so frequently caused conspicuous scandal. A bill regulating the appointment, and in effect precluding the wholesale removal, of this class of public servants, has already been before congress. This or a similar measure should be pressed until it becomes a law. Meanwhile it is reasonable to ask that the spirit of civil service reform be observed in all executive appointments. Although the President, in making the so-called presidential appointments by and with the advice and consent of the senate, can not under the constitution be bound by rules restricting his power, yet he may impose rules upon himself for the government of his own conduct in the exercise of the appointing power, so as to strip the offices of the character of party spoil and to treat them as what they are really intended to be—places of trust and duty and to be administered for the benefit, not of a political party, but of the people.

MUCH EXPECTED OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

I know patience is one of the most necessary and most useful of virtues, especially in the pursuit of great reforms. But this virtue should not be cultivated to the extent of disregarding and neglecting any really existing possibility. And even the soberest view of the circumstances surrounding us at present persuades us that the time is fully ripe for a further and a very essential advance in the reform of the civil service. Since the enactment of the civil service law every President of the United States has done something to extend the area of its operation. As it is said that no rich man in Boston can decently die without leaving a sum of money to Harvard University, so it seems no President can quit office without commending himself, by a tribute to civil service reform, to the merciful judgment of posterity. But President Cleveland has authorized us to expect from him a legacy of extraordinary value.

He is known as a man of genuine convictions, and may be trusted to mean what he says and to act according to his meaning. On no subject of public concern, neither on the tariff nor on the currency, nor on constitutional principles, has he expressed himself with deeper earnestness, with more emphatic directness, than on the necessity of civil service reform. Here are some of his words:

"I venture to hope that we shall never again be remitted to the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service. Doubts may well be entertained whether our government could survive the strain of a continuance of this system, which upon every change of administration inspires an immense army of claimants for office to lay siege to the patronage of government, engrossing the time of public officers with their importunities, spreading abroad the contagion of their disappointment, and filling the air with the tumult of their discontent. The allurements of an immense number of offices and places, exhibited to the voters of the debauch the suffrage and rob political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character. The evil would

increase with the multiplication of offices consequent upon our extension, and the mania for office holding, growing from its indulgence, would pervade our population so generally that patriotic purpose, the support of principle, the desire for the public good, and solicitude for the nation's welfare would be nearly banished from our party contests and cause them to degenerate into ignoble, selfish, and disgraceful struggles for the possession of office and public place."

And in his last inaugural address he said:

"One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office, and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils, civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefits already gained through this instrumentality, and the further usefulness it promises, entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed, and who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods."

These are patriotic and statesmanlike utterances. The man who pronounced them showed that he well understands the nature of the disease, and he would not permit us to doubt his earnest determination to apply the remedy. It is true, his words do not distinctly promise this or that specific measure. But he points out so clearly the evil to be redressed and the end to be reached, that the adoption of efficacious means is obviously implied. If "the system which distributes public positions purely as rewards for partisan service," which "debauches the suffrage and robs political action of its thoughtful and deliberative character," the system which makes it doubtful "whether the government will survive its continuance" is to be done away with, if "the demoralizing madness for spoils" is to be stemmed for the sake of the better performance of the public service, and "the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods," then, evidently, public offices must cease to be regarded as political patronage and be treated in the truest sense as public trusts; the civil service rules, recognized as efficacious, must be extended to all the branches of the service to which they are applicable, and the principles of civil service reform, recognized to be correct, applied to all appointments, whether they can formally come under the rules or not. Nothing could be plainer.

We may, therefore, reasonably expect that President Cleveland, who now has the benefit of a larger knowledge of men and things than during his first term, will exert his whole power to do what the administration which preceded him promised but failed to do—extend the civil service rules to all branches of the service to which they are applicable, and to cause the spirit and purpose of civil service reform to be observed in all executive appointments. It is especially to be hoped that, as to executive appointments and removals, a beginning may be made with the 65,000 fourth-class postmasters; that the sweeping changes in this branch of the public service formerly

customary may yield to civilized methods, and that the savage spectacle of the postmasters' massacre may forever disappear, to be remembered only as a relic of barbarism which strangely survived among the freest people on earth, down to the last decade of the nineteenth century.

When a President announces his firm determination to stop this savagery without fear or favor, and to be governed only by the public interest in making such changes in any branch of the service as may be necessary, it will probably no longer be difficult to carry through congress a law regulating the appointment of the minor postmasters upon sound civil service principles. Then the superstition that every branch of the administrative machinery must be manned with adherents of the party in power will be thoroughly exploded, and the back of the spoils system will be broken forever.

I venture to affirm that the President who gives the decisive impulse towards such a consummation will render the republic a more lasting service, will entitle himself more to the gratitude of posterity, and will achieve greater renown for himself by this one act than he could by the most ingenious device of taxation and the most brilliant financial policy. For he will have removed an evil threatening not only our material welfare, but the very vitality of our free institutions. He will have imparted a new moral spirit to our political life, rendering infinitely easier the rational solution of the other problems hanging over us.

To doubt that President Cleveland sincerely wishes to accomplish this would be to doubt that he is an honest man. The question may be asked whether his party will not throw discouraging obstacles in his way, such as the republican party threw in the way of President Grant and his successors, and whether he can be moved by them from his purpose. But the democratic party should be the last to do so, if it is to deserve the name it bears; for civil service reform is, in its field, the most perfect realization of the true democratic principle.

WHAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS.

The truest definition of democratic government is furnished by Abraham Lincoln's famous saying that it is "government of the people, by the people, and for the people;" of the people, for the people constitute the sovereignty from which it springs; by the people, for the people through their chosen representatives and servants conduct it; for the people, for it is to be conducted solely for the people's benefit. The people are, therefore, evidently entitled to the best service they can get, and no interest, neither that of a political party nor that of any citizen, has a right to stand in the way. Those intrusted with the power of appointing officers are, consequently, in duty bound to regard office solely as a public trust, and to appoint only persons found fittest to give the people the best possible service.

Democratic government rests upon the principle of equal rights. It abhors privilege and favoritism. But it is privilege and favoritism upon which the spoils system rests—the privilege of those in authority or of influential politicians to dispose of the public offices as their patronage, distributing that patronage by way of personal or political favor. It is justly said that the offices belong to the people and must be open to the people. Most certainly. But what does this mean? Does it mean that they must be open only to those who have influence themselves, or who have the influence of powerful politicians behind

them? No, according to true democratic principle it means that the offices must be open to all citizens according to their fitness to fill them; that they must be *most* open to those who are *most* fit to fill them; and that free and equal opportunity be furnished to all for showing who are the most fit, whether they be rich or poor, politicians or no politicians, backed by influence or not backed. Under the spoils system the offices are open only to the privileged few—those favored by the influence of the powerful. Civil service reform has undertaken to open the offices to all according to their ability to serve the people. The spoils system asks the candidate for office: "Does your member of congress recommend you; or does the party boss in your state or county ask for your appointment? Or are you backed by a man who gives much money to our campaign fund? What men of influence have you behind you? If you have none, you can have no place." Civil service reform asks the candidate: "Are you a man of good character, and what can you show to prove it? What do you know? What can you do? What ability and acquirements have you to serve the people? Have you more than other candidates for the place?" On the one side, under the spoils system, the aristocracy of influence—and a very vulgar aristocracy it is—robbing the man who has only merit unbacked by power, of his rightful chance. On the other hand, civil service reform, inviting all freely to compete, and then giving the best chance to the best man, be that man ever so lowly, and be his competitor ever so great a favorite of the wealth or power. On that side the aristocracy of "pull," on this the democracy of merit.

This is true democracy, and, as a civil service reformer, I have a right to say, "I am a democrat," Senator David B. Hill to the contrary notwithstanding. But what are you, spoilsman? You may be whatever else, but as a democrat you are an impostor.

The spoils politician is fond of objecting that civil service examinations do not always point out the fittest man for the place. Perhaps not always. The best marksman does not hit the bull's-eye every time; but he misses it rarely. The civil service examinations may have a small record of failures. But what the system, fairly conducted, *always* does is to snatch public office from the undemocratic control of influence and favoritism. And there is the point which stings the spoils politician. It would trouble him little whether or not the fittest man is put in the proper field of action. That is not what he cares for. But that the reform system so effectively repels the demoralizing touch of political favor, that it so thoroughly takes away from the office the character of spoil, that it does not tolerate public place to be a means of bribery and an article of barter—this the spoils politician will never forgive us, for it destroys his trade. The very democracy of civil service reform makes the spoilsman's heart sore with sorrow, and in the bitterness of his soul he wildly denounces it as an aristocratic notion imported from England, and as a thoroughly un-American contrivance.

There is no better illustration of the democratic character of civil service reform than its history in England. Our opponents might read with profit, although they would read with dismay, the excellent work of our friend Mr. Dorman B. Eaton on the civil service in Great Britain. They would find that England, too, had its spoils system once, with all the characteristic attributes of tyranny, corruption and demoralization. They would find that the struggle against the spoils system there was a struggle against the abuse of the royal prerogative and the predominance of the aristocracy. They would find that England had

its movement for civil service reform, and that it was a movement for honesty and economy in government, and for the rights of the citizen. They would find that the growth of civil service reform in England went hand in hand with the decline of aristocratic influence, and with the growth of the democratic idea in government. They would find that the progress of the democratic idea there in the shape of civil service reform has banished from the service the power of influence and favoritism; that it has truly opened the public offices to the people; that it has given the poorest child of the people the right freely to compete with the son of the richest peer to show his fitness for official employment within the civil service rules, and to obtain it according to the showing; that it has vindicated the right of the best man to the best chance. They would find themselves forced to the conclusion that the spoils system, as it has grown up in this republic in the last sixty years, is only a relapse into the corrupt and demoralizing patronage system of monarchical and aristocratic England when it was at its worst, and that civil service reform is the embodiment of the truly democratic principle there as well as here.

JEFFERSON AS A CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

That it is so here as there, does that make it un-American? What fool is there to pretend this? It is just as little un-American as Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights; just as little as the common law, trial by jury, and the writ of habeas corpus; just as little as constitutional government, free press, and free speech; just as little as common honesty and common sense. In fact, the principles of civil service reform are none other than those which governed the original democracy of America. Thomas Jefferson is called the father of the democratic party. The sons would do well to learn and inwardly digest and keep living in their souls the lessons taught by the sire. What are those lessons? Jefferson was elected to the Presidency after one of the hottest party contests this country has ever witnessed. He went into power in 1801. There was a heavy pressure for place from members of his party, the offices being almost all in the hands of the defeated federalists. What did Jefferson do? Let us see. On March 24, 1801, he wrote to Dr. Rush: "With regard to appointments, I have so much confidence in the justice and good sense of the federalists [the defeated party] that I have no doubt they will concur in the fairness of the position that after they have been in the exclusive possession of all the offices from the very first origin of party among us to the 3d of March, at nine o'clock in the night, no republican [democrat] ever admitted, and this doctrine newly avowed, it is now perfectly just that the republicans should come in *for the vacancies that may fall in, until something like an equilibrium be restored.* But the great stumbling-block will be removals, which, though made on those just principles only on which my predecessor ought to have removed the same persons, will nevertheless be ascribed to removal on party principles." He then designates some persons that should be displaced, and proceeds: "Of the thousands of officers, therefore, in the United States, a very few individuals only, probably not twenty, will be removed, and those only for doing what they ought not to have done. I know that in stopping thus short in the career of removal I shall give great offense to many of my friends. That torrent has been pressing me heavily and will require all my force to bear up against, but my maxim is *fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*" And in his letter of July 12, 1801, to the merchants of New Haven, he said: "It would have been a circumstance of great relief had I found a moderate participation of office in the hands of the majority. I

would gladly have left to time and accident to raise them to their just share. But their total exclusion calls for prompter corrections. I shall correct the procedure, but that done shall return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?"

I invite the modern democrat to contemplate in a spirit of candor and soberness, and perhaps with some reverence, the example set by the father of the democratic party. The federalists, the first party in possession of the government, had filled almost all the offices during three presidential terms. When, after a furious contest, the democrats came into power, the provocation for sweeping changes was as great as it has ever been since. What did Jefferson do? He was a warm partisan himself, and a keen politician too. But did he permit himself to be swept off his feet by the greedy clamor of his adherents? Did he resolve upon a clean sweep and, in the sanguinary parlance of to-day, "set up the guillotine" to make the heads of federalist placemen promiscuously fly into the basket? Did he proceed upon the idea that under a democratic administration all government officers must be democrats? Not he. He deplored that the federalists should have found it necessary to fill almost all the offices with federalists. He denounced this as an injustice; but he did not propose to retaliate by being as unjust as they had been. He simply declared his purpose to equalize the possession of the offices between the parties by making a small number of removals, but only for cause, and then by filling vacancies as they might otherwise arise in the ordinary course of things with a just proportion of democrats. This done, then Jefferson would joyfully return to the regular practice of making appointments on the sole ground of fitness without regard to party.

It was thus clearly Jefferson's professed object, not to make the government service a partisan service, but on the contrary to take from it the character of a partisan service which it had borne before; and then to start it anew on a distinctly non-partisan basis.

How did he carry out this plan? He did indeed make some removals, perhaps a few more than he had originally intended, and more than his secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, wished him to make, but in the eight years of his two presidential terms made after all only thirty-nine, and, as he often solemnly affirmed, not one of them solely for party reasons. There being at that time no law limiting the tenure of offices to four years, and office-holders being not in haste to die and unwilling to resign, the process bringing about the equilibrium was necessarily trying to patience. But Jefferson saw no danger to his country nor to his party in the circumstance that a large number of the offices still remained in federalist hands; for, being a sensible man, he knew that a postmaster had to receive and distribute not democratic or federalist letters, but simply letters; that a collector of revenue had to handle not democratic or federalist money, but simply money; that the officers of the United States courts had to secure and enforce not democratic or federalist justice, but simply justice; that Indian agents had to take care of not democratic or federalist Indians, but simply Indians; and so on. This was Jeffersonian democracy—the democracy which Thomas Jefferson not only preached but practiced.

He stood not alone. With him James Madison and Albert Gallatin formed the famous triumvirate which initiated the democratic epoch and have ever since remained the most brilliant constellation of the democratic firmament. Of these fames Madison was the

greatest constitutional authority. He had been one of the makers of the constitution and he has always been respected as one of its weightiest contemporary expounders. He expressed it as his opinion that under the constitution the power of removal from offices filled by the President with the advice and consent of the senate rested in the President alone. But did he think that the President had the lawful power to remove meritorious officers merely to put party friends in their places? Let us hear him! "The President who does that," said Madison, "will be impeachable by the house before the senate for such an act of maladministration, for I contend that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust." Nor were these idle words. These principles were well kept in mind by the democratic Presidents of that period; for we find it recorded that Madison, during the eight years which he was President, made only five removals; Monroe during his eight years only nine, and John Quincy Adams during his four years only two.

Nor was Gallatin, the great financier and administrator of the triumvirate, of a different mind. In a circular to the collectors of revenue drawn by him, he emphatically expressed his desire "that the door of office be no longer shut against any man merely on account of his political opinions, but that, whether he shall differ or not from those avowed either by you or by myself, integrity and capacity suitable to the station be the only qualification that shall direct our choice." And then he went on to say that office-holders should not use their official standing and opportunities as a means of partisan influence.

Such was the democracy of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, the greatest apostles of the democratic church in America. And it may not be presumptuous to suggest that Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin are as democratic authorities preferable to Hill, Murphy, and Croker, and even to Senators Gorman of Maryland, Voorhees of Indiana, and Vance of North Carolina, to whom civil service reform is an abomination and the distribution of offices as spoils a necessity of political life.

WHAT A JEFFERSONIAN ADMINISTRATION WOULD DO.

It may be profitable to consider what an administration conducted on the principles of Jeffersonian democracy would do under existing conditions. It would, of course, scorn the idea of making "a clean sweep," turning out all public servants belonging to the opposite party, to put in its own. It would not make a removal except for good cause connected with official conduct, and it would utterly reject the notion that such a cause was furnished by the circumstance that a man has been in place four years—a notion, by the way, from a business point of view, so strikingly preposterous that it is amazing how it could ever be seriously considered among sensible people. Imagine a merchant discharging his salesmen and book-keepers, a manufacturer discharging his foremen and artisans, a railroad corporation discharging its engineers and switchmen, a bank discharging its cashiers and tellers every four years on the ground that they had been in their places long enough and somebody else ought to have them now. Would you trust a bank conducted upon such principles with your deposits, and would you like to travel on such a railroad? The Jeffersonian administration would, therefore, as a matter of common sense, never think of applying to the far more important government business a rule which would be scouted as criminally absurd when applied to the business of a railroad or a bank. It would go further and consider as an improper removal the non-reappointment of a meritorious officer to whose place the existing four-years-term law applies, and it would do all in its power to bring about the repeal of that mischievous law. It would remember that this law was in its very inception a fraud practiced on the

people. Crawford, the secretary of the treasury under Monroe, instigated its enactment under the pretence that it would give him better control over officers handling the public money, a pretence the futility of which became soon apparent. His real purpose was to strengthen his hold upon the office-holders and to make them further, as a political machine, his chances for the presidency. The bill was passed without debate, and Monroe signed it in a hurry without consideration. Thomas Jefferson, in a letter of Nov. 28, 1827, addressed to James Madison called it "the mischievous law vacating every four years nearly all the executive offices of the government." And thus he describes, with admirable foresight, its effects: "It saps the constitutional and salutary functions of the President, and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leave the mass, not only of the senators but of citizens. It will keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants for office, render them, as well as those in place, sycophants to their senators; engage them in eternal intrigues to turn out one and put in another, in cabals to swap with, and make of them, what all executive directories become, mere sinks of corruption and faction." Madison replied: "The law terminating appointments at periods of four years is pregnant with mischiefs such as you describe." And in a letter to Monroe he raised serious question as to its constitutionality. Its repeal was urged by the foremost statesmen in our history, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and others, but in vain.

An administration conducted on Jeffersonian principles would not permit so iniquitous a law to survive; for if the law was mischievous then, it is, in consequence of the multiplication of the offices to which it applies and the greater "madness for spoils," infinitely more mischievous now. A Jeffersonian administration would certainly never think of still increasing the mischief by applying a four years' rule to offices to which the four years' rule does not apply—such as the minor post-offices. And I am glad to learn that the rumor which ascribed to the post-office department the intention of adopting such a rule, is unfounded.

A Jeffersonian administration would recognize that the mere practice of permitting officers belonging to the opposite party to serve out their four-years terms, then to be all supplanted by men of the ruling party, would not be a reform of real value. It might be an improvement upon more brutal practices formerly prevailing, but it will in the course of four years result in a general partisan change. It will be a clean sweep slowly and bashfully executed, a clean sweep ashamed of itself, but a clean sweep for all that, to be followed by another clean sweep when the other party comes into power, a substantial continuation of the old demoralizing abuse. It will have only one merit, the merit of carrying the proof of its own consistency on its face. Look at it. A democratic executive permits republican office-holders to continue in place, one, two, or three years, until their terms expire. The democratic executive thereby recognizes two things: (1) that these republicans are good officers—for if they were not, they would have been removed for cause; and, (2) that republican officers may continue to serve under a democratic administration without detriment to the public interest. In other words, the democratic executive practically recognizes that the public interest does not demand the displacement of these republican officers—and yet, taking advantage of the mischievous four years-term law, the executive displaces them—displaces them confessedly without valid reason.

The Jeffersonian administration will not do things so irrational; but, casting aside all inconsistencies and subterfuges, it will simply follow the precept given by Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, remove only such officers as are, upon fair ascertainment, shown to have become obnoxious to the public interest; fill vacancies in such a way as to give the service an unpartisan character, and ask about candidates only: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?"—employing, in order to secure to such questions reliable answers, the most trustworthy methods and instrumentalities. This is democracy according to Jeffersonian teaching.

It is the destruction of the spoils system. It is civil service reform. And he is no Jeffersonian democrat—he is no true democrat at all—who will obstruct, or rather, who fails actively to support the President in any endeavor to bring about a practical return to these sound democratic principles.

GROUND FOR REFORMERS' HOPES.

Is such a consummation beyond reasonable hope? Why should it be? I do not underrate the difficulty of uprooting abuses which seem to have become imbedded in popular habits and ways of thinking. But no brave man will recoil before an error because it appears popular; and frequently he will find it in reality far less popular than it appeared before he resolutely attacked it. Those of us who witnessed the first beginning of the civil service reform movement might well have been discouraged by the seeming hopelessness of the undertaking. The politicians despised it as an idle dream of visionaries, and waved it aside with a sneer. The people seemed to ignore it with stolid indifference. The first practical attempt resulted in dismal failure. That public sentiment was in any degree prepared for it when the work was begun, few of us would have been sanguine enough to affirm. But that public sentiment became rapidly prepared for it as the work went on, nobody will now deny. The danger now is, not that those who have the matter practically in hand rush ahead of public sentiment, but that they lag behind it.

One by one the old fictions by which the spoils politician sought to discredit civil service reform are vanishing into thin air. Of the demagogic pretence that it is an out-landish notion imported from England, an un-American contrivance, I have already spoken. We still hear sometimes the silly story that it will build up an office-holding aristocracy. That people should fear the growing up among us of an aristocracy of millionaires—that I can conceive. But think of an aristocracy of revenue collectors, custom-house appraisers, district-attorneys, and United States marshals! Imagine a nobility composed of postmasters, Indian agents, and department clerks! If there be anything like a federal aristocracy in politics, it is that born of the spoils system—the party bosses, the machine leaders, the dealers out of patronage—such as King Croker, Duke Murphy, Marquis Sheehan, Earl Gilroy, and the sturdy barons holding fiefs and wielding power as Tammany district leaders here—a somewhat rough nobility to be sure, but quite as enterprising as any that levied tax on unprotected merchants' wagons and upon the unwary traveler's purse in the middle ages. It is for the Jeffersonian democracy to deal with this precious chivalry.

SPOILS A SOURCE OF PARTY WEAKNESS.

There is the other curious conceit that the spoils of office are necessary to hold political parties together, to create an interest in public affairs among the people, and to give life and spirit to our political contests. Is this possible? Look at England, where, after the overthrow of one party and the coming into power of another, scarcely more than sixty offices change hands. Look at Germany, where the victory of one and the defeat of another party involves no change in the administrative machinery at all. There are no spoils there, but are there no parties? Are there no party contests stirring the popular mind to its very depth? And now, in the freest of all countries, where the people in the largest sense are called to govern themselves, where the people owe so much to their democratic institutions and are said to be so proud of them, here there should not be patriotism and public spirit enough, here it should require the sordid allurements of spoils and plunder to inspire the citizens with an active interest in their own affairs? Shame upon the slanderers who revile and blacken the American name with so infamous a charge! For it is a slander, wanton, foul, and abominable. There was as much interest and ardor in our political contests as there ever has been anywhere in the world before the spoils of office were an element in American politics. There was more interest, more patriotic fervor, more self-sacrificing devotion, than anywhere and at any time in history, in the greatest political contest this country has ever seen—in the

struggle for the salvation of the Union—in which hundreds of thousands freely offered their lives without any thought of spoil. And now it should be necessary to stimulate the patriotism of the American people with plunder? In the name of the national honor I repel the calumny.

If there has been anything calculated to chill patriotic zeal in public affairs, and to drive high-minded public spirit out of active political work, it was the intrusion of the spoils system that did it. It has injected the virus of mercenary motive into political endeavor. It has attracted to political organizations bands of greedy camp-followers and enabled them to crowd out men of self-respect with their disgusting predominance. It has put the political boss, the leader of organized selfishness, in the place of the statesman. It has tended to make the political parties mere machines in the service of sordid greed. Instead of imparting healthy life and spirit to our political contests, it has sought to degrade them to the level of scrambles for plunder. Take out that spoils element and there will still be parties, but they will not become mutual assurance companies of speculators and self-seekers. These parties will not be smaller, but they will be better. There will still be political workers, but they will be workers for public measures and policies, no longer the mercenary crowd working for loot. There will be leaders, but statesmanlike leaders of thought and endeavor—no longer leaders of hireling bands. There will be party contests, but contests of opinion fired with the enthusiasm for great principles—no longer miserable cat-fights for post-offices and collectorships. It is true the political trickster, whose whole statesmanship consists in the art of political barter, and the patriot whose whole public spirit springs from a desire to be fed at the public crib—they will be sadly discouraged and chilled; they may perhaps sullenly retire from the trade. But the real patriotism and statesmanship of the country, inspired with new zeal and hope, will move untold thousands to more than fill the gaps.

We hear it said that the "heelers" and the men of dirty work are necessary for party organization. Remove the spoils system, and you will see how superfluous they are. Their places will be taken by men who attend to organization with no less zeal and far more honorable purpose. This city groans under Tammany dominion, and Tammany asserts that its methods are necessary to hold an effective party organization together. Take away the spoils, put all the non-elective places, from the department commissioner to the street-sweeper, under sound and strict civil service rules, and there will be the end of Tammany. But the city will have other organizations for government, and then a government of public spirit, a government in which the best men will be proud to take part; and it will at once appear how little the political ardor and activity of the Tammany kind was required to make New Yorkers happy. We hear it said that the possession and the use of the spoils of office is needed to render a political party strong and successful. It is refreshing to see what the American people have of late come to think of the virtue imparted to a political party by the possession of the plunder. In 1884 the republicans had all the offices, and they were defeated; in 1888 the democrats had all the offices, and they were defeated; in 1892 the republicans had all the offices, and they were defeated. And if in 1896 the democrats should have all the offices again, that possession would certainly not save them from defeat.

As an element of party strength the possession of the offices has clearly proved a failure. The wise politician will seriously consider, in the light of recent history, whether it is not really an element of party weakness. How much stronger than a party gorged with spoil would that party be in the respect and confidence of the people that could truthfully say: "I was in control of the government, and I have not selfishly abused my power. I have removed no meritorious public servant, although many of them were politically opposed to me. For every appointment I had to make, I have carefully selected the fittest man regardless of party. The interest of the people was my supreme consideration. I have faith-

fully treated the public offices as public trusts." Would not a party able to say this win for every discontented office-seeker ten recruits among our good citizens?

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM GOOD POLITICS.

I say, therefore, that civil service reform is not only right, not only democratic, but also "good politics." It is good politics in a larger sense now than it has ever been before. The rapid repetition since 1881 of the sweeping changes in the public service, with the scandals of absurdity and brutality inseparable from them, has stirred up a moral sensitiveness among good citizens all over the land, which is constantly increasing. The ravages committed by Mr. Clarkson in the postal service during Mr. Harrison's administration called forth much severer criticism than anything done by Mr. Stevenson before him; and fifty removals made by Mr. Maxwell now, whatever explanations may be given, cause a far more painful sensation than five hundred removals made by Mr. Clarkson did four years ago. The national pride begins to be stung by a feeling of shame at the thought that abuses so glaring have been permitted to live so long in this mighty republic of ours; and this feeling will be especially keen at this period of the World's Exposition—it might be called the world's meeting—upon our soil, when merchants, manufacturers, working men, artists, men of science, men of letters, statesmen, publicists, thinkers of all nations visit this republic. They will study not only our natural resources, our material development, and the productions of our industries, but the working of our political institutions, our morals, our customs, our manners, our ways of thinking, all the fruits of our civilization. The patriotic American, mindful of the honor of his country, asks himself with anxious interest how the spectacle of the passage of our national government from the control of one party to that of another will strike these keen observers, and how their experiences communicated to the world, will affect the standing of this republic in the opinion of civilized mankind.

Imagine such men to go to Washington in order to look into the machinery of what may without exaggeration in some respects be called the greatest and certainly the freest government on earth—the one which ought to be the model government of the world. Imagine them to find the National Capitol occupied by eager crowds clamoring for the public offices as the hireling soldiery of past centuries may have clamored for the booty of a town taken by assault. Imagine them to find the President of the United States, the greatest elected officer in the world, literally besieged by the throng of office-hunters demanding his instant attention. Imagine them to see the President, as well as the secretary of the treasury, at a moment when the financial interests of this people of 65,000,000 are drifting into the perils of a great crisis, obliged to confess that the place-hunting invasion does not leave the highest officers of the government time quietly to study the pressing dangers of the situation and the means to avert them. Imagine the observers to inquire into the "claims" of the impetuous office-hunters, and to find in an overwhelming majority of cases mere party service urged as their only title to public employment, coupled with an impatient demand that all officers of different politics be instantly ousted to make room for the victors. Imagine them to see senators and representatives, the law-makers of the republic, vehemently pressing such action. Imagine them to take up their daily papers and to find in one of them a despatch announcing that yesterday 150 new postmasters were appointed, among them fifty in the place of persons removed, mostly because they have been in office four years, just long enough to make them experienced and useful postmasters; in another paper a jubilant outcry that the "headman" in Washington is vigorously swinging his ax and makes the heads fly; and in still another a threatening growl at the slowness with which the executioner is doing his work, and which is chilling the enthusiasm of the party. Imagine these bedlam scenes to be the pictures these observers would carry home with them of American practical sense, of the American development of democratic institutions, of the fruits of American civilization, of the character of

this great republic of ours, which we proudly think should be in all things an elevating example, a guiding star to all nations on earth!

The shame of the fact that the spoils system, of which all this is but the natural outgrowth, has prevailed among us for more than half a century, we can not hide from the searching eyes of mankind—just as in times gone by we could not hide the hideous blot of slavery. Nor is the existing evil of less moment than that which we have overcome. We find it recorded that a few days after the fall of Richmond, Abraham Lincoln pointed out to a friend the crowd of office-seekers besieging his door, and mournfully said: "Look at this. Now we have conquered the rebellion; but here you see something that may become more dangerous to this republic than the rebellion itself." But as we overcame slavery and the rebellion, so the American people can again furnish the proof that, however strongly an evil may be entrenched in power and in habit, they are, in the exercise of their democratic government, wise enough, patriotic enough, and vigorous enough to deal with it. And nothing would redound more to the glory of this republic than such a demonstration now, when, more than ever, it is the observed of all observers.

AN APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT.

When thinking of the means to abolish the spoils system, our eyes turn not unnaturally to the man whom the people recently put at the head of the national government. He has the power to strike a decisive blow; he has the opportunity, and it would be an offense to doubt that he has the will. He knows as we know, that the people put him where he is because he was trusted to be opposed to the vicious methods which have so long poisoned our political life. He was believed to be able and willing to secure to the people not merely a smaller measure, but the opposite of a tyrannous and demoralizing spoils politics of which they are tired. He owes his elevation to the hope that his administration would be different from most of those which preceded it, not merely in degree, but in kind. We, who are an organization of devoted volunteers in the struggle for this cause, may, without presumption, speak to him and say: "You are beset by politicians great and small, who for their own advantage, seek to drive you from your noblest purposes. Tell them once for all that the President of the United States, as you understand his duty, has in the use of his power only one interest to serve and that is the common welfare."

You have told us that it is very doubtful whether our government could survive the strain of a continuance of the spoils system. Tell the spoils-seekers that it is the sacred duty of the President of the United States to guard the government against this perilous strain, that he has no right to continue it, and that, therefore, the distribution of offices as party spoils must cease altogether. You have told us that the use of offices as rewards for partisan activity involves "a misappropriation of the public funds." Tell them that the President of the United States has no right to misappropriate the public funds, and to increase the cost of the government and the burdens of the people, by displacing efficient public servants because they belong to the opposite party, and by filling the places with inexperienced and therefore expensive men of his own. Tell them this with decision and firmness, and soon the wild scramble will cease which harrasses you and your aids beyond endurance, almost blocking the wheels of the government and exposing us to the scoffs of civilized men. Let all concerned well understand that only the public interest will be served and no spoils are to be had while you are president, and you will find congress more willing than it ever has been to regulate the service permanently by rational legislation. It may be said that by doing this you will offend many politicians. So you will. You will offend the same men whom you have offended many times before, and whose hostility has been your glory and strength. And they will be equally offended if you do only half of it. But by doing the whole you will win the support and the lasting gratitude of a patriotic people. No living man has more reason than you to know that the people can be trusted, that as to all questions of political morals they are far in advance of the professional politicians, and that they are capable of enforcing their will. If they were not, then you would not be where you are. We read of able and brave men in history whose achievements remained crude and commonplace, while a little more of bold decision at the moment of great opportunity would have made them heroes and placed them among the immortals. Yours is the opportunity of a generation. It is an enviable opportunity, worthy of the noblest, the most patriotic ambition. As Abraham Lincoln stands in our annals as the liberator of the slave, you may stand there, if you will, as the regenerator of our political life.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. II, No. 4.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE gladly gave the space of THE CHRONICLE last month to the addresses and resolutions brought out at the meeting of the National League. These put the League and the cause of civil service reform before the country in the bravest and best manner. There is not a single note of finching or equivocation. The same standard is to be applied to this administration that was applied to its predecessor. In Carl Schurz as president the League has secured a great leader.

JOHN H. DAUGHERTY, who removed to Irvington last fall from California, has been made postmaster there in place of George W. Russell, removed. Mr. Russell had held the office for twelve years, and nearly the entire community interested desired his retention. This was shown by their petition, signed by the people without respect to party, which was duly forwarded to the postmaster-general. Daugherty got up a counter petition, and among its signers were sundry minors and women, and people who did not receive their mail matter at Irvington, including residents of neighboring towns, which have post-offices of their own. This fraudulent petition was forwarded to the postmaster-general, along with charges of official misconduct against Mr. Russell. On learning these facts, a leading and influential democrat in Irvington, went to Washington representing Mr. Russell and asked the postmaster-general for the privilege of looking at the papers of Daugherty in order that the character of this petition and the falsity of the charges against Russell might be shown. This was refused with the statement that nobody but Mr. Bynum could be permitted to see the papers. Mr. Russell and his friends were dumbfounded at this ruling. They expected, as a matter of simple decency and fair play, that the opportunity to make a defense against charges would be promptly given, and that the real wishes of the people concerned would be consulted. But this did not suit Mr. Bynum, who "decided" that Daugherty should have the place. By all the rules of fairness which appeal to the American

people, Mr. Russell should have been enabled to find out what particular charges had been made, and who made them. He would not only have had the means of defending himself, but he would have put Mr. Bynum on trial for these star chamber proceedings.

SENATOR VORHEES is a state calamity and a national nuisance. If he has ever done anything that reflected honor on the commonwealth he misrepresents, we fail to recall it. He can be regularly counted on to be on the wrong side of every public question and every public policy and principle. Everybody knows this. And yet no man in the whole United States appears to have so much influence with the President. What does it mean? The Terre Haute post-office episode is the logical result of Voorhees's methods and Voorhees's ideas of public office.—*Indianapolis News.*

The question the *News* asks is being asked on every hand and by every condition of men. The apparent power of Voorhees is the most astonishing fact of Mr. Cleveland's second presidency. If the appearance is true, the old truth will come home bitter to the President that he can not serve two masters. He can not serve the people of this country and Dan Voorhees.

ONE who has not been in personal contact with the executive officers in Washington can hardly realize the terror in which they stand of the individual vengeance of congressmen. A fair illustration of this pitiable condition is seen in the wording and tone of the letter of First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones upon the Terre Haute post-office. Congressmen, at any sign of hesitation in an executive officer, at once begin to threaten him. Executive officers are rare who do an act without first considering whether it will offend a congressman. Congressmen are the instigators and managers of the secret charge system. They are ashamed of their work and want it kept covered. If it were not for them that infamous practice of our government would cease, and charges would be as public as other matters are. The average congressman has gone on threatening and bullying, and using underhand and secret means, until he appears to be a cross between a bully and a sneak. All this is for patronage. In this degraded condition of things it is a relief to have one congressman, Dr. Everett, of Massachusetts, declare that he will have nothing to do with

the distribution of patronage. If one district can get along without an office-broker, all can. The President, for himself and all officers under him, should declare the independence of the executive. He should cut off congressmen absolutely from all connection with appointments to office. Nothing but good would result. Congressmen are too cowardly to stand before the country as refusing supplies to the executive because they are refused control of offices.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND asked Mr. Roosevelt to remain on the civil service commission and the latter consented to do so. It was against Mr. Roosevelt's personal inclination to stay, a more congenial career being open to him in other directions. But the call of reform was too imperative. There was no one to take his place. And he is appreciated, not only by civil service reformers, but by the American people, who like a man who will not equivocate, who will not temporize, who will not play the sycophant, who will not flinch, but who knows his duty and will do it, whatever the consequences—in a word, whom no man nor set of men can make afraid. These are the qualities the times need.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND can not honorably leave Mr. Roosevelt handicapped. The civil service commission has again come to a standstill so far as usefulness is concerned. Commissioner Johnston's later acts show that our former estimate of him was correct. He is simply a bourbon politician and another edition of Edgerton, whom Mr. Cleveland removed. His course has been such as to encourage such assaults upon law and reform as were made at Terre Haute. He is in sympathy with the enemies of civil service reform, and makes it his study to see how much the operations and influence of the commission can be limited. He does not represent civil service reform and is not in sympathy with it. He must know this, and if he is an honorable man he will get off from the commission. This cause has struggled too long and too hard to be in any manner blocked by such a man. If he does not resign the President should deal with him as he did with Edgerton, but with much more promptness.

THERE never was any excuse for the least uncertainty with regard to the newly classified free delivery offices. Four years ago, as Mr. Roosevelt shows in his report, the republicans while waiting for the eligible list turned over 2,000 men out of the railway mail service, and this was always properly denounced as an act of treachery, and it was one of the costliest of many costly mistakes made by the Harrison administration. It was the duty of President Cleveland and the postmaster-general to regard the platform upon which they went into office, and, in carrying out its letter and spirit, to give special attention to the newly classified offices. A single word from them that changes must wait upon the eligible lists would have been sufficient. This word was not spoken but, instead, they have given the impression that if a newly appointed postmaster can, with the help of his congressman, hustle around and get hold of his commission and get possession of his office in time, whatever he does in the way of a clean sweep will be all right; that they will neither give him active help nor stand in his way. After this kind of hustling the postmaster at Little Rock was permitted to turn out eleven employes to make room for his favorites, and at Quincy (Ill.), it is said, a clean sweep has been made. This has simply put another good weapon in the hands of Mr. Cleveland's enemies. Nor can it be credited to the President, but rather to the postmaster himself, that Postmaster John J. Nolan, who recently took charge of the Evansville office, refused to make removals until there was an eligible list to fill vacancies from; and he emphasized his determination with the remark, "There will not be any jimmy or crowbar business in this office."

THE President has appointed Charles W. Dayton postmaster of New York. Mr. Dayton is a lawyer and is nominally a member of Tammany Hall. He was a Hill democrat in the snap and anti-snap struggle, and supported Hill for President. Of his qualifications he said when he heard of his appointment: "Why, I know absolutely nothing about postal matters, and to the running of the post-office have never given a thought. It is best to be absolutely frank. Whatever talent for postal affairs I have will have to be developed by study and experience." About the same time he said of the 140 places which are outside of the classified service: "There is not much chance for a clean sweep, and even if there were I would not take advantage of it." Later, to the Harlem democratic club he said: "I belong to the democratic party and to the regular organization of that party in this city, and when it becomes my duty to take a stand, in its be-

half I will be found as firm as a rock." June 10, while making a call at the post-office, he said: "I will put in good democrats wherever I find that a change would be for the benefit of the service." The President has been much commended for the "adroitness" and "wisdom" of this appointment. This commendation, however, does not pertain to the manner in which the man can perform his duties, but to the fact that the appointment is an unresentable move against the ruling Tammany Hall bosses. Either in the New York post-office itself, or elsewhere in the postal service, there must have been a man who not only was not an ignoramus in postal matters, but who was well-fitted to take the place once filled by Pearson. This was the man the country was entitled to have, for the management of this office concerns the whole country. In omitting to find and select that man, Mr. Cleveland has missed a great opportunity to carry out the reform promises of his party and himself, and he has put another weapon into the hands of his enemies.

IF Postmaster-General Bissell can stand the odium which his plan in relation to the fourth-class post-offices if carried out will bring upon him, he can stand anything. There is no doubt but that he means to accomplish the greatest reform which now remains to be accomplished in the civil service, but it is in no spirit of criticism that we point out that he is pursuing the hardest possible road. He will not remove any postmaster without cause. But to fill vacancies he relies upon congressmen, and democrats only are appointed. Congressmen are ravenous for vacancies, and they hunt for causes of removal. Trumped-up charges to an extent never before known will soon flood the postmaster-general. If these are listened to, the reform would have been better not undertaken. If they are not listened to, congressmen will not accomplish a clean sweep and their exasperation against Mr. Bissell will be sharpened by defeat. The only true way is for Mr. Bissell to stand upon the constitution and the laws. The simple announcement that congressmen shall no longer have any voice in filling these offices, but that vacancies will be filled without regard to politics upon information to be obtained on the ground by inspectors and officers of the department, would meet with an approval throughout the country that would astonish Mr. Bissell; and further, after a thirty-day spasm, he would have less hatred and opposition from congressmen than he will under the present method.

SECRETARY CARLISLE promptly quar-
tered his son Logan on the country by

making him chief clerk of the treasury. Of the tried and experienced clerks of the treasury young Mr. Carlisle says that he does "not believe in these indispensable people, and when I hear of one go he will, no matter what the mugwumps say." The father says, "The idea that any officer under this government is essential to its efficient administration is absurd." Having thus delivered themselves, they set about violating the pledges of the platform upon which both of them got places. As perhaps the fittest example of efficiency and experience they dismissed the chief of the stationery division, and put into his place a democrat without experience in the duties to be performed. If the Carlises, father and son, want to do Mr. Cleveland great harm they have only to continue carrying out their ideas. The remark of the son, concerning present employes, that they had "heard notice in November which ought to have been loud enough" is the remark of a smartish and unfeeling upstart. As to Secretary Carlisle, it seems likely to be found that even in matters not pertaining to the civil service he is not a statesman but only a Covington lawyer with many rickety notions.

THE distribution of patronage in Washington has taken on phases not known before in fifty years. The President has been compelled by the perpetual presence of the mob to cut off all conferences with office-seekers, and the postmaster-general refuses to remove fourth-class postmasters without cause. This leaves it that congressmen are the only ones who have the ear of the President in the matter of patronage, and their vicious power is so far consolidated and strengthened. The congressmen are the root of the trouble. The moment the President declares that he will never allow the influence of a congressman to enter into an appointment, the atmosphere will clear and business methods will spring into use in all departments of the government with surprising rapidity. We have pointed out elsewhere the likelihood that the postmaster-general will be flooded with baseless charges trumped up by congressmen to make vacancies for their henchmen in fourth-class post-offices. In other respects the situation has not greatly changed. Congressmen are giving their time, as usual, to getting their followers quartered upon the people. Senator Turpie innocently expressed the fact the other day in his remark, "The time since the adjournment of congress has been largely occupied in preparing and presenting candidacies for various appointments." But it takes the hardest work they have ever done to get their men in. Probably the Voorheeses, the Bynums and the Vests

have had more bad hours since the fourth of last March than they had had before in all their lives. Spoil appointments are not made more than a third as fast as they were under Harrison, but they are still spoil appointments. The heads of division have not been classified but are slowly being removed and their places given to democrats. No one will claim but that making Hughes East and Lewis Jordan heads of division in Washington from Indiana, is the spoils system in its worst form. Of the former we have before spoken; the latter is over sixty years old and is a bourbon politician, and has always been an open and active enemy of the merit system in every shape, and is not a man of established efficiency in any department; and as to the party services for which this office was openly given him, he was paid in cash for the services more than they were worth. The President has no right to allow under-employees to be beaten out of a chance of promotion by competition by such appointments as these. It should be borne in mind that a slow clean sweep has all the evils of a rapid one. There have been some excellent appointments, but in general the spoils system is going on, and complete and effective plans for its disuse seem to be slow in appearing.

THE TERRE HAUTE POST-OFFICE.

The decision of First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones, in its main point, that Postmaster Donham must fill vacancies from the eligible list, completely blocks the game which Voorhees and the postmaster were trying to play at Terre Haute, and all their efforts have been wasted. Aside from this the decision in its fulsome and unendurable sycophancy, clearly inspired by fear of Voorhees, sounds like the usual decisions of the ward politicians who get into the under places at Washington. For instance, Jones knows well enough that the charge of insubordination is wholly untrue and dishonest. Donham was a mere interloper, was forbidden to take possession until a certain time, was trying to take possession after he had been so forbidden and the insubordination consisted in the employees continuing to obey Postmaster Greiner, which it was their duty to do. Jones speaks of this attempt of Donham with his followers to mob the office as "possibly too hasty and ardent," but he thinks it will be approved by Donham's political associates.

Reference of one branch of the case, the removal of clerks and carriers, to a subordinate will not relieve the President of responsibility as to Donham himself. It is well to keep in mind the case as it must be considered by the President: Some persons of Terre Haute, who styled

themselves democrats, wanted to get control of the post-office, so as to fill it up with their followers before the civil service rules took effect. They have always openly declared this to be the purpose of their conspiracy. The postmaster had some weeks to serve, but before his time would expire the rules would go into effect. It was therefore represented to him directly, and also through his friends and relatives, that if, in order to enable the project to be carried out, he would resign, he would be given a certain amount of money. At the same time he was told, in substance, "If you do not resign, an immoral act will be charged against you to secure your removal." He refused to resign and the immoral act was charged. There was influence enough to procure a government inspector to be sent to Terre Haute to make the investigation, and he went with orders to report, and did report, to John E. Lamb. The inspector reported the charge proved and the postmaster was removed, seven weeks before the end of his term. The fact that he had become blind, that he had a wife and children, and a large number of relatives, whose pain under this knife is like almost no other, should perhaps be left out of consideration in forming an impartial judgment.

How do the democrats of Indiana like this work? We can say for hundreds of them, from personal knowledge, that they loathe and despise it. When Senator Voorhees took up this transaction he entered upon the foulest work a man can put his hand to. It is for such work that respectable people shun a man. It remains to be seen whether the people of Indiana have spirit enough to drive this dishonorable blather-skite out of public life.

If President Cleveland can tolerate a postmaster who obtained his place as Donham did, he has the power to keep him in, but he will put a weapon into the hands of his enemies, than which they will ask no better. We do not need to repeat the other well known reasons for which Donham should have been removed instantly. His avowed purpose to get possession of the office to beat the civil service law, was enough. His refusal to obey the order of the department to delay taking possession was enough. His illegal attempt to dismiss carriers, was enough. His openly declared enmity to the civil service law, was enough. How long would a republican guilty of any of these offenses be now left in office?

SWINISH SPOIL.

The United States inspection of meat for export at this point teaches several lessons. The Harrison administration set up

an establishment of one physician, Dr. Brayton, at \$1,400 a year; six young women as assistant microscopists, each at \$600 a year, and one tagger at \$720 a year. There was nothing small or mean about this provision for meat inspection, the cost aggregating \$9,720 annually. During all of the last winter and until Harrison went out of office this array must have been kept under pay solely to reduce the surplus, for one person could have done all the work and more, commencing with the tagging and ending with a look through the microscope. Now comes Secretary Morton and reduces the force to a physician, two assistant microscopists and a tagger. But he makes the discovery that the policy of this administration could not be carried out if a tagger with republican proclivities were to cut strips from hogs for inspection, and so the republican tagger is dismissed and a democrat is appointed, and to this extent the policy of the administration is safe from betrayal. For a like reason it was found that young women whose fathers were or had been republicans could not be trusted to fasten the meat upon slides for the microscope and they were promptly discharged and others whose relatives were democrats were, at the direction of Bynum and Turpie, given the places. One of the dismissed assistants was a daughter of the late ex-Governor Conrad Baker, and if there is any smaller business than to turn her out because her father was a republican it would take a microscope of much higher power than that used in meat inspection to find it. Likewise, Dr. Brayton being a republican could not be trusted to examine slides under the microscope any longer and he was dismissed and one Dr. Stucky, "a good sound democrat," was given the place. Dr. Brayton is a physician in high standing with a large practice, which he doubtless attended to diligently while holding this office, the government having little for him to do, while Dr. Stucky is not a physician of high standing nor with a large practice and he will have to idle away a good deal of time; but he can probably look through a microscope and find worms in pork. The secretary of agriculture would do well to turn his attention once more to the meat inspection department and take the politics out of it. And we make the further suggestion that since exporting meats goes by fits and starts the pay for inspection should be per hog, so that when for weeks and months there is nothing to do the reduction of the surplus may cease.

THE REORGANIZATION OF PENSION BOARDS.

About all that is known here concerning changes in medical pension boards has

come through the Washington special correspondence of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*. According to this information the clean sweep of these boards in Indiana is nearly complete and soon will be entirely so. This change consists in turning out republican doctors and putting in democratic doctors. There was some talk about keeping a republican doctor on each board, but Congressmen "Cooper, Bynum and others convinced the commissioner that such a board produced discord, and each side tried to work the applicant. * * * Often the democratic member would vie with the republican member in rating the applicant just to catch his vote." These remarks, made June 2 by the *Sentinel* correspondent, tell more of the work of these worthless boards than could be told in whole columns. There are 1,237 medical pension boards, and the country pays them \$1,750,000 a year. The places have always been treated as spoil, and the doctors have been the tools of the congressmen who got them their places. To the congressmen and these boards, rating persons for pensions who ought not to be rated, is due most of the dishonest pensioning which has occurred. There is no choice of parties. The democrats are just as dishonest as the republicans. There never was a more corrupt political machine than the pension machine in Indiana during Mr. Cleveland's first administration.

There are undoubtedly many persons drawing pensions whose names should be struck off. But if these political boards are put before the country as an instrument with which to distinguish names fraudulently on the list, the country will conclude either that there is no honest intention to make the list true, or that the administration stupidly fails to grasp the situation. For instance, suppose persons in Indianapolis have obtained pensions on the ground of physical disability, but in fact are not physically disabled. Is it expected that Congressman Bynum and the board lately named by him will have the confidence of this community in its fairness in pointing out these fraudulent pensioners? We can assure the administration that a very few moves by this congressman and his board would produce almost open rebellion here, for the reason that the board is a political board and its acts would be believed to be biased by political considerations. After a short course with these political boards the administration will find it too late for anything except reflection upon how great defeat a party can suffer just after winning a great victory.

In purging the pension list the administration has a stern duty, and it will have to perform it in a manner so honorable and fair that all the world will say it was

done honorably and fairly. In this work, congressmen and political boards and politicians should be absolutely discarded and ignored. The only boards in which the ex-soldiers and the people have any confidence are army and navy boards, for the reason that they are known to be clear of politics and free from the coercion of congressmen. The transfer of the pension boards to the classified service and filling them anew from eligible lists, thus making the members independent, is the very least that can be done with safety. There is absolutely no method of appointment except by competition which will free them from suspicion.

STEPS TOWARD "PURGING THE PENSION LIST."

Congressman Conn caused a clean sweep to be made of the republican examining surgeons in the thirteenth district. The following democrats were to-day appointed in their places:

La Porte county—D. L. Brown, Michigan City; Jacob Martin, Rolling Prairie; T. S. Omis, Laporte. St. Joseph county—John B. Bedling, Nottre Dame; N. T. Montgomery, C. A. Dougherty, South Bend. Marshall county—J. W. Edson, Bourbon; C. F. Wahle, Bremen; J. H. Wilson, Plymouth. Kosciusko county—Levi J. John, Mildford; L. F. Moody, Princeton. James M. Amiss, Silver Lake. Elkhart county—Wallace F. Hanl, Elkhart; John S. Suks, Naponee; Daniel F. Miller, Goshen.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 20.

Examining surgeons were also appointed in the first district, upon the recommendation of Congressman Taylor, as follows:

Posey county—Drs. Ramsey and Pearce. Vanderburg county—Drs. Carter, Wosshen, and Mulheisen.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 20.

Drs. J. T. Smith, of Lockport, P. L. Fish, of Quincy, and John M. Stucky, of Spencer, have been appointed pension examiners for Owen county under recommendation of Congressman Cooper.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 20.

Representative Taylor has had the following board of pension examiners appointed for Rockport, Ind.: Drs. Ehrman, F. M. Hackleman, and Felix Maslow.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 25.

Congressman Brookshire is disposing of his pension boards just now. He will reorganize each one in his district. To-day he recommended appointments upon pension boards as follows:

Terre Haute—Drs. Haworth and Moorehead, of Terre Haute, and Russell, of Riley.

Clay County—Drs. Veach, of Staunton; Tulley, of Brazil, and Madisett, of Corry.

Sullivan County—Drs. Durham, of Graysville; Delashmutte, of Sheldon, and Pertile, of Carlisle.

Parke County—Drs. Vancleve, of Catlin; Peare, of Bellmore, and Goldsbury of Bloomingdale.

The appointments of the above medical boards are expected to be made to-morrow. Mr. Brookshire will name the members of the other pension boards in his district very soon. Most of the remaining unorganized boards will likely be named by him to-morrow.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 25.

Upon the recommendation of Congressman Bynum the pension medical board for Hancock county was reorganized yesterday with the following members: Drs. Martin, Boots and Selman.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News, April 29.

Representative Bynum has caused the pension medical boards of Marion and Madison counties to be reorganized. To-day the following members were appointed upon his recommendation:

Marion—Drs. Rooker, of Castleton; W. J. Brown, and Ernest Reyer, of Indianapolis.

Madison—Drs. J. W. Branch and J. B. Fattie, of Anderson, and Dr. S. W. Edwins, of Elwood.

They are all democrats and the retiring members are all republicans. The commissions of the new members will be sent out next week.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 5.

Congressman Brown to-day selected and recommended to the commissioner of pensions the following gentlemen as examining surgeons for the pension boards in his district:

New Albany—Drs. R. P. Rutherford, Frank H. Wilcox, Richard M. Ziegler.

Charlestown—Drs. W. F. Work, S. S. Williams, J. M. Nickles.

Madison—Drs. J. V. Rawlings, T. E. Swan, C. C. Copeland.

Scottsburg—Drs. T. W. Warmouth, H. Tammage, S. H. Smith.

North Vernon—Drs. A. B. Light, W. M. Stemm, O. Gaddy.

Seymour—Drs. D. S. Cummings, A. May, J. H. Green.

Salem—Drs. C. W. Murphy, H. S. Paynter, J. K. Mitchell.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 3.

Congressman Cooper to-night sent the following nominations to Washington for members of the pension boards:

Bartholomew county—Drs. K. D. Hawley, R. E. Holden, J. K. Smalley.

Johnson county—Dr. E. B. Williams, to fill vacancy.

Morgan county—Drs. S. A. Tilford, C. M. Lindly, M. F. Brackney.

Putnam county—Drs. G. W. Bruce, J. R. Leatherman, J. F. Culley.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 5.

A few weeks ago the appointment of democratic physicians to pension medical boards was announced in nearly every county in Indiana, but the commissions were not sent out. When the new commissioner of pensions took possession of his office, the question came up as to whether the boards should be composed of three democrats or two democrats and one republican. Ex-Commissioner Black exerted his influence in favor of the minority representation board as he had them under the former Cleveland administration. Representatives Cooper, Bynum and others convinced the commissioner that such a board produced discord, and each side tried to work the applicant. If an applicant was rejected the minority representatives would console the applicant by telling him the only way to secure a pension was to "vote our ticket next time." Often the democratic members would vie with the republican member in rating the applicant just to catch his vote. The Harrison administration recognized this defect in a minority-rep-

representing board and all the members were taken from the republican ranks. The boards will now stand solidly democratic and the commissions of the physicians heretofore appointed are being sent out as fast as they can be filled out.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 2.

SUBSIDIZING THE PRESS.

Hoke Smith, of the *Atlanta Journal*, secretary of the interior.

Claude Meeker, of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, consul to Bradford.

Louis C. Hughes, editor of the *Tuscan Star*, governor of Arizona.

A. C. Hacker, editor of *Martin County News*, postmaster at Shoals, Indiana.

M. P. Pendleton, editor of the *Belfast (Me.) Age*, consul at Pictou.

A. Allison, of the *Nashville Democrat*, postmaster at Nashville, Indiana.

Charles W. Clare, editor of *Re-Union*, postmaster at Watertown, New York.

Robert B. Brown, editor of the *Messenger*, postmaster at Meadville, Pa.

Samuel E. Morss, editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, consul-general at Paris.

Philip Zoercher, editor of the *Tell City News*, postmaster at Tell City, Indiana.

Ernest P. Baldwin, editor of the *Laurel (Md.) Democrat*, first auditor of the treasury.

Dr. Joseph A. Senner, of the *New York Staats Zeitung*, commissioner of immigration.

Benjamin Lauthier, of Massachusetts, editor of two French papers consul to Sherbrooke.

Dale J. Crittenberger, editor of the *Anderson Democrat*, postmaster at Anderson, Indiana.

Ambrose W. Lyman, of the *Helena (Montana) Independent*, collector of internal revenue.

Lewis Baker, proprietor of the *St. Paul Globe*, minister to Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Salvador.

Herman Van Lenden, editor of the *Paducah (Ky.) Standard*, private secretary to Secretary Carlisle.

Royal E. Purcell, editor and proprietor of the *Vincennes Sun*, postmaster at Vincennes, Indiana.

George F. Parker, editor of the *Globe* (and author of a Campaign Life of President Cleveland), consul at Birmingham.

Charles E. Peoples, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Pomeroy, Ohio.

Wm. A. Hume, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Chilton, Wisconsin.

James E. Brown, editor of the *Herald and Advertiser*, postmaster at Newnan, Georgia.

Thomas H. Craig, of the *Journal*, postmaster at Athens, Ohio.

Lewis Green, editor of the *Hocking Sentinel*, postmaster at Logan, Ohio.

Charles T. Denit, editor of the *Times-Register*, postmaster at Salem, Virginia.

C. F. Chase, of the *Cass County Democrat*, postmaster at Atlantic, Iowa.

L. E. Rowley, of the *Journal*, postmaster at Lansing, Michigan.

W. H. McCabe, of the *Democratic Standard*, postmaster at Coshocton, Ohio.

Paul J. Willard, of the *News-Hem*, postmaster at Antigo, Wisconsin.

D. S. Johnson, of the *Oneida Herald*, postmaster at Rhinelander, Wisconsin.

James Mitchell, editor of the *Arkansas Democrat*, postmaster at Little Rock, Arkansas.

John P. Kerr, editor of the *Citizen*, postmaster at Asheville, North Carolina.

Alexander McDonald, of the *Lynchburg Virginian*, minister to Persia.

Geo. W. Van Horne, editor *News-Tribune*, postmaster at Muscatine, Iowa.

Frank H. Brooks, of the *Chicago Tribune*, consul at Trieste.

George Horton, of the *Chicago Herald*, consul at Athens.

Clinton Furbish, of the *Chicago Times*, director of the bureau of American republics.

Milton H. Northrup, editor of the *Courier*, postmaster at Syracuse, New York.

William E. Quimby, editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, minister to the Netherlands.

George William Caruth, of the *Little Rock Gazette*, minister resident and consul-general to Portugal.

Thomas L. Thompson, editor of the *Sonoma Democrat*, minister to Brazil.

Howard N. Thompson, Washington correspondent, vice-consul to Liverpool.

James B. Taney, editor of the *Wheeling Register*, consul at Belfast.

T. O. Whitman, editor of the *Journal*, postmaster at Lewisburgh, Pa.

W. W. Screws, of the *Advertiser*, postmaster at Montgomery, Alabama.

J. N. Shepler, editor of the *Standard*, postmaster at Milan, Missouri.

Snyder, editor of the *Herald*, postmaster at Joplin, Missouri.

C. B. Hill, of the *Eustis Lake Region*, postmaster at Eustis, Florida.

Van Leer Polk, of the *Nashville American* Consul-general to Calcutta.

Peter H. Pernot, Washington correspondent *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Cherokee appraiser.

John W. Potter, editor of the *Argus*, postmaster at Rock Island, Illinois.

S. P. Tufts, proprietor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Centralia, Illinois.

Isaac Fielding, of the *Times*, postmaster at Champaign, Illinois.

Wm W. Timmonds, editor of the *Sun*, postmaster at Portland, Indiana.

U. A. Ashby, of the *Iowa Homestead*.

GOVERNMENT BY CONGRESSMEN, OF CONGRESSMEN, AND FOR CONGRESSMEN.

BYNUM'S.

There are democrats in Indianapolis who would pay well for information that will lead to the discovery of the hiding-place of Congressman Bynum. The congressman returned from Hancock county some time Saturday, and since then has been avoiding the members of his party who are afflicted with the desire for public office. Mr. Bynum was shaved at the Grand Hotel barber shop Saturday evening, and since that time his best friends have been unable to get any trace of him. There was a large and impatient crowd in waiting for him at the Grand Hotel all day yesterday, and to-day the Grand, the Denison and the English Hotels were besieged by the men who want places. The members of some of the delegations became indignant when they learned that the congressman was purposely avoiding them.

As the day grew older it developed that the congressman had agreed to meet various office-seekers, some at the Grand, others at English's, and still others at the Denison. Among those who called at English's was Chairman Jackson of the Hancock county democratic committee. He was informed that Mr. Bynum was not in the hotel.

"But I have a letter from him, agreeing to meet me here," said Mr. Jackson.

"I can't help that," said the clerk, "he isn't here." About that time the telephone in the office of the same hotel rang. Terry Cullen, manager of the Denison House, was at the other end of the line. The conversation was about as follows:

"Is Bynum stopping with you?"

"No."

"This is Cullen, of the Denison. If he is there, I should like to know it. There is a delegation over here from Anderson looking for him."

"Sorry, but we can't help you out. We would also like to know where he is."

During the forenoon the delegations, representing all sections of the district, traveled from one hotel to another in the fruitless search for the missing congressman. Trips were made to the congressman's law office on East Washington street, and to the residence on Bellefontaine street he formerly occupied, but no trace of the missing congressman could be found. A few of the men who do not want office themselves, but had agreed to take time to call on the congressman in the interest of friends, were indignant because he had written that he would meet them at a certain hotel, and then had failed to keep his appointment.

Mr. Bynum came out of hiding this afternoon and announced that he would return to Washington this evening.—*Indianapolis News*, April 17.

The action of Congressman Bynum in avoiding the seekers after federal offices during the last few days of his stay in the city is being criticised by many members of his party. Some harsh things are being said about the congressman by the men who feel that they were mistreated. It is asserted and not denied that the congressman wrote letters to constituents in Hancock and Madison counties promising to meet them at certain hotels here and then deliberately remained away from the hotels while the visitors were in the city. "I have no doubt Mr. Bynum was worn out by the office-seekers," said a democrat to-day, "but he shouldn't have made promises he did not intend to keep. These things will be treasured up against the congressman, and when he asks for another nomination he may find that some of those who have stood by him in the past have deserted him.—*Indianapolis News*, April 18.

Congressman Bynum reached Washington Tuesday night. As soon as the Hoosiers beheld his towering form in the rotunda of Willard's they gathered about him, and drew their petitions. It looked to many as if Mr. Bynum had aged very much since he left Washington, to escape the importunities of office-seekers, only to find in Indianapolis that he had encountered even a more voracious crowd than he left behind.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 20.

To the Editor of *The Indianapolis News*:

Your statement that I made engagements and broke them is untrue. I challenge you to produce a single letter making an appointment which I did not meet.

W. D. BYNUM.

Washington, D. C., April 20.

[Mr. Bynum is something of a simpleton, or else he thinks the *News* is. Of course he is safe in challenging us to produce a letter of his making an appointment which he did not keep. We recorded the assertions of a great number of angry and disappointed men that he had promised to see them and failed. We took their word for it. We are not quite willing to take Mr. Bynum's word to the contrary.—Editor the *News*.]

The next surveyor of the port of Indianapolis will be John Rail. This, it is said, has been practically decided by Congressman Bynum, with whom the appointment lies absolutely, the federal constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. He has no education, and the *Journal* has shown in the past that the degree of his illiteracy is sufficient to bar him out of any place of trust requiring business ability. He was engineer at the water-works pumping station for a long while, and has lately been employed by the Electric Lighting Company, at work but little better than common unskilled labor. Talking with a prominent democrat yesterday, a *Journal* reporter heard him say: "Rail is absolutely unqualified for the place. He has no property interests, and there has been no call in his life for him to acquire the commonest rules of business. He would not know what a 'sehedool,' as he would pronounce it, is, much less understand it."—*Indianapolis Journal*, April 17.

Congressman Bynum said that he proposed to name John Rail as his choice for the appointment

of collector of customs of the Indianapolis port, and announced that he would make the recommendation at a date long since passed. The fight against Rail has become so pronounced that the congressman has become alarmed and it is said is trying to figure out some way to let go. Maurice Donnelly is practically out of the race, and Smith Myers does not have much hope. But John A. Reaume is making an earnest fight for it. He left for Washington a few days ago and carried with him a formidable bundle of papers containing charges against Rail. Among the documents is a verbatim copy of a resolution introduced in the board of aldermen by Mr. Rail, when a member of that body, in which he is said to have used some eccentric orthography. Rail and his friends, however, do not seem to be at all frightened, and are sending in strong denials of the charges made against the candidate. They feel satisfied that Rail will receive the appointment.—*Indianapolis News*, May 15.

Albert Lieber, who went to Washington several days ago, saw Congressman Bynum, of course, and had a little talk with him.

"Did he intimate who will be appointed collector of customs here?"

"He says John Rail will be appointed. The protests that have been forwarded, he says, will not affect that situation any."—*Indianapolis News*, May 22.

There is much talk among Indianapolis democrats over what is regarded as the endeavor of Congressman Bynum to put all of the responsibility for the attempt to remove Postmaster Thompson upon Senator Turpie. It is said by members of the party that the effort to have Mr. Thompson removed originated with Mr. Bynum, and that while he was at home a few weeks ago he assisted in getting into shape the charges against Mr. Thompson. Democrats say that now, when it looks as though the effort would be a failure, Mr. Bynum desires to throw the responsibility upon Senator Turpie; that Senator Turpie has taken little, if any, interest in the attempt to have Mr. Thompson removed, and that all the scheming has been done by Congressman Bynum, assisted by Senator Voorhees.—*Indianapolis News*, May 24.

The *Hancock Democrat* calls for the retirement of Congressman Bynum in this district, speaking of him as "a would-be deputy President or patronage boss of the worst type," who "has outlived his usefulness in congress, and is unfit to properly represent the people."—*Indianapolis News*, June 2.

Congressman Bynum has recommended Franc Harbitt for postmaster of Elwood.—*Indianapolis News*, April 29.

After a long struggle the Elwood postmastership is settled, and Francis M. Harbit is the successful man. The scramble after that position here has been one that has caused much enmity between the different factions of the democratic party. Candidates for the office were James Parsons, who held the office under a former democratic administration; "Dock" Peed, David DeHarity and Francis Harbit. Mr. Bynum was deluged with correspondence against Harbit by different democrats who did not want to award honors to Harbit. But all to no avail. Bynum had given his promise.—*Elwood Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, May 25.

Mr. Bynum has recommended Eugene Lewis for postmaster of Greenfield at the request of nearly all the active democrats of the county. Lewis is editor of the *Greenfield Herald*, but it is understood he is to give it up. It will probably be consolidated with the *Hancock Democrat* in the interest of democratic harmony. Mr. Bynum has also recommended for appointment for postmasters in Madison county, F. M. Harbett at Elwood, W. J. Cunningham at Alexandria, William Wright at Frankton.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 4.

There are more presidential post-offices in Madison county than in any other county in the country. Anderson, Alexandria, Elwood, Pendleton and Frankton all pay over \$1,000 a year. Pendleton and Frankton, while not actually presidential offices at present, will be made so at the next quarterly settlement. With the appointment of Harbett at Elwood and Cunningham at Alexandria to day, these five big offices

all pass over into democratic hands. The Anderson office was the first one in the country to be filled by the present administration. Mr. Bynum has done well for Madison. It was through his untiring work that this change was accomplished.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 24.

Mr. Bynum also secured the appointment of J. D. Compton of Indianapolis as carpenter of the treasury department; salary, \$1,000. Compton is an old soldier, and was backed by the democratic soldiers' and carpenters' union.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 29.

Several appointments have been made and charged the seventh district for which Representative Bynum is not responsible. The appointment of James Neal to-day for special inspector of customs is among the number. This appointment was secured by Colonel Dick Bright, Senators Voorhees and Turpie, and Mr. Bynum wants it distinctly understood that he refused to indorse the application. Under President Cleveland's former administration he was steamboat inspector.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 16.

Congressman Bynum is so much interested in the controversy over the Indianapolis post-office and surveyorship that he will not leave the capital for some time yet. He will probably be here during most of the month of July.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 13.

CONN'S

Congressman Conn, of Elkhart, reached Washington late this afternoon, having arranged the post-office matters in his district. He went at once to Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Maxwell, and submitted a list of recommendations. Mr. Conn will remain here for some time.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 13.

Congressman Conn's action in withdrawing his recommendations for fifty-four fourth-class postmasters yesterday, because Fourth Assistant Maxwell said that the congressional recommendation was not necessarily final, will not be receded from. He said to-day: "Mr. Maxwell told me when I first presented my indorsements that they would be acted upon. Yesterday he saw fit to go back on this ruling. I will now file all applications with him and he can settle the matter to suit himself. I will indorse nobody."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 15.

Congressman Conn has decided to settle every postoffice in his district, cross-roads and all, by election. He has recommended candidates for all the fourth-class offices in the district, but upon being informed that his recommendations would not be considered unless accompanied with petitions he withdrew his indorsements, and will let the department settle the contests among the applicants. He will advise his constituents to hold elections and file the papers with the department. He will make no recommendations.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 18.

Headman Maxwell has descended from his altitudinous perch and is groveling before Representative Conn, of Elkhart. A couple of days ago it was related by a *Journal* special how Mr. Maxwell refused to respect the old custom of permitting the majority congressmen to name fourth-class postmasters in their districts without filing petitions from the patrons of the offices, and how Mr. Conn withdrew fifty-two of his recommendations and declared that rather than be held responsible for these appointments and not be allowed to name them himself he preferred to let the whole business rest with his constituents.

Late last night Mr. Maxwell called upon Mr. Conn. They were closeted for an hour or more. This morning Mr. Conn called at the post-office department. Smiles wreathed his cleanly shave face. "I have resubmitted all of my recommendations for appointments," said he, "and am assured that my recommendations will be respected. Mr. Maxwell assures me that he will hereafter follow the recommendations of democratic congressmen and hold them responsible for the appointments. I shall not now ask my constituents to hold elections and choose postmasters. I will name them."—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 20.

Returns from Congressman Conn's fourth-class postmaster indorsements are coming in. His hand may be seen in the list for to-day in Indiana. All the appointments were made to supply vacancies caused by resignation, except at Sumption, where the vacancy came about through the death of the incumbent. The new postmasters are as follows:—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 27.

Representative Conn intends to go with Mr. O. M. Packard to Controller Eckles to-morrow, and talk about the Indiana bank examinership. Mr. Conn is confident that Mr. Packard will get the position, and soon. It may be determined this week, as pressure is being brought to secure early action.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 25.

[Packard got the place.]

Representative Conn, Col. Johnson and Editor Starr of the *Goshen News* leave for Indiana to-morrow. Mr. Conn says he is doing fairly well as regards post-office appointments for his district, still the changes are not being made as rapidly as he would like. There are four postmasters against whom he has filed charges who will be removed in a few days, he believes.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 25.

Representative Conn is another new member who has been active and successful. Two of the four removals to-day, were from his district, Plymouth and New Carlisle, in St. Joseph county.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 24.

COOPER'S.

The senate's confirmation of the appointment of Isaac Holton as postmaster at Plainfield has torn up the local democracy, because it was regarded as an unfortunate appointment and because it means that Congressman Cooper has a pull and his men are being located as fast as possible. The most bitter fight was waged against Holton. He has not lived in Plainfield long, his conduct has not, at all times, been approved by the people, and last Wednesday, on which day his name was sent to the senate, he was in Danville engaged in giving bond on five indictments charging him with allowing minors to play pool in the establishment which he formerly conducted in Plainfield.—*Danville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 18.

Congressman Cooper this morning had his grip packed for home, but the fifth district office-seekers here coaxed him to remain another week to help them out.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 19.

Congressman Cooper sent the following names for postmasters: J. A. Lewis, St. Louis (Crossing); J. M. Osborn, Petersburg; Bartholemew Hunter, Maysville, Putnam county; Charles Ballard, Monroe, Morgan county.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 4.

Congressman Cooper has recommended Otis Henderson for postmaster at Stilesville, Hendricks county.—*Columbus Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 14.

Congressman Cooper left for Indiana to-day after visiting the departments. Of 192 fourth-class postmasters in Mr. Cooper's district, all but ten republican incumbents have been succeeded by democrats. Of the presidential offices four out of nine are now in the hands of democrats.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 3.

The hostility to Joseph G. McPheeters, postmaster at this city, manifested by the vicious manner of his removal on charges of immorality, after the postmaster-general had declared the charges of offensive partisanship insufficient, is still felt by the greedy gang who, for place, are willing to become assassins of character. The furniture and equipment of the Bloomington post-office is the finest in southern Indiana, of offices of like grade. When the retiring postmaster found that the incoming administration contemplated the buying of other furniture, he made an offer of the entire equipment for less than half price. After the late election the threat was freely made on the streets that "McPheeters would have an office left on his hands," and the new postmaster made good the threat by contracting for another equipment Friday. All decent democrats in this place are outspoken in their condemnation of

what they do not hesitate to call an "indecent proceeding." The petty political spite that would seek to smirch the character and then injure the outgoing administration is a degradation of the public service which every honorable man will condemn. The people of all parties believe that John R. East and his son Rufus have made a serious blunder in the beginning of their official life, and that before four years have gone by their defeat will be overwhelming and their mortification complete.—*Bloomington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, May 2.

Two of the three democratic presidential postmasters were appointed to-day for Indiana to supersede republicans removed for cause. The republican postmasters of Bloomington and Bluffton had each three months longer to serve, but they are removed upon charges preferred against them of offensive partisanship. Postmaster McPheeters of Bloomington was charged with having destroyed political supplements to democratic papers during the campaign of 1890, and in the last election while making a tour of the county ostensibly to inspect country post-offices, he distributed republican campaign literature and put in most of his time organizing the g. o. p. He hung up in the post-offices, much to the disgust of self-respecting patrons, outlandish pictures of Cleveland with all sorts of ridiculous descriptions. Rufus H. East, the new postmaster, is a young man who has been deputy county clerk for two years, and is a son of John R. East, a well known lawyer. East was highly recommended by the business men and patrons generally. *The editors of the two democratic papers, the Courier and World, united on East.*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 20.

Mr. McPheeters' term of office would not have expired for almost a year, and it is the universal testimony of patrons of the office, regardless of party, that the office was conducted strictly on a business basis and according to law. But a compact had been made, as early as last Christmas, which, to be carried out, required that the Bloomington office be vacated at once. *Senator Voorhees has a niece here who is one his special favorites, and the senator was anxious for her to have a position, and it was, therefore, agreed that if he would assist Congressman Cooper to get Edwin Corr in as assistant United States attorney, he, in return, would appoint R. H. East, postmaster, and he, in return, would make his favorite niece the assistant.* To this end Cooper and Voorhees worked. They filed charges of offensive partisanship, one of them being that the republican postmaster had placed cartoons of Cleveland and his wife in the office, and other charges equally false. All these failed, however, and word comes from Washington that Voorhees finally demanded the removal on a charge of immorality, followed by the statement that the charges were of such a nature as to be unfit for publication. This is the grossest fabrication, as there is not a citizen of Bloomington but believes him to be a man of upright Christian character. All of this again shows the complete control of Voorhees in Indiana affairs, and his unscrupulous methods of dealing in political matters.—*Bloomington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 25.

HAMMOND'S.

John J. Young was appointed a meat inspector at Hammond to-day. Salary, \$1,000. *He was recommended by Congressman Hammond.*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 18.

Pursuant to notice given by the chairman of the democratic county central committee, a post-office election was held here yesterday. Of the 289 votes polled, John M. Turner received 288. Gustave Lowe, a wealthy cattle dealer, who recently moved to town, has the recommendation of Congressman Hammond for postmaster, and the election yesterday was an effort by his opponents to set aside the congressional choice. Lowe declined to enter the contest, claiming that such proceedings were not properly authorized. It is presumed that he feels secure in the recommendation of Congressman Hammond. *On the other hand Mr. Turner is distantly related to Senator Turpie*, besides which he is an intimate personal friend, and it is conjectured that this relationship may have brought about the election as a means by which to

head off Lowe.—*Monticello Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 17

John Turner, who was appointed by the President yesterday postmaster at Monticello, was not recommended by Representative Hammond, who represents that district. Mr. Hammond recommended A. Low and felt confident of success a week ago *when assured that the senators would not interfere.* The fight against Mr. Hammond's man was conducted by Judge Reynolds and ex United States Attorney Sellers. * * * This fight was precipitated by a county factional fight which originated in the repairs of the court-house, ordered by Judge Reynolds, the Monticello Democrat opposing the expenditure. *Turner, the postmaster, is a nephew of Mr. Turpie.*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 24.

The overruling of Congressman Hammond by Postmaster-General Bissell, in the matter of the appointment of a postmaster at Monticello, has created the greatest stir among democratic politicians in this congressional district that has been known since the election. *Gustavus Lowe was a delegate to the convention that nominated Hammond. White county was the last county called, and one vote was all that was needed to nominate Hammond. Lowe gave it and Hammond was nominated.* As a reward Lowe was recommended for postmaster at Monticello, but the announcement of the recommendation stirred up a great muss.—*Delphi Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 27.

BROWN'S.

Jason Brown is very well pleased over the success he is having in turning the republican postmasters out, and appointing democrats to the vacancies in his district. Out of ten appointments for Indiana to-day Mr. Brown secured five for his district. The list of Indiana appointments is as follows:—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 25.

Mr. Walter B. Godfrey having resigned the post-office at New Albany, Ind., his resignation to take effect July 1, Congressman Jason B. Brown has recommended Charles W. Schindler to succeed him.—*Washington Dispatch*, May 4.

Representative Brown will leave for Indiana tomorrow. Since his return here he has decapitated nearly all the republican fourth-class postmasters in his district and reorganized the county medical boards. The presidential offices in his district are filled by republicans, good till January, although they have all been in office four years already. Mr. Brown is anxious to have them ousted to make room for good democrats.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 8.

The Hon. Jason Brown, congressman for the third district, was in the city yesterday. Mr. Brown was asked what he thought of the policy being pursued by the postmaster-general in the case of the Indianapolis office. He said:

"According to a letter which I received from Mr. Bissell I believe the present postmaster will hold until his commission expires. The postmasters at New Albany, Madison and Salem, three points in my district, were appointed during a vacation of congress in the summer of 1889, and were not commissioned until January of 1890. I wrote to the postmaster-general asking if these men were to be allowed to remain in office until their commissions were four years old or if they could not be removed when they had been four years in the office, and Mr. Bissell replied that unless some charges could be brought against the men they must remain four years from the date of their commissions. Since then, however, the Madison postmaster has held two or three alleged civil service examinations, in which he had a lot of republican clerks for judges, and which resulted in the appointment of republicans. I think I can make this the basis of a charge upon which he can be removed. The others, I suppose, will have to stay until January. I think the President ought to revoke this ruling, which was made by President Harrison after he had been defeated for re-election, which shows plainly that it was done simply to lengthen the official lives of a lot of republican office-holders."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 30.

TAYLOR'S.

Representative Taylor visited the government printing office to-day for the first time. He came out with a commission for Miss Lucy Simmons of Boonville, Warrick county, who will have a nine-hundred dollar job during the next four years unless she gets married. There are half a dozen voters in her family, all democrats, and hers will be the first office held by a member of the family. Ex-Senator Fankner of Ripley county, who is now assisting Senator Voorhees in his department routine work, discovered the vacancy.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 4.

Congressman Taylor will leave for home tomorrow. He was before the civil service commission yesterday and secured a postponement of the civil service examination at Evansville until the 20th inst., when the commission will send representatives out to take charge. Representations had been made to Mr. Taylor that the republican officials in the Evansville office refused to supply blanks to democrats. Congressman Taylor also called at the department of justice and filed charges against Samuel Kercheval, of Rockport, inspector of United States courts. He requested, also, the appointment of Anthony Stevenson in his place.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 4.

The first victim singled out by Representative Taylor, of the first district, for the ax of headman Maxwell was W. F. Hudson of Patoka, Gibson county, a man who was mustered out of the Eightieth Indiana with broken health, and who has been an excellent postmaster. His successor is an able bodied young democrat.—*Indianapolis Journal*, May 11.

Representative Taylor is a new member. He will not take his seat until fall, but he has accomplished much. He came here in February, long before he was on the pay-roll, to prevent the confirmation of two republican postmasters at Cannelton and Tell City, which became presidential offices after the election. He succeeded, and two democrats were appointed as soon as President Cleveland returned to the White House. He remained here until he had the assurance that the Evansville and Rockport partisan postmasters were removed. Meantime, he cleaned out the fourth-class post-offices of republicans.

Congressman Taylor will leave for Evansville in a few days. He called on Attorney-General Olney this morning in the interest of Anthony Stevenson, of Rockport, who desires to succeed Samuel Kercheval as examiner of federal courts. Congressman Taylor believes Mr. Stevenson has a good show of appointment.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 3.

Nolan, however, did not receive the appointment on account of his services to the labor organizations—but for the simple reason that as a delegate to the congressional convention he threw a certain number of votes to A. H. Taylor, when the Posey county delegation deserted that gallant Union soldier, Col. A. D. Owen, and thus aided in securing the nomination for our accidental friend.—*Mt. Vernon Democrat*, May 26.

McNAGNY'S.

William Meyer, jr., this evening received a letter from Congressman McNagney of this district, stating that he had decided to recommend W. W. Rockhill, proprietor of the Fort Wayne Journal, for postmaster of this city. Mr. Meyer was a candidate for the position and the contest has been a bitter one between them.—*Ft. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 24.

A sensation was caused in political circles here this evening. Congressman McNagney some time ago recommended W. W. Rockhill for appointment as postmaster of Fort Wayne. Postmaster Higgins' commission does not expire until January, '94. He took the office, however, four years ago July 8.

Yesterday Mr. Rockhill called upon Higgins and asked him to resign, his resignation to take effect July 8, at which time he would have held the office four years. Rockhill told him that charges would be preferred. Higgins at once demanded that the charges be sent to Washington and that he be con-

fronted with them, saying he had conducted the affairs of the office faithfully and well. To-night he wrote President Cleveland and Postmaster-General Bissell asking that he be confronted with the charges. The city democratic central committee prompted Mr. Rockhill to ask for the resignation. The president, secretary and five members have preferred charges of offensive partisanship against Higgins and will ask for his dismissal before July 8. Another charge is a criticism of the manner the last civil service examination was conducted in the post-office. The charges say the examining board was purely partisan and consisted of three republican employes of the post-office and was unjust, unfair and a violation of the fundamental principles of civil service reform.

Higgins has taken a firm stand and says he will act as postmaster till his commission expires in January, 1894, unless peremptorily dismissed by the President.—*Pt. Wayne Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 19.

VOORHEES'S AND TURPIE'S.

Hughes East, formerly of Indiana, but now of South Dakota, has been appointed assistant custodian of the agricultural department at \$1,600 a year. He was private secretary to Vice-President Hendricks, and after the latter's death was appointed receiver of the land office at Yankton, S. D. His appointment was requested by Senator Kyle and recommended by Senators Voorhees and Turpie.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 4.

William M. Moss, editor of the Bloomfield Democrat and member of the state committee, has applied for the office of superintendent of Indian schools. To-morrow he will have an interview with the President and Senators Voorhees and Turpie will be present to urge his appointment.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 18.

Senator Voorhees has been feeling badly for a few days and has not been able to get around much in quest of office for Hoosier friends.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 25.

It is now conceded that the Indiana bank examiner'ship is practically settled in favor of Orlando M. Packard of Plymouth. Indeed, he has no serious opposition save that caused by Congressman Holman's persistent advocacy of Pugh of Rushville, in spite of the generous treatment accorded the former by both Senators Voorhees and Turpie at Mr. Holman's urgent request, in permitting him to name Capt. Bracken for internal revenue collector of the sixth district. Bracken will have the naming of about one hundred and fifty subordinate officers from Holman's district. The latter expressed himself satisfied at the time, but soon began the fight for Pugh, claiming the bank examiner also for his district—all this in face of the fact that northern Indiana has not yet received a single important appointment, and that all the other local state appointments have gone elsewhere.

It is well understood here that Senators Voorhees and Turpie are not pleased regarding Mr. Holman's attitude in this matter. This morning Senator Voorhees, in spite of his severe rheumatic illness, accompanied by Senator Turpie, Representative Conn and Mr. Packard, had a satisfactory interview with Comptroller Eckles at the treasury department. Mr. Packard's claims for the position were eloquently pleaded by both senators and Mr. Conn on the ground of fitness and also for political and geographical reasons.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 28.

Orlando M. Packard, of Plymouth, Ind., was yesterday appointed national bank examiner for Indiana. Packard was elected as an out-and-out Cleveland delegate to Chicago last year after a hard fight.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 29.

There is considerable comment here among Indiana politicians who understand the inside workings of the Hoosier political machine, at the statement put forward by friends of the Indiana senators, that they are dissatisfied because Congressman Holman opposed the appointment of O. M. Packard, of Plymouth, as bank examiner. Senator Voorhees's friends make the claim that he conceded to Mr. Holman the nomination of Wm. Bracken, of Frank-

lin county, as collector of internal revenue. As a matter of fact everybody conversant with the Indiana situation here knows that Congressman Holman, much against his own inclinations, was forced to support Bracken, and that in bringing this about Senator Voorhees played no small part. Congressman Holman was in favor of the appointment of Dr. Hunter, of Lawrenceburgh. Early in the fight Bracken's friends came to Washington and read the riot act to Mr. Holman. They told him that if he did not support Bracken for revenue collector, they would see that he was defeated for renomination for congress, and they even threatened to put Bracken forward as a candidate. Senator Voorhees seemed to enjoy the embarrassment of Congressman Holman and contributed to it. He invited him to his committee-room to a conference in presence of Bracken's friends, and then and there wrung from him an indorsement of Bracken. Congressman Holman found that he could either indorse Mr. Bracken as a matter of self-preservation politically, or put himself in the attitude of opposing a man from his own district who had the senatorial indorsements. Everybody conversant with the Indiana situation knows that Congressman Holman was brought reluctantly to the support of Bracken, who is the candidate of the slate-makers, and the statement that Bracken's appointment was conceded to Holman is very amusing. Up to date Congressman Holman has received nothing from the state machine, except his local medical examiners and postmasters.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, April 30.

The resignation of seventeen republican fourth-class postmasters in Indiana were received to-day, and as many democrats appointed to their places. The appointments were for the sixth and ninth congressional districts, and were made upon the recommendations of Senators Voorhees and Turpie. They were as follows:

Advance, Boone county, H. M. Coulter, vice J. H. Sublett; Atlanta, Hamilton county, J. N. Spidel, vice James LaFever; Cleero, Hamilton county, Albert Slack, vice J. A. Hall; Daleville, Delaware county, C. W. Fletcher, vice J. N. Barnard; Edna Mills, Clinton county, Jerome Shigley, vice Frederick Geiger; Gaston, Delaware county, J. W. Jones, vice J. W. Hannan; Harrisville, Randolph county, William Ackles, vice J. B. Fortenbaugh; Hobbs, Tipton county, C. Warne, vice M. M. Hobbs; Max, Boone county, G. E. Adams, vice Shelby Harrod; Oakford, Howard county, C. M. Raudolph, vice J. G. Martin; Oakville, Delaware county, C. A. Fleming, vice Mary A. Fleming; Rainsville, Warren county, Jacob Brown, vice F. M. Jones; Reed, Delaware county, C. M. Curtis, vice Rachel Newhouse; Royalton, Boone county, T. E. Sanders, vice E. M. Strawmeyer; Spiceland, Henry county, H. G. Yergin, vice E. C. Bogue; Straughn, Henry county, Dill Waddell, vice J. W. Haskett; Sycamore, Howard county, J. F. Saxon, vice O. P. Hollingsworth.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 30.

Several months ago a popular election was held by the democracy of Russiaville, looking to determining a choice for postmaster, and Samuel Hudson was chosen. L. M. McDaniel, John Gifford and C. W. Jones were the other candidates. Mr. Hart refused to submit his name to this election, and it developed that he builded better than his competitors, as he had the indorsement of both Voorhees and Turpie, and was a sure winner.—*Indianapolis News*, May 2.

Senator Voorhees walked proudly out of the treasury department this morning bearing "Charley" Hedges' official head aloft to the yelling delegates of the Hoosier democratic contingent.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 8.

Senator Voorhees called on Postmaster-general Bissell to-day in regard to the removal of Postmaster Thompson, of Indianapolis, but secured no definite promise of immediate action.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, May 10.

To-day Senators Voorhees and Turpie called upon Secretary Carlisle with Mr. Thomas, of Rushville, who wants to succeed General Rosecrans as register of the treasury. Thomas is a prominent farmer, and stumped Indiana for Cleveland.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 11.

Captain Allen, the newly-appointed state tax commissioner, arrived home yesterday from Washington, where he went, he says, to thank Senator Voorhees

for the kindness shown him when recently an applicant for the place of pension agent for this state. "I asked the senator," said he yesterday, to a *Journal* reporter, "who would be appointed to this position. He said it would go to some man in the northern part of the state, and none other would be considered. He asked me why I did not stick to my first choice, and said that I could have had it; that he had promised it to me. I thanked him, of course, and told him I would reciprocate his favors whenever I could. I also saw Senator Turpie, and he told me he was staying in Washington to see that the post-office at this place was disposed of as he desired. He said that he would not come home until the appointment is made. That is all that keeps him in Washington now, and I take it that he means to see that a change is made in the Indianapolis post-office as soon as he can."—*Indianapolis Journal*, May 16.

James I. Parker, of Tipton, Ind., who was yesterday appointed law clerk in the interior department, was a member of the legislature that elected Senator Turpie in 1885. He was Turpie's first private secretary, then became law clerk of the land office during President Cleveland's first term. He was mayor of Tipton until the republicans captured that town.—*Indianapolis News*, May 19.

Indiana is a remarkable exception to the rule of the comparative modesty of the North and West. Senators Voorhees and Turpie have remained in the federal city since the adjournment of the senate's extraordinary session, and have been both faithful and zealous in pressing the multitudinous claims of their constituents. Representatives, Bynum, Cooper and Brookshire have returned and had frequent audiences with the President and members of the cabinet. Congressman Taylor is now on his way here, and will contribute his mite toward securing proper official recognition for Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 29.

The case of Bert Kelly, of Terre Haute, is very annoying to Senator Voorhees. This is the man who acquitted himself so discredibly at the end of the last administration, but he has been hanging on to the local politicians of Terre Haute, and is making things very unpleasant right now for Senator Voorhees by ringing the latter's door-bell at most unseasonable hours of the night and asking for political indorsements for various treasures that are inclosed in the Blue Book. A happy thought struck the senator a few days ago, and the Indiana politicians all concurred in it. It has been decided to offer Mr. Kelly a position outside of Indiana, where he can be of more use to the democratic party than at home. Kelly seems to concur, also, in the idea, and Senator Voorhees is now trying to convince the interior department that Mr. Kelly would make an excellent man to attach to one of the Indian bureaus.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, May 18.

Senator Turpie returned from Washington yesterday. He is in the best of health and spirits and talked to a *Sentinel* reporter on various interesting topics in his usual candid and cordial manner. Referring to the Indiana offices and office-seekers he said: "The time since the adjournment of congress has been largely occupied in preparing and presenting candidacies for various appointments. I believe that in cases pending the work has been fully done up to the point of decision and awaits now only the action of the appointing power. In cases not immediately pending much work has also been done, but as vacancies do not occur in these for many months, future attention will be given them. This work has been cheerfully done by all members of the democratic delegation in congress from Indiana. It has involved the examination of much correspondence, a mass of papers on file, numerous personal interviews and careful consideration. We have served all, but it is impossible that all can be appointed. We have tried to give every applicant a fair chance in the canvass for appointments. Some of the places will not be filled until the next session—or until the beginning of the next year—but when the roll is completed no section of the state will be found neglected."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 1.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils, civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefit already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed, or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural.*

VOL. II, No. 5.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

LAST month we gave some facts relating to meat inspection at Indianapolis. As a friend of the CHRONICLE expressed it, "there is hardly a boy's work" here. A dispatch to the Indianapolis *News* of June 24th says:

Senators Voorhees and Turpie have recommended a large number of applicants for appointment as meat inspectors at Indianapolis under the bureau of animal industry, and have been complaining at the delay of Secretary Morton in appointing their candidates.

Here is another added to the ten thousand evidences of the swindling worthlessness of the men whom Indiana now has in congress. It was well known that there is, and has been, and, so far as can be seen, will be almost nothing to do in meat inspection here. The total cost of meat inspection at Indianapolis for the eleven months ending May 31, 1893, was \$5,654.08, while the total meat exports were \$2,264. Yet Voorhees and Turpie find fault because some more of their henchmen are not given places. Nothing could more plainly show the character of their public service. Nominally they are working for the interests of the people; but such facts as these show that they are reckless of the interests of the people. We renew our suggestion that inspection be paid for per hog. This would forthwith reduce the retinue at Indianapolis to one person, who would be his own tagger and microscopist, and he would have much time to spare.

It seems the four democratic congressmen from the northern part of Indiana, and of course some workers who have yet to work for a living, are dissatisfied with the division of spoil. Congressman Hammond, for instance, "has nothing to show except a string of meat inspectors and his postmasters." Congressman Conn "has not so much as a bureau chief put down to his credit." The CHRONICLE has given much space to the siege which Congressman Martin carried on to get Jerome Herff a consulship, "but Mr. Herff has received no recognition." It is the old story. These congressmen, utterly false to their

party word, pay no attention to their duties as congressmen but spend their time in a scramble for spoil to give to followers who will set up primaries and conventions for them next year. Some other counterfeits, also going under the title of congressmen, have got the start of them. That is all there is of it. The people are not disturbed; they are always glad when a spoils-hunter is discomfited, and they are dissatisfied when one, like Voorhees, succeeds. No President ever has nor ever can divide patronage without stirring up quarrels and fights and weakening himself and his party. The wonder is that any more lessons should be needed to teach our Presidents that. In this complaint found in the Indianapolis *News* of July 1, it is said that Allen county has received from President Cleveland only its local spoil, while a formidable and correct list is given of the spoil allotted by President Harrison to that county. It includes a Mississippi river commissioner, a Utah commissioner, the consul to Leipsic, a special treasury agent and a dozen other like plums. Then follows this remarkable statement: "*In Allen county, last fall, Mr. Cleveland ran three hundred votes ahead of his ticket.*" How much more evidence will it take, in view of the last three presidential elections, to convince our higher appointing officers that the complaint of a few politicians is not the complaint of the people, and that the man who divides the most spoil is the man who runs behind his ticket?

A WASHINGTON dispatch to the Indianapolis *News* of June 22, says:

The Muncie board of pension examiners has at last been filled by the appointment of Drs. Edgar A. Shields and Henry N. Winans, of Muncie, and W. S. Brandox, of Daleville. This board was agreed upon in May, but a protest was made by certain Muncie democrats against the appointment of Dr. Edgar A. Shields, alleging that he was not an orthodox democrat. The senators made an investigation of Dr. Shield's democracy, and have found him fully equipped politically for the position.

Bringing a wholly unlawful element to be the controlling power in selections for office is the only capacity which our Indiana senators have ever developed. They, with men who masquerade as congressmen from this state, have thoroughly disgraced

the state and made her an object of contempt and a by-word throughout the country. The purging of the pension list is the work most dangerous to itself which this administration has undertaken to do. What inconceivable stupidity to mock the country with pension boards selected upon such principles! How many times does a man have to be elected President before he learns that a congressman is wholly selfish—that the petty officers of his community working to continue him in place, he will make of such stress that he will bring it about if he wrecks every scheme of reform, however necessary and widespread? For no other object he wrecked Mr. Cleveland's first administration, and he has made a good start toward wrecking his second.

THE New York *Times*, of June 21, says of the self-debauchment of congressmen by patronage:

They tend to become double-faced, tricky, bullying on the one hand, sneaking and cowardly on the other. They are continually guilty of deception, of evasion, of chicane and intrigue, which in business life they would scorn. They come to have one standard of conduct in private life and another and much lower standard in politics. They do not hesitate to betray their trust as legislators and use their power to grant or withhold appropriations in order to influence the executive departments or to attempt to influence the President himself to advance their personal or factional interests. It is useless to point out that this is all unconstitutional. They know that perfectly well if they stop to think of it at all.

Two congressmen, Senator Butler, of South Carolina and Representative Everett, of Massachusetts, have asserted their manhood. Meanwhile, our Indiana congressmen fight at the trough, and in the columns of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE make voluminous, accessible and mortifying history, which their descendants, and perhaps in their old age some of themselves, would give a great deal to have blotted out.

AT THE recent meeting of the National League Mr. Frank M. Loomis, of the Buffalo association, vigorously denounced the state authorities of New York for disregarding and cheating the civil service law of that state. Mr. Loomis, who is a democrat, is

for civil service reform without any humbug about it; which is in fact an established characteristic of the Buffalo association. He met with a good deal of opposition, some of it contemptuous. Particularly notable in the League meeting was the speech of a New York civil service commissioner, setting forth the glories and good faith of Governor Flower's administration. The result of the discussion was that June 28th, Mr. Loomis and others met in Albany and formed a state civil service reform league. This league was rapidly getting into position to try conclusions in the courts with Tammany civil service reform, but note the result: July 5th, Governor Flower calls upon the state commission to know whether any appointments have been made contrary to the law. On the same day the commission replies that it has discovered one hundred and fifty-four "seeming violations" of the law besides a number of other violations. It also says that it has reduced the one hundred and fifty-four to thirty-four, but it does not see how it can go any further. Perhaps a lesson or two from the very excellent courts of New York may show them a way.

THE Carlises, father and son, are briskly continuing their work of turning the "indispensables" out of the treasury service, "no matter what the mugwumps say." They recently went to Chicago, but just before starting they called for the resignations of five chiefs of divisions. One of these, Mr. Rathbone, has doubtless saved the country millions of dollars by his efficiency and his integrity, and his dismissal, like that of Mr. Stetson, of recent date, acts in direct aid of the claim agents and lobbyists of Washington. Secretary Carlisle evidently means to challenge the independent element of the country. Other men in high place have done that but, in the long run, it did not profit them; they suffered great humiliation, but the principles of the independents went marching on. Meanwhile the question is pertinent, if this is a civil service reform administration, as it promised to be in its platform and its campaign text-book, why are not the headships of divisions put under the civil service rules? Ten lines from the President would do it.

IN THE New York *Times* of June 28, Postmaster Dayton, of that city says:

"When I find a man that I do not want to continue in the service I shall remove him, and in filling the place a democrat will surely get the preference."

This remark probably refers to the 140 places, the most important in the office, which are not under the rules. But suppose such a remark should be made by Chauncey M. Depew regarding the service of the New York Central. The country

would take it as proof of softening of the brain. Stockholders would apply for a receiver, to get rid of such a president until a new one could be elected. Every lawyer with an action for damages received under such a service would have what is known in the west as a "ground-hog case."

POLITICIANS who do not want good reasons for changes have always maintained that it was not practicable to make a record of them. A few officers like Postmaster Corse and Collector Saltonstall, of Boston, found it easy and profitable to keep such a public record. Secretary Lamont also has no difficulty, and his action has called forth the following deserved declaration of appreciation:

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION, }
56 WALL ST., NEW YORK, June 22, 1893. }

MY DEAR SIR: I am instructed by the executive committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of New York to express to you their hearty appreciation and approval of your action in filing and making public the reasons for the removals and alterations in grade in the clerical force in your department.

The members of the committee look upon this action as a forward step of the first importance.

Yours very respectfully,

WILLIAM POTTS, Secretary.

The Hon. DANIEL S. LAMONT, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

SENATOR GORMAN, who did more than any other man, except Voorhees, to wreck Mr. Cleveland's first administration, is still "on deck." Sixty democrats from his state called upon him some weeks ago in regard to spoils and he stated Gormanism to them in the following concise manner:

It is my purpose, and the purpose of the whole Maryland delegation, to serve deserving democrats. It is only by such means that we have built up such a party organization in Maryland—an organization that is not surpassed by any state in the union, and which was begun here immediately after the war. The men who have contributed to the success the party has achieved are the men whom we wish to see rewarded, and none others need apply.

He omitted to state that in his party organization, murderers, thieves, and black-legs of all descriptions are favorites, but in general his statement is correct. Government, in Maryland, is Gorman with a gang of heelers who set up primaries and conventions for him and are paid out of the public treasury.

THE facts of the present onslaught upon the offices should not be lost sight of. The people of this country are not making it. There is a fringe of congressmen who are looking out for their own continuance in place, and are therefore buying with offices the support of a considerably larger fringe of vicious local politicians. This is the whole situation, and to this pressure the administration slowly yields. The only times so far that Mr. Cleveland has, in civil service matters, had the approbation of the country were such as when he defied the Tammany bosses, and when he

"stood off" the office-hunting crowd before his inauguration, and at the times since when it seemed that he was going to overthrow the spoils system.

IT IS a humiliating sign of the deterioration of American public morals, that so many are indifferent to, or openly advocate the propriety of the suggestion that President Cleveland purchase with offices the votes of mercenary congressmen for the repeal of the silver-purchase act. The protest against this suggestion can not be too loud nor too earnest, and we are surprised that the pulpit and the religious press are silent. It can not be that they have to be told that the purchase of a congressman's vote with an office is not different from its purchase with the President's check upon the public fund, which is always at his disposal, and for which he is never called to account. It is very unfortunate that the impression has gone out, that the success of Voorhees in obtaining offices for his henchmen and relatives is due to a plan to buy his vote. We can not account for his success, but we refuse to believe that the President has, to put it mildly, departed from an honorable course. It does not matter whether or not this was necessary to secure the repeal, but in fact, it was wholly unnecessary. The financial situation has passed beyond discussion. The question whether the country will stay upon a gold basis or go upon a silver basis will not wait for a reply. And the country has made up its mind. It will stay upon a gold basis, and it is not in a mood to stand trifling from mercenary congressmen who want to be bought. The country is going to have the act under which it is compelled to buy and store the product of a private industry to keep up its price repealed, and that too without any ifs or ands about it. The seller who wants to sell and can not, the borrower who wants borrow and can not, the lender who dare not lend upon the best security, the carpenter without a house to build, the plasterer without plastering to do, the worker out of work with payments on his home coming due, every wage-earner without wages, the merchant with his diminished trade, and the man of every sort and condition, each has his eye on his congressman. Hard experience has taught the people, the least, as well as the most intelligent, what their congressmen were too busy dividing spoil to learn. They will now teach their congressmen. The latter will have to vote accordingly and that too without being bought. All the spoil under the control of the President could not change the result. The truth which the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has many times asserted again comes out plain to all the world. Whatever openly reaches into the

pockets of the people, the people may be trusted to set right, but the spoils system eats its way silently until suddenly the bearings are lost. So blind are many to it that they would use it to correct an evil, which of itself makes every man smart until he turns to and helps cure it.

It is difficult to speak moderately of the situation relating to the newly classified post-offices. At Anderson, in this State, the postmaster is evidently in the course of a clean sweep. At Terre Haute, Donham who got his office after a movement disgraceful to every one who had anything to do with it, and who was himself guilty of insolent insubordination, has had his removal of a large number of employes, under the lying charge of insubordination to himself before he was postmaster, approved by the department. The President does not answer whether Donham is or is not to be removed. As the matter now stands it offers, in the hands of those who know how to use it, most effective campaign material against the administration.

At Topeka, the new postmaster, Frank S. Thomas, got the department to dismiss seventeen letter-carriers. When applied to for the reasons, First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones replied that the dismissals were made upon the recommendation of postmaster Thomas "for incompetency and violation of orders and instructions." Postmaster Thomas was then called upon to explain, and he replied that the removals "were solely for political reasons." The carriers seem to have been in every way first-class men; nine-tenths of the people of Topeka, without regard to politics, signed a statement to that effect. This lying and duplicity is one of the most noted characteristics of Russian administration. It only remains for the administration to stick to it that the Topeka carriers were removed for cause and the Russian system will be in its full perfection. These dismissals were completed before July 1st, on which date the civil service law took effect. The dismissed men were all republicans and the new appointees were all democrats.

The department has made removals in the newly classified offices generally whenever the postmasters wanted them, and in cases where it must have known that the object was to beat the civil service law. It would be interesting to know what it expects its friends to think of it for putting itself in such an indefensible position, and what excuse it expects them to make for it. Here were civil service examinations soon to be held. The result of these would be eligible lists from which appointments could be made. In the opinion of the President and of the Postmaster-General this is the best way to get employes for

such vacancies. Yet postmasters are permitted to beat the best plan and give places to political heelers. A word would have prevented even an attempt of this kind, but it was not spoken. When the republicans did this four years ago it was called treachery to promises—what is it to be called now?

If the merit system were not a giant it would have been crushed long ago. After being racked through Mr. Cleveland's first administration by the Harritys and Edgertons, the law was made to include the railway mail service at a time which put the hardest possible strain upon it. The service had been filled with democrats and then the law was extended just in time to take effect and be enforced by republicans. No act could have made the law more unpopular, and the republicans in flat violation of their civil service reform promises viciously gave the merit system another wrench by turning more than two thousand men out of the service to make room for their partisans. The fair and right way would have been to have made the extension in the first year of the administration. Yet the merit system recovered from the shock and prospered. Again at the end of his term, after nearly four years of cynical indifference and hardly concealed enmity toward the reform, President Harrison, at a time which would again cause the hardest possible strain upon the law and the rules, and the reform, classified all of the free delivery offices. No act could have made the law more unpopular, for the offices classified had been filled with republicans. And now we have these offices not in the hands of friends of the merit system but of its Donhams and Thomases, who are repeating the treachery of four years ago. Yet the merit system will recover from this outrage, and will prosper while the disreputable politicians who are tricking it will soon be forgotten. Selections of employes by competition in all places except the highest is going to supplant every other system in state and national services. Nothing can stand against its democratic fairness. But is it not about time that the merit system had a fair chance? What other law is put in charge of its vicious and open enemies? How many tricks upon the customs law would be approved at Washington? For the future, the commonest principles of fair play call for the placing of the law in the hands of its friends, and for extensions to be made promptly so that they may be thoroughly established before another party comes in.

We have continued this month the course which the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has always aimed to follow. We have tried to accurately state the effect which the pres-

ent line of management of the civil service produces, when judged by the standards by which ordinary business affairs are judged. To do this, an emphatic statement has been sometimes found necessary, as our columns show. But we use emphasis because the facts seem to require it, and not because we are seeking occasion for emphasis. We regret the necessity and we wish the facts were different, and we do not wish our position to be misunderstood. We believe this administration wants to do something else than merely serve party ends. We believe that the views of the President and the postmaster-general as to the final result which ought to be reached in the reform of the civil service do not differ materially from the views of the CHRONICLE. There, however, the resemblance ends. Judged by their acts, they believe that it is necessary to yield more or less to the buccaneers who prey upon the civil service. We do not; we take the ground that it is their duty to stand upon the constitution, the laws and their oath of office, and take the consequences. It is this yielding which makes necessary the unpleasant comments of the CHRONICLE, and which is causing to slip away Mr. Cleveland's last opportunity to become a great President. The treatment of the pension boards, of the newly classified offices, of the fourth-class post-offices, the failure to classify heads of divisions, the subsidizing of the press, the submission to Voorhees indicated by such appointments as Burke, Risely and Donham, and the submission to insolent bullying by congressmen are all sign-boards which can not be ignored, and which point in the direction of disaster and failure. Some friends of the CHRONICLE, to some extent, think that for the present criticism should be suspended, but others urged that all through Cleveland's first administration and all through Harrison's administration. Long experience has taught that suspension of criticism only lets the spoilmen get greater headway. The way to suspend criticism is to suspend the occurrence of the facts which call for it. Nothing, for instance, could more promote the attack upon the civil service than to keep silent about the Topeka post-office where seventeen men were dismissed upon a charge now known to be false, and yet the postmaster is left to enjoy his insolent and rascally triumph.

REFORM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

We note the following dispatch in the *Indianapolis News*:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23.—As a result of the enormous pressure brought to bear upon the department of state, nearly one-third of the United States consuls abroad have been changed. There are about three hundred consuls in the service, but ow-

ing to the small compensation attached to a number of places, and the difficulty of securing competent persons who are willing to accept them, the number of really desirable posts, paying not less than \$1,500 per annum, does not exceed 250, and of these Mr. Quincy has made changes up to June 15 in the cases of eighty-three consulates.

We looked forward to the operations of the department of state with interest and with a not unnatural expectation that here would appear the most perfect work of an administration entirely committed to the reform of the civil service. At the head of this department was Secretary Gresham who, with President Cleveland, it was said was to slough off the Voorhees-Gorman element and build up a new party out of safer elements, and who in this work would have been a host, but who as a looker-on, while Voorhees has his way, will be only one with a few unpaid ex-republican Indiana ward workers additional. The second place in the department was held by Mr. Josiah Quincy, of whom it was not possible to think as a divider of spoil, and than whom, in the line of thorough reform, which would cause consulships to cease to be subject to change at every election, Secretary Gresham could not seemingly have had a better assistant. The possibilities for future esteem for both secretary and assistant lay only in fighting the spoils system. Perhaps Judge Gresham's opportunity is not yet wholly lost. As a member of the cabinet there is yet a field in which he can put forth his well known powers against a system which, if left to go, would Mexicanize this country; but it will be long before he will recover the confidence he has lost in submitting to see the clutches of Voorhees fastened tighter upon us by such appointments as Risely and Burke, and by permitting Mr. Quincy to treat the consulships as Tammany Hall treats the offices of New York.

But Mr. Quincy has evidently burned the bridges and does not care for any other future than that which his present course will make for him. He was long, and is now, perhaps, a member of the National Civil Service Reform League and was a more or less frequent attendant upon its meetings. He had charge of the preparation and circulation of campaign literature for the national democratic committee in the campaign of 1892, and among other sagacious and useful acts he caused to be circulated 100,000 copies of the address of George W. Julian, devoted to the most severe and the most complete criticism of its violations of every phase of civil service reform which the Harrison administration ever received. We have also turned over Mr. Quincy's national democratic campaign text-book and we find there thirty-six out of three hundred and eight large and closely printed pages devoted to the

subject of civil service reform. *The non-extension of the classified service*, the refusal to classify the employes of the census bureau, the refusal to punish the Baltimore assessment blackmailers, the use of the pension service as a political machine, the failure to repeal the four-year-term law, the removal of 50,000 fourth-class postmasters by Clarkson and other pertinent shortcomings are lashed up hill and down dale in a wholesome and refreshing manner.

Upon his appointment as assistant secretary of state, the least that Mr. Quincy could do was to move heaven and earth for the application of the wholesome system of appointment by competition to the consular service. He did not do this. He did not move for it at all; if he had, it would have been done. Instead of this, he announced in an interview printed in the New York *Evening Post*, that this would not be much of a civil service reform administration, after all. Then he went to work putting out consuls to make room for democrats as a reward for party service and to subsidize the press at a rate at which he will complete a clean sweep with its usual vicious accompaniments in less than a year. Mr. Quincy will find that it is easy to tarnish an honored name, but that he will make of himself only a local politician of the Clarkson stripe. It has often been wondered at by those who saw what could be done in Indiana by independent voting, that Massachusetts has not become, in national elections, a doubtful state. It is plain now. The independent voters of Massachusetts evidently know their men. They require that acts after election shall square with professions before election.

CHILDREN AND FOOLS—AND SMALL POLITICIANS—TELL THE TRUTH.

Its limited space has prevented the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE from giving those special notices which are due to fellow-workers in the journalistic field; but in Mr. Peter Pernot, until lately the special correspondent of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, at Washington, an exception must be made. The CHRONICLE is heavily indebted to Mr. Pernot. Beginning with the first call of Voorhees and Turpie upon Mr. Cleveland, two days after the inauguration to demand what he was going to do about Indiana offices, and running through the long line of events such as the processions of from two to twenty led by Voorhees before the President, demanding chances at the public treasury, the triumphs of Voorhees over his fellow congressmen in the grab for loot, Congressman Conn's bullying the fourth assistant postmaster-general, Congressman

Bynum's night and day work to find places for the ward workers who will help him to renomination next year, the sweeping out of worthless pension-board doctors and putting in others just as worthless, the sickness which made Voorhees for periods of hours back away from the trough, the trips of congressmen back and forth from Washington, "deciding" upon "claims" for offices, the conflicting "prerogatives" of senators, representatives, and defeated congressional candidates, the removals secured by Voorhees for "immorality," the mightiness of the offensive partisanship lever in the hands of democratic congressmen, and all the ups and downs, ins and outs, hopes and depressions of thousands of "aspirants" for chances to be quartered upon the public treasury, Mr. Pernot has innocently set forth the facts in his *Sentinel* dispatches with particularity and relish, seemingly unaware that he was proving our senators and representatives a contemptible set of humbugs, and that he was stripping the mantle of reform from an administration which went into office under the strongest promises not to do these very things.

These facts were promptly transferred to the columns of the CHRONICLE. We miss them now. Mr. Pernot has an office, and has left the service of the *Sentinel*. He has rejoiced at anything, honest or dishonest, that would give a democrat an office, and now he has his reward. It seems there are some intruders upon Cherokee lands whom the government is going to drive off, but rather paradoxically it is going to pay them for the land. Mr. Pernot is a "commissioner" to appraise this land and gets eight dollars a day and expenses. The appropriation will run out in a few months, but Mr. Pernot hopes that congress will make another. "There is enough work to keep us busy a good while," he says, which shows that he is a true commissioner. The CHRONICLE hopes no other appropriation will be made. It wants Mr. Pernot back with the *Sentinel*. But did Mr. S. E. Morss, now consul-general at Paris, the owner of the *Sentinel*, who got Mr. Pernot his place, want to get rid of him and so turned him over to the country? Did Mr. Morss feel that Mr. Pernot's facts, when put beside the last national platform, made for an exhibition of hypocrisy and phariseism, and that, as Mr. Pernot, like Voorhees, Bynum, Cooper and others had no comprehension of any other facts connected with government, to get rid of publishing the facts, he must get rid of the correspondent? Perhaps this question will never be answered.

Henry F. Libbey, postmaster at Pittsfield, Me., was first appointed in 1887, continued through the republican administration and just reappointed by President Cleveland.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

The interference of senators and representatives with nominations and minor appointments in the civil service is not only without constitutional warrant, but it is an indecent and dangerous confusion of two functions which the constitution carefully keeps distinct. The senator or representative who makes himself an office broker, to pay his own parasites from the public purse, should stand well exposed in the pillory of public contempt, and by reason of such interference should forfeit the respect of the country and the confidence and support of his constituency.—George William Curtis.

The oath I now take to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of these United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional demands as the rule by which my official conditions must be guided.—President Cleveland's Inaugural.

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us constrain me to remind those with whom I am to co-operate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task we shall hardly be excused, and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.—President Cleveland's Inaugural.

The total number of changes made in fourth-class post-offices in Indiana from March 4, 1893, to June 27, was 603, less than one-third the total number in the state, distributed among the congressional districts as follows:

Districts.	No. of Offices.	No. of Changes.
1.....	146	42
2.....	176	78
3.....	210	66
4.....	190	47
5.....	189	79
6.....	129	24
7.....	78	42
8.....	176	80
9.....	175	34
10.....	173	29
11.....	178	46
12.....	129	16
13.....	115	20

The number of post-offices above stated was taken from the postal guide issued January, 1893, and, therefore, does not include the changes, in the way of establishments and abolitions, since that date, but the number given in each congressional district is approximately accurate. The number of changes in postmasters was taken from the official records in the department.

The race between Congressman Bretz of the second, Cooper of the fifth, and Brookshire of the eighth, is an exceedingly close one—Cooper having secured one more appointment than Bretz, while Brookshire heads the list with one more than Cooper. Congressman Bynum leads the delegation in the highest per cent. of changes, having secured more than half the offices in the seventh district for his partisans. The sixth and ninth districts are looked after by Senators Voorhees and Turpie, while the three new members, Congressmen Hammond, McNagney and Conn, represent the tenth, twelfth and thirteenth. The older members, being well acquainted in their districts, were, no doubt, prepared to make recommendations early after the 4th of March, and were thereby enabled to secure a greater number of appointments. The number of offices in Indiana is about one-thirtieth of the total number in the whole country. The total number of changes, provided removals have been made in the same ratio in other states, has been about 18,000, which would have required the removal of about 200 per day. The changes have not averaged more than 125 per day; it is, therefore, apparent that Indiana democrats have fared better than those of other states.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, June 30.

TURPIE AND VOORHEES.

The Indiana democrats fared to-day at the national pie counter. Ole consul and two special examiners of the pension office were appointed and two Indiana republicans were removed. W. H. Jacks, who receives the London (Ont.) consularship, is a Logansport man, whose appointment was asked for by Senator Turpie.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, June 9.

Captain Jacks belongs to the labor wing of the democratic party, and during the last campaign made numerous speeches throughout the state. The agency pays a salary of \$1,500 per annum.—Indianapolis News, June 8.

G. C. Williams, of Muncie, visited the capital a few days ago and made application to the Indiana senators for appointment as cashier of the government mint at New Orleans.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 5.

The appointment of Postmaster Carter, at Arcadia, Ind., has been revoked by the postmaster-general. The reasons were purely political, the indorsements of Mr. Carter having been unauthorized by the senators of Indiana, who are the post-office referees in the republican districts.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News, June 3.

"Judge" Chester J. Faulkner, of Ripley county, and the trusted clerk of Senator Voorhees, who was slated for chief of the record division of the pension office, has shifted, and will be appointed on the staff of Col. "Dick" Bright, now sergeant-at-arms of the senate.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News, May 11.

Senator Voorhees will probably secure the appointment also of Clark Creelius, of Crawford county, for chief of division in the pension office. This office is worth \$2,000. Creelius has been county treasurer three terms, and was a member of the house in 1885.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel, May 11.

William Merrill, chairman of the democratic committee of his county, will be the postmaster at Connersville. The Indiana senators have been wrestling with this postmaster problem for some time, but settled it Tuesday by deciding to recommend Mr. Merrill. Editor Higgs, of the Connersville Examiner, who was postmaster under a former democratic administration, was the most formidable rival Mr. Merrill had. Mr. Merrill left for home Tuesday night.—Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News, April 20.

DAN VOORHEES.

[It remains to be seen whether the people of Indiana have spirit enough to drive this dishonorable blatherskite out of public life.—Civil Service Chronicle.]

Strong language this; but is it aught too strong
To paint a man who willfully is wrong,
And when he thinks the crooked course will pay
Will swear that blackest night is brightest day?
He cursed the soldiers with rascalion tongue,
And in our hearts was as a traitor hung.
But now he blusters as the soldier's friend,
And wags that same old tongue (which has no end)
To plead for pensions for "A. Lincoln's dogs,"
And vows a love—this prince of demagogues—
So keen for any man who wore the blue
(Who vote he wants) that, though they never
knew

The clash of arms, the country shall be "just"
To those whose war cry was "the rear or bust!"

Well, Dan was whipped. Our honor then at stake,
And Daniel, then as ever on the make,
Declared that when you'd said your debts you'd
pay

You'd paid them! By this short and easy way
He'd lift the burden from our aching backs.
Honor? Damn honor when it means a tax!
Those same greenbacks whose issue he had fought
Became in his enraptured eyes "blood-bought;"
And, having bought them once (with blood), 'twas
clear

Again to buy them would be paying dear!
Beaten again! We paid our little notes;
Once more the Sycamore must root for votes.

To tax ourselves to save the Nation's life
Imperiled in a most tremendous strife;
To tax ourselves to keep a spotless name
And free our honor from a speck of shame—
This is outrageous! But of course we will
Now tax ourselves to run our neighbor's mill!
Protection's creed he then begins to screech;
Visits Atlanta; makes a crazy speech;
Of our vast industries he sagely prates,
And, in this rot, McKinley antedates!
At last, at last! He's safely up the spout?
Ah, no! Sad day! For Cleveland pulls him out!

Recurring then to his old greenback days,
See him infected with the silver craze!
If rags get value from the nation's stamp
(Whoever thought they did save fool or scamp?)
Why not a silver coin? Why not, indeed?
Shall we not satisfy Bill Stewart's greed?
A slip of paper is a dollar, hence
Why not a dollar made of sixty cents?
O, wondrous triumph! Muses aid my song!
Dan's logical! But logically wrong!
But see him now his last conclusion shirk,
Give up his silver dear, to win with Burke.
What does the man believe in? Who can tell?
Whate'er's on top—hence disbelieves in hell!
Your conscience-killer always cries to blink
The yawning pit, though crouching on its brink!
The "poor man's money" left to take its chance,
The "poor man's friend" now leads the devil's
dance
Through White House and departments! Every-
where

You hear the yells of joy or of despair
As these Apaches wildly clutch their loot
Or (rarely) feel the presidential boot.
Where is our gush-beslobbered workingman?
At home, of course, for sympathetic Dan,
Who's poured forth floods of tears for honest toil,
Can't use him in distributing the spoil!
The only man who stands the slightest show
Is he who on his belly best can go;
And as the workingman goes head erect,
What but contempt from Dan can he expect?
Merit counts nothing, manhood's a disgrace,
The potent pull procures the sought-for place;
The unknown worthy man must stand aside,
While into power the creeping creatures slide.
Democracy? Tom Jefferson awakes;
"Democracy's for men, and not for snakes!"
But Burke, who's labor's foe and Daniel's price,
Gets, thanks to Daniel, a substantial slice!

Is he a blatherskite? What do you say?
Will such a record bear the light of day?
And yet he's been consistent in one thing:
A traitor always—else conscience is not king.
—From *The Indianapolis News*.

James P. Voorhees has been appointed by his father, Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, clerk of the finance committee, at a salary of \$2,500. There is nothing like keeping easy jobs in the family.—*Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph*.

Henry Mellen, of Spencer county, Indiana, who has been on the waiting list for several weeks, is remaining here on the strength of a promise of Senator Voorhees that he should be cared for. Mr. Mellen will probably get a clerkship in one of the departments.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 5.

Senator Voorhees landed another place to-day, when *ex-Sheriff William Hargrave*, of Princeton, Gibson county, was appointed Indian agent at the Western Shoshone agency, Nevada. Hargrave came here just after the inauguration, made a strong play to be United States marshal for Indiana, but Mr. Voorhees had Hosea Hawkins for that place, so he calmly dropped Mr. Hargrave overboard. To-day he landed him at the Shoshone agency, which officially pays \$1,600 per year, but which is not without opportunities. Senator Voorhees extends his usefulness in placing old-time friends outside the limits of the Hoosier state. Not long ago he persuaded Hoke Smith to appoint his old friend Col. John Lane to be a special agent of the land office at \$2,000. Col. Lane lives in Oregon and has never benefited the Hoosier democracy, but then he is the son of old Lane of Breckinridge and Lane history, and was a rebel colonel during the war. So, for that score, Mr. Voorhees had him appointed.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 20.

E. N. Bowman, of Covington, Ind., will be appointed deputy third auditor at a salary of \$2,250 a year. The appointment will be made on the recommendation of Senator Voorhees.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 28.

Senator Voorhees, who has been devoting his time ever since the 4th of March, endeavoring, with varying success, to secure positions for his constituents, leaves early next week for White Sulphur Springs, Va.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 30.

Senators Voorhees and Harris belong to the credit of changing President Cleveland's obstinate determination not to call a session before September. Mr. Voorhees is chairman of the finance committee, the committee in whose hands will rest the fate of the silver bill. He has hitherto always been regarded as an out-and-out free silver man. *Accordingly, Mr. Cleveland has lavished upon him many of the choicest plums of federal patronage. Almost every wish of his has been granted, from foreign ministers to the humblest lines of patronage. As a fitting conclusion to this unprecedented recognition Elliott Bowman, an old classmate and the senator's "best man," was made a deputy auditor of the treasury at the senator's request. This appears to have completed Mr. Voorhees' conversion, for he went to the White House at once for the purpose of advising the President to call an early session, and to assure Mr. Cleveland that he would vote for an unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, and that he believed the senate would pass the repeal bill. He failed to see the President, but he and Senator Harris called on Secretary Lamont, and to him they confided the duty of laying before the President their views. They believe there will be enough democrats in the senate to join the republican senators and pass the bill. Voorhees authorized Mr. Lamont to assure Mr. Cleveland and the cabinet that, as chairman of the finance committee, he would pledge himself to use all his influence and authority to facilitate the progress of the bill in the senate. Mr. Lamont's report to the cabinet gave the assurance for which Mr. Cleveland has been waiting, and without which he believed it would have been useless to call an extra session. In partial explanation of his sudden and unexpected change of heart, Senator Voorhees said: "I think the President has acted wisely, and I have no doubt that as soon as congress gets to work it will repeal the Sherman act. I voted against the bill when it came up, on the yea and nay vote when it passed, and told the silver men who supported it that it was not the legislation needed for silver, and that they would live to regret the day they supported it. That day has come. I, for one, shall vote for its repeal. It must not be understood, however, that I abate a single jot or tittle of my adherence to the coinage and the use of silver as money under proper regulations for its parity with gold."*—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, July 5.

Senator Voorhees is at the Sulphur Springs of Virginia. He is utterly worn out, and was too fatigued to return to Washington to-day to attend the funeral of Mr. Frank E. Banby, his son's brother-in-law, who was run over by a Baltimore & Ohio train last night and killed. Mr. Banby was a native of Detroit, but had been living for ten years in this city. Three years ago Senator Voorhees had him appointed to a small office under the District government.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 11.

BROWN.

The Hon. J. B. Brown returned to the city yesterday and will remain until the first of July. He is probably watching the New Albany post-office.

Con Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, has returned to press his candidacy for a consulship. Cunningham filed an application for the position at Belfast,

when that was filled he changed it to another. When that went he named five others, either of which would be acceptable, and returned home to await his appointment. Recently the President filled three of the positions named by him, and he hastened back to make another effort before the other two were disposed of.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 15.

Congressman Jason Brown has been laboring faithfully for two weeks to secure the removal of the postmaster at New Albany and the appointment of C. W. Schindler. Up to this time he has not succeeded, but Mr. Schindler will probably secure the plum when it falls. He is in the city waiting for the event.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 21.

The man who will succeed Major Luke as postmaster of Jeffersonville is Patrick C. Donovan. At the time of Mr. Cleveland's election Congressman Brown tendered the position, which pays \$2,500 per annum, to Mr. Donovan, but not until yesterday did he signify his acceptance. His commission will likely be issued in November, when the term of Mr. Luke expires. Mr. Donovan retires from the office of sheriff of Clark county August 22. Twice was he chosen for that position by a majority which was overwhelming.—*Jeffersonville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 30.

Representative Brown has fixed this (Wednesday) evening as the time of his departure for home. He realizes that but little can be accomplished in the way of securing full-grown plums during the President's absence, and the fact that Postmaster-General Bissell and Secretary Smith are both taking vacations, removes the possibility of even gathering in a few unimportant places for the faithful among his personal friends.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, July 5.

A wholesale slaughter of the rank and file employed at the Jeffersonville depot of army supplies is on, and the heads of ten of the faithful layeth in the basket, thereby giving a chance for a corresponding number of good democrats to take their places. This decapitation only commenced last Friday, and if the good work keeps going on with the same rapidity in the future, every republican employed at that institution will be deposed within a fortnight. Democrats are greatly pleased over Congressman Brown's unerring labor in the interest of his constituents regarding these removals, and on his next visit to this city he will be given an ovation. Those who have been dismissed are Capt. James Meyers, clerk; John Flynn, assistant engineer; J. A. Sage, saddler; William Wilson, watchman; Joseph Searcey, A. N. Joslyn, James Reed and two others, packers. It is said that Capt. T. A. Mann, inspector, will be removed, and that Nathan Sharks, a prominent dry goods merchant of this city, will be given his place.—*Jeffersonville Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 11.

BROOKSHIRE.

Representative Brookshire is naming a good many federal officers for his district these days. He has recommended the appointment of the following postmasters in his district, and his recommendation is equivalent to appointment in offices of the classes named: Covington, James Simmerman; Attica, Henry G. Schlosser; Veedersburg, J. B. Dunkle.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, April 26.

The B. & O. Southwest limited brought in the city to-day Indiana Representatives Taylor of the first, Bretz of the second, Brookshire of the eighth, and McNagney of the twelfth. Mr. Cooper arrived yesterday. With Bretz came Eph Inman of Martin county. Inman is an applicant for internal revenue agent. Mr. McNagney within two hours after his arrival secured the appointment of Thomas Mannix for mail transfer agent at Fort Wayne at ninety dollars per month. He held the same place under the first Cleveland administration.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 25.

Congressman Brookshire is still here keeping a close watch on the revenue collectorship for the seventh district.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 21.

An impression has prevailed here that Representative Brookshire was of the opinion that neither

Josiah Jump nor Walter Hulit would be appointed collector of the seventh district, but that a dark horse would come in winner. Mr. Brookshire is indorsing Hulit and is working for his candidate tooth and nail. He to-day filed a number of additional strong indorsements, and is of the opinion that his man will be appointed. Josiah Jump is backed by Senator Voorhees.

Mr. Brookshire leaves to-morrow. During the past few days he has been getting in some good work for his constituents. E. B. Miller, of Brazil, has through his influence, received the appointment of deputy consul and clerk at Bordeaux. This position pays about \$1,500 a year. Thomas B. Eaton, an ex-Union soldier, of Sullivan, has been appointed a messenger in the Pension office. Wm. A. Huff, of Shannondale, will be appointed a member of the treasury watch. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 30.

The appearance in Washington of County Treasurer Couzman as an applicant for the collectorship of internal revenue puts a new phase to the contest between Senator Voorhees and Congressman Brookshire for the control of this bit of patronage. The senator has been insisting on the appointment of ex-Judge Jump, the law partner of the senator's protege, ex-Congressman Lamb. Congressman Brookshire had been contending that this appointment falls to the congressman, and has recommended Hulet, of Crawfordsville, the congressman's home city. For some time it has been understood that Brookshire did not expect to have Hulet appointed, and the selection of Couzman is a compromise effort to thwart the Voorhees-Lamb people, who so far have controlled patronage in this district. The Brookshire following counts on the scandal arising from the controversy over Postmaster Donham's attempt to evade the civil service law to help overcome the senator's prestige with the President. — *Terre Haute Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 8.

E. V. Brookshire, congressman, was in this city to-day and held a consultation with the democrats in regard to the post-office in this city. The eight or ten candidates for the place were present and a long private discussion was held. It was finally decided that Mr. Brookshire should recommend Ed Voris for the place. — *Crawfordsville Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, July 8.

M McNAGNEY.

Congressman McNagney won a victory to-day by the appointment of W. W. Rockhill as postmaster at Ft. Wayne to succeed Higgins, removed. Some time ago Mr. Higgins was asked by the Democratic managers to resign, so that they would not have to resort to the painful necessity of preparing charges against him. He replied that he wanted the salary until his term closed, which was in January next. Charges were preferred, some of which were sworn to by the chairman of the republican committee of Ft. Wayne. The charges alleged that Postmaster Higgins levied campaign assessments on post-office employes, and that he compelled his clerks in the office to work on a campaign poll-list during office hours. Higgins' successor is one of the publishers of the Fort Wayne Journal. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 28.

Congressman McNagney has recommended W. H. McEwen, a young man, for postmaster at Albion. There were five candidates, four of whom were ex-soldiers. — *Indianapolis News*, June 28.

Alexander Orr was recommended for postmaster at Kendallville by his congressman. — *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 24.

The unexpected call for an extra session has caused the few congressmen in the city to think about making final preparations for a long sojourn in Washington, and, incidentally, to learn the wishes of their constituents in regard to the monetary situation. Representative McNagney, of the twelfth district, boarded a west-bound train Monday night for his home in Columbia City. He felt happy over his victory in the Fort Wayne post-office fight, and said that no important changes were impending in his bailiwick except some dozen fourth-class postmasters and a few minor appointments. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, July 5.

Congressman McNagney, of Columbia City, was in the city last night to make one more plea for the appointment of his law partner, Thomas Marshall, to the vacancy on the supreme bench. Mr. McNagney will spend a few days at home, and will then go to Washington to remain during the special session of congress. He says he is happy now that he has secured the removal of Postmaster Higgins, of Ft. Wayne. — *Indianapolis News*, July 7.

BYNUM.

Senator R. Y. Stewart came into Washington to-day quietly; so very quietly that he forgot to register at Willard's, where he is stopping. He immediately started off for Mr. Bynum, and when he found him talked very earnestly about the Indianapolis post-office, and Indianapolis surveyorship. Mr. Stewart does not seem to be altogether satisfied at the delay in filling those offices. Bynum wants Rail to be surveyor, and will probably get him. During the afternoon Messrs. Bynum and Holman called on the President, and talked surveyor and postmaster to him. Mr. Bynum believes that the post-office change will be made before the President goes away on his holiday. Democrats here blame the Terre Haute post-office scandal and Mr. Sahm's recent interview, in which he admitted Mr. Thompson's efficiency, as the reason for the delay. All the charges that have been filed against Mr. Thompson are still at the post-office department. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 21.

It is conceded on all hands that Congressman Bynum will name the surveyor of the port of Indianapolis. The contest seems to have narrowed down to two men, John Rail and John A. Reaume. It is asserted that Mr. Bynum has already decided upon the man he will name, and the guessing is about even as between Rail and Reaume. Mr. Bynum is reported to have said that he believed Rail would secure the appointment. The man whom Mr. Bynum recommends will probably be appointed. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, July 5.

HOLMAN.

Dr. Woollen, of Switzerland county, returned home to-day after being assured that the office of medical referee for the pension office could not go to Indiana for the reason that the three Indiana applicants for the place lived in the same district, and were all indorsed by Representative Holman. They were Woollen of Switzerland, Henry and Bront of Dearborn. The office will go to New York. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 24.

It is reported that there is already an organization to defeat the renomination of Congressman Holman. It grew out of the contest for revenue collectorship in the sixth district. Dr. Hunter, who is a candidate for the position, claims to have been misled by Mr. Holman, and Hunter's son-in-law, Editor O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, who is a clever politician, threatens to make trouble for Mr. Holman. At the same time there are a number of complaints coming from the northern part of the sixth district against the appointment of Bracken as collector, because the revenue collector under the former Cleveland administration came from Holman's district. Congressman Holman is in Washington looking after some minor appointments. He will be here about two weeks. He thinks there is no doubt of Bracken's appointment. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 13.

Representative Holman left to-day for Indiana. Just before going he had a long conference with Controller of the Currency Eckels, and urged upon the latter official the necessity of appointing a second bank examiner for Indiana at once. The controller of the currency contemplates such action soon, and Mr. Holman hopes to secure the appointment for Cashier Pugh, of the Rush county national bank, at Rushville, Ind. Mr. Pugh was Holman's candidate for the bank examinership when O. M. Packard, of Plymouth was appointed, and Mr. Holman claims that Pugh passed a better examination than Mr. Packard, but failed for want of a political pull. There seems to be a disposition among the Indiana delegation to concede the bank examinership to

Mr. Pugh when the new district is created. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis News*, June 21.

Congressman Taylor has secured the appointment of Anthony Stevenson, of Rockport, a cousin of Vice-President Stevenson, to be inspector of federal courts for southern Indiana, to succeed Samuel Kerecheval. — *Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, June 19.

Congressman Martin announced, February 25, his postmasters as follows: Hawkins at Marion, Editor Timmonds at Portland, W. A. Gutelius at Bluffton, W. H. Campbell at Fairmount. Timmonds and Campbell were the last to be appointed—June 13.

WANTON REMOVALS.

I believe, with reason, that we are to have a civil service reform administration of the best in every sense of the word. Mr. Cleveland was nominated by no politician; he was elected by no party; no one state was pivotal in determining the result; the people called for him and he answered the call. I do not believe that he will betray them. I have heard him in conversation deplore the patronage system, and the trials and cares imposed upon the President in administering it. I have heard him quote the ominous warning of Senator Pendleton, "that unless the government destroyed the spoils system, the spoils system would destroy the government." No President is omniscient or omnipresent; but I believe that, if you will hold up his hands, criticising where criticism is deserved, praising where praise is due, you will see in the next four years the best civil service reform administration since the days of Washington, Adams and Jefferson. — *Charles Theodore Russell, Jr., of the Massachusetts Board of Civil Service Commissioners*, March, 1893.

Logan Carlisle, it is said, has declared to his father that they are "in for a fight now with the newspapers, and must not weaken." It is but frank to say that they would have had this fight precipitated a good while ago if it had not been for the general desire of the newspapers not to throw obstacles in the way of the newcomers till they had had time to look about them and get their bearings. Under the late administration, Secretary Foster was loudly praised everywhere, by both friends and foes, for his refusal to permit the practice of nepotism by two of his subordinates who wanted to give their sons employment under the government; and when he finally weakly yielded, he received an equal measure of blame. President Cleveland has been credited with an intense dislike of having his own secretary of the treasury appoint a relative, and the nearest of relatives at that, to office. He is understood to have consented to overlook the act because of some peculiar circumstances which seemed to afford an apology for it; but it is hard upon him now to find his many professions belied, and his administration scandalized with the public, by the very young man whose appointment had been so offensive to him on general principles. — *Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post*, May 11.

It is urged by some of the defenders of the course things are now taking in the treasury, that the secretary put his son in charge of his present post because he wanted there a young man of "nerve," who would not allow himself to be swayed by any consideration in cutting right or left. That he has got what he was looking for is evident from a scene which occurred in the chief clerk's room a few days ago. A poor-looking man, evidently a laborer in the department, was observed on the outskirts of the crowd of office-beggars who were swarming around Mr. Carlisle, jr. When it came the turn of this visitor to speak, he advanced hesitatingly, and held out his notice of discharge with a trembling hand.

"Well, what is it?" inquired Mr. Carlisle, who likes to do business briskly.

"I wanted to ask, sir," faltered the workingman, "if I could have a little more time on my notice to quit. I have just lost my wife, and her sickness and funeral were expensive, and I am in debt, which it will take me a little while to work off."

"Oh, bless your soul," answered Mr. Carlisle, with a merry chuckle, "the fellow who wants your place

is just as badly off as you are." And with that he passed on to the next caller.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post, May 13.*

Another case which illustrates the way things are going in the treasury department is that of Capt. A. F. McMillan, who has resigned under compulsion his place as deputy first auditor. He has been in the treasury department and in the first auditor's office continuously for more than twenty-seven years. Every one, regardless of politics, who has served with him speaks well of his work. His industry may be judged by the fact that he has been absent only sixteen days in the last seven years. He has a gift for dispatching business. A democratic office-holder occupying a highly responsible position, and himself one of the brightest men in the service, said to-day to your correspondent:

"I have known McMillan and worked with him for years, and it is my honest conviction that he has earned three times over every dollar he has drawn out of the United States treasury in salary."

Mr. McMillan is no longer a young man. He served from the very outbreak of the civil war till the hour of its close, entering the union army as a private in the volunteers and quitting it a captain by successive promotions in the field. Some months afterward he came to Washington from his home in Michigan as a temporary clerk, at a time when the treasury was swamped by the multitude of accumulated accounts to be audited and settled. He expected to stay two years and then go home. He doubtless wishes now that he had adhered to his original programme; but he probably did not look forward to a day when the rule at the treasury department would be that long and faithful service was a disqualification for further continuance in office.

Mr. McMillan is a republican in his sympathies. In the years that have intervened since his arrival in Washington he has had no political backing, because he became a citizen of the District of Columbia and stuck at his work instead of going home to vote. Nevertheless he has received promotion after promotion, till the last Cleveland administration, on coming into control at the treasury, found him a chief of division. Secretary Manning asked for his resignation and received it; but the democratic first auditor, a party man of the most ultra variety, put in so vigorous a protest against the removal of an invaluable assistant that the resignation was given back. When the Harrison administration came in, he was raised from chief of division to deputy auditor, and this was recognized as one of the good things done in the line of civil service reform. Now he goes out, a poor man, to begin life anew at a time when most men in private occupations are beginning to think about closing up their active affairs and enjoying themselves on their incomes.

The work of the first auditor's office is of no trifling importance. It is there that all accounts accruing in the treasury department, except those arising under the internal revenue laws, are examined and certified to the first comptroller or to the commissioner of customs. The customs division deals with the fines, emoluments, forfeitures, debentures, and drawbacks of the customs service, the marine hospital service, and the revenue marine. The judiciary division deals with the fees of district attorneys, marshals, commissioners, and clerks, rent of court-houses, support of prisoners, etc. The public debt division deals with the redemption of the public debt, including principal, premium and interest, payment of interest, redemption of certificates of deposit, notes destroyed, etc. The ware-house division deals with ware-house and bond accounts received from custom-houses. Besides these, there is a miscellaneous division which handles the accounts of mints and assay-offices, the territorial accounts, the coast survey, salaries and contingent expenses of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, the construction, repair and preservation of public buildings, and the general receipts and expenditures passing through the office of the United States treasurer.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post, May 24.*

Secretary Carlisle called for the resignation of James R. O'Beirne, assistant commissioner of immi-

gration at the port of New York some time ago. He waited for the resignation until to-day when, as it had not arrived he issued an order removing Mr. O'Beirne from the service and appointing Edward F. McSweeney of Boston, Mass., to succeed him. Mr. McSweeney is a personal friend of Assistant Secretary of State Josiah Quincy, and it is understood owes his appointment to Mr. Quincy's recommendations.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, July 1.*

Before leaving for Philadelphia this afternoon, Secretary Carlisle set the guillotine at work and the official head of St. Julien A. Dapray, the chief of the law division, supervising architect's office, rolled in to the basket. Mr. Dapray has been employed in that bureau for the last twenty years, is a most competent official and a veritable encyclopedia on all questions relating to public buildings throughout the country. His retention was asked for by about fifty senators, regardless of party, but the secretary wanted his place for a party-worker and he got it.—*Washington Dispatch to Buffalo Express, June 21.*

Secretary Carlisle has appointed John W. Kinsey, of New Philadelphia, Ohio, superintendent of construction of the post office building at Washington, D. C., vice Thomas C. Stewart, removed. He was backed by the united Ohio democratic congressional delegation.—*Washington Dispatch, June 21.*

Secretary Carlisle, before starting on his westward trip, gave orders that resignations should be called for as follows: M. J. Hall, Thomas Rathbone, and Thomas S. Parks, chiefs of division in the second auditor's office; W. A. Rogers, a chief of division in the third auditor's office, and L. K. Brown, a chief in the fourth auditor's office. The case in this group which excites most indignant comment is that of Mr. Rathbone. He is another veteran, like Mr. Stetson who was removed some days ago, of more than a quarter century's service. He belongs to a small company of genuine watch dogs of the treasury—not the show sort, but the kind that do the hardest and most intelligent work. As a citizen of the District of Columbia, he has no senator or representative to appeal to for aid, and his extreme deafness, while not interfering in the least with his work in auditing claims against the treasury, is likely to be a serious obstacle in the way of his getting certain kinds of employment outside. He has remained a poor man in spite of opportunities to grow rich by winking at doubtful claims, and has doubtless saved the government many millions of dollars by his absolute integrity and his thorough knowledge of his business. Such an adept had he become that, like Mr. Stetson, he could scent the fraud in a claim on account as soon as it came before him, no matter how smooth its exterior. All his expert knowledge, however, goes for nothing because his place is wanted for a democrat.

It is fortunate for Secretary Carlisle that his own reputation for honesty is so high. A man with a less honorable and scrupulous record would be suspected of conspiracy with the claim agents and lobbyists who infest Washington. All the disreputable members of this crowd are chuckling and rubbing their hands over the fact that they have a secretary now in office who, without being purchasable in any way himself, is playing straight into their hands. They have long been struggling to get rid of Stetson and Rathbone, who knew too much to be swindled by them. The next men who come in will be untrained and therefore easier to handle; and the precedent established by Mr. Carlisle, if literally interpreted, makes it plain that it is not worth while to study the government's interests any more. The moment a man becomes so proficient in his work that he is promoted to a place where he can direct the work of others in the same line, he will be marked for summary dismissal. William A. Day, who was second auditor during Cleveland's former administration, and one of the most efficient heads that office has ever had, not only retained Mr. Rathbone, but made no secret of regarding him as a highly valuable subordinate.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Times, July 7.*

Secretary Carlisle's last lot of dismissals included, besides Mr. Rathbone, whose case was treated in

these dispatches yesterday, George H. French, chief of the navy division in the second comptroller's office. This division has jurisdiction of disbursements by navy paymasters for pay and rations, by paymasters at navy-yards, for navy pensions at foreign stations, by the financial agent in London, and by and for the marine corps. Mr. French came up to his present position from the ranks by diligence and good work. He lacks one arm, lost in the union army during the civil war. He was retained all through the former Cleveland administration. Another victim was L. K. Brown, chief of the paymasters' division in the fourth auditor's office. This division had charge of the accounts of navy paymasters, including mechanics' rolls—work in which there is a vast amount of detail, requiring the keenest accuracy. Mr. Brown was reduced from chief of division to a \$1,800 clerkship during Cleveland's former administration, but remained actually in charge of the division, its nominal head being an untrained man, and no untrained man being able to handle it. How much Brown's services were appreciated then is shown by the fact that Gen. Shelley, the democratic fourth auditor under whom he served then, was instrumental in procuring his restoration to the chiefship, from which he was deposed temporarily for partisan reasons. Brown has only one leg. The other he left on a union battlefield.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Evening Post, June 9.*

"A BRIEF REWARD OF PARTY ZEAL."

Lewis Baker, editor of the *St. Paul Globe*, the chairman of the state democratic committee during the last campaign, appointed minister to Nicaragua.

Louis C. Hughes, who becomes governor of Arizona, is one of the political powers in that territory and is a newspaper man, editing a paper at Phoenix. He is about fifty-four years of age and was a delegate to the Chicago convention.

James E. Neal was appointed consul to Liverpool as a personal compliment to ex-Governor Campbell, of Ohio. He is chairman of the democratic committee of Ohio. Ex-Governor Campbell asked special recognition for two of his political proteges—Neal for Liverpool, and Claude Meeker for Glasgow. Mr. Neal got Liverpool; but, owing to a defect of memory, President Cleveland appointed another man to Glasgow, yet recognized Meeker afterward by giving him the Bradford consulship, one of the best in England in the way of fees.—*Indianapolis News, April 4.*

Q. O. Eckford, of Mississippi, who succeeds Dr. Dent, private secretary to the late Secretary Blaine, as consul at Kingston, Jamaica, is a leading lawyer of Aberdeen, Miss., and has been an active spirit in state politics, being chairman of the democratic state executive committee last year.

Theodore M. Stephan, appointed consul at Anna-berg, Germany, is a Lutheran minister at Austin, Ill. In the campaign of 1892 he was chairman of the campaign committee of the Lutheran churches of Illinois, and as such was brought into intimate relations with ex-Representative Cable, upon whose recommendation his appointment was made.

Jeremiah W. Coveney, postmaster at Boston, is chairman of the democratic state central committee.

Frank H. Jones, appointed first assistant postmaster-general, is the president of the league of democratic clubs of Illinois and was a delegate to the last democratic national convention.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18.

VOL. II, No. 6.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND has never done anything more to be commended than his separation of himself from congress after calling it together and delivering to it his message. There his duty ended. It was no more his business to stay and interfere with legislation and seek to influence congressmen than it is the business of congressmen to interfere with the appointment of fourth-class postmasters. He deliberately cut the patronage tie between himself and congressmen in a manner more marked than it has been done before in sixty years. There is little doubt but that congressmen went to Washington expecting to sell him their votes for patronage; but the President has put congress into the breach where the constitution intended it to go and has left it to get along as best it can. It will have to fry in its own grease. It will have to do something and that without any certainty of receiving pay in patronage. It is in the full blaze of the eye of the country and although it may writhe and squirm it will have to act.

IN the *Boston Herald* of July 31, Mr. Josiah Quincy, assistant secretary of state, occupies three columns in explanation of his loot of the consular service. We do not recall anything like it since the days of the doctrine of local option in the execution of the civil service law. Mr. Quincy has been going at a rate at which a clean sweep will be completed in the consular service within a year. He says that this is faster than the rate under other administrations. That is true. He says he believes that he has secured a better class of men than those he caused to be dismissed. Every boss who ever divides spoil among henchmen says that. Mr. Quincy says that it was impossible to deal with the service upon "a purely non-political basis." He has not dealt with it upon a non-political basis at all, purely or otherwise. He has not made the least attempt to deal with it upon a non-political basis. So far as this clean sweep has gone, it has been a division of spoil made in the usual manner and upon the usual spoils principles. Congressmen have exercised their usual con-

trol. Newspaper editors and other party-workers have shared as usual; and along with this have gone aggravating cases of unjust and unbusiness-like dismissals which would not have occurred under any attempt to apply any sort of reform principles. The question most important to himself, Mr. Quincy ignores. He has been for years a member of a civil service reform association, and has attended its meetings. Did he, when he had the opportunity, attempt to establish the principles of civil service reform in the consular service, or, in treacherous recreancy to his professed principles, has he been a mere divider of spoil? The facts seem to be against Mr. Quincy.

SINCE the comments upon Secretary Carlisle, to be found elsewhere in this paper were written, another case has been published which shows again the corrupt and diseased nature of his view of the reason of existence of clerkships as well as of his duty as the head of a great department. In 1884 Eugene Gaddis, by competitive examination, secured a place in the treasury. He served with credit through the successive administrations of Cleveland and Harrison and received several promotions. March 1, this year, he was detailed as an examiner under the civil service commission and the commission, therefore, has, since Carlisle became secretary, been the only proper superior to judge how Gaddis has performed his duties; yet, without a word to or from the commission or Gaddis, the latter has been dismissed. When asked by the correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* as to any cause of complaint, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"On the contrary, we found him a very satisfactory clerk—so much so that when we learned of his dismissal, we were as astonished as he was, and one member of the commission went up to the treasury at once to find out what the trouble was, but was given no information by the department. I then wrote myself, on the 7th of August to Assistant Secretary Curtis, saying that the commission was wholly in the dark as to any reason why Mr. Gaddis should be dismissed, and thought there must have been some mistake in the matter. To this letter I received on August 9 a response from Acting Secretary Hamlin, which simply stated that the department had 'good and sufficient reasons' for the removal of Mr. Gaddis. On the 10th I wrote to Mr. Hamlin, going into the case at some length and showing that there was no possibility of the department's knowing anything about Mr. Gaddis's services for the last five months, during the time the present administration has been in power, except through the commission. To this letter I received

no answer. Accordingly, after waiting until the 16th, I sent to the secretary of the treasury a long letter, giving a full statement of the case, and saying in conclusion:

Whether the reasons for his dismissal are or are not "good and sufficient" (and with the facts as given above it is very difficult to believe they are), I would, with all deference and respect, but with all earnestness, state that it seems hardly possible that there can be any "good and sufficient reason" for refusing to state to Mr. Gaddis or to the commission under which he has been serving the cause of his dismissal. It is hardly necessary to point out the demoralizing effects upon the commission's force of detailed men of letting it be understood that faithful service rendered to the government while with this commission affords no guarantee against sudden removals for reasons unknown to the man himself and unknown to the only body which has any knowledge or can have any knowledge of how he is performing his official duties; while it certainly seems that the commission should itself be informed if any of its employees are guilty of misconduct of which it has no knowledge.

"Has Secretary Carlisle answered you yet?" Mr. Roosevelt was asked.

"No. I have waited now nine days, but have heard nothing."

The reasons which were "good and sufficient" to Secretary Carlisle, probably were that he has taken upon himself the task of attempting to block civil service reform. His insulting neglect to answer Mr. Roosevelt's letter can only mean that he intends to openly show his contempt for the reform and for every officer and person connected with it or advocating it. He will find that reformers will not shrink from this contest. They have had like contests with officers fully the equal of Mr. Carlisle and they have no reason to be dissatisfied with the results.

A LETTER from Vincennes, which we publish, illustrates a condition which will continue to exist and will breed deceit and falsehood and hypocrisy and will bring contempt upon every administration so long as we pursue the practice of going into the street and picking up local politicians and making them postmasters, as was done at Vincennes. Such men have heard of the civil service law, but they know nothing of its provisions, and they hate it, and they start out not with the intention of giving it a fair enforcement, but of beating it if they can. The result is a series of tricks of about the grade of an ordinary bunco game. This has gone on under the present administration until the postmaster-general is thoroughly compromised. We do not yet regard it as hopeless that he will in the near future relieve his department of this odium.

WHAT politics can do for the public service is well illustrated by the fire-alarm telegraph service of this city. In June,

1891, the new charter having then recently gone into effect, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE had the following:

The fire-alarm telegraph of the city has a superintendent in George Holderman, a republican, who had an assistant named George White, and a sub-assistant named Findling. The new board dismissed White and Findling, and their combined monthly salaries, less twenty dollars, were given to Ex-Alderman James Riley, a democrat, who was appointed as Holderman's assistant. Riley's friends claimed that he was sooner or later to have Holderman's place. Now if President Holt's board intended to seize this place as party spoil, this is the exact course it would have pursued. So far as the duties of his position are concerned Riley is an ignoramus, and it is ridiculous to say that the fire service is benefited by turning out a trained assistant and putting in an ignoramus at an increased salary. Holderman thinks he sees the point and refuses to accept Riley as an assistant, or to teach him the business, and at the last accounts Riley was sitting around the fire headquarters doing nothing and drawing sixty dollars a month. Open competition for the places in fire department would destroy the board's usefulness in humbugging the people in this manner. Why does not the mayor require it?

In August, 1893, the Indianapolis News says:

There has been complaint for weeks about the condition of the fire alarm telegraph service, and the department has been put to a great deal of annoyance. Not only this, but there was danger of a great destruction of property at any time, for the alarms came in irregularly and incorrectly. Not a little criticism has been indulged in concerning Superintendent of Telegraph Fanning. This morning the board of public safety sent for him. Instead of making the affair public, the members of the board took him into a room with curtained doors and windows and talked to him. The complaints and the condition of the alarm service was explained to him, and he was requested to deliver the key to the repeater at headquarters to his assistant, George Holderman. He did not object, but handed over the key at once. Members of the board say that Fanning will continue to act as superintendent but will have nothing to do with the repeater at headquarters, "which is an intricate piece of mechanism and needs careful attention."

We do not know what became of Riley, nor by what particular pull one, Fanning, became superintendent of the fire alarm service. The one thing that is plain is that George Holderman, the only man who appears to have been thoroughly competent, was reduced to a subordinate position and for the sake of politics the city was left at the mercy of an incompetent superintendent. Probably he was in "sympathy" with his superiors.

THE silver-purchase crisis is one of the questions which the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has always pointed out as arising now and then with a demand for solution so imperative and even terrifying that it paralyzes the average congressman in the pursuit of his ordinary avocation as a spoil hunter. In the presence of a nation suffering the keenest commercial distress, congressmen are ashamed to publicly

demand places for their henchmen. It is very distasteful to them to have to drop office-seeking and turn to legislation, but the President has brought them to it at last. They have spent all of their time since the election of Mr. Cleveland in turning employes out of their places and putting in workers who will fix the primaries and conventions for them next year, and they are forced to legislate upon financial questions without having given any thought to such questions except in the most shallow and cursory manner. It must be said that they are sobered by the situation, and that a portion of them have had a real clarification of views. But how easy it would have been to have known the subject years ago and to have avoided the great loss and misery which has come upon the country. The people may set down this panic and all of its consequences to the ignorance of congressmen arising from the fact that they do not study public questions but spend their time mostly in getting federal offices for their personal followers. The present grave interruption of their occupation will not cure them, but after this urgency is over, their onslaught upon the civil service will be the more ferocious for the interruption.

THE committee of the National League of which Mr. C. W. Watson is chairman, and which has charge of civil service reform literature, issued sometime since an attractive pamphlet, setting forth the advantages of the merit system to working men. The pamphlet under various subjects does this in a simple and straightforward manner. It all comes to what is known as the Boston Labor System in which it should be remembered there is no examination, but in which the selection of laborers upon public work is freed from personal and partisan favoritism. We repeat what we have said many times, that no part of the reform movement has in actual practice met with such unqualified approval from all quarters as has this method of hiring public labor; and this approval is the most earnest when it comes from the superior officers who have been the nearest to it. Such examples as Mayor O'Brien and Mayor Matthews, of Boston, and Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, and many others may be given. Charles Theodore Russell, one of the Massachusetts civil service commissioners, says of the results:

"The advantage to the laborer is manifest. Instead of loitering around the corridor of the city hall to importune his alderman or councilman, and promise personal and political support, in return for the right to labor at the public expense, he can now go to that labor upon his manhood and merit, with full knowledge that he is to be judged by the character of his work, and not by the complexion of his politics; that the only credential needed is the certificate of work well performed, not of a caucus cunningly manipulated.

The committee met with a curious difficulty in the distribution of its pamphlet. Having been read for instance by a labor leader, it received his enthusiastic endorsement, and he set about devising plans for its distribution among workingmen. In the midst of this he suddenly became silent and inactive. The reason was that the politicians of his organization had interfered. This system would prevent them from getting jobs by favoritism and almost every labor organization has a sprinkling of such men. They are loud mouthed and have influence and each one has his eye upon some political job which he hopes to get by the favor of some higher boss. This personal selfishness leads them to do what they can to smother a movement which would be of incalculable benefit to the great body of workingmen. The object which the civil service reform movement has for working men is to make the distribution of public employment impartial and to make the employment as permanent and as stable as it is in the best private employment. It is one of the strongest phenomena of the human mind that workingmen will go upon a strike to prevent a private employer from dismissing a man without cause; yet they look on with indifference while thousands upon thousands are dismissed from public employment by political bosses without any cause whatever. The fact is that an immense amount of labor is removed from the field of the genuine workingman; street cleaning in cities is an instance. This department is given up to heelers and shirks and it is so conducted that, as a means of subsistence, it is of little advantage to the real laborers of the country.

THE *New York Evening Post* gives an interesting account of the recent debate in the house of commons relating to the Irish civil service. The members of this service obtained their places by competition and under a long and harsh tory rule, executed tory measures. Then came Mr. Morley under a liberal administration. Now if ever the argument that the head of a civil service must choose his subordinates "in order to carry out his policy," was worth anything, this was such a case. But in this debate Mr. Morley tells the commons:

"I have received from all members of that service with whom I have had dealings treatment of the utmost consideration, though to many of them the policy with which I was associated was not altogether welcome. They have shown a government with which they are only partially in sympathy the same loyalty and fidelity which they have shown to other governments."

With the situation in Ireland amounting to tragedy an honorable and capable governor-general has no difficulty nor embarrassment in carrying out a radically

changed policy without a vestige of a clean sweep. When we place this situation by the side of the meanness and hypocrisy of Secretary Carlisle in dismissing clerks because he wants democrats to keep books in the treasury and of Assistant Secretary of State Quincy dismissing the consul at Dublin after eleven years of service because he wants a democrat to verify invoices and of hundreds of postmasters dismissing employes because they want democrats to handle the mails and of all the other official changes now going on in this quiet and peaceful country, where the duties are not republican duties nor democratic duties but simply business duties, the comparison is very humiliating.

This, however, is not all. The time is near when Ireland will control its own civil service. Then again if ever the arguments that subordinates must have the same political belief that the government has, in order to keep books and handle mails and count money would if ever come into play. In this country Secretary Carlisle's son, Logan, wherever he hears of an employe whose long service and natural and acquired skill has rendered him in the ordinary acceptance of the term indispensable, dismisses him with brutal levity provided his political opinions do not suit young Mr. Carlisle. The contemptible littleness of the American practice can only be brought out by quoting Mr. Gladstone in the above debate, reported in the *London Times*, as follows:

"He had never meant to say that there might not be persons whom a new Irish government would desire to dismiss, but he thought he had limited himself properly when he suggested that they would probably be confined to two or three persons. He could not ascribe to the new Irish government such *fatuity*, such gross and wicked injustice as the intention, or the possibility of the intention, of its rushing into such a course of wholesale dismissal as had been suggested."

Mr. Gladstone is the greatest of living statesmen and his opinion will stand against the petty acts of the men now making or tolerating the American clean sweep. With a narrow majority and without a postoffice to give, he is accomplishing the most important political work now being done in the world, and civil service reformers may freely invite a contrast between the triumphant sweep of his reform and the greedy, mercenary and sullen higgling which has led up to the scene now being enacted at Washington.

THE evidence that Secretary Carlisle is less of a statesman and more of a Covington politician than was supposed daily becomes stronger. He is of some prominence in the legitimate line of his duties, but yet, in the presence of the greatest financial crisis, he is chiefly conspicuous for an incessant activity in reducing em-

ployes to a lower grade or in dismissing them entirely from the service, in order to give the vacated places to democrats. There is not even a claim that the service is improved. Another interesting step of his is a new rule directing that a promotion fairly earned by competition under the regulations of the department shall not take place unless it is approved by a board of three, one of whom is his private secretary and personal friend, and another is his son Logan Carlisle. The Carlises seem likely to occupy themselves indefinitely in this business. They are callous to the misery they inflict, to their violation of platform pledges, to the disgrace they are bringing upon the administration, and to the odium which they incur. These acts will weigh heavily against the administration when the reckoning is taken at the end of the four years.

SENATOR LODGE has introduced into the senate the measure, brought forward by him last year in the house, to provide for taking the fourth-class post-offices out of politics. The present use of these offices is to secure watch-dogs for the individual interests of congressmen at every cross-roads and have them paid by the people. The present administration is allowing that process to go on at nearly the Clarksonian rate of thirty thousand a year. President Cleveland missed a golden opportunity to do a great act when he would not refuse to dismiss fourth-class postmasters until congress should pass some such measure as the Lodge bill. This would have been real statemanship, and the people would have been solid behind Mr. Cleveland to-day. The opportunity will never return to him. He has yet, however, great opportunities to benefit the civil service. He can stop short the vicious division of spoil which is going on, and if legislation is needed he can insist that mere lack of legislation is no excuse for the continuance of a corrupt use of the civil service.

ELSEWHERE will be found an editorial from *Harper's Weekly* relating to removals upon charges, with particular reference to the postal service. We urge its careful reading. It is difficult to believe that a practice so hostile to official honor and personal honesty and to the principles of free government has been established in this country, but there it is. This is true, that no cabinet officer in former administrations has tolerated this system and retained the respect of the American people, and no such officer need expect to do so under the present administration. It is an infamous system.

WE print in this number the address by Sherman S. Rogers and a large part of the

address by Seth Low before the civil service reform congress, held August 8th, at Chicago, under the auspices of the World's Fair management. We have omitted the address by Mr. Foulke because it is printed in full in the August number of *Good Government* and will be read there by the majority of our readers.

PENSION REFORM.

Congressman Bretz to-day secured the reinstatement of Capt. James H. Shank, of Vincennes, to the position of special pension examiner.—*Indianapolis News*, August 15.

Mr. Crampton, a veteran editor of *Delphi*, is in town. Mr. Crampton's son was recently appointed on the *Delphi* pension board, but he could not qualify, having been a practitioner less than five years, the time required by the commissioner of pensions. The father came to have that requirement waived in the case of his son, and he has succeeded. To-day Senator Voorhees accompanied Mr. Crampton to the pension office, and the order for young Dr. Crampton's appointment was finally carried out in full. Mr. A. B. Crampton, who had this rule abrogated, was chairman of the democratic committee in this congressional district a number of years ago, was postmaster here under Cleveland four years ago, and is now editing a democratic paper.—*Washington Dispatch to Indianapolis Journal*, August 1.

The pension management continues to be an interesting study. Some six thousand pensions in all have been suspended on account of wrong rulings or defective evidence on file, but a part of these will doubtless be restored. This is a mere drop in the bucket when it is remembered that the size of the pension list is about 900,000. No taxpayer likes to pay \$160,000,000 a year for pensions. That we pay that amount is perhaps the most astounding fact that ever occurred in the government of an orderly community. Until the contrary is proved, it will seem that there must be something radically wrong about it. THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE believes that the size of our pension list is primarily due to the individual corruption of congressmen. They have secured the distribution of pensions in order to catch votes for themselves or their party. Congressmen have dogged the pension department, have secured extravagant rulings, and acted as attorneys for applicants whom, and the friends and relatives of whom, they thus sought to make henchmen. They have controlled the local pension boards and have had all the influence which such control has had in all generations. If the natural consequences have followed, then the pension list is crowded with pensioners who ought not to be drawing pensions. The only just way to determine this fact is by a re-examination by boards with whose appointment politics shall have had nothing to do, and who shall be as independent of congressmen as army and navy boards are. And in this re-examination every kind of meddling

individual congressmen should be absolutely cut off. Such boards, and only such, would have the confidence of the country. There are now no such boards. The local boards are composed of democratic political doctors appointed by congressmen because they were democrats and were or are to be their followers, and in whose fairness and freedom from improper influences no one has any confidence. Congressmen are already meddling. Indiana congressmen are beginning their pressure in Washington with the complaint that it seems as though every one dropped was a democrat. These partisan boards were chosen in disregard of protest and warning, and this patronage takes \$1,700,000 a year from the treasury. Of course, purging the pension lists with such boards is impossible.

MIXED CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The *Terre Haute Gazette* has a recent article upon civil service reform which deserves notice as coming from one of the leading papers of the state. The editor has been, in a general way, a civil service reformer, but he now clearly labors under the embarrassment of being the brother-in-law of Postmaster Donham. The editorial, with much that is right, is alloyed with attempts to make civil service reform fit the *Terre Haute* situation. Referring to Harrison's extension of the rules, it says that Harrison "sought to fasten in office thousands of his political appointees who had not won their places by civil service examinations." The *Gazette* knows better than that. It knows that Harrison's order was but a mere beginning, at the very last moment, of the fulfillment of promises made years before, and that the step had been urged upon him incessantly, and that it was approved by the country and by the people of *Terre Haute*. The *Gazette* knows further that there would never have been any trouble at *Terre Haute* if those political soldiers of fortune, Voorhees and Lamb, had not put in a mere political tool as postmaster and then tried their usual game of "controlling" the office. Happily, they fell into the ditch in a most humiliating manner, and all of the henchmen they had sought to quarter upon the people fell with them. We do not say that Donham, if he is willing to be a knave, can not yet beat the civil service law. The Indianapolis postmaster beat it steadily from 1885 to 1889, but we submit that the result was not well for his party, nor for the administration, nor for his own reputation.

The *Gazette* declares squarely for filling places in the civil service by open competition. It also declares that appointments should be made from the eligible list in the order of the rating—a doctrine that can not be thundered too loudly into the ears of appointing officers. But the *Gazette* says no person should hold his place more than eight years, and brings up the long-exploded office-holding class, life tenure and pension bugbears. The *Gazette*

would smile at a proposal to apply this plan to its own business. It would be ashamed at the absurdity of its calling upon the *Vandalia* to dismiss all trackmen who had been in its employ eight years; it is equally absurd to dismiss a letter-carrier for that reason. As to life tenure, a letter-carrier should have a life tenure in the same sense in which a boiler-maker in any *Terre Haute* shop has it, and in no other sense.

The *Gazette* completely overthrows itself as an advocate of the recently attempted clean sweep when it looks forward to the time when Donham is succeeded by a republican who will find the office under the civil service rules, and the *Gazette* adds: "He can not make changes, and the business of the office will proceed without friction or jar, with regularity and precision, and to the great advantage of the people who use the mails, and whose great and only concern is that their mail matter shall be promptly and properly attended to." The men Donham found in the post-office and whom he tried to put out to make room for partisans with one or two exceptions entirely unfamiliar with the work of the office, were trained men, and could have made the business of the office proceed "with regularity and precision."

The *Gazette* urges President Cleveland to make his extensions of the rules now. This, with some other good things, makes the shortcomings of its article more bearable. As the *Chronicle* has already said, extensions at the close of a President's term put an unfair strain upon the law. They lead to official dishonesty and trickery and to attacks which it takes reformers half the period of the next administration to beat off.

BAFFLED PLACE-HUNTERS.

Senator Voorhees recently introduced into the senate a petition from Cass county, Ind., for the repeal of "the civil service system." The action is undoubtedly one of party workers who, after being paid in cash out of the campaign fund for more work than they did, now want double pay by being quartered upon the people. They will not abide the democratic method of competition, but they want the places allotted to them by the Voorheeses as by barons to henchmen for "plowing the lord's land or making his hedge or carrying out his dung." Voorhees also wants the repeal. He too hates the democratic method of competition for public employment, and likes the monarchical and feudalistic method of distribution by gift to faithful favorites.

There is reason to believe that this petition is the result of a movement of ward-workers attempted to be started in Evansville in this state. Last month the democratic city central committee of Evansville adopted the following resolutions:

Resolutions passed by the democratic central committee of Evansville, Indiana, regarding the order issued by ex-President Harrison, extending civil service rules to all free delivery post-offices:

WHEREAS, The order issued by ex-President Harrison in February last, extending the civil

service classification to all free delivery post-offices was done for the obvious purpose of preventing the appointment of democrats and the removal of republicans from positions in which custom had prepared the people to look for and expect changes as heretofore, and

WHEREAS, The present incumbents are permitted to remain in their respective positions without examination as to their fitness therefor, which examination is required of applicants, thus showing that the said order of ex-President Harrison was directly contrary to the spirit of civil service reform, and was a partisan measure of the most radical character, and

WHEREAS, The civil service commission ordered a special examination for applicants for positions in post-offices of the class above referred to nearly three months prior to the time set for the regular examinations, the effect of which has been to embarrass newly appointed postmasters in recommending for their subordinates persons who are friendly to and in sympathy with them, therefore be it

Resolved, That the chairmen of the democratic central committee where free delivery post-offices are situated be requested to co-operate with us, with a view to secure the repeal or suspension of said order issued by ex-President Harrison, until all applicants and incumbents are at least placed on an equal footing.

Resolved, That C. J. Kehr be delegated by this committee to conduct the work necessary to bring about said co-operation.

Mr. Kehr set about his work, and the following letter of his was forwarded to us from Central New York:—

DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF EVANSVILLE, IND.

EVANSVILLE, IND., July 25, 1893.

Chairman Democratic Central Committee,

DEAR SIR—I enclose herewith a copy of resolutions passed at a meeting of our democratic city central committee which explain themselves, also a copy of some of the questions asked in the civil service examination of applicants for the position of letter carrier, and a statement of Mr. Cleveland's order of 1888, regarding railway postal clerks.

The partisan nature of Mr. Harrison's order extending the civil service classification to all free delivery post offices, becomes only too apparent when we consider that the order was issued only a few days before the end of his term, and when we further consider that the time of holding examinations for applicants was changed from August to May of this year.

Our committee, being desirous of bringing about a repeal or suspension of Mr. Harrison's order, have requested me to enter into correspondence with the chairmen of the democratic central committees (nearly 500 in number) affected by this order, with a view of securing concerted action.

It seems that endorsement by central committees of resolutions similar in character to those we have adopted here, and petitions to your U. S. senators and congressmen, when of your political faith, would be the simplest way of interesting those whose influence might accomplish our purpose.

As there will be a special session of congress in August, it is of the utmost importance that action be taken at once, and I would therefore be pleased to have your views in this matter as early as possible.

Yours respectfully,
C. J. KEHR.

The questions referred to in Kehr's letter were stated as follows:—

Among the questions asked of applicants for the position of letter-carrier at the examination held in May last in this city were the following:—

An exercise in copying from dictation, in which spelling, use of capitals, punctuation and all mistakes and omissions of whatever nature are taken into consideration in percentages.

The addition of an absurdly large and almost impracticable combination of numbers.

Add the following: $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{6}$, $\frac{5}{8}$.

From $\frac{8}{9}$ of 318,465 subtract $\frac{3}{5}$ of 264,890.

The number of pieces of mail collected by a carrier on his trip was $\frac{2}{5}$ of the number delivered, and together they amounted to 497. How many did he collect, and how many deliver?

A carrier bought a house and lot for \$2,200. He spent $\frac{1}{4}$ as much more in repairs. The house was then destroyed by fire, being insured for $\frac{2}{5}$ of the costs of the house and lot and repairs. The carrier sold the lot for \$750. How much did he gain or lose?

A carrier walked on an average 185 feet in the delivery of every three pieces of mail. His route consisted of 56 squares of 370 feet each. How many pieces of mail did he deliver on the trip?

Is there a design in asking such questions of applicants for the position of letter carrier when we consider the nature of the work required of them?

The questions seem simple enough and well adapted to test the rudiments of a common school education. They are probably not adapted to the Mikes and Jakes who have been setting up primaries and conventions and voting floaters in Evansville. The friends of civil service reform need not fear this "movement," and the Evansville committee will only waste postage. Doubtless a party organization could get up a good many petitions like this one by asking only disappointed place-hunters to sign; but the order will not be rescinded. The merit system is marching forward, not backward, and it is going to prevail over all opposition in national, state and municipal service. Referring to this particular case, the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of August 20, marks the advance thus:

Civil service reformers need not be in the least alarmed by the utterances of Senator Voorhees the other day or the circular issued by the Evansville city democratic committee. Neither of them speaks on this point for any considerable number of democrats in Indiana or elsewhere. The democratic party is pledged to a reform of the civil service, and that reform was advanced more during the previous administration of President Cleveland than during any other period since the spoils system was inaugurated. President Cleveland may be relied upon to carry out the party pledges and his own declarations regardless of the wishes of the spoilsmen in his or any other party.

THE PURIFICATION OF POLITICS IS NOT AN IRRIDESCENT DREAM.*

In the year 1881 the total number of employes in the civil service of the United States of America was 124,640—a vast army. Ten years later the number had swelled to 183,488—another great army added to that of 1881 at the rate of nearly 6,000 each year. The increase in the number during the decade was over thirty-nine per cent.—a much faster growth than that of the population in the same time. If the same ratio of increase shall prevail during the balance of the waning century the year 1900 will find the civil service of the United States not less than 240,000. So that if the monstrous system which prevailed in this country so many years almost without opposition, whose motto was "to the victor belong the spoils," could have full swing in the presidential election of 1900, and the harvest year following, and there should be a po-

litical overturn, not less than 225,000 people—men and women, old and young, and most of them poor—would probably have to vacate their places and give room to the "hungry and thirsty" crowd which, with its bosses at its head, its generals and colonels and captains and officers of low degree, had fought the great campaign of 1900 for the spoils! It must be confessed that here would be much to console those statesmen who believe that "the purification of politics is an iridescent dream."

In the hearts of presidents and cabinet officers and heads of bureaus ever since the reform law began to assert itself there has been undoubtedly a growing sense of gratitude that in the wild storm and tumult quadrennially evoked by the office-scekers they have been able now and then to take refuge in the civil service reform ark. More than this, to drop the figure, with reference to the overwhelming mass of offices not included in the classified service, they have been able to show now and then some independence of spirit because they knew that among the great mass of the people the principle of the civil service reform was obtaining favor, and that if they occasionally repudiated the orthodox standards of the spoilsmen they would not certainly be visited with condign and immitigable punishment.

The law for the improvement of the civil service went into effect in July, 1883—about 14,500 employes being then included within its provisions, while in that year the total number of employes in the service of the United States in round numbers was 131,000. In 1891, the classified service, *i. e.*, the places filled by competitive examinations, were about 34,000 in all, while the entire public service included in the neighborhood of 183,000. The gratifying fact that they disclose is this, namely, that while the growth of the public service has been much faster than the increase in population, the classified service has been increased in a much greater proportion, so that whereas only about eleven per cent. of the public service was removed from party politics in 1891, nearly *nineteen* per cent. has been rescued from them in 1893.

The chief contributions to this increase of the classified service were by Mr. Cleveland, just before the end of his first term, of about 4,000 offices in the railway postal service, and by President Harrison (at a period in his term nearly corresponding), of all the post-offices not previously classified having free deliveries.

From these facts we are fairly authorized to infer not only both these distinguished and patriotic presidents were sincere believers in the reform system, but that their belief exercised its most strenuous and effective influence after its possessor *had been definitely beaten in his candidacy for re-election*. Also, that if Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison should continue for the remainder of the century to lead their respective parties in the presidential contest, we might reasonably expect that each time just after the incumbent was beaten, as

he probably would be, in his effort to secure a re-election, he would make a substantial increase of the classified service. However this may be, the time has come when no matter at what period in his term any president may add to the classified service, the great body of the good citizens of both parties will heartily applaud him.

The reform in the civil service, though not in terms an amendment to the constitution of the United States, is such in its substance and effect. It seeks to supply the grievous defect which the fathers left in that sublime instrument of government and to write in the heart and mind of every American citizen this mandate: Political spoils shall not be made of the people's offices. If this commandment is obeyed the purification of politics will not prove an "iridescent dream." Political controversies will become, more and more, contests over principles and policies, and not mere struggles for power and scrambles for office. Office seeking will become honorable in the lowest and the highest, and office holders will find themselves entitled to their own self-respect. They will gain place by their merits and will have a just pride in the achievement. Does this seem an optimistic dream? Is the grotesque and horrible nightmare of the spoils system preferable? Reduce, if you will, the rainbow hues of our dream enough to suit the sober fancy, and then say whether you prefer the latter.

Part company with all figures of speech and look soberly and earnestly at the political situation in the cities of the United States to-day and say what it is that makes possible the vile and brutal sway of the party bosses and their bands of unscrupulous followers; what but the power of the public plunder? What packs our jury list with men who have no regard for their oaths in a political case? What makes our sheriffs' offices asylums for criminals? What emasculates our prosecuting officers and bates the breath of our judges but the power of public plunder? What makes of men of the commonest clay party bosses and public leaders and bars the way to all entrance to public life by superior men who value their self-respect above the attractions of place? What corrupts the young men, degrading their ideals and leading them to believe that success vindicates itself no matter by what means attained, but the power of public plunder? These are questions which bring a blush to the patriot's cheek, but they have to be asked and they must be answered. Will it help the situation to say that the hope to reform it is an iridescent dream? I seem to hear a calm voice from the land of shadows: "Civil service reform is but another successive step in the development of liberty under law."

Fred W. Smith, postmaster at Adams, Mass. was first appointed clerk by the democratic postmaster during Mr. Cleveland's first term, was continued by Mr. Harrison's appointee and now has been promoted as an efficient clerk should be.

* An address by Sherman S. Rogers before the Civil Service Reform Congress at Chicago, August 8, 1893.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

From the Point of View of City Government.

If civil service reform, like the tariff, is a national question, it is, also, like the tariff, a local question. Wherever the civil service is numerous, the problem presents itself in some form. Everywhere, in a certain sense, the problem is the product of the multiplication table. I have in my mind a small place in New Hampshire, where the post-office has remained, through all recent changes of administration, in the same store. The store is conducted by a firm of which the senior partner is a democrat and the junior partner a republican. Under democratic administration the senior partner is the postmaster; under republican administration, the junior partner. The store remains in the same place; the post-office does not change its location; the community is in no way inconvenienced by a change of postmaster; and in the meanwhile every one's sense of party triumph is gratified by the change of commission. Naturally, in a place like this, it is hard to carry the conviction that civil service reform is a national question of far-reaching importance.

On the other hand, in the same place, the problem of the water supply is solved by the digging of a well for each house. But this same problem of water supply, transferred to the city of New York, calls for the exercise of the best engineering talent to be had, and for the expenditure of many millions of dollars. It is precisely so with civil service reform. What is no problem at all on a very small scale, becomes a problem of the first magnitude by the process of enlargement. As it concerns cities, I imagine that the necessity for the regulation of the civil service by proper legislation is important precisely in proportion to the size of the civil list. Doubtless something is desirable even in small cities, because there the tendencies begin that in large cities do such palpable mischief; but in large cities there can be no question that an evil exists that must be remedied. It will be borne in mind that my own observation of the matter has been had in a large city.

In the city of Brooklyn there is an institution known as the Truant Home. It is a place to which boys who are habitual truants from the public schools may be committed by a magistrate. It is intended to exert a reformatory influence. Necessarily it is called upon to provide for all the necessities of the boys while they remain in its care. By an anomaly in the city charter all appointments in the Truant Home were made, in my day, by the board of aldermen. The majority of that board held a caucus and divided the patronage of the Truant Home among the members of the majority by lot or by some other process equally satisfactory. The board of aldermen then officially confirmed the selection of the different members of the majority.

[From an address by Seth Low, president of Columbia College, before the Civil Service Reform Congress at Chicago, August 8, 1893.]

On one occasion a hatter was appointed the farmer of the Truant Home. He resigned with indignation when he learned that the farmer was expected to milk the cow and to raise potatoes. In other words, the needs of the public service were never thought of. It was simply so much patronage incidental to the position of an alderman to be enjoyed, if he was fortunate enough to belong to the majority of the board. This single incident illustrates, as well as many could, the evils with which civil service reform has to cope in the large cities.

* * * * *

There is no more striking figure in connection with the political life of our large cities during the last twenty-five years than the city boss. He has been at once so permanent and so universal that one hardly knows whether to look upon him as a necessity of the situation, or as its natural flower. Whichever he may be, he can not be other than an unlovely figure to those who love liberty and honor manhood. Americans hesitate to give large powers even to elected officials. They carry their fear not unfrequently to the point of depriving their officials even of powers that they ought to have to enable them to serve the people to the best advantage. But Americans have permitted a political system, more especially a system of nomination, to be developed in their midst, whereby individuals not in office and in no sense responsible to the people become so powerful as even to exercise almost arbitrary control over the officers and legislative bodies elected by the people. At this writing there is scarcely a large city in the land where one man, not in office, is not so powerful as to be practically the dictator of the city. Those who wish action at the hands of the city confer with him. The officers of the people, in many cases, scarcely preserve the appearance of being free agents. The immediate source of the boss's power lies in his control of nomination. That in turn depends largely, if not wholly, upon his control of patronage. Thus we discover a most powerful motive for insisting upon civil service reform, such a reform as will make it impossible in cities for a man not in office to manipulate the patronage of the city to increase his own power.

* * * * *

I have referred already to that frequent loss of manhood incident to the spoils system, whereby men desiring to be candidates barter away the appointing power of their offices in the event of election in return for the nomination. But that is only one form of the demoralization of men that is incident to the system. I suppose that no class of men in the country enjoy so little of the fundamental privilege of American citizenship as the subordinates in the public service where the spoils system prevails. Such men experience all the ills of those who hang on princes' favors, and their prince is often a pretty mean sort of a prince. The right to vote as you please, and the right to say what you please, as to public questions, appear to be very nearly funda-

mental rights according to our American conceptions. But let a subordinate in the public employ vote contrary to the wish of his superior, or for those who think for his superior, or let him utter sentiments that are unwelcome, and he will speedily find that the exercise of his privilege has cost him his place. A man so circumstanced is not the servant of the people; he is the slave of a master. He is not really a free man. As our people realize this more and more they will recognize that in this aspect of the case civil service reform is verily a new declaration of independence.

REMOVALS ON CHARGES.

The postmaster-general, Mr. Bissell, is, among the chiefs of the great patronage departments of the national government, probably the sincerest friend of reform. The manner in which he treats the clerical force of his department is characterized by more justice, more sincere regard for the interests of the service, and less partisan spirit than we observe in the conduct of either the interior department or the treasury. He has recently made some praiseworthy promotions in distinct defiance of the spoils politician's displeasure. So much more is it to be regretted that in other directions he should so recklessly jeopard the character and usefulness of the administration. We have already discussed the scandalous circumventions of the civil service law of which some of the newly appointed postmasters have made themselves guilty, so far with impunity, as well as the slowly but surely progressing clean sweep of the fourth-class postmasters. We referred to the fact that fourth-class postmasters who had not yet served four years were removed only on charges of official misconduct, while postmasters who had been in office four years or more are removed without any charges being preferred, merely because they belong to the other party, and have in addition rendered themselves guilty of having acquired four years' experience in the discharge of their duties. (This, our readers will remember is a rule not invented in a lunatic asylum, but followed by the post department of the United States.) Now, how are charges made against postmasters not yet guilty of four years' experience acted upon?

If such charges of misconduct are required at all to justify a removal, it must be because the postmaster-general would regard the removal of a postmaster as yet innocent of having been four years in office, who has performed his duties well, improper and unjustifiable. It would follow that the postmaster-general, unwilling, as an honorable man should be, to inflict unjustly upon any one the indignity of removal, would take good care to have the justice of the charges well ascertained before taking action. For, being no baby in politics, he must be aware that such charges are frequently, if not in most cases, made by interested parties, such as candidates for the office, or their friends who want to get the incumbent

out of the way, or congressmen or party committees who want places for their henchmen and workers, and that such charges made by such men for such a purpose have naturally a strong flavor of untrustworthiness about them. The postmaster-general would therefore, as a matter of course, permit the accused official to know what the charges against him are, and give him an opportunity to say something in his justification. This, one would think, were the least that could be done in a civilized country to protect a public servant against gross wrong, and also to preserve the self-respect of the high officials presiding over such a system.

The unsophisticated citizen who believes in fair dealing will be surprised to learn that the charges are treated as secrets to be known only to those who made them. An assistant postmaster-general, Mr. Jones, recently said to a journalist asking permission to inspect certain files that papers containing charges were to be shown only to the person making or filing them. "If a member of congress wants to inspect the papers which he has filed against a postmaster and in favor of a candidate—in order, for example, to be sure that his chain is complete—he is permitted to see his own papers, but those of nobody else. The postmaster-general was obliged to make a rule of that kind in order to guard against the abuse of any greater freedom of inspection, and to give all persons sufficient confidence of privacy to encourage them to make complaints frankly if they know of any reason why the retention of any postmaster is not for the good of the service." In other words, the accuser, be he the candidate for the office of the person accused, or the congressman who wants the place vacated for one of his henchmen, or a local boss who wants the place for one of his heelers, is permitted to see the charges again in order to strengthen them, to "complete the chain," if the case as first presented should not be sufficient to cause a removal. But the accused is not to see the charges, nor anybody in his behalf. The accuser is to be protected by secrecy; he can lie and slander to his heart's content without the least danger of being held responsible, for the postmaster-general stands guard over his safety. The postmaster-general even wishes to "encourage," by this assurance of "privacy," everybody who wishes to have somebody removed to make room for somebody else to do his very best in getting up "charges." While thus the accuser is amply protected and encouraged, the accused has "no rights that a white man is bound to respect." He has simply to hold still until he is removed from office, because somebody whom he does not know has accused him of something which he does not know. And such a rule is followed at a time when the hot chase for office is going on, and when what President Cleveland called "the demoralizing madness for spoils" has notoriously, as to the making of charges, relaxed the human conscience to the utmost.

It is not too much to say that by such rules

the postmaster-general invites false accusations; he encourages calumny. And by removing public servants upon charges so made, without any regard for the rights of the accused—for it will not be pretended, when postmasters are removed upon charges day after day by scores, that the charges have been decently investigated—he commits a gross outrage upon his fellow-citizens. This matter of charges means something or it means nothing. If it means something, then a removal of a public officer on charges implies a serious reflection upon his character or his ability. It affects his good name; and nobody should forget that the meanest fourth-class postmaster in the land has as clear a right to his good name as the postmaster-general has to his. If the postmaster-general blackens the good name of his subordinates without well-ascertained cause, he does a thing which done in private life would exclude him from the company of gentlemen. If he should say, in justification, that it would be impossible carefully to investigate such a multitude of charges, he would only be taking advantage of his own wrong; for there would not be such a multitude of charges were they not encouraged and invited by the assurance of secrecy and by the levity with which removals are made according to them. There would be far less were the accuser held to a sense of responsibility; and the service would surely not suffer from it. As the practice now appears, it is a disgrace to our public morals and our civilization. But if the matter of charges really means nothing, if it is a mere disguise for a partisan clean sweep, if it is to be understood that the officer ostensibly removed on charges was really removed because he did not belong to the dominant party, then it must be called a mockery, an unmitigated fraud, which gentlemen of self-respect will scorn to be connected with.

We are always glad to praise the postmaster-general for any good thing he does. But those are not his true friends who fail to tell him that in the conduct of the most conspicuous part of his business he is in a very dangerous way. If at the close of President Cleveland's term it should be the verdict of public opinion that his administration as to the reform of the civil service was a sad failure, the postmaster-general, unless he speedily changes his course of action, will be held principally responsible for it. The plea of good intentions will hardly modify the judgment of history. —*Harper's Weekly*, August 5.

THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM.

Frank S. Thomas, the new postmaster at Topeka, Kan., has on file at the post-office department a full set of specific charges against the republican letter-carriers whose removal he procured about a month ago. His general charge, which is the only one that the department is willing to make public, is: "Incompetency and violation of orders and instructions." To the carriers' own faces he pretended

that he had no fault to find with them, and the form of dismissal which he used was a placard posted in the post-office saying that "the postmaster general at Washington, D. C., under date of June 13, 1893, removed the following named persons," etc., etc. * *

In view of Postmaster Thomas's double-faced performance, your correspondent asked Acting Postmaster General Jones to-day for permission to look at the specific charges made against the carriers at Topeka. The request was denied on the ground that Postmaster General Bissell had made a very strict rule concerning the inspection of charges filed against anybody. "He will show them," Mr. Jones said, "only to the person making or filing them. If a member of congress wants to inspect the papers which he has filed against a postmaster and in favor of a candidate—in order, for example, to be sure that his chain is complete—he is permitted to see his own papers, but those of nobody else. The postmaster general was obliged to make a rule of that kind in order to guard against the abuse of any greater freedom of inspection, and to give all persons sufficient confidence of privacy to encourage them to make complaints frankly if they know of any reason why the retention of a postmaster is not for the good of the service."

"Does this rule apply, in your judgment, to the case of a postmaster who has told an untruth, either to the government or to the old employes of his office?"

"It applies universally, I believe." * * * —*Washington Dispatch to the New York Evening Post*, July 12.

A REFORMER IN OFFICE.

"Whatever may be said as to the superiority of a consular service from which political considerations are excluded, such as that of the leading nations of Europe, it is certainly impossible, under existing conditions, to deal with the matter upon a purely non-political basis. * * *

It is true that senators and representatives have taken a lively interest in the applications of some of their constituents for consular appointments, as has always been the case in the past. * * *

* * * It is impossible, under present conditions and with due regard to the claims of the different states for a fair share of the consular offices, to make altogether ideal appointments, or even to avoid some mistakes. —*From Mr. Quincy's Defense in the Boston Herald*, July 31, 1893.

Mr. Piatt was appointed consul to Queenstown in 1882, and after serving there some years was promoted to Dublin. His services at the latter post have been very acceptable to the government, and both he and his wife have become very popular among the Irish people. The testimonial referred to was probably called out by a recent announcement that President Cleveland had selected Mr. Piatt's successor, and that he would soon be removed. It is addressed to the President. The petitioners say:

"During his career at Queenstown the services rendered by Mr. Consul Piatt to the Irish people have been such that the mayors of Cork, Limerick and Waterford, together with

many members of parliament and representative men of the entire province, made special acknowledgment thereof, and, on two several occasions, addressed the American government to continue him as its representative. To which memorial their excellencies President Harrison and President Cleveland most courteously assented.

"Now, remembering the services so rendered to our countrymen; bearing in mind the exceptional recommendations of the great corporate cities of the south; and desirous also, and especially, that the Irish metropolis should have the advantage of the presence of a gentleman skilled not alone in matters commercial and industrial, but highly distinguished in literature, we do hereby express our desire and hope that his excellency the President may be good enough to continue Mr. Consul Piatt in the position he at present occupies, as representative of the United States at the capital of Ireland."

The signatures to this testimonial constitute its most remarkable feature, including the names of the lord mayor of Dublin, the high sheriff, members of the board of aldermen, leading members of the bar, forty-seven Irish members of Parliament, the provost, the vice-provost, and twenty-two professors and tutors in Trinity College, and some of the most prominent business firms of Dublin. It is doubtful if any American representative abroad ever had as strong an appeal as this made by representative foreigners for his retention in office.—*Indianapolis Journal*. [Mr. Piatt has since been removed.]

Mr. Quincy is singularly silent, too, as to certain specific instances of rank partisanship which have aroused the indignation of civil service reformers throughout the country. Was it "to improve the service" that the administration summarily removed Consul General Adamson of Panama, an official of conspicuous integrity and discretion, whose original commission bore the name of Abraham Lincoln? Was it "to improve the service" that Consul General Sutton of Mexico was dismissed, in spite of his ability, long experience and thorough training? Was it "to improve the service" that Mr. John J. Piatt was deprived of the Dublin consulate, after a brilliant career which reflected honor, not only upon himself, but upon his government?—*Boston Journal*.

I. THE PROMISES.

* * To remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural*.

* * That the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition * * and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these * * abuses which threaten individual liberty and

local self-government.—*National Democratic Platform, 1892*.

The oath I now take to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of these United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional demands as the rule by which my official conditions must be guided.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural*.

Anxiety for the redemption of the pledges which my party has made and solicitude for the complete justification of the trust the people have reposed in us constrain me to remind those with whom I am to operate that we can succeed in doing the work which has been especially set before us only by the most sincere, harmonious and disinterested effort. Even if insuperable obstacles and opposition prevent the consummation of our task we shall hardly be excused, and if failure can be traced to our fault or neglect we may be sure the people will hold us to a swift and exacting accountability.—*President Cleveland's Inaugural*.

II.

THE PERFORMANCE.

Wm. F. Harrity, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the national democratic committee, and Attorney General Hensel, of Pennsylvania, were among the first to enter the President's apartments. They had come in response to invitations, and they remained some time. The object of their visit was to discuss the question of the Pennsylvania appointments. Both gentlemen are non-communicative to-night concerning the result of their visit, but those who understand the political situation in Pennsylvania say there is little doubt that they made satisfactory arrangements for patronage for Pennsylvania democrats.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, March 21*.

The visitors declined to reveal anything concerning their conversations with Mr. Cleveland and his assistants, but those to whom they talked have not proved so reticent. In the first place it was absolutely determined that the political patronage of Pennsylvania should be disposed of upon the recommendations of Mr. Harrity and his friends in the state administration. No man will be appointed to office in the Keystone commonwealth who is objectionable to those gentlemen. To such an extent will this be carried that Postmaster General Bissell is credited with having presented Messrs. Harrity and Hensel to Assistant Postmaster General Maxwell, the "headsman"—as he is humorously known in Washington—with the remark: "These are the friends whose counsel we will follow in Pennsylvania." That decision determines the selection of over 4,000 postmasters.—*Washington Dispatch to New York Times, March 22*.

Most of the men who ran the engines and the elevators and watched the doors were democrats who had been retained by his republican predecessor on the ground that they were faithful and competent. When asked by a reporter for a democratic newspaper the meaning of the changes, the collector answered:

"These employes received their notice of dismissal last November. They have only held on since the people demanded a change at the polls, because I had to look around and find the best material with which to replace them."

"It is a mistake to say that there are any good democrats among them. Every one of them held office under a republican administration, and that wipes out all the democracy they ever possessed. Why, if I had found my own brother here when I came, and he had been drawing a salary under a republican administration for one day, I would have fired him at once."

"That's the kind of a democrat I am! The people demanded a change last November—not only a change in the heads of the government and departments, but a change clear down to the charwomen, and that is the kind of a change it is my sacred duty to give them, as far as is in my power. Some of the discharged employes are good people, I know, but they are not good democrats."—*Interview with Kearns, Collector of Internal Revenue at Pittsburgh, Pa., July, 1893*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VINCENNES, IND., Aug. 22, 1893.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

I respectfully inform you that I was yesterday removed by Postmaster Royal E. Purcell from the position of letter carrier. When I returned Saturday morning from my first trip, about 9:30 A. M., I was informed by the postmaster that Mr. James Hall (one week a substitute) had been appointed my successor. I demanded of him what charges he had against me for removal. His answer was that it was not necessary to state any, and that he had simply done as his predecessor, Allen Tindolph, had done four years ago—"Choose his man and send in his name." He also stated that there was nothing dishonorable about the discharge, as it was the same as had been done four years ago. Now, what I want to know is, can I not be reinstated, as I think this is a political removal, as there had been no charge preferred against me. He also stated that it would only be a question of time until he would make other changes, as he wanted men of his own selection. Have been referred to you, and should be glad to hear from you with any consolation you may be able to hold out. I was appointed regular carrier March 1, after serving almost four years as a substitute. Awaiting your answer, I am, Respectfully yours,

EDW. L. TOWNSLEY,
Ex-Carrier No. 3.

[As stated in this letter, the facts show that Postmaster Purcell has, without any cause, deprived of his place an employe who had learned his duties in a long apprenticeship, and who could perform them better and was more useful to the people than any new man. The dismissal was purely wanton, in the sense in which Mr. Madison used that term. The act, of course, is a corrupt one, and is entirely against the intention of the civil service law and the postal regulations. No officer who desires the most efficient service ever dismisses a man because he happens to take the notion, and no superior officer with a like desire ever sanctions or permits such a dismissal. There are always practical difficulties in the way of the correction of such evils. No civil service reformer is in favor of limiting the power of dismissal; in the interest of discipline and efficiency that power must be left in the executive. The only restraint that reformers ask is that there shall be a written public record of the reasons for dismissal, and that the president and heads of departments shall not allow the power to be abused. Any dismissal in which politics or favoritism, or any other motive except the efficiency of the service plays any part, is an abuse of this power. According to this letter this dismissal was such an abuse. The only question left is whether the postmaster-general will correct it. If he will not, he will not perform the duties he has sworn to perform, but there is no help for it except punishment by public opinion. He has the physical power in his hands. Mr. Townsley and the citizens of Vincennes should make the proper representations to Postmaster-General Bissell, and should, above all, make their protest public.—[EDITOR CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 7.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE index to the first volume of the Chronicle is nearly completed. It is the work of Mr. Charles Allen Lewis (Harvard, '90), of Indianapolis, who has given to it a great deal of time and care. To speak more definitely, many weeks of intelligent labor have been freely given by Mr. Lewis in the belief that the cause of reform would be proportionately benefited by making the facts in the CHRONICLE accessible. As we have before said the volume is the only work of its kind relating to the spoils system. The index will only be sent to those who request it; as by reason of the cost no more numbers will be printed than are actually needed. It is requested that applications be forwarded without delay.

IN the House, September 23, Representative Bretz of Indiana had a letter read, addressed to him by John Hasenour, the fourth class postmaster at Celestine, in Bretz's district in which Hasenour offers Bretz \$15 if the latter will let him keep the post-office. Bretz went on to say that with this letter he demanded of Maxwell the removal of Hasenour. But the latter could not or did not act instantly. With flaming cheeks and flashing eyes Bretz said, "in my official capacity my character and reputation has been assailed. * * I underscored the offer of \$15 with a lead pencil mark. * * The only reason that is assigned to me why I shall be held up in scorn and contempt before a part of my constituents, and before the country in a cause of this kind, is because, perhaps, I have received a greater per cent. of changes of postmasters in my district than any other member of congress. I have availed myself of this opportunity to vindicate myself as well as to inform the House and the country that the responsibility of retaining corrupt men in office does not rest on my shoulders as it appeared to do in the past."

His charges had been filed seven days. It takes an opportunity of this kind for the average of the present congressional delegation from this state to show his knavish political propensities. Bretz does not feel sensitive because a man offered him money for an office. He has steadily

been selling offices ever since last March, not for \$15 cash, but for work. There is no difference and he need not pose with flaming cheeks and flashing eyes with the expectation that the House and the country will do anything but laugh at him. Everybody recognizes that so far as moral ends are concerned he might just as well take \$15 apiece for his fourth class post-offices as to take weeks of work setting up primaries and conventions for his renomination. Hasenour recognized this. Bretz's real animus was anger at the post-office department for a slight delay in obeying his orders.

CONGRESSMAN BYNUM works along the same line in his repeated visits to the President and Carlisle to see about changes in his district. The good of the public service does not require changes but the canvass for Mr. Bynum's renomination sharply demands it. There is no difference in principle between his getting \$500 for the collectorship of customs here and getting the services of the new collector and his deputies for a couple of months to help his renomination. In some respects it would be even less detrimental to public morals. The cash sale would leave the people free to choose a nominee; but a sale for work results in preventing an untrammelled choice. Congressmen Holman is now working along the same line. He is not only selling the offices for services, but to an astonishing extent he has gone into the business of engineering private bills. We give a partial list of these elsewhere. Holman is threatened with overthrow in his district, and there could be no happier expedient to raise up workers for himself in every ward and township than to raise the hope that Smith may be put upon the pension list or that a bill may be got through for the relief of Brown.

THE descent from Pearson through Van Cott to Dayton as postmaster of New York is sufficiently striking. Dayton says: "I always give the places to democrats and mostly to Tammany Hall men." Tammany is the most corrupt, powerful and dangerous political organization that ever existed in this country. It has become a household word that the city of New York does not govern itself but is governed absolutely by this political Mafia. It is the duty of every citizen to fight this organi-

zation at every point and at all times. It must be broken up. Yet here is Postmaster Dayton joining hands with it and using the public treasury to keep it alive. This ought not to have to be pointed out to the President and the postmaster-general. If they ignore it they will find at the end that this is one of the many things now being done by the democrats to the up-building of the republican party. We do not overestimate the character and danger of Tammany Hall. No Roman governor ever returned from his province in greater glory than Croker now enjoys. A glance at the extracts taken almost at random from different sources and published in another part of this paper are enough to convince anyone that government by the people has practically ceased to exist in New York, and for that matter in Brooklyn. Even amusements are furnished with the same object and along the same line that they were furnished to the Roman rabble.

ONE Jones, a deputy in the office of the United States Marshal for this district, has resigned, and makes charges reflecting on the honest conduct of the office. The chief deputy, Foley, says that—

Jones has been a peace disturber ever since he came into the office. Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Foley says, had decided to discharge him, and would have done so in a few days if he had not resigned. "All this talk by Jones is simply for the purpose of injuring the reputation of the office," said Mr. Foley. "Mr. Jones says that one of the first things he learned when he came up here was to steal. Now it seems that he would have been perfectly willing to have remained in the office for \$125 per month, but he wouldn't remain at \$75 per month. Mr. Foley says that the office is conducted precisely as it was under Marshal Dunlap. "Everything we know about the office we learned from Mr. Dunlap and his deputies," said he, "and I do not believe they would mislead us in any way."

We may dismiss the charge of "stealing" with the remark that the office is what is politely called a political office which means that it is intended to yield to the party at the time owning it the utmost pay possible in patronage and money, and that no doubt Marshal Dunlap, in a matter of this sort, realized that there was no distinction of party and gave freely all the fruits of his experience.

But what we especially wish to dwell upon is the statement that Jones had been a "peace disturber." How did Hawkins happen to select an employe of this sort? Have not spoilsmen for years been solemnly asseverating that since they were

responsible for their office they must choose their own men and that this was one of their sincere objections to choice by the merit system? Now note the facts regarding Peace Disturber Jones. He was Voorhees's man, a farmer from Posey county, and was appointed at Voorhees's dictation. Thus, in divers ways, Voorhees rewards his henchman, and this sort may be classified as his secondary patronage.

A YOUNG man who had lately been appointed a messenger in one of the great departments was seen the other day strolling through the main corridor puffing vigorously on a cigarette. One of the chiefs of division, in passing, ventured to suggest to him that he was violating a rule of etiquette, if nothing more, but was cut short in the middle of a sentence with the sharp retort:

"I guess you don't know who I am? I was put here by William F. Harrity!"

The chief did not swoon at the announcement, as he was evidently expected to. Neither did he carry the matter to the head of the department, as was doubtless his duty. Being a prudent man and an officer of long experience, and having a great deal of work to do at his desk, he simply ignored the incident; and the messenger, for all that is known to the contrary, may still be filling the corridor with the smoke of cheap cigarettes during business hours.—*Good Government*, September, 1893.

The way is clear enough in this matter, the head of the department will have to approach Harrity, not too abruptly, and get permission to administer a rebuke. That is all there is of it. The messenger is Harrity's man, quartered upon the people for Harrity's benefit, and can not have his sauntering elbow jogged without Harrity's permission. And what Mr. Harrity is in the Republic in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and ninety-three and in the midst of Columbian festivals, the *New York Times* succinctly shows as follows:

Mr. Harrity, secretary of the commonwealth, chairman of the democratic national committee, and dispenser of Mr. Cleveland's patronage among the democrats of the Keystone State, has as heavy a hand on the democratic organization as Mr. Quay ever laid upon the republican machine. The result is a unanimity of sentiment among the delegates, a promise of harmony altogether unusual in a democratic convention.—September 19.

THE secretary of agriculture has found a way out of a corner. With a great flourish he discharged part of his force of meat inspectors throughout the country for the very good reason that there was nothing for them to do. Then he discharged the remaining men because they were republicans, and the remaining women because their fathers were or had been, when living, republicans. Into these places he put democrats and women whose fathers were or had been democrats. This half division of spoil, however, did not suit bosses of the Voorhees and Turpie stripe. They did not want less places in the service, but more, and it suddenly developed that it would be a good thing to have meat for home con-

sumption inspected, too, and the announcement comes that the force of inspectors is to be largely increased. If this is a genuine measure to benefit the public the secretary will reappoint the experienced employes he dismissed for reasons so disgraceful to himself. If he lets political bosses fill the places, no stronger proof will be needed to show that the measure was simply taken to make places for favorites to use up an appropriation.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL BISSELL has given out a table showing the proportion of correct to incorrect placing of mail matter by clerks in the railway mail service for various years. The table is as follows:

Year.	Proportion Correct.	Year.	Proportion Correct.
1885.....	5,575 to 1.	1890.....	2,834 to 1.
1886.....	4,228 to 1.	1891.....	4,261 to 1.
1887.....	3,364 to 1.	1892.....	5,564 to 1.
1888.....	3,698 to 1.	1893.....	7,144 to 1.
1889.....	3,954 to 1.		

These figures tell a plain story. The loot of the railway mail service during Mr. Cleveland's first administration under the guise of "dismissals for the good of the service" ran the service down, and there was but partial recovery. Then, in 1889, Harrison and Wanamaker looted it again under the guise of "improving the service," and its efficiency ran to the lowest point ever reached. Then the merit system took it and to-day its magnificent triumph is marked by the figures for 1893.

THE majority by which Mr. Gladstone carried his home rule bill through the Commons was in all stages narrow. It, however, was sufficient, because it was steady and unflinching. The victory was a remarkable triumph of popular government. It was such because it was gained solely by argument. England was changed from a position of hostility to the opposite, because it was urged that this was the right thing to do. No clerkship nor post-office nor hope of reward or preferment of any kind helped to bring about this remarkable result. When the bill went to the House of Lords no member was under obligation to the government for patronage, and there had been and was no attempt to influence the action of any member by giving him control of appointments. There was no member with a political conscience so corrupt that he would not have resented an attempt to "work" his vote in such a manner, and the offer of a single place, however indirectly made and however insignificant, with even a surmisable connection with such an object, would have set England ablaze in an hour.

ANECDOTES OF A LIFE OFFICE-HOLDER.

It seems that "Judge" Chester R. Faulkner no longer represents Indiana. This perpetual office-holder can no longer

be confined within the narrow bounds of state lines. He has, as it were, joined the regular political army. In April, 1891, the CHRONICLE, under the head of "Anecdotes of a Chronic Office-holder," gave an extended account of Mr. Faulkner, which, in order to refresh the memory of our readers, we reproduce:

Chester R. Faulkner was a member of the lower house of the late general assembly. He attracted attention on account of his opposition to appropriations which seemed to average people necessary to the ordinary efficiency of the state government. For instance, to the proposition to relieve the supreme court by additional judges or by a new court, Faulkner said: "Let them judges take down them spring beds and go to work." This referred to certain beds which the out of town judges have in their chambers at the capitol. It is not to be inferred that rope beds and feather ticks were to be substituted, but that the judges were to be cut off from all chance of sleeping in their chambers. When the question of salary for the state librarian came up it was proposed to make it \$1,500, but Faulkner stood stubbornly for \$1,000. Such Spartan virtue led wicked and envious people to look into Faulkner's past to see what meat he had fed on to produce such a development. It seems that under the late administration, Senator Voorhees kept Faulkner steadily under government pay. His first position was that of clerk of the committee on additional appropriations to the library of congress at six dollars a day. This committee had one bill referred to it in seven years. Then he became chief of the records division of the pension office at \$2,000 a year. While in this position he asked the superintendent of the railway mail service to transfer a clerk so that he could work and vote in Indiana at an approaching election. Being refused, he wrote an impertinent letter derogatory of the administration, for which Secretary Vilas demanded his resignation. Faulkner refused to resign until he had seen Congressman Voorhees, who appointed him, and the latter forthwith bullied Vilas into backing down.

It is claimed that Faulkner's sole performance of duty in this last position consisted in tapping his bell three times at noon and again at night. The first tap was for the clerks to put away pens; the second, to rise, and the third, to march out. One other duty performed, however, is related of Faulkner. His young men and women clerks were apt to converse in the corridors at noon, and to meet this emergency he prepared and hung up a large placard having upon it the notice, "No Lofeing in the Corduroys." Harrison's administration dispensed with his services and then Voorhees seems to have quartered him upon the senate again, as until some months ago he was on the congressional pay-roll as folder in the senate document room.

We do not know when Senator Voorhees, from inability "to place" this henchman anywhere else, felt compelled to make him his private secretary; but it has been apparent ever since the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland that perhaps the weightiest problem upon Voorhees's mind was how

to get Faulkner into a good berth. Perhaps there were grammatical reasons for urgency. Faulkner seemed at one time dangerously near becoming again chief of the records division of the pension department, but some other henchman got something else which would make this, if carried out, an uneven division of spoils. Voorhees has, however, finally landed his man. A Washington dispatch of August 8th says:

Judge Chester R. Faulkner, of Ripley county, private secretary to Senator Voorhees, was appointed superintendent of the Maltby building to-day, at a salary of \$1,800. He was appointed from the country at large, and hence will not be charged to Indiana.

MR. QUINCY, AGAIN.

Mr. Josiah Quincy has resigned his place as assistant secretary of state to resume his chairmanship of the Massachusetts state democratic committee. Before Mr. Quincy went to Washington, his political career had been a promising one for reform politics. He was regarded as a democrat, whose intellectual astuteness had mastered the apparently simple problem that the great masses of the American people desire courageous and bold reforms in political matters, and more yet, as a man whose conscience would compel him to courageous and lofty patriotism, calmly abiding the consequences. Of all places in the public service, there was none so plainly in the line of "practical" reform as the consular service. In that service there is no dispute, but that educational qualifications are desirable. There is no doubt either that if the places were not used for "rewards" and "gifts," there are many men of especial fitness who for one reason or another would like the places and would be glad to submit to a competitive test. Did Mr. Quincy show any signs of courageous or lofty patriotism? Not in the least. Pitifully feeble, ineffectual and timid, he says, "it is certainly impossible, under existing conditions to deal with the matter upon a purely non-political basis. It is true that senators and representatives have taken a lively interest in the application of some of their constituents for consular appointments as has been the case in the past." How silly all this will sound when some man says the consular service shall now be a merit service, and proceeds forthwith to make it a merit service by excluding from it everything pertaining to political or personal reward.

Mr. Quincy's future will now be a curious and interesting thing to watch. In practice when tested he has been no better than our own Indiana spoilsmen. He has used the consular service about as Voorhees would. In externals his use has

not been perhaps so coarse and noisy, but he has been a bona fide spoilsman with bona fide spoils methods. In spite of all explanations we believe that more and more he will feel that he has disappointed those whose lowered opinion is a distinct loss to him. We shall see whether even the politicians and the spoilsmen with whom he is to come into close relations do not show the contempt that even low grade men have for one who has failed to maintain a standard that they expected to be maintained in spite of their own efforts to break it down.

THE ABSORBING OCCUPATION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY DURING A GREAT FINANCIAL CRISIS.

Secretary Carlisle intends to weed out the inefficient clerks in the treasury department. He began operations yesterday by dropping six clerks from the rolls. Others will be dropped from time to time as they are reported from the chiefs of the divisions. *These vacancies will be filled through the civil service commission, and in doing so it is the secretary's intention, everything else being equal, to give preference to democrats.*—Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, July 26.

It is said that Secretary Carlisle will give his attention soon to a number of Indiana republicans who are still ensconced in places in the treasury department.—Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, July 27.

Senator Voorhees arrived this morning and saw Secretary Carlisle. The result of the interview was that Mr. Carlisle sent to Mr. John O. Cravens, collector of internal revenue for the sixth Indiana district (at Terre Haute), a request for his resignation.—Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, August 27.

There is to be a "shaking up" in the bureau of engraving and printing. Chief Johnson, who recently took charge, has made an earnest study of the bureau and its needs and has prepared plans for its improvement which he submitted to Secretary Carlisle this afternoon. Mr. Carlisle assured him of his active co-operation. The overhauling will proceed rapidly.—Washington dispatch, New York Times, July 27.

Collector of Internal Revenue, John C. Quinn, on Wednesday was asked for his resignation. In answer, Collector Quinn, yesterday, sent the following reply: My term of office as internal revenue collector will expire next March, although at that time I will have held the office but three years, one year of the term being held by my deceased predecessor. There is a popular impression that resignation implies a desire on the part of an official to avoid the disclosure of something unpleasant in the administration of his office. Knowing

that I have performed the duties of my position as internal revenue collector with the acknowledged approval of my superiors, I must decline to give grounds for ill-natured criticism by a resignation which in future might put me upon explanation.—San Francisco dispatch, New York Times, August 18.

There are at present between twenty-five and thirty vacancies in the position of internal revenue collector. These vacancies have been occasioned by the collectors' resignations being asked for. It is not yet known what action will be taken by the President in the matter of filling these places. It has been understood that no new appointments, unless the good of the public service urgently demanded it, would be made until the financial legislation now pending in congress should be out of the way. This view of the situation is evidently not entertained by many senators and congressmen, who, knowing of the President's return, crowded the rooms of Secretary Carlisle and Commissioner Miller this morning, urging them to recommend to the President their candidates for internal revenue collectorships.—Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 2.

William B. Donovan, whose services as clerk to the superintendent of government buildings were discontinued August 28, and in whose place Dexter P. Wager was appointed, this morning received a telegram from Secretary Carlisle stating that the order removing him had been revoked. Donovan is an "anti-snapper" and Wager was the candidate of the "snapper" faction.—Troy dispatch, New York Times, September 3.

Secretary Carlisle has issued new regulations, "directing the conduct of official business relating to the personnel of the public service under the treasury department." *Some of the new heads of bureaus, it is said, have been, to use a western word, somewhat "brash" in preparing and laying before the secretary for approval lists of promotions, removals and appointments, and it has happened once or twice that in the hurry of business the secretary has signed these lists without very close examination.*

The result has been that he has, in several instances had, to revoke his action. To obviate this necessity the secretary now directs that all such recommendations shall be first sent to the appointment division. To correct another bad practice into which some of the new appointees have fallen, the secretary further mentions in emphatic italics that "*recommendation by officers of the department of persons not in the service is not in accordance with the rules and regulations.*"—Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 3.

The plums around the treasury department are ready to fall. Secretary Carlisle insists that the fruit is ripe and that the President must shake the trees. Representatives, therefore, are hustling for their constituents, and several more patriots soon will be made happy. Within a very few days, in fact, at some time

during the present week, Secretary Carlisle will hold an extended conference with the President on the subject of filling the existing Presidential vacancies in the treasury branch. This conference was to have been held long ago, but the absence of President Cleveland from the city and the importance of other matters side-tracked the question of appointments for a period. There are a number of vacancies in the treasury service to be filled at once. There are thirty internal revenue districts in which vacancies exist, and these will be first considered. At present there is no deputy second comptroller.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, September 7.*

* * *

Secretary Carlisle was at the White House for a time last evening for the purpose of discussing some treasury appointments, but found Senator Mills of Texas in private consultation with the President, and only had a short talk with the President himself.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 9.*

* * *

A Washington dispatch to-day says that the secretary of the treasury has asked for the resignation of Philip M. Hildebrand, surveyor of customs here. No intimation of this action had been received at Mr. Hildebrand's office. His term of office does not expire till January 30, 1894. He was commissioned for four years. The office belongs to the class where from custom the stipulated tenure is supposed to protect the incumbent, though he is removable with or without cause. Thomas Madden is supposed to have the inside track in the race for Mr. Hildebrand's position, though other candidates are numerous—including John Reaume, Maurice Donnelly, John Rail, Thomas Steele and Smith Myers.—*Indianapolis News, September 11.*

* * *

Congressman Bynum was closeted to-day with Secretary Carlisle, but the nature of their conference is unknown. It may have had something to do with the request of the secretary made later for the resignation of Mr. Hildebrand, surveyor of customs at Indianapolis. It is also quite probable that the internal revenue collectorship of the sixth district came up for consideration. This appointment may be looked for at any time now.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 12.*

* * *

Secretary Carlisle has requested the resignation of J. Wehh Flanagan, collector of customs at El Paso, Tex.—*Washington dispatch, August 18.*

[Flanagan, as a delegate to a national convention, inquired what they were there for, if not the offices. President Harrison evidently took Flanagan's view and gave him an office. Secretary Carlisle, with the sympathy of a fellow spoilsman, lets him hold on six months.]

* * *

Secretary Carlisle has appointed T. Aubrey Byrne, of Boston, special agent of the treasury department, with headquarters at Boston.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 13.*

[Files of the New York *Evening Post*, in Mr. Cleveland's former administration, show the discreditable part played by Byrne in his efforts to work out of the service employes of high character.]

HOLMAN IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

The many friends of Frank J. Hall, the popular democratic attorney of Rushville, are grooming him for the congressional race against the Hon. William S. Holman.

Holman, who, for over thirty years, has held the democrats of the fourth district under complete control is losing his influence, and open denunciation of his course in regard to the present distribution of offices may be heard on every hand. He has made a terrible muddle of the collectorship, and in this instance alone has lost the influence of the *Lawrenceburg Register*, a paper that has manfully stood by him through good and evil report for many years. In Rush county the squabble over the post-office has cost him scores of staunch supporters, while in this county his action in regard to the patronage and the pension board appointed upon his recommendation has made a breach among his followers that may never be healed. In Franklin, Shelby and Ripley counties the same conditions exist, and it is safe to say, that never in his political career has Holman been brought face to face with such widespread dissatisfaction as exists to day.—*Greensburg Dispatch to Indianapolis News, August 18.*

* * *

Editor William O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, will, according to advices received here, be a candidate against Mr. Holman for the congressional nomination. Mr. O'Brien is one of the cleverest politicians according to reports that southern Indiana contains. He is said to have been disappointed because his father-in-law, Dr. Hunter, failed to get Mr. Holman's support against Bracken for collector of internal revenue. In his displeasure over the alleged political inconstancy of Mr. Holman, he found consolation from Senator Voorhees and other Indiana politicians. They expect him to be a candidate for Congress, and believe he will make things decidedly lively for Mr. Holman.—*Indianapolis News, August 29.*

* * *

A long letter from the Hon. W. S. Holman was received here recently in which he declares his intention to recommend Prof. Will S. Meredith for postmaster of this city. He intimates that while this may not be his own personal choice, that after a careful examination of all the recommendations of the various applicants, it appears that Mr. Meredith has the strongest indorsements and that he feels that duty warrants this action in favor of Meredith, which is final as to him.—*Rushville dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 12.*

* * *

The news which reached Rushville that Congressman Holman would recommend W. S. Meredith for postmaster of that city is

causing considerable friction in democratic ranks. The friends of J. A. Spurrier, D. P. Shawhan and Douglass Morris are still pushing the claims of these gentlemen for recognition.—*Indianapolis News, September 15.*

* * *

Mr. Holman has interested himself in W. A. Posey, of Rushville, and it is understood that he has the promise of Secretary Hoke Smith that the young man shall be appointed either as clerk in an Indian agency or a special agent of the land office.—*Indianapolis News, September 6.*

* * *

Congressman Holman secured an appointment in the interior department to-day for W. A. Posey, Rushville.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, September 16.*

* * *

Congressman Holman is not frightened at the outlook for his renomination. The *News* correspondent is informed by one of Mr. Holman's close friends that the congressman does not expect any serious opposition. He doubts the report that William O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, is a candidate. Mr. Holman's friends say that he secured the appointment of Dr. Hunter as internal revenue collector under President Cleveland's last administration, and that his attitude toward the doctor in the fight was strictly fair and honorable. Mr. Holman does not believe that Dr. Hunter's friends are antagonizing him or that the doctor's son-in-law, William O'Brien, will be a candidate.—*Indianapolis News, September 8.*

* * *

[WHY HE IS NOT AFRAID.]

Congressman Holman has introduced a large number of bills of a private character, intended for the relief of his constituents. They are as follows: A bill for the relief of Herman Schrover; a bill for the relief of Mrs. Mary H. Premire; a bill for the relief of Julia LeClerc, widow of John LeClerc; a bill for the relief of Theodore Walker; a bill for the relief of Albert Munson; a bill to correct the military record of Alonzo Carter; a bill to correct the military record of John C. Partlow; a bill to correct the military record of Myron H. McMullen; a bill for the relief of Wm. T. Rominger; a bill for the relief of Nancy Loslyu; a bill for the relief of Mrs. Hulda F. Stone; a bill for the relief of John Maholm; a bill for the relief of Mrs. S. O. N. Pleasants; a bill for the relief of Nancy A. Fuller, mother of Samuel Phipps; a bill granting a pension to Laura M. Cheek; a bill granting a pension to James Theodore Walker; a bill for the relief of Wm. F. Poe; a bill for the relief of Samuel Brown; a bill for the relief of F. W. Zeickendrath; a bill granting a pension to Selinda E. Smith; a bill granting a pension to Matilda Weed; a bill granting a pension to Samuel Maguire; a bill granting a pension to Joseph M. Ward; a bill for the relief of Henry J. Bischoff; a bill granting a pension to John W. Wright; a bill granting a pension to Esther Todd; a bill for the relief of the surviving partners of J. and O. P. Cobb, of Aurora, for value of the barge Moule, taken by the United States; a bill to correct the military record of Patrick Sweeney; a bill for the relief of Mrs. Nannie Shaffer and children of James M. Alley; a bill for the relief of John F. Williams; a bill for the relief of Jacob L. Tudor; a bill for the relief of John Gray; a bill to correct the military record of W. S. Fox; a bill granting a pension to Margaret Withers; a bill to correct the military record of Wm. E. Burns; a bill granting a pension to Jefferson Jordan; a bill increasing pension of Moses Crawford; a bill for the relief of the widow and heirs of Martin A. Barnett, deceased; a bill to relieve Elisha Lunsford from the charge of desertion; a bill granting a pension to Johanna Knab; a bill granting a pension to Anna T. Unger; a bill for the relief of Isaac M. Bower, of Lawrenceburg; a bill for the relief of Isaac H. Wheat; a bill granting a pension to Nancy Altizer, of Ripley county; a bill granting a pension to Hester A. Bonnell; a bill granting a pension to Anna H. Anderson, of Decatur county; a bill for the relief of Charlotte Rarison; a bill granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Kennedy; a bill to remove the charges of desertions against Frank Wempe; a bill granting a pension to Bernard Brunner; a bill granting a pension to Clara I. Worttell;

a bill to extend to Wm. M. Snyder the benefit of the arrears of pension act; a bill granting a pension to George Pulskamp; a bill for the relief of Charlotte H. Fenton; a bill for the relief of George F. Roberts and others; a bill granting a pension to Maria Thomas, of Union county; a bill for the relief of Thomas W. Johnson, of Ripley county; a bill granting a pension to Theodore Eck, of St. Paul; a bill for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Jennison; a bill granting a pension to Elizabeth P. Mullin; a bill to restore the name of Drusilla Fowler, of Switzerland county, to the pension roll; a bill granting a pension to Ardenia Dillon; a bill to correct the military record of John Dickson; a bill for the relief of Julia A. Wolf; a bill to correct the military record of John Faust; a bill to correct the military record of Wm. Barnes; a bill for the relief of John Colter; a bill for the relief of Samuel Trester; a bill for the relief of Benjamin A. Waybright; a bill to increase the pension of Simeon P. Bell.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 16.*

INDIANA CONGRESSMEN IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

Congressman Bynum will call on President Cleveland as soon as the latter returns from Gray Gables, and hopes to be able to learn something definite in regard to Indianapolis appointments.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, August 29.*

* * *

Congressman Bynum waited an hour at the White House this morning to see the President, but there were so many appointments ahead of him that he left the White House without securing an interview. Mr. Bynum called to discuss the Indianapolis patronage.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 9.*

* * *

Congressman Bynum says the surveyor of the port at Indianapolis will not be appointed for some time yet.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 15.*

* * *

Samuel R. Meyers, of Rockport, Ind., will probably be appointed chief of the reimbursement division of the treasury soon. Congressman Taylor is working seemingly for Mr. Meyer's appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 14.*

* * *

Mr. Hammond, like his colleagues from northern Indiana, complains that the administration has been too slow making political removals in his district.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, August 4.*

* * *

Ex-Congressman Patton, of the lake district, who was an applicant for superintendent of immigration, and failed of the appointment, has applied for the receivership of the land office at Cherokee Outlet. The Indiana delegation will try to secure the place for him.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, August 16.*

* * *

The nomination of ex-congressman Patton, of Remington, Ind., as register of the land office of the eastern district of the Cherokee Outlet, has already been sent to Buzzard's Bay by Secretary Smith for President Cleveland's approval. Congressman Hammond was chiefly instrumental in securing the appointment of Mr. Patton.—*Washington dispatch to Indianapolis News, August 18.*

* * *

The good work continues at the Jeffersonville depot of army supplies. News reached here to-night that L. L. Hurlburt, of St. Louis

Mo., had been appointed by the officials at Washington to a position as copyist at the depot. As there are two republicans holding the position it is not definitely known whom Mr. Hurlburt will succeed. In any event one will go for the present, and it is not unlikely that the other fellow will make room for some good democrat in a few days. This morning Capt. T. T. Thompson, a democrat in every sense of the term, was given a place at the depot, vice Albert Burnett, removed for political cause. This makes twelve changes within five days. There are applications from all parts of the state, Ohio and Illinois for positions. Of course, there will be many disappointed, because places can not be procured for all. It is safe to say that a clean sweep is one of the possibilities, and that, too, very soon.—*Jeffersonville dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, July 14.*

* * *

There is much partisan rejoicing at Jeffersonville, over the rumor that Quartermaster-General Hodges, of the government depot, is to be replaced by Lieutenant Colonel A. G. Robinson, now stationed at Ft. Vancouver, Wash. The grievance against Colonel Hodges is that he refuses to interest himself in the removal of republicans so that democrats can take their places. Colonel Robinson, on the other hand, is quoted with being a democrat who believes in the Jacksonian doctrine. "To the victors belongs the spoils."—*Indianapolis News, August 30.*

* * *

Word comes from Crawfordsville that there is some uneasiness shown among the local democrats over the delay in the appointment of a postmaster. A letter was received this week complaining that Hulit, who is a candidate for deputy internal revenue collector, was having the appointment delayed so that in case he failed to land the collectorship in the seventh district he could apply for the Crawfordsville post-office. The term of the postmaster at Crawfordsville has expired, and as the collector of internal revenue will not be appointed until November, complaint is made in a certain quarter that the post office appointment should not be delayed so long. Indications point to a very lively fight between Hulit and Jump for the collectorship, the former being backed by Congressman Brookshire and the latter by Senator Voorhees.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, July 31.*

* * *

Congressmen Cooper and Brookshire called at the White House this morning and saw the President. Mr. Brookshire is interested in the appointment of a postmaster at Crawfordsville. He has recommended Mr. Voorhis for the appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 7.*

* * *

Congressman Cooper has three presidential offices yet to fill. Besides Edinburg, there are the Danville and Greencastle offices, terms of both of which expire in January. Congressman Bretz has three presidential offices yet to fill, all of which expire in January—Bedford, Washington and Worthington.

Representative Cooper has secured quite an important office for one of his constituents of Greencastle. William B. Vestal has been appointed special agent of the treasury, and he is ordered to report here for duty at once. Mr. Vestal is ex-sheriff of Putnam county.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 2.*

* * *

Chester R. Faulkner, of Ripley county, custodian of the Maltby Building and Senator Voorhees's political lieutenant, has just performed a philanthropic deed in securing the appointment of Mrs. Margaret Lemon as postmistress at Holten, Ripley county, vice a republican summarily bounced.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 16.*

* * *

The fourth-class post-office question is still a lively one in Indiana. The Hon. J. M. Fippen, of Tipton, has been here several days trying to settle the Arcadia post-office question, while numerous letters have been received from the Hon. Robert Bell, of Fort Wayne, on the same subject.

James Briscoe, a prominent politician of Lynn, Ind., is also here, to correct an alleged error in the appointment of a post-master in his town. He claims Senator Turpie secured the appointment of a man as postmaster who did not reside in the community.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, August 10.*

* * *

Indiana office-seeking politicians, whose staying qualities failed them many months ago, and who went home after a fruitless search for office unsatiated, may well contemplate the case of the Hon. "Con" Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, and take courage. Mr. Cunningham is a merchant of Crawfordsville, who amassed a small fortune by a successful business career, and who now has an ambition to go to Scotland as a consul. He came here shortly before the inauguration, and has been here since, except for a few short intermissions. He has made many warm friends, and does not seem to be discouraged because of the outlook for appointment nor awed by the hotel bills of Washington. Mr. Cunningham is taking the world easy, and declares that Washington is a nice place to stop over, and says his chances are brighter to-day than they were in March.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 8.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees chaperoned C. W. Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, to the department of state this morning. Mr. Cunningham hopes that when the assistant secretary rounds up the consulships in the next few days, before leaving the department, that he will get one.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 14.*

* * *

Office seekers are pouring into Washington just now from every part of the country. Just why they should invade the capital at the particular time is a matter hard to explain. There is always a large number of them about the town, but the corporals guard on hand in

the latter part of August has been swelled into an army. These men and women are very much in evidence in the capital in the morning hours, and are particularly numerous when the house fails to meet as it has done during the past three days. The absence of the speaker gives them a fair whack at the members, and they do not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity. Over at the senate end of the big building, after 2 o'clock in the afternoon, they keep the pages busy carrying in cards. After adjournment the male part of them throng the lobbies of every hotel on the avenue. The ladies go to the theater. The return of the President is supposed to have something to do with this sudden expansion of the ranks of the unemployed, though as they can't see him, just what good his presence can do them is unexplained.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 6.*

A MODERN ROME.

Hugh McLaughlin, more than any other one man in Brooklyn to-day, controls the political destinies of a great city. Called the "Boss," there is no one who dare dispute the title with him. He is boss and master of the third largest city on the American Continent. He can make and unmake the fortunes of men at will.

Hugh McLaughlin is not a hard master to those who acknowledge him as their "boss." He is faithful to his friends, rigid in those principles in which he believes, and steadfast to a degree of obstinacy. Politics is the meat this Caesar feeds upon, and upon which he has waxed so great.

This man, whom everybody in Kings county knows either personally, by sight, or by hearsay, is a man of but few words. The "boss" is a man of simple habits, seldom indulging in the frivolities of life, and never venturing into the giddy swirl of society. Mr. McLaughlin was once in very moderate circumstances. He is now in extraordinarily easy circumstances. Times have changed since he was a young man, and, although his tastes are just as simple, and his habits just as unassuming now as then, his position has changed. He now lives in a magnificent brownstone front house, the handsomest on the block, on the very exclusive Remison street, Brooklyn.—*New York Times, July 16.*

* * *

When the daughter of Hugh McLaughlin, the Brooklyn boss, was married recently, wedding presents to the value of \$750,000 was given her by friends and her father's henchmen. The bride has had built for their safe keeping, a fire and burglar-proof vault under the sidewalk in front of her new home.

* * *

United States District Attorney Jesse Johnson of Brooklyn, tendered his resignation to President Cleveland last July, but his successor has not yet been appointed. So quiet was the affair kept that it was not known until yesterday that the resignation has been tendered. It is believed Mr. Cleveland will not appoint his successor until an agreement between the administration and the McLaughlin machine is reached.—*New York Times, September 18.*

* * *

A rumor floated from Willoughby street, Brooklyn, yesterday that "Boss" McLaughlin had written to President Cleveland urging the reappointment of Internal Revenue Collector Nathan, whose term expires shortly. Mr. Nathan is a leading republican, and Mr. McLaughlin's action was in some quarters regarded as sinister. When asked whether the report was correct, the Willoughby street sphinx said he would neither affirm nor deny it. Mr. Nathan was equally non-communicative. Those who know the men, say it would be only natural for Mr. McLaughlin to exert himself for Mr. Nathan. They

are warm friends, and either would stretch a political point to help the other.—*New York Times, September 8.*

* * *

Events have blazoned themselves on the tablets of the "boss's" memory like the legend that burned upon the wall of Belshazzar. To be at once attended to and "fixed," no matter at what cost, the following sinister array of facts awaits and confronts him, each a gaping crevice in the fortifications of the "machine."

First. The Columbian celebration scandal; the preposterous bills illegally audited; the lavish "jamboree" of his Alderman and Supervisors, and all the other offenses against statute law and public morals which made the commemoration of the discovery of the continent an immortal infamy in Brooklyn.

Second. The desperate plight of his Mayor, Boody, saved only from indictment by the equally desperate strategy of his District Attorney, Ridgeway.

Third. The abominable false burials of living veterans at the public's expense by this Board of Supervisors in order that the pecuniary fruit of such sacrilegious knavery might be seized by some of its members.

Fourth. The ghastly failure of the Commercial Bank in the hands of the favored contractor, Keeney; the outrageous deception and defiance of the law charged and proved against its officers; the spreading of the cancer of "ring" affiliations with the hitherto unpolluted regions of finance.

Fifth. The several profitable franchises and contracts lavishly distributed among his satellites and correlatives of the "regular" centre.

Sixth. The disgraceful epidemic of brawling and personal encounters which has taken possession of the functionaries of the county and city governments.

Seventh. The insolent rejoinders and lawless contempt showered by his Board of Health on portesting citizens.

Eighth. The previous scandals that have come to a head, in which his system of garbage contracts now looms up as fresh regions of chicanery, and robbery, and incompetence.

Ninth. The amazing effrontery of his Board of Supervisors in selecting a time of national distress and economy in which to raise the salaries of their underworked and overpaid employes.

Tenth. The alarming increase by his fiscal officials of the city tax rate.

Eleventh. The abandonment of all public improvements by his various representatives and the distress and depression consequently resultant to the deluded workmen of the city, now denied the employment to which they are entitled.—*New York Times, September.*

* * *

"Alderman McGrath was seen at his saloon, North Seventh street and Bedford avenue, by an *Eagle* reporter," says a local article on the first page of the *Brooklyn Eagle* of last evening. In another local article on the same page we read that "Mrs. Elizabeth C. Volckening, the wife of Alderman Charles J. Volckening, was at police headquarters this morning," that she "called the attention of the *Eagle* reporter to her face, which was bruised and discolored;" that she "explained that the alderman had given her a brutal beating last night," and that the alderman keeps a saloon on Fulton street near Buffalo avenue.—*New York Evening Post, September 7.*

* * *

Additional indications of the value to Richard Croker of his position as the chief of Tammany Hall was furnished to-day by the announcement of his purchase of the one-half interest in the famous Belle Meade Stud in Tennessee, for \$250,000. Besides this amount, it is known that he spent at least \$69,000 in the purchase of race horses in training last fall. The source of the wealth which is necessary to acquire and keep such a stable as he is preparing has always been a subject of conjecture. He has never followed any regular business except that of office-holding in this city. Mr. Croker began his politi-

cal life as a clerk in a district court at a small salary, and then was elected alderman, which office he held at a salary of \$2,000 for about two years, going out of it at the time of the upset of the Tweed ring. He got back into office again in 1874, and until 1887 held the position of coroner at a salary of \$5,000 a year. He was elected alderman in 1873, but did not take his seat, as he was appointed fire commissioner by Mayor Edson in 1874, and was reappointed by Mayor Hewitt, the salary being \$5,000 a year. He was made city chamberlain in 1890 by Mayor Grant, at a salary of \$25,000, resigning a year later; and he has not held public office since, nor has he been engaged in other business, so far as is known, until this year, when it was announced that he entered into partnership in a real estate firm. Since 1868, therefore, or in the last twenty-five years, Mr. Croker's receipts from the various offices which he has held have been \$86,000, and as he has been in no other business, as far as is known, this new evidence of great wealth is a subject of thought by those who have watched his career.—*New York Evening Post, March 16.*

* * *

Perhaps Richard Croker's new house, No. 5 East Seventy-fourth street, would have been finished, furnished and occupied without attracting public attention if it had not been for the strike of the workmen who were completing in the house that feature in which rich men are so prone to delight—elaborate wood carving. It was designed by James E. Ware, and gives its owner the pleasant consciousness of living in a renaissance mansion modified by artistic touches borrowed from the Spanish. The front of the house is built of brown stone from the Longmeadow quarries. It is called brown stone, but it is a very light shade of brown, and almost pinkish. The front steps ascend, first, parallel with the wall of the house, then turn towards the front door—an arrangement permitting greater architectural effect, and Mr. Ware has improved the opportunity. The doorway has a round arch, and above that the treatment is such as to give the entire doorway a square castellated appearance, which yields a rich effect, both from outline and plenteous carving. The architect has again tried himself on the fourth story, where a rich decorative scheme is carried from the bottom of the windows to the roof.

* * *

But it is the interior of Mr. Croker's house which is to gratify his desire for luxury. For the decorations and furnishings Mr. Croker has employed a Fifth avenue firm which makes a specialty of "high art" in their line and whose services command such sums that only the wealthy can afford to engage them. The schemes of decoration in Mr. Croker's house have just, after repeated conferences between the firm and their rich patron, been finally decided upon. Mr. Croker proved fastidious and the firm were put upon their mettle to please him. The wood carving, the frescoing, the painting, and all that having been settled, the firm is now trying to please Mr. Croker in the matter of furniture. Their artists are at work making special designs which are to be submitted to Mr. Croker. He will not make a final decision from descriptions merely; he insists upon seeing a graphic representation of the article of furniture before concluding that it will do. If it does not suit, the artist must make other designs. The furniture of his new house, therefore, is all to be specially manufactured from special designs. Electric light delivered in many artistic shapes is to be the illumination of Mr. Croker's house, and inasmuch as the very large extension before mentioned is to be the dining room—where the lights are to be especially numerous—further confirmation is afforded of the belief that Mr. Croker intends being a generous entertainer.—*New York Evening Post, August 5.*

* * *

Richard Croker called on Collector Kilbreth yesterday. His visit, which lasted half an hour, caused a stir in the custom house.—*New York Times, August 25.*

Collector Kilbreth says in an interview in the *New York Mail* that Tammany will be recognized when the New York Custom House is reorganized. —*Buffalo Express*, September 20.

* * *

Richard Croker has returned to his farm at Richfield Springs. Before going he had a conference with Postmaster Charles W. Dayton at Tammany Hall, and the politicians say that the distribution of post-office patronage among Tammany men was discussed. —*New York Times*, August 11.

* * *

D. P. Nevins has been appointed in the newspaper, periodical and postage department of the post-office in place of James H. Marr, and Joseph W. Kerrigan has been made stamp clerk in place of B. Foster. Both appointees are Tammany Hall men. —*New York Evening Post*, September 9.

* * *

The Tammany men are naturally very well pleased with the appointments Postmaster Charles W. Dayton is making. Yesterday he appointed William E. McDonald, for several years a clerk in the city court, chambers, cashier in the money order department of the post-office, at a salary of \$2,500 a year, the appointment to take effect October 1. Mr. McDonald is a member of the general Committee of Tammany Hall in the Twenty-eighth Assembly district, where William E. Stillings is the leader. —*New York Times*, September 19.

* * *

Meanwhile postmaster Charles W. Dayton had taken a seat upon the platform. Sachem Nelson Smith quietly took off his collar like badge and slipped it over Mr. Dayton's head.

"You've got the Tammany collar on now," said one of the congressmen.

Mr. Dayton smiled, and wore it for some time. He did not wear it however, when making his speech.

The introduction of postmaster Dayton was a surprise. Mayor Gilroy brought him forward just after representative Robert E. De Forest had finished. The audience gave him a splendid ovation. His presence on the platform, it was argued, showed that he was an "organization man," and that means a great deal to a Tammany man. —*New York Times*, July 5.

* * *

Concerning the principle of his appointments, Mr. Dayton said:

"I have acted in accordance with recommendations from Tammany leaders, whenever they sent me men fit for the places named. They have sent me people utterly unable to do the duties of the offices to be filled, and I have refused to accept them. I recognize the organization and give members of it preference, but I let the leaders know that their nominees must be thoroughly fit, and I do not hesitate to remove them if I find they can not do the work."

"You have made no such removals of Tammany men?"

"No; there was none here—in the 'excepted places.' Those I have appointed are able men. Indeed, I think I have a very competent force. At any rate I shall be able to do the work of this office, and at the holiday season I want you to come in here and see how the large mails are handled. That will enable you to compare the efficiency of my force with that of a year ago."

Mr. Dayton then spoke of the changes he had made at some of the stations, referring in particular to Stations L and O. He said he had given men who were in places above their capabilities other lesser posts, and he had found that they did very well in them.

"Do you always put in Tammany Hall men?" was asked.

"I always give the places to democrats, yes, and mostly to Tammany Hall men," replied Mr. Dayton. In some cases I have advanced Tammany men from lower to higher positions. Thus, Tuunison, whom I put in charge of station L, I found in this office, with a good record. He has justified his advancement."

"Have you made any appointments on other than Tammany recommendations?"

"Yes; Mr. Abram S. Hewitt suggested a man for a place, and I appointed him stamp clerk. Mr. E. Ellery Anderson asked for a place for one of his friends, and I gave it. Mr. C. C. Baldwin, Mr. R. G. Woodward, and others not usually classed as Tammany men, have asked to have appointments made, and I have granted their requests." —*New York Evening Post*, September 19.

* * *

Alderman Rogers succeeded in having an interview with Commissioner Andrews at three o'clock yesterday afternoon. The commissioner had just returned from a tour of inspection of the city. Alderman Rogers had been waiting for two hours. Both were warm when they met, Commissioner Andrews because of physical exercise, Alderman Rogers on account of mental irritation. The latter wanted a certain discharged sweeper reinstated.

"He's a good, hard-working man," remarked the alderman, "although, perhaps, a little slow."

"I'll look into the case. If I find the sweeper has been unjustly reported I will reinstate him and discharge the foreman," said Mr. Andrews.

"But the foreman's all right. He's willing to take back this sweeper," returned the alderman.

"That's the very reason he isn't all right," retorted Mr. Andrews. "He reported the sweeper as inefficient. If the sweeper is inefficient the foreman should not wish to take him back. If what you say about the sweeper is true I will discharge the foreman."

Both gentlemen were excited. The commissioner had arisen and was pale. The alderman's ruddy countenance was several shades redder than usual.

This is the explanation of the affair: The discharged sweeper and the foreman who discharged him are both in Alderman Rogers' district. The alderman would like to have the sweeper reinstated, but is not willing to sacrifice the foreman, for the latter's political influence is to the sweeper's as \$1,000 per annum is to \$600 per annum. —*New York Herald*, August 16.

* * *

At the meeting of the board of city record to-day, the resignation of David N. Ryan, assistant supervisor of the city record, was accepted, and Edward H. Hayes was appointed in his place. Hayes is a clerk in the office of the commissioners of accounts, and is one of "Barney" Martin's trusted lieutenants in the eighth assembly district. He did not have to pass an examination for the place, as it was taken out of the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Board last week by the board of aldermen by a trick which was explained in the *Evening Post* at the time, namely, by making the assistant supervisorship a bonded office. The appointment is regarded as another indication that the mayor is trying to conciliate the Martin brothers, who were not on friendly terms with him before "Barney" was appointed a police justice. —*New York Evening Post*, June 26.

* * *

Despite the very severe storm of last evening, seventy-one members of the City Club went to the club's house, No. 677 Fifth avenue, to attend the special meeting of the club called to hear the report of the committee on the appointments of John J. Scannell as fire commissioner and Joseph Koch as police justice by Mayor Gilroy, and to take some action respecting the appointments. W. Bayard Cutting presided in the absence of the president, James C. Carter. The reading of the report of the committee was listened to with the closest attention and at its close was adopted with unanimous voice. The committee were William C. Gulliver, John Jay Chapman, J. Noble Hayes, William B. Hornblower, Henry E. Howland, W. Harris Roome, and R. W. G. Welling. The report was in part as follows: The members of which this committee is composed have given much time and attention to the collection of historical statements embodied in this report and to the avoidance of inaccuracies therein. All allegations founded on mere rumor have been rigorously excluded, and although much might with propriety be added concerning the character and reputation of Messrs. Scannell and

Koch, it was thought better to keep strictly within the limits of historical record. We believe the following statements to be conservative and just. On the third of December, 1869, a riot occurred in the liquor saloon of Thomas Donohue, No. 378 Second avenue, corner Twenty-third street. The official account of the shooting states that "Florence Scannell was shot in the spine, Thomas Donohue in the right arm, George Johnson was shot in the neck, and John Martin was clubbed on the head." John Scannell was arrested for shooting Donohue and Donohue for shooting Scannell. Upon being searched in the station-house a seven-barreled revolver with six chambers discharged, was found in the possession of John Scannell, also a large bowie knife. During the summer of 1870 Scannell made his first attempt on Donohue's life in front of the stable of Forbes Holland, in Fourth avenue, corner Eighteenth street. He made a second attempt on Donohue's life September 19, 1870, on the southwest corner of Seventeenth street and Third avenue. On this occasion he shot Donohue, but Donohue recovered. He had disguised himself, but Donohue recognized him. Hiram B. Ferguson, a witness for Donohue on his second trial testified, on cross-examination, as follows:

"Soon after O'Brien was elected sheriff, Scannell was appointed deputy; about two or three months after his appointment, I acted for Scannell by taking charge of the business assigned to him; his processes were stopped in the latter part of 1870. I mean by stopping his processes that the sheriff didn't assign him any work in the office; that was, I think, before October 1, 1870. I know of John going out of the city for about ten days after his processes were stopped; I think he was in the sheriff's office a portion of two years. His processes were stopped at the time Donohue was shot in Third avenue; subsequent to that time he lived in Willett street. He gave me as a reason that there was a warrant out for him and he didn't want to be arrested; he lived at my house before he went to Willett street; he came to my house the second day after the shooting of Donohue; he came about nine o'clock in the evening; he said there was a warrant out for him; I don't remember if he said what the warrant was out for; he said he didn't want to be arrested for the reason he thought Donohue was in the Tammany ring and would have him railroaded without giving him a chance to prove his innocence."

Scannell at last succeeded in killing Donohue on the 2d of November, 1872; on this occasion Richard Murphy, Francis H. Hamilton and John F. Barrett testified to the coolness of Scannell prior to and during the act of assassination.

Scannell has ever denied that he was the man who fired the five shots; over a dozen witnesses identified him.

The first trial of Scannell took place on Monday, February 17, 1873. He was tried a second time November 17, 1875. Nothing new was elicited upon this trial, and on this occasion the jury rendered a verdict of not guilty on the ground of emotional insanity. He was admitted to the Utica asylum on December 4, 1875, and was discharged from there as not insane on February 24, 1876, less than three months from the date of his admission.

Ex-Mayor Hewitt has stated to this club that he was urged while mayor to appoint Scannell to municipal office, and that after having examined into his qualifications therefore he refused to make the appointment. It has been stated, and not contradicted by the press, that ex-Mayor Grant had received a similar request and responded to it by a similar refusal.

Your committee, after careful investigation, adds that Mr. Scannell is known to the public and to this committee only as the hero of the scandals already detailed in this report, as a victim of a dangerous homicidal mania, and as a rejected aspirant for office under Mayors Hewitt and Grant. —*New York Evening Post*, February 18.

* * *

John J. Scannell, the fire commissioner, whose appointment by Mayor Gilroy was the subject of special investigation by the City Club, declined to-

day to make any statement concerning the practical dismissal by him of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who for twelve years has held the post of vice-medical officer of the fire department in this city. Dr. Johnson told a reporter for the *Evening Post* that the account of the matter published this morning was accurate.

"A week ago," he said, "I was asked to appear before Commissioner Scannell, who said bluntly: 'Doctor, I want your resignation.' 'Why?' I asked. 'Because you are a republican, and we want the place for political reasons.' 'When do you want it?' 'Now.' 'When is it to take effect?' 'Immediately.' Commissioner Scannell added by way of explanation: 'Understand, Doctor, there has been no fault found with the way in which you have performed your duties. Your services in the department have been satisfactory in every way, but your place is wanted for a member of the Tammany Hall organization, and so I ask for your resignation.'"

—*New York Evening Post, April 19.*

I do not assert too much when I declare that the position of a police justice is more important to the community than that of a judge of the court of appeals. The latter finally settles the law, but the former applies it in the first instance in nearly all cases affecting the life, liberty, and property of the citizen. He has, in minor cases, the power of pardon, and often after judgment revokes the sentence and releases the offender. The exercise of this power, in order to oblige political friends, gives to the justice an influence which is as dangerous as it is indefensible.—*From Mayor Hewitt's Message of 1888.*

The trial of Dr. Robert W. Buchanan was in progress in Part III of General Sessions, and the court-room was crowded. A dozen people in the corridor were trying to get into the room. Policeman Brown was on duty outside the door, and Charles Wundt, a court officer, stood by it in the court room. Two young men, one a big fellow, stood near Wundt. One of them, the taller, got up on a railing running across the room, and was in the way of several other spectators. The officer asked the man to get down, but he refused to do it. The obstreperous man's companion went into the hall with him and the two then tried to bulldoze and browbeat Wundt. The taller one showed a big gold shield of the street cleaning department, and said: "Say, young fellow, don't you know who you're talking to? I'm superintendent in the street cleaning department, and I'll get you into trouble." The other fellow also told in loud tones what would happen to Wundt. The young man told what influence his father had and how he would salt the court officer. Wundt told them to go away, but they refused to do so, and kept up their noisy threats. Finally Wundt asked Policeman Brown to arrest the two. One of them was Michael Padden, a district superintendent in the street cleaning department. The policeman and the court officer took the two men to the city hall police station, and Wundt charged them with disorderly conduct. The prisoners were immediately taken to the Tombs police court. They went into Police Justice Ryan's private room, and in a brief space were free. Young Divver was arrested in October charged with bribing a man to register illegally. The man swore that Divver had paid him to register in several election districts, and Divver was indicted by the federal grand jury. At this trial, however, the complainant said he had forgotten all about the circumstances. Divver openly paid him money in court after the jury had acquitted him.—*New York Tribune, about April 28.* [Young Divver is the son of police judge Divver.]

The vulgar exhibitions of newly-acquired wealth which the leaders of Tammany hall and their families are making seem to be creating an impression which is likely to affect the public mind. Newspapers are beginning to point out this phase of life in New York City, and the thoughtful citizen puts this and that together. It may be that along this line will come the awakening that is necessary as a preliminary to reform in the local government of

our chief city, whose people are quite too indifferent to the plain drift of things. The New York correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* writes:

This display this summer has been quite as offensive, vulgar and persistent as it was in the days when Tweed was in his glory. We do not see so much of it in the city, because the opportunities for display here are not so great, but in the country resorts, and especially at Saratoga, it has been so pronounced as to drive away scores of persons who have been in the habit of making yearly visits to that resort. For instance, a Tammany official who only a few years ago was glad to lunch at a 10-cent restaurant, and whose early training was amid the most humble and menial surroundings, has taken a fine cottage at Saratoga. No man could live as he does who is not in receipt of a handsome income. His family is gorgeously, conspicuously and most fashionably gowned. Their diamonds represent small fortunes, and in the glare of the electric lights of the dining-room and parlors flash with superb brilliancy.

Men who not longer ago than the time when Mr. Hewitt was mayor of the city were humble Tammany henchmen, earning three or four dollars a day, strut the piazzas of the great hotels there, dressed conspicuously and in costly raiment, sporting jewels and jewelry, going forth each day to the racetrack with great wads of money in their pockets and going forth every night to the gambling-house, which is run with open doors, staking their money at the tables. I went up to the Windsor hotel, perhaps the most expensive resort in the United States, and I was told that Mr. Croker had been spending a season there, living in magnificent luxury. It was only a few years since the utmost income of Mr. Croker was \$5,000 a year, and he has had no ostensible business except politics since that time, unless he calls his racing stable a business.—*Springfield Republican, August 20.*

When Isidor Dreyfuss, a court reporter at Essex Market, went to Alderman "Silver Dollar" Smith, about two years ago, and asked him for the hand of his daughter "Tillie" in marriage, "Silver Dollar" gave for an answer, "Well, Issie, she's talk'n about you all the time, and I've no objection, but don't have the wedding until I say so."

That was enough encouragement for Mr. Dreyfuss; he regarded it as settled that he was to have Miss Smith for his wife. In the meantime Papa Smith determined that when his daughter should take a husband, the marriage ceremony and the attendant feast should be something out of the ordinary, to stir "de old ate," now the third assembly district, in the political weal of which Mr. Smith, whose saloon and dollar tiled floor is not unknown, has a word to say.

After the wedding dinner there were speeches by Congressman Campbell, Judges Ehrlich, Newburger and Hogan, a number of the lawyers present, and some other guests. Then came general jubilation and merry making, with dancing, which was kept up until this morning. Mr. and Mrs. Dreyfuss will make a trip to Washington and Niagara Falls, and then settle down in a very pretty home in East Sixty-ninth street.

The presents sent to the newly wedded pair were numerous enough, as "Silver Dollar" Smith said, to start in any business. The father estimated their worth at \$27,000 last night. Among them was a big case of silverware from John Y. McKane, an ivory fan from Congressman Campbell, a carving set from Judge Newburger, silverware from Barney Rourke, a diuner service from Edward J. Sparenberg, rugs and tapestries from Timothy D. Sullivan, and a sugar bowl and spoon from Inspector McLaughlin. There was enough in all to fill two trucks.—*New York Times, December 23, 1892.*

Excise commissioner Dalton marshaled the Mutual Association of the fifteenth assembly district, New York to Donnelley's boulevard park, College Point, to-day. They came on the steamer Crystal Stream. After breakfast, and while waiting for their second annual clam bake, they held athletic games, which

proved interesting as well as unique.—*Flushing Dispatch, New York Times, September 10.*

All the politics of the district radiate from Abingdon Square. It is the hub of the ninth's political wheel. All the political headquarters in the district face upon it—the big Tammany headquarters, the republican headquarters, the Jefferson Club, the Lincoln League, and the headquarters of the Voorhis democracy are all there practically in a bunch. The "square" has from time immemorial been the forum of the ninth district in all political matters. This season the old square has seen a new departure in political work—nothing more or less than a band of music. Queer as it may seem, music is now made to play its part in keeping the voters in good humor. The district had never had free band concerts until this season, when James W. Boyle, the Tammany leader of the district, went down and urged upon the park commissioners the wisdom of providing free concerts for Abingdon Square. The commissioners assented, and made arrangements with the old Guard band to give a series of eight concerts in the square. On the night of the first of this series of concerts, the Tammany headquarters was brilliantly illuminated, and fireworks were set off by the committee. The republican Lincoln League rooms, just beside the Tammany quarters, were not illuminated at all, and the Tammany folks impressed it upon the voters that it was to their efforts that the concerts were due, and the efforts were no doubt appreciated.

On concert nights now, all the club-houses, including the Lincoln League, are illuminated and decorated, and they are gala nights in the district. The Tammany committee always displays fireworks as a prelude to the concerts.—*New York Times.*

The Tammany general committee of the Ninth Assembly district met last night at its headquarters in Abingdon Square. W. H. Dobbs, who presided at the meeting, announced that Mr. Boyle had secured 120 places for the Tammany men in his district from the various departments of the city government since he was selected as leader.—*New York Times, May 12.*

SUBSIDIZING THE PRESS.

Johu Ringle, of the *Woehenblatt*, postmaster at Wausau, Wis.

W. F. Beck, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Olney, Ill.

Milton A. Smith, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Anniston, Ala.

W. R. Mehaffey, editor *Allen County Democrat*, postmaster at Lima, Ohio.

Joseph Newton, editor of the *Advocate*, postmaster at Newark, Ohio.

Mrs. Hannah G. Denison, of the *Reporter*, postmaster at Belton, Texas.

Josiah Door, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Georgetown, S. C.

Benjamin H. Ridgely, a newspaper man of Louisville, Ky., consul at Geneva, Switzerland.

William F. Kemmler, editor of the *Columbus (O.) Westvok*, consul to Horgen, Switzerland.

James A. Demarest, editor of the *Plainfield (N. J.) Daily Press*, consul at Brockville, Canada.

Thomas C. Jones, editor of the *Louisville Truth*, consul to Funchal, Maderia.

W. W. Rockhill, proprietor of the *Journal*, postmaster at Fort Wayne, Ind.

James F. Tillman, editor of the *National Economist*, register of the treasury.

Henry M. Smythe, editor of the *Graham Headlight*, consul General to Hayti.

L. P. Stevens, a newspaper man of Columbus, O., State Statistician for the department of Agriculture.

Luther Short, editor of the *Franklin Democrat*, Consul General to Constantinople.

Robert K. Gillespie, nominated to be principal clerk of public lands in the general land office, was nominated at the request of Congressman McMillan, of Tennessee.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 8.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

IF all who desire the index to the first volume of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will send a request to that effect, it will save the expense of printing more than are needed.

Missing numbers have been supplied to such an extent that it is now possible to complete several more volumes.

THIS paper made an effort during the administration of President Harrison to ascertain the names and offices given to those connected with newspapers, and found that the facts were apparently deliberately concealed as far as possible. The facts are even more difficult to learn under the present administration. It is earnestly requested that all readers of the CHRONICLE will lend assistance to make the list as complete as possible. Another set of facts equally significant would be the list of the delegates and the leaders of the party organizations paid by offices.

ONE of the most righteous victories ever gained in an election was gained in the Indianapolis city election on the tenth of this month. With fairly decent conduct the democrats would have been sustained by the people, but they seem to have gone mad. As the time for election approached, they created useless offices like the office of "weed inspector," to provide for workers who always have to have "a place." They allowed Sim Coy to again become a party leader. They tried to buy votes by hiring three times the usual number of men as street-cleaners. For weeks they let the saloons openly ignore the law requiring them to close at eleven at night and on Sundays. For weeks they let the gambling-rooms be run as openly as the drug stores. They made the gamblers pay a large part of their campaign expenses. Finally one of their members of the police board publicly declared the doctrine that gambling-rooms could not be closed, but only "regulated." These things were the culmination, but back of this was, in many of the departments, a long course of manipulating the affairs and money of the city for personal and party benefit by means of pulls of party bosses. All this is called having a genuine party administration with no mugwumpery, and

is laid down as necessary to party success. Now note the result: Two years ago Mayor Sullivan was elected by 2,700 majority; but after this completed type of genuine party administration he is defeated by about 3,000 majority. Truly the independent voter multiplies and grows strong. This great victory is largely due to the *Indianapolis News*.

THE republicans now have complete control of the city government, with the executive power entirely centered in the new mayor, Caleb S. Denny. The new boards appointed by Mayor Denny will doubtless manage well unless they try to run the city business with a view to benefiting the republican party. If they set their minds to that it is only a question of time when the republicans will be turned out. It will be much easier to turn them out than it was the democrats.

The new officers talk well. So far as they have spoken, there has been no such foolish declaration as "this is going to be a republican administration," but on every hand it is declared that the merit system must be introduced. The charter lays an ample foundation for this, and there is really nothing to do but for the mayor and his assembled heads of departments to adopt rules for the labor service and for competition in the other departments. Our late experience has again demonstrated the utter humbug of the "non-partisan board" as a reform agency. Cheap politicians are nearly always appointed upon these boards and the result is double-headed partisanship of the most ordinary kind. What civil service reformers want is open competition, with honorable men upon the boards who will impartially enforce the law and the rules and with whom a trick is impossible, and it does not matter what their politics are.

Since the above was written, the new board of public works has appointed a street commissioner who has appointed foremen, and is apparently about to hire street laborers on the favoritism plan. The foremen are the vital part of the system and if reform were intended, they would only be chosen by competitive examination.

MR. WILLIAM W. WIGHT, chairman of the Milwaukee board of fire and police commissioners, read an interesting paper describing the Milwaukee fire department before a convention of fire chiefs in that

city in August. We should like to publish it in full, but the narrow space of the CHRONICLE renders it impossible. The Milwaukee fire force was put under the merit system in 1885. All citizens of Milwaukee not under five feet seven inches, of average weight, and between twenty-four and thirty-five years of age may compete. The tests are mental and physical. Mr Wight very pertinently says:

No fireman is expected to be an astronomer, a botanist or a rhetorician, but he is expected to be able to read and write with fair fluency; to cipher through the fundamental rules; to know, in a general way, the geography of this city and of the United States and the form and history of the American government. It is believed, for instance, that a grown man who never heard of Washington, or Lincoln, or Grant, who can not locate New York city or the Mississippi river, who does not know the capital of his own state, is too deficient in general intelligence to be a fireman in Milwaukee. So also is it affirmed, that an adult individual who can not add, subtract, multiply or divide simple numbers, who has not learned the chief buildings of the city and their location, and who is not familiar, in a general way, with the duties required of a fireman, is mentally incompetent for the situation to which he aspires.

The physical examination is by an expert gymnast, and the tests are in lifting, jumping, climbing, running, and other well-known and accurate tests for determining physical capabilities. Then follows a medical examination, with the result that thirty out of every one hundred applicants are rejected. Upon a vacancy in a certain rank it is filled by competition from among those below. Politics are absolutely eliminated. Only two officers, the chief and the first assistant, may be appointed without competition. The system is thoroughly liked and believed in by the people of Milwaukee. But it should be borne in mind that their fire board is made up of men who believe in it and who are too honorable to try to cheat it.

THE confirmation of Van Alen by the senate brings a movement politically stupid and vicious to an unfortunately successful conclusion. He had literally never been heard of. Ex-Secretary Whitney got him to give \$50,000 to the democratic campaign fund. After the election Whitney, calling the President's attention to the fact that this was his only "approach" on the matter of spoils, asked the President to appoint Van Alen ambassador to Italy. Van Alen has no claims whatever to education, scholarship, cultivation or statesmanship. He is of the Ward McAllister type; he can dispute successfully about the essentials of a good entree, and knows what, in his lim-

ited circle, constitutes "good form." If he had not given the \$50,000 he would never have been mentioned for this place. The President, before naming him, was fully informed of all the facts, and the nomination has been almost universally condemned. Yet the President, with a stolid persistence indicating an opinion of personal infallibility, and which so many other times in his career has hurt him with the whole people, refused to hear the most disinterested advice not to allow this purchase and sale of an office to be carried out. That the senate majority, composed of Quays, Gormans and Voorheeses, confirmed Van Alen, in no manner relieves the President of the lasting disgrace which permeates this whole transaction.

THE reports from Washington appear to be authentic that the President has turned over to his cabinet and the heads of departments the appointments to the civil service. This is a grave matter. There has not, so far as we now recall, been a conspicuous movement for reform made by any of these officers. The postmaster-general has been called a friend of reform; just why, is not clear. The course of the secretaries of the treasury and of the interior could not be worse. It does not matter whether the President has shirked his great duty from indifference or weakness. He has lost the opportunity offered to but few men in a country's history. Although he has delayed and hindered the destruction of the spoils system, civil service reformers need not be discouraged. The day of reckoning can not be delayed nor hindered. We do not believe that any party can succeed itself which has been occupied with distributing spoil as Mr. Cleveland did in 1884, as Mr. Harrison did in 1888, and as Mr. Cleveland is now doing. The blow to reform is serious, and it was needless, and it is only temporary; but the humiliating failure of Mr. Cleveland is sickening. There is no more pitiable sight than to see a man, believed to be a great man, and posing as a courageous man, who, in spite of all the efforts of his friends to shield him, willfully displays himself in all the nakedness of a common politician.

A WASHINGTON dispatch to the *Indianapolis News*, dated October 23, says:

On Saturday, the last medical board in Mr. Holman's district was recommended for appointment. The district at Shelbyville has been the subject of a very hard and bitter fight for some time, and it was with difficulty that Judge Holman saw his way clear to the appointment of men who would be reliable and satisfactory to any considerable degree to his constituents at that place. He recommended Dr. Wolf, of Morristown; Dr. Samuel Kennedy, of Shelbyville, and Dr. Morris Drake, of the same place. Dr. Wolf is an old man and a well known doctor in that part of the country, but the other two are young aspirants for glory with not a great deal

of experience as yet. They were nominated in accordance with the line of policy outlined by Secretary Hoke Smith at the beginning of this administration, that in the medical boards young doctors should be given a chance, and "mossbacks," as a rule, should be given a back seat. Dr. Wolf was placed on the board, or rather nominated for the position, in order to keep the younger members in the proper path. The appointment of this board is looked for daily at the pension office, and there seems to be no doubt in any quarter but that they will be appointed.

This is a fair sample of the pension "reform" which has been going on under this administration. Throughout the country congressmen, after more or less bitter fights, have filled up these boards with political doctors, and we pay these selected henchmen \$1,700,000 a year. The object aimed at is not the good of the service, but to enable congressmen to quarter upon the people followers who will be easy toward applicants for pensions favored by congressmen and who will help set up the primaries and conventions next year. President Cleveland has allowed this swindling operation to go on in the face of the plainest warning and protest made directly to him. Purging the pension list under this administration is going to be a dismal failure, and all because the President chose to continue the boards as tools of congressmen rather than make them independent.

IT IS TIME TO SPEAK OUT.

Reform papers have been disposed to be slow of criticism in deference to the supposed occupation of the administration with the silver question. But it has become apparent that while ostensibly on account of this pre-occupation, civil service reform has been suspended, the distribution of spoil has not been suspended. The clean sweep of the fourth-class postmasters goes on at the Clarkson rate of 30,000 a year. The loot of the consulships continues. The ambassadorship to Italy was sold. Congressman Bynum is daily expecting to "name" a collector for this port, and everywhere congressmen are appointing their henchmen to offices of all kinds and grades. There seems every prospect that the Voorhees appointments of Burke, Risely and Donham, bad of themselves, but infamous because they seem the purchase-price of Voorhees's support, are to be crowned by the appointment of Voorhees's man, the distillers' attorney, Joshua Jump, as collector of internal revenue at Terre Haute. The silver crisis seems a good cover for evil doing, but not at all an incentive to well doing. The rules of promotion in the departments at Washington are ignored by the secretaries. In every office in the country heads of divisions could have been put under the rules, but in no case has this been done. No extension of the rules have been made, although it is en-

tirely feasible to make them cover many classes of employes like those in pension agencies, and in the internal revenue service. The civil service commission is crippled by the President's leaving upon it a hide-bound partisan in Commissioner Johnston. The bunco tricks of Carlisle and his son Logan, we have many times called attention to. Attorney-general Olney remains director of a road it may be his duty to prosecute.

The time has come for reformers to speak out. The democratic platform covers the entire subject of civil service reform, and the present course of the administration is in flat violation of its promises. Even at this early day the overthrow of the democratic party at the next national election forces itself for consideration. This administration was not chosen to treat us to another revel in spoil. If it means to do anything else, it is time it began to show signs of it. The administration had better study the recent Indianapolis election. It is pretty good evidence that, in Indiana at least, there are many quiet people who will not stand everything.

"THE EXISTING POLITICAL CONDITIONS."

We give this month some ten columns in small type concerning the quest for two petty federal offices in the state of Indiana. It has extended over one year. What is printed in the CHRONICLE has been greatly condensed and is perhaps a fourth of what has been printed in the three leading papers of Indianapolis. What has found its way to the surface of these papers is a hint only of the low intrigue, the political blackmailing and the desperate struggle for personal supremacy that has actually gone on.

We ask every person in whom yet survives the belief in democratic government to read this account of sales of offices, of trickery, of bargains and deals and dickers and broils and then consider that the persons involved are the President of this republic, his secretary of the treasury, two venerable senators, some seven congressmen, and that for twelve months they have given no one knows how much time to this contemptible business. These two places, which have engaged the respectful and solicitous attention of the President, the eager activity of the secretary of the treasury and the plotting and fighting of several hundred henchmen, should be filled by the promotion of two competent men familiar with the duties, and the subordinates should be selected by competitive tests. This picture of a network of cabals, involving the high and the low, recently euphemistically called by Mr. Josiah Quincy "the existing political conditions,"

and which he says it is no more possible to stop than it is to stop the blowing of the winds, represents an infinitesimal fraction of the sort of thing that has actually engaged the administration since last March. No president who falters at the disruption of his party, if disruption is necessary, to end forever the disgrace of legislation by patronage on the one hand and an oligarchy of barons and henchmen on the other, can command the respect of the American people. A dry rot appears to have undermined the courage, the morals and the intellect of certain members of this administration, as well as of others that have preceded it, so soon they got fixed in Washington; but the sound integrity of the American people has not been undermined, and the time has come that no administration can remain in power which is indifferent to this evil or helpless to crush it.

"A CRAVEN HUNG ALONG THE BATTLE'S EDGE."

Elsewhere is the speech of Moorfield Story before the Reform Club, of Boston, calling Josiah Quincy, the late assistant secretary of state, to the bar of his fellow-citizens to answer why, as a professing civil service reformer, he had been acting as a common spoilsman. Nowhere else, perhaps, is so felt the force of moral pressure to make defense as to one's actions as in Boston. It is right and it is a pleasure to do homage to such public sensitiveness for right conduct.

Mr. Quincy's reply is worth notice only because he yet claims to be a civil service reformer. A spoils foundation with a thin stucco of civil service reform is dangerous only because it is deceptive. A reform professor practising unreform acts unblinkingly, with solemn asseverations that he is a practical reformer, exercises undue influence upon the timid and the party bigot reformers; therefore it is worth while to examine what Mr. Quincy says.

First. Civil service reform is urgent; it is practicable; it is chiefly to be advanced, however, by extending the law [when, he fails to mention], and by the strict enforcement of the law. We are getting on. Between 1884 and 1888 the practical reformer told us that to insist upon the rigid enforcement of the law was impossible; there was a great deal then written that looks silly to-day about local option in the enforcement of the law.

Second. Mr. Quincy says: "I do not recall at the moment anything in the last democrat platform or in the utterances of President Cleveland during the campaign or since which can be called a pledge that he would carry out what has been called, as I say, the spirit and purpose of civil service reform, outside of the operation of the civil service rules and the civil service law."

Mr. Quincy, upon re-reading the democratic platform, his own campaign text-book and

the President's acceptance and inaugural, will hardly maintain that the votes of civil service reformers were not solicited upon something more than a statement to "support civil service reform and to continue it and carry it farther than it has yet been carried." For one thing, the President very solemnly swore to obey the constitution, and congressional patronage is in deadly and irreconcilable conflict with the constitution.

Mr. Quincy says that it is desirable and practicable to put the consular service under the merit system; but he then goes on to say that "it is practically politically impossible for any President to apply a purely civil service system to the service as it now stands."

* * Under the operation of our system of government at Washington, no administration can cut loose from the influence of congressmen without imperiling its success and the accomplishment of the purposes for which the people elected it."

What the peculiar feature of our government is that we must continue to buy Dan Voorhees with patronage to clear his financial vision, Mr. Quincy is careful not to specify.

An Indiana statesman might claim that congressional patronage is inseparable from party government, but Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, in the face of the Irish reform bill, will not. That Mr. Quincy, one of the young and reform democracy, did not dare urge so small a reform as to put the consular service out of reach of the demoralizing madness for spoils speaks ill for his courage and for his opinion of his party. In 1888, Theodore Roosevelt was put, as a professing civil service reformer, face to face with the spoils system as was Mr. Quincy in 1892, and we beg to quote to Mr. Quincy and his excusers these lines as showing why one has served his country and his party and why the other has lamentably failed in both:

This I beheld, or dreamed it in a dream;
There spread a cloud of dust along a plain,
And underneath the cloud or in it raged
A furious battle, and men yelled, and swords
Shocked upon swords and shields. A Prince's
banner
Wavered, then staggered backward, hemmed by
foes,

A craven hung along the battle's edge
And thought: "Had I a sword of keener steel!—
That blue blade that the King's son bears—but this
Blunt thing!"—he snapt and flung it from his hand,
And, cowering, crept away and left the field.
Then came the King's son, wounded, sore, beset
And weaponless, and saw the broken sword
Hilt buried in the dry and trodden sand,
And ran and snatched it, and with battle shout,
Lifted afresh, he hewed his enemy down
And saved a great cause on that heroic day.

But later in Mr. Quincy's defense we can not even offer the justification that he has been timid and irresolute and lost his great opportunity for he says with an outburst of unmistakable fervor: "His [the President's] power to deal with all the offices is of more importance because of the influence and control which it gives him in the settlement of these great vital questions which affect us all so closely than it is in any other respect."

If this means anything it means that it is

right for the President to coerce legislation good or bad, through the cupidity and dishonesty of congressmen by the giving or withholding of patronage.

As a mere indication of the far-reaching, the interminable corruption, and the utter annihilation of the power of the people to express their will in the choice of their representatives, we refer to the facts elsewhere regarding two small Indiana appointments. It is fair to suppose that Mr. Quincy, having lived in the midst of this for nine months, knows that this is a hint only of what has actually been going on. These are things that ought not only to shock "a consistent reformer of the more advanced and radical type," but a man of very ordinary, commonplace views of honesty, manliness and fair play. Has Mr. Quincy become calloused?

He will remember those lines quoted with so much effect in a memorable campaign of another brilliant young reformer from Massachusetts who at the critical moment appeared to Mr. Quincy and others to falter:

The path of duty is the way to glory,
He that walks it, only thirsting
For the right, and learns to deaden
Love of self, before his journey closes
He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
Into glossy purples, which outred
All voluptuous garden roses.

At its last annual meeting the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association resolved that it would prosecute all officers or persons of Buffalo or of Erie county who are in any way concerned in political assessments upon public employes. The New York State League is also getting into thorough working condition, with Matthew Hale as president and George McAneny as Secretary. It has before it one of the most formidable tasks that ever came to an association. The state civil service law of New York has been broken down by the state democratic machine, headed by Governor Flower. To put it upon its feet again will be a great work, but it can and will be done.

THERE is a continuing inconceivability that a great government should lend itself to the business of reducing men and women from higher to lower positions because they are republicans and promoting into the vacancies thus made other men and women solely because they are democrats. This has been done repeatedly under this administration in Washington, and yet each time it seems impossible that the government should be the active agent in this superlative littleness. The Buffalo Express has a Washington dispatch of October 23, giving the following account of this low business:

On Saturday the following changes were made in the dead-letter office: Reductions—Ward Burlingame, from class 4 to class 2; Thomas D. Taylor, from class 3 to class 2; Charles M. Dalsell, from class 3 to class 1; J. E. W. Thompson, from class 2

to class 1; Miss H. H. Webber, from class 2 to class D; Miss A. R. Thurlow, from class 2 to class D, and Peter B. Cook, from class 1 to class D. Promotions—Walter F. Aycock, from \$1,400 to \$1,800; Caleb B. Bourue, from \$1,400 to \$1,600; Charles Hardin, from \$1,200 to \$1,600; L. C. Woodson, from \$1,200 to \$1,400; Thomas G. Allen, from \$1,000 to \$1,400; Robert L. Baines, from \$1,200 to \$1,400; Mrs. M. F. Horyon, from \$900 to \$1,200; Miss Minnie F. Dennis, from \$1,000 to \$1,200; Miss Lizzie J. Mazie, from \$900 to \$1,000, and James C. Lyon, from \$900 to \$1,000.

The *Express* correspondent was informed to-day that everyone of those reduced were republicans, and everyone promoted was a democrat. One of the worst acts of injustice in this list was in the case of Miss H. H. Webber. She has been a competent employe in the bureau for twenty-five years, and was the chief of division of women clerks at \$1,400 a year. She has been reduced to \$900 per annum to make place for a young democrat, and has now been detailed to instruct him in his new duties.

THE BRUTAL SPOILS SYSTEM.

Among the victims of the disaster was the son of John A. Daly, an ex-soldier from Pennsylvania, employed as a watchman in the interior department. Mr. Daly was discharged some days ago, and when Secretary Smith learned that young Daly had been killed in the theater wreck, and that the family might suffer by reason of the father's dismissal, he immediately ordered his reinstatement.—*Washington dispatch, to the Indianapolis Sentinel, June 17.*

"THE EXISTING POLITICAL CONDITIONS."—Josiah Quincy.

November 17 and 18, 1892.—Walter Hulet will be pushed for internal revenue collector. *He is a warm, personal friend of Congressman Brookshire.*—*Indianapolis News.*

* * *

December.—The Hon. W. H. Bracken is in the race for collector of internal revenue. He was an elector-at-large candidate. *Bracken has congressional aspirations, and if disappointed in his present quest, he may contest for the congressional nomination two years hence.*—*Indianapolis News.*

* * *

January 8.—See January CHRONICLE for numerous extracts showing the beginning of the Voorhees-Lamb combination.

* * *

February 17-24.—See February CHRONICLE for numerous extracts of the Voorhees-Lamb combination.

* * *

March 6, 1893.—The Indiana office-hunting contingent and the democratic leaders are still hanging on. Several of the important appointments of the state have been practically settled within the last two or three days. Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, will in all probability be collector of internal revenue in the seventh district, and William Bracken in the sixth. *There seems to be a combination this morning that looks to the appointment of Jump as revenue collector in the seventh district and of Hargrove as marshal.*—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

March 7.—The fight for collector of the Terre Haute district is creating some bad blood. Voorhees is for Jump, John Lamb's law partner, and Brookside is pushing Hulet, of Crawfordsville, for the same place. Col. Hoskins, of Clay, member of the state commission, entered the field upon the understanding that he would receive the support of Voorhees and John Lamb. He says Voorhees is for him at heart, but that Lamb has bulldozed Voorhees into supporting Jump. Hoskins claims that it was he who elected Lamb a delegate to Chicago, and feels the opposition of Lamb keenly. How-

ever, he says he will fight it out to the last. He has been asked to apply for the pension agency, but he says he will have nothing else. Editor Moss, of the *Bloomfield Democrat*, also a member of the state central committee, is in the ring with Congressman Bretz for backer and a majority of the state committee indorsing him. Sam Ralston, of Lebanon, has been suggested as a compromise candidate. Ralston was among the first to fight for Cleveland's nomination. At the same time he is a friend of both Voorhees and Turpie, having always stood by them. For collector in the Lawrenceburg district, Bracken, of Franklin county, and Hunter, of Lawrenceburg, are the only ones in the field. Bracken has the advantage, from the fact that Cleveland has declared his intention of not reappointing men who served in his first administration. Bracken gained his prominence from being an elector-at-large. Editor O'Brien, of the *Lawrenceburg Register*, a son-in-law of Hunter, as a member of the committee on organization of the last state convention, made a big fight in the committee to have Bracken made an elector-at-large, little knowing that he was putting a club in the hands of a man to knock out his father-in-law.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

March 8.—In the last few days the opposition to William Bracken, of Franklin county, for the internal revenue collectorship seems to have disappeared, and the latter's appointment seems to be certain. For a time there was much talk of smashing the Bracken slate, and a number of the leading politicians in the sixth district were appealed to to allow their names to be used for the position in an effort to knock out Mr. Bracken. While Mr. Holman has entertained a warm feeling for Dr. Hunter, of Lawrenceburg, who was a candidate for the place, and was desirous early in the fight to have him appointed, he much prefers to see Mr. Bracken secure the place to any candidate outside of his congressional district.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

March 8.—It was given out by the Marion county democrats to-day that the nominations of John W. Kern to be district attorney; ex-Sheriff Hawkins, of Sullivan county, to be marshal; Joseph Jump, of Terre Haute, and Captain Bracken or Roscoe Griffith, of Muncie, to be the two collectors of internal revenue, would be made this week. Mr. Griffith left for his home this afternoon. He believes he will be appointed. He says he would not accept the deputy collectorship if he never got an office—that it must be the collectorship or nothing. Mr. Griffith has some strings upon the appointing power and looks as though he would wrest it from Captain Bracken, of Brookville, who is his only contestant now.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

March 8.—The distribution of the Indiana patronage will begin with the United States district-attorneyship. The applications will be filed to-morrow. The fight for the marshalship has overshadowed everything else. Hawkins, who seems to have had the best of it yesterday, is only a possibility to-day. Geographical location is against him. *His chief backer is Voorhees, and as Hawkins's appointment would jeopardize Jump's chances for collector of internal revenue, Hawkins can not obtain the proper pressure to reach the place.* Hawkins resides in Sullivan and Jump in Vigo, adjoining counties in the same district. Brookshire is pressing Voorhees hard with Hulet of Montgomery, and will make the fight of his life for his man. The marshalship will be disposed of first, and Voorhees can not afford to weaken his position in his fight with Brookshire.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

* * *

March 14.—Mr. Holman declares that he has not yet determined whom he will recommend for collector in the eastern district, although Bracken claims the place. The collectors will not be appointed for some months yet.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

* * *

March 16.—The contest over the collectorship of

internal revenue for the western district of Indiana, which was believed to be finally and permanently closed in favor of Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, has been reopened with some fury. There were many protests filed against the appointment of Jump. It was alleged that Jump is too friendly with certain distillers, although his personal character was in no wise assailed, and then it was alleged that his appointment would be viewed as a Lamb victory, so Representative Brookshire comes forward again with one of his constituents, and Representative Taylor has brought forth Mr. Dixon, of Evansville. Samuel Ralston, of Lebanon, is on the ground hard after the place. There will not be a change in the office until some months, and the prospects are that after all Jump will get the place. He has the power at the throne.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

March 17.—Among President Cleveland's callers this morning was Congressman Bynum, who was accompanied by S. M. Ralston and S. T. Tyre, of Lebanon. Mr. Tyre is chairman of the democratic county committee, and Mr. Ralston is the man who hopes to disarrange the present slate for federal appointments in Indiana and secure the internal revenue collectorship that has been assigned to Joshua Jump. Mr. Ralston puts forth a geographical argument, and claims that the appointment of the marshal and revenue collector, both from the Terre Haute congressional district, is not good politics. Boone county, which Mr. Ralston represents, is in Mr. Vaughn's republican district, and Mr. Ralston argues that his appointment as revenue collector in that district would strengthen the minority. Mr. Ralston was an original Cleveland man.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

March 17.—Governor Matthews's mission here was divulged this morning when he called upon the President to urge the appointment of Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, for collector of internal revenue; W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, for district attorney, and Jerome Herff, of Peru, for consul to Havana. He left for Baltimore this afternoon, but will not return here. Joshua Jump was present at the interview with the President and so was Senator Voorhees. However, the collector will not be appointed till September.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

* * *

March 19.—Senator Voorhees said to-day that there would be no change in either of the revenue collectorships before August at the earliest. Meanwhile the opponents of Joshua Jump are trying to consolidate the field against him, and are making some headway. Of his rivals, Samuel Ralston seems to be the most active. His personal "pull" on Cleveland is worrying the friends of Jump. Ralston patiently waits about the corridors, smiles on everybody he meets, and says the collectorship in the seventh district is far from settled yet. Hon. John E. Lamb, who was appealed to by Jump's friends to come on and add his influence to that of Governor Matthews in favor of Jump, was expected here before this, but if here he was not visible to the naked eye of the hosts of waiting democrats who want to tie on to his tow-line.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

March 30.—It is given out here on what is considered good authority that Will H. O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, will be the next collector for this district. Mr. O'Brien is the son-in-law and business partner of Dr. Hunter, who was collector under Cleveland's first administration, and who is a candidate for reappointment against Captain W. H. Bracken, of Brookville. The President's rule relative to reappointments was considered as settling Hunter's chances and enhancing Bracken's, but it only called for renewed effort on part of the Hunter men. O'Brien went to Washington for the third time, in response to a "hurry call," and it is claimed that on this last trip it was arranged that he should receive the appointment. If this selection is made, it gives the collectorship to the Hunter family again, and at the same time it affords the

President an opportunity to strengthen his declaration that no ex-officeholder will be recognized by this administration. Mr. O'Brien is the member of the democratic state central committee for this district and also mayor of Lawrenceburg, part owner and associate editor of the *Lawrenceburg Register*, wealthy and one of the shrewdest politicians and hardest workers in the fourth congressional district. He was always a Cleveland man.—*Greensburgh (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

March 30.—While this contest in the sixth internal revenue district is exciting attention, there appears to be quite as interesting a contest brewing in the seventh district, where Congressman Voorhees Brookshire is making a fight against his namesake, the senior senator, with a view to knocking out Joshua Jump. It is said that this little fight between the senator and his congressional protege involves indirectly the latter's seat in congress. *The immense patronage of the seventh district is a great political factor. Mr. Brookshire is said to realize this fact and is anxious to keep it out of the hands of Joshua Jump, who, he avers, will use it in the interest of his law partner, John E. Lamb, who is suspected of having designs on Congressman Brookshire's seat in the House of Representatives. Mr. Brookshire's candidate is the deputy auditor of Montgomery county, who is said to have rendered some clever political service to the Cleveland faction of the Indiana democracy in Mr. Brookshire's congressional district last winter.*—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

April 1.—Ex-Pension Agent Zollinger, of Fort Wayne, is the latest aspirant for the honor which was some weeks ago set aside for Capt. William Bracken, of Brookville. Zollinger, being sidetracked for the pension agency by the "anti-ex" rule, is here, and believes that he is going to be the compromise candidate for the collectorship of internal revenue. A strong protest has been made against giving the place to the southern part of the state, and Representative McNagney is pushing Zollinger for it, and it is believed that he will be indorsed by the other member of the House from the northern part of Indiana. Editor W. W. Rockhill, of the *Fort Wayne Journal*, who has been here some days seeking the postmastership of Fort Wayne, and has gone home, has, it is stated, refused the internal revenue collectorship of the eastern district. It is said that at least one, if not both, of the Indiana senators, and two or three of the democratic congressmen from the northern part of the state joined in urging Editor Rockhill to accept the collectorship, but he steadfastly refused, preferring from pride and other reasons to be postmaster. This incident would also indicate that Captain Bracken is likely to be defeated for the collectorship.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

April 19.—The Hon. John E. Lamb, Senator Voorhees and Judge Hench made a tour of the departments to-day. It is believed that the latter will be appointed solicitor of internal revenue. Mr. Lamb is here to look after the interests of Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, who is slated for the collectorship of internal revenue. Incidentally he is looking after some other friends who want places, but Jump is his primary object.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

April 21.—Congressman Brookshire, in his fight for Hulet, of Montgomery, for collector of internal revenue, is putting Senator Voorhees and Mr. Lamb slightly at a disadvantage. Early in the struggle Mr. Brookshire agreed to concede the naming of the postmaster to Senator Voorhees, but since the latter is suspected by Brookshire of trying to ignore him in the collectorship matter and other appointments, the congressman threatens to make war on Donham, who is the senator's choice for postmaster at Terre Haute.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

April 22.—The arrival, almost simultaneously, of Deputy Auditor Hulet, of Montgomery county,

who is a candidate for internal revenue collector of the seventh district, and the Hon. John E. Lamb, who is sponsor for Joshua Jump's boom for the same office, has revived the interest in this war for office. As was stated before, the important stake in this contest is the congressional nomination a year hence. Congressman Brookshire desires to be renominated, and as a part of his program wants Mr. Hulet made revenue collector. Mr. Lamb would like the nomination for congress also, and believes that it will be a point in his favor to have Jump made collector. The lines seem to be drawn between the Cleveland and Gray elements, as they have been on most of the other choice federal offices in Indiana. Lamb and Jump train with the Gray democracy, while Mr. Hulet did the work of organizing the congressional district in favor of President Cleveland's renomination. Congressman Brookshire relies upon the fact that Mr. Hulet was an original Cleveland man to aid in securing the appointment for him. The fight is very warm and both factions seem confident. Jump, of course, is the candidate of the slate-makers and seems to have all the indorsements that would be necessary, ordinarily, to secure the place.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

April 25.—Walter N. Hulet and his friends are somewhat put out at the announcement that is being circulated throughout the country to the effect that he is no longer an applicant for the collectorship of internal revenue in the eighth district. He is yet in the ring, and his prospects of success seem as bright as when his name was first presented. He has just returned from Washington, where he thoroughly investigated his chances of success, and it is noticeable that he has been very contented since his return. His friends are inclined to think that the story going the rounds about Hulet withdrawing is intended to injure his chances of success and benefit the candidacy of Judge Jump. It is reported that Congressman Brookshire is more than ever of the determination that the place shall be given to Hulet. A great many democrats here are anxious for this matter to be settled, as with Hulet provided for as collector of internal revenue, it will take the most formidable candidate for the postmastership out of the way.—*Crawfordsville (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

April 30.—As a matter of fact everybody conversant with the Indiana situation here knows that Congressman Holman, much against his own inclinations, was forced to support Bracken, and that in bringing this about Senator Voorhees played no small part. Congressman Holman was in favor of the appointment of Dr. Hunter, of Lawrenceburg. Early in the fight Bracken's friends came to Washington and read the riot act to Mr. Holman. They told him that if he did not support Bracken for revenue collector, they would see that he was defeated for renomination for congress, and they even threatened to put Bracken forward as a candidate. Senator Voorhees seemed to enjoy the embarrassment of Congressman Holman and contributed to it. He invited him to his committee-room to a conference in presence of Bracken's friends, and then and there wrung from him an indorsement of Bracken. Congressman Holman found that he could either indorse Mr. Bracken as a matter of self-preservation politically, or put himself in the attitude of opposing a man from his own district who had the senatorial indorsements.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

May 5.—It may be stated upon the very best of authority that the two revenue collectors for Indiana will be appointed about July 1. There seems to be no longer any doubt that Bracken, of Franklin county, will be named for the sixth district, and Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, has the lead in the seventh, although there has been considerable opposition to him of late, and his chances can hardly be said to be as good as those of Bracken.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

July 31.—The request of Secretary Carlisle for the

resignation of the internal revenue collector of the sixth district of Indiana does not imply an appointment at once. There seems to be no doubt that Bracken will secure the appointment. It was said at the treasury department Saturday that in calling for the resignation the secretary merely meant to have it ready for the President in case he felt disposed to act on the case, when he returned. The secretary does not look for the appointment for several weeks yet. There is a marked coincidence in the fact that Senator Voorhees returned from Warm Springs, Va., one day and the resignation was called for the next. The senator is ready to move on all Indiana republican office-holders not protected by civil service as soon as the President returns, and is making up his list of intended victims already.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

August 9.—The Indiana revenue collectorships will probably be filled by September 1. In the sixth district William Bracken, of Franklin county, seems to be in the lead, and there is not much doubt that he will be appointed. Some of the opponents of Bracken have thought that Judge Holman's position in favor of free coinage might weaken the chances of his candidate. Congressman McNagney called on Secretary Carlisle in the interest of Wm. Meyers, of Fort Wayne, a few days ago. Meyers is probably the strongest candidate in the field against Bracken, but the latter has the senatorial backing, and enough representatives, it would seem, to secure his appointment. His name was put on the slate among the earliest, and it is a significant fact that the program on the slate has been carried out to the letter up to this time. There may be a departure in the case of Joshua Jump of the Terre Haute district, who is the choice of Senator Voorhees and the other big wigs of Indiana politics. Congressman Brookshire has been making a strong personal fight for W. B. Hulet, of Crawfordsville, and has predicted the latter's appointment. He has the backing of several of the original Cleveland men of Indiana, who believe that the appointment of Jump means a war against Brookshire for renomination. Even if Hulet is not appointed the fight may become so warm against Jump that some compromise candidate like Treasurer Conzmau, of Vigo county, may be selected.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

August 14.—It was expected that a change of internal revenue collectors would be made in the sixth district this month, but this may be deferred till the President's return. It is generally supposed that Bracken will be appointed. This is the star appointment in the internal service in Indiana, so far as the patronage that goes with the office is concerned. Collector Bracken, when he qualifies, will have some rather juicy plums to distribute. He will have under him, the appointment of which will be practically within his control, fifteen deputy collectors, with salaries ranging from \$300 to \$2,000 per year; one clerk at \$1,000; fifteen storekeepers at \$4 per day; seven storekeepers and gaugers at from \$2 to \$3.50 per day, and eleven gaugers at \$5 per day. This constitutes a field of very fair pickings for some of the faithful. There has been some talk, it may be said a good deal of talk, in certain republican newspapers about an alleged fight for the collectorship in the seventh internal revenue district. These reports are purely imaginary and are without a shadow of foundation. There is no fight for that collectorship and there has been none. The President and Secretary Carlisle have not even considered the matter, and, of course, they will not reach it, under existing conditions, for some time.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

* * *

August 16.—Mr. Brookshire is making a hard fight against John E. Lamb, of Terre Haute, to secure renomination. Those who are anxious about Mr. Brookshire's financial views say that he has a large business constituency and many moneyed interests in his district, and that these may not take kindly to his free coinage views. Another point, which is of vital importance to Congressman

Brookshire, is the selection of internal revenue collector for the seventh district. Up to this time Mr. Brookshire has had an unbroken record as a Cleveland man. For him to part company now with the President's views on the important question of finance, which President Cleveland has so much at heart, would be equivalent, some of his anxious friends think, to throwing away the revenue collectorship. There is the impression here that President Cleveland will "keep tab" on the democratic representatives who do not act in accord with the administration's financial policy, and will not confer any favors upon those who stand out against the administration's views. This may be an uncharitable view to take of Mr. Cleveland's position, but it seems to be the impression that obtains with most of the party leaders. John E. Lamb was here this week and carefully looked into the revenue collectorship fight in the seventh district. The Indiana democrats make no concealment of the fact that there is a fight on to the finish between Lamb and Brookshire for the congressional nomination next year. The preliminary skirmish will be for the collectorship.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

September 13.—The appointment of William Bracken, of Franklin county, as collector of internal revenue for the sixth Indiana district seems now to be the consideration of but few days. This has been a case of nomination long deferred, not hopelessly, however, and Mr. Holman has been the victim of sacred promises, which seem to have required ages for execution. Congressman Holman claims to have had a distinct understanding with the treasury department that this appointment was dated for June 27 last.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

September 22.—The appointment of William Bracken, of Brookville, as collector of internal revenue for the sixth Indiana district, disposes of the last important federal appointment in Indiana except two. The collectorship in the seventh district will not be settled before the latter part of October. Unless something unforeseen happens, Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, will be appointed. Bracken's appointment was accepted with fortitude by the friends of other candidates. There has been some mild criticism from the north end of the state over the fact that southern Indiana has received nearly all the appointments, and this is about the only point upon which Bracken's nomination is criticised. It is conceded, however, even by those who would like to have seen the appointment go to northern Indiana, that everything will turn out well providing the new collector gives the northern congressmen a say in the selection of his employees.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

September 26.—Just at present the Indiana representatives are quietly discussing their chances of renomination and re-election. In a number of districts it is already apparent that there will be a close fight for the nomination. The greatest interest perhaps is shown in the outcome in Congressman Brookshire's district. Mr. Brookshire is a candidate for renomination. He will probably find ex-Congressman John E. Lamb, of Terre Haute, as chief opponent for the nomination. The fight will be a test of strength between the old Cleveland and Gray factions that divided Indiana prior to the last presidential convention. John E. Lamb is identified with the Gray element, which seems to have secured most of the federal offices in Indiana. Mr. Lamb is now greatly interested in the appointment of his law partner, Joshua Jump, as internal revenue collector. If he succeeds, the immense patronage of the collector's office will probably be directed toward securing Mr. Lamb's nomination to succeed Congressman Brookshire. It looks now as if Jump would be appointed. Mr. Brookshire naturally opposes the appointment because he realizes that it will materially lessen his chances for renomination. Another strong factor in favor of Lamb's nomination is Crawford Fairbank, head of the big distilling inter-

ests of Terre Haute. Senator Voorhees will quietly lend whatever assistance he can to Mr. Lamb.

Considerable interest is manifested in Congressman Holman's race for renomination. "I have not given the subject of renomination a moment's thought," said Mr. Holman to *The New's* correspondent, last night. "I suppose, if my people want me again, they will renominate me. It is a curious fact, not known to many people, that no representative has served to exceed fifteen terms in the house." Mr. Holman will have served that number of terms when his present term ends. Mr. Holman said this with a decided wink, which might have indicated that the precedent would be broken or that it might not. He has been playing some clever politics, whether he is giving much thought to renomination or not. It is the common belief here that he removed the principal opposition to his renomination when he appointed Capt. Wm. Bracken, of Brookville, as collector of internal revenue. Bracken would have undoubtedly been a candidate for congress had he not secured the appointment. His friends had determined to take the step. The opposition to Mr. Holman centers in Lawrenceburg. The *Lawrenceburg Register*, which is conducted by Dr. Hunter, ex-revenue collector, and his son-in-law, Will O'Brien, is now saying some unpleasant things about Holman. Dr. Hunter posed for many years as Mr. Holman's political mainstay in the congressional district. His friends claim that he has quelled a number of political revolutions against Mr. Holman, and cleared the pathway for his successful re-entry into congress. Whatever merit may lie in his claim the fact remains that Dr. Hunter wanted to be revenue collector again, and was very much disappointed when he failed to secure it. The "ex" rule which President Cleveland announced early in his administration was quoted by Holman against Dr. Hunter, when he applied for the collectorship. The doctor then conceived the clever plan of having the office conferred on his son-in-law, and Mr. O'Brien came on to Washington for the purpose of getting it. Failing, he went back to Lawrenceburg feeling very sore at Mr. Holman, and since that time the *Lawrenceburg Register* has been suggesting the desirability of retiring Congressman Holman without pay.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

September 27.—Numerous democratic applicants are making pilgrimage to Franklin county every day to see the new collector. Twelve hundred and fourteen have applied to him for positions, with several out townships to hear from. He has the appointment of thirty-eight officers.—*Greensburgh (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

October.—The *Hammond News* says that the appointment of W. H. Bracken as revenue collector for the sixth district insures the selection of M. F. Pierce, of Hammond, as chief deputy for the fourth division, Mr. Bracken having repeatedly pledged Mr. Pierce to that effect.—*Indianapolis News.*

* * *

October 5.—There is considerable complaint already over the appointments under the internal revenue collector at the sixth district. The northern counties have served notice on Collector Bracken that they will demand a fair share of the places under him, but up to date there are about three applications from the southern counties to one from the northern tier, according to reports received here. This has caused some uneasiness on the part of the representatives from the northern counties, who fear that they will be left out in the allotment of places. Mr. Holman is now at home giving Collector Bracken a few pointers on the selection of his force.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

October 9.—Representative William S. Holman has been in a disturbed frame of mind ever since his recent visit to his home at Aurora. He now fully realizes that the opposition to his renomination is as persistent as it is bitter, and as formidable as it is personal. A new trouble entered Judge

Holman's political household to-day. When he visited his home the other day he was called upon by a number of constituents, who solicited his assistance in securing positions under Internal Revenue Collector Bracken. When Judge Holman returned to Washington information came here to Representative Cooper and others that Holman had been home for the purpose of disarming the opposition to his renomination by having the most of his opponents appointed to minor places under Revenue Collector Bracken, and that he had apportioned out nearly all of the forty-eight or fifty offices which the Brookville citizen has at his disposal. The judge had played sneak upon his colleagues, it was reported. Not only was Representative Cooper, but Representatives Martin, Hammond and McNagney, of the northern part of the state, soon up in arms. Before Bracken was agreed upon for appointment these men were assured by Holman that they should have the lion's share of the offices under the collector. It will be remembered that Holman was buncoced into the indorsement of Bracken much against his will, and that the real credit of Bracken's appointment is due to Senator Voorhees. For several weeks Holman had been unable to screw his courage to a point where he was willing to discriminate in favor of or against any of the many aspirants for the place in his district. Finally Senators Voorhees and Turpie sent for him. The former insisted that Holman should name his man then and there. After a long hesitation, Senator Voorhees says he would name the man, and that Holman might take the responsibility and the credit. He then announced to Holman that he would recommend Bracken. It immediately became a case of Holman indorsing Bracken and receiving the credit or permitting the appointment to go outside of the fourth congressional district and to Voorhees. The three or four representatives from the northern districts of the state had been making a demand for the collectorship, and when they were called off they were assured by Holman that they might have the minor places under the collector. So the discovery that Holman was about to appropriate a large share of the places under Bracken for the purpose of allaying opposition to his renomination put the four democratic representatives named upon the war-path to-day, and they have severely "sat down" upon the venerable representative of the fourth district, and have left him leaning so far backwards that they believe his nerve for claiming even his own will not return again. Judge Holman says there are about thirty-five positions under Bracken which are free and may go to any of the counties in the collection district. There are twelve or thirteen local officers which must come from certain places, like one or two to Indianapolis, one to Madison, two to Fort Wayne, and one to Hammond. Representative Cooper said to-day that the result would be an equitable distribution of the offices by congressional districts, and that nearly all of the counties in the collection district would get a place. He did not take into calculation the distribution of as much of the minor patronage to the fourth congressional district as would go to the others, because the collector was located in that district. It looks as though the entire democratic delegation from Indiana was "dead onto" the antiquated objector, and that his troubles never end so long as he remains in political life.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

October 9.—Senator Voorhees has taken a hand in the matter and will insist that Collector Bracken divide the places equally between the districts. There will probably be a clash between Senator Voorhees and Congressman Holman over the distribution of the offices, and it remains to be seen whether Collector Bracken will follow the advice of Senator Voorhees and make an equal division of the spoils or whether he will allow Congressman Holman to divert a large portion of it toward the re-election of himself to congress.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

October 9.—Senator Voorhees was at the treasury

department this morning in the interest of some of his office-seeking constituents. After he left the department Secretary Carlisle directed that the resignation of Joseph P. Throop, of Terre Haute, collector of internal revenue for that district, be called for, the same to take effect upon its receipt. Joshua Jump, who was some months ago recommended for the position, is to be appointed.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal*.

* * *

October 10.—It is expected that the appointment of an internal revenue collector for the western district of Indiana, to succeed E. H. Throop, of Terre Haute, who will resign or be removed, will be made within a few days; surely next week. Representative Brookshire is significantly confident that his candidate, Walter F. Hulet, of Crawfordsville, will get the appointment, in spite of the fact that Senator Voorhees is standing firmly by Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute. There is a great deal of opposition from Vigo and Montgomery counties to Jump's appointment, and the intimation has been made in high official circles that he will not get the place even though he is backed by the potent influence of Senator Voorhees. Mr. Brookshire occupies a very influential position in the house of representatives, being one of the most active members of the committee on appropriations, a position almost as important to the President and Secretary Carlisle as that held by Mr. Voorhees in the senate. There is no objection to Hulet. The contest between Voorhees and Brookshire has attracted attention at the national capital. This evening's *Washington News* says: "The request for the resignation of the collector of internal revenue for the Terre Haute district has quite a history. The sequel will be the appointment of Joshua Jump to that office. Mr. Jump is recommended by Mr. Voorhees. Many years ago when the 'Tall Sycamore of the Wabash' was first running for congress, he stopped over night at the house of Mr. Brookshire. So pleasant did he make himself to that gentleman that Mr. Brookshire became charmed with his guest, and the acquaintance ripened. When a son was born to Mr. Brookshire he was named Voorhees in honor of the brilliant Hoosier. Voorhees Brookshire is now a member of congress from Indiana. Mr. Brookshire has a candidate for the collectorship, in the person of W. B. Hulet, of Crawfordsville. There has been, and is yet, a bitter fight between Voorhees and Brookshire, upon the outcome of which will depend the success of the latter in his next congressional campaign. The law partner of Joshua Jump is ex-Congressman John E. Lamb, and it is expected that when he obtains the office Jump will turn the large amount of patronage connected with the same over to Mr. Lamb, in order to help the latter along in his fight for congress against Mr. Brookshire. What makes the friends of the young congressman particularly 'sore' is the fact that Brookshire was an original Cleveland man in Indiana and helped defeat Governor Gray for the nomination, while ex-Congressman Lamb was a staunch adherent of Uncle Isaac. The appointment of Jump to the collectorship is as near a certainty as anything political can well be.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal*.

* * *

October 12.—The next ten days will see some lively skirmishing among the Indiana politicians. Congressman Brookshire and Senator Voorhees are playing for a big political stake—the revenue collectorship of the seventh Indiana district. The appointment is now being considered at the treasury department and at the White House. While every indication points to the appointment of Joshua Jump, who is indorsed by Voorhees, Turpie and all the representatives in congress from that revenue district except Taylor and Brookshire, there is still a strong opinion among the opponents of Jump that he will not be able to win over the protest of Brookshire. President Cleveland is averse to giving encouragement to any political faction as against another, and it is believed by Brookshire's friends that he will not lend his aid to the movement to

defeat Brookshire for reuomination. He would certainly do so if he appointed Jump and gave Lamb the control of all the patronage and put him in touch, in an official way, with the big distilling interests of Terre Haute, which are political factors not to be overlooked.

"Joshua Jump will be appointed internal revenue collector in the seventh district beyond a question of doubt. I give you permission to quote me as saying so." It was Congressman Cooper who made this apparently official announcement to *The News* correspondent, confirming what has been stated in these dispatches as a probability.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 13.—Congressman Holman stated in an interview, printed in *The News* Monday, that he had not asked for any appointments under Collector Bracken. Some of Mr. Holman's political rivals charge that they have seen his name attached to a number of indorsements for places under Collector Bracken.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 13.—President Cleveland gave an audience yesterday to Congressman Taylor. Although the impression prevails that Jump, of Terre Haute, will be appointed, this fact did not deter Congressman Taylor from making a strong plea in favor of Mr. Dixon, the Evansville merchant, as the business men's candidate. President Cleveland listened very attentively while Mr. Taylor recited the strong business qualifications of his candidate, his high business and social standing and many deeds of local philanthropy which had endeared him to the hearts of the people of Evansville and vicinity. Congressman Taylor does not believe that the fight is entirely lost yet, and with a fight on between Senator Voorhees and Congressman Brookshire, that has become very bitter already, he thinks it is possible that the President may decide to take a compromise candidate, and in that case Mr. Dixon will be an available man.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 15.—Representative Holman has capitulated on the internal revenue spoils fight. He has thrown up his hands, and there is to be a distribution this week extending all over Collector Bracken's district by counties, and Holman's district is to get the least of all. If Jump, of Terre Haute, is made collector for the western district it is understood Mr. Brookshire's Crawfordsville candidate for the collectorship, W. B. Hulet, will be Jump's principal deputy. A demand has been made that Roscoe Griffith, of Muncie, be selected as Bracken's first deputy.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 16.—It looks as if Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, is to be appointed revenue collector of his district very soon. This morning Secretary Carlisle received the resignation of the republican incumbent, G. H. Throop, also of Terre Haute. It is understood, however, that the appointment may not be made until after the silver question is disposed of.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel*.

* * *

October 17.—Secretary Carlisle to-day, in talking about internal revenue appointments for another state, remarked that the President had put his foot down upon all Presidential appointments, and that there would be a cessation of that kind of business until after the silver question was acted upon by the senate.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 17.—Capt. William H. Bracken is kept very busy these days examining the many applications for office in the sixth revenue district. He now has applications to the number of fifteen hundred, and when it is remembered that there are only about forty-five places to be filled, it is seen that his task is a difficult one. It is said that W. J. Zacharias, of this city, will be traveling deputy.—*Brookville (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis News*.

* * *

October 20.—Some of the aspiring democrats in this county who are seeking appointment under Captain Bracken, the new collector, are very in-

dignant. It has come to their knowledge that Governor Matthews has asked Collector Bracken, as a personal favor, to appoint Abel Ewing, of this city, to a position under him. In this recommendation may be seen the fine work of ex-Senator Ewing, who is a son of Abel Ewing, and a son-in-law of Governor Matthews.—*Greensburg (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal*.

MOORFIELD STOREY TO JOSIAH QUINCY.

[Before the Massachusetts Reform Club, October 7, 1893.]

In taking the stand I do in the discussion this evening I feel that I am transgressing a rule, than which none is better established in my experience, to never play a game you don't understand against a professional. But it is right that at this table Mr. Quincy and the administration with which he has been so closely identified should hear frankly and freely from men who strongly supported Mr. Cleveland, who thoroughly believed in his character and his honesty, and who have not been satisfied with his performance in regard to civil service reform.

This is a question of principles, not of persons. Mr. Quincy's interview published in the *Herald* in regard to this subject contains what I understand to be his position as stated by himself. He begins by saying:

"It is true that changes in the consular service have been made more rapidly than under the preceding administration. The only difference has been that this administration has proceeded upon the theory that it was better for the service, as well as for other reasons, that inevitable changes should be made with reasonable promptness, instead of after a long period of delay and uncertainty; that such changes should coincide as nearly as possible with changes in administrations rather than be made near the middle or end of an administration. This gives the new appointees an assurance of a continuance in office for at least four years, if they perform their duties with efficiency, while the service of a political appointee of a former administration, who necessarily feels that he may be displaced at any moment, is not likely to be of much value to the government. Whatever may be said as to the superiority of a consular service, from which political considerations are excluded, such as that of the leading nations of Europe, it is certainly impossible, under existing conditions, to deal with the matter upon a purely non-political basis. This administration did not find such a consular service when it came into power. It found, on the contrary, very many important consulships filled by appointments of a purely partisan and political character."

Whatever may be the merits of a consular service organized upon business principles, Mr. Quincy tells us it is practically impossible to have such a service in the United States under existing political conditions. Now, when the gentleman, who many years ago enlisted with us an active member of the Boston civil service reform association, which took

the ground that men should be retained in office as long as they did their work well, and that offices should not be used for partisan purposes, tells us, as the first who is called upon to administer the service upon those principles, that it is practically impossible to do so, a very grave question is presented. If he is right, we have for many years been very wrong. Under his leadership and under the leadership of Mr. Cleveland we denounced the republican party very strongly, because they filled the consular service on that principle. If it is practically impossible to do otherwise I owe President Harrison an abject apology.

The democratic party, in platform after platform, in speech after speech, have urged us to turn the republican party out of power and to put them in, because, among other things, the republican party has used the offices as spoils.

We who supported President Cleveland, believing as we did in his courage and honesty, knew perfectly well that on the questions of tariff reform, currency and federal election bills, he was powerless, that he could do nothing of his own motion. With every purpose in the world to reform the Sherman act we see how powerless he is to bring about the consummation which the whole country desires, and, if he can not bring the senate to a vote on the silver bill, how likely it is that they will be brought to a vote on the tariff bill, federal elections bill or any other bill, which not only a small minority, representing a number of rotten boroughs, are inclined to oppose, but which the republican party, representing a large section of the voters of this country, are bitterly opposed to?

There was one thing which he was able to deal with alone. Congress had given him power to bring the public service under civil service reform rules, and I am informed that Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt has prepared, and had before Mr. Cleveland came into office prepared, a scheme by which the consular service should be brought within those rules; and it was entirely within the power of the President, of his own motion, to apply that system, or certainly if the system itself was not matured it was in his power as each individual case rose to consider only the good service and not the partisan qualifications of the applicant in the past.

Now, Mr. Quincy and the whole administration have for something like eight months lived in the perverted atmosphere of Washington, exposed to the constant importunities of men who do not so much care how the public business is done or how public questions are settled, provided they are supplied with offices, and he now comes to meet a body of men who represent, I think, all but a very inconsiderable fragment of his fellow-citizens all over the country who do not so much care who fills the offices as they do how the public business is done and how public questions are settled.

I agree cordially with Mr. Quincy that he

did not find a non-partisan, non-political consular service. He found undoubtedly a very bad service filled with republican politicians, republican newspaper editors, men who were selected without the least reference to the duties of the place which they were asked to fill, simply as a reward for partisan service, and while I believe a great many of the removals were imperatively demanded, in order that the business of the country may be done well, and that, so far as that has been done, the administration has done the country a good service, the difficulty arises in connection with the filling of the vacancies. When the same considerations are urged in order to persuade the appointing power to appoint a democratic politician or newspaper editor in place of the republican politician or newspaper editor who has been removed, then and there the same offense against public morals is committed with which we charged the administration of President Harrison, and of which he was condemned.

Why is it impossible or impracticable in filling the places which are left vacant by proper removals to select new men with reference to their fitness for the offices? Why is it necessary to ask for the indorsement of the democratic congressman from the state in which the applicant belongs, or for the indorsement of town or city committees? Why is it necessary that all the political machinery which exists throughout the land should be brought to bear for the purpose of placing a man who has distinguished himself as a partisan only in a place where partisanship is not called for?

Mr. Quincy said, with great propriety in the interview I have just read, that political consuls, men who identify themselves with the fortunes of the party in power, and who feel that it may be in the interest of their party to have statistics in favor of protection or against it, are bound to collect statistics one way or the other, and he points out that that has been the case. It is perfectly obvious that consuls of that sort are bad, but are they any better when they come from one party than when they come from the other? If one set of consuls is misrepresenting the facts in favor of protection, another set may be misrepresenting the facts in favor of the other side.

What we want to do is to select men who are familiar with the business. I found when I looked up this matter that some 23 or 24 newspaper editors were appointed to consulships, and some six or seven to foreign missions, out of a total number of 117 changes, I believe, up to that time. And when I found Mr. Vandever Polk, a gentleman whom Mr. Quincy describes as a person of varied and valuable attainments, removed from the editorship of the *Nashville American* and placed as consul-general at Calcutta, I intended to ask what his experience in Nashville had been which fitted him to take charge of that important consulate.

And it is not that instance alone, but there are other offices all over the country in connection with our federal system where vacan-

cies have been filled by editors and newspaper men. As long as such positions are filled in that way, presumably on account of support by the papers during the campaign, it will be impossible to apply business principles to the consular service.

There never has been in the presidential chair a man so absolutely independent as Grover Cleveland. Placed in the office by the largest electoral majority we have seen since Grant beat Greeley, almost unprecedented in the history of the country, in the nature of things not likely to be a candidate for reelection, as strong as courageous, as powerful as a human being can be, having had an experience of four years and having made the most distinct promises, what is to prevent him from saying: "I appoint that man to Calcutta because he is fit; I appoint that man to Liverpool because he is fit?" The whole country is behind him, and if platforms mean anything the whole democratic party is behind him, because there can not be a more distinct pledge than the democratic party has made in its platform, year after year, in favor of civil service reform. If Grover Cleveland can not carry out those promises, this country is never going to see a man who can.

If a gentleman, high in the councils of the party before the election, said to the editor of the *National American* or the *National Times*, "If this party gets in, we are going to appoint you to such and such an office," that promise would be religiously kept, and I think it is time that the gentlemen who are charged with the conduct of this government understood that promises made to all the people of the United States are just as binding as promises made to a single individual; that promises to do right are just as sacred as promises to do wrong.

These congressmen, these supporters or "heelers" of theirs whom they put in office, are not the people of the United States. They are the merest froth upon the surface, and sometime or other a man will rise brave and wise enough to know that he can perfectly well afford to set those men at defiance, and the whole people will uphold his hands in so doing.

Benjamin Lanthier, of Massachusetts, who is named as consul to Sherbrooke, was a factor in the late campaign in that state. He edits two French newspapers, and so he was made the medium by which the democratic party was enabled to appeal effectually to the large and increasing French Canadian population of the state for their support in the campaign.

* * *

James E. Neal, of Hamilton, Ohio, was nominated for consul at Liverpool at the personal request of ex-Governor Campbell, reinforced by Senator Brice. He is one of the leading democrats of Ohio, and early in the seventies, while a young man, was speaker of the house of representatives of the general assembly. He has always been an active democrat, and was chairman of the state committee during the campaign which resulted in Mr. Campbell's election.—*New York Times*, April 8.

* * *

Secretary Carlisle has appointed Herman Van Senden, editor of the Paducah (Ky.) Standard, his private secretary. Mr. Van Senden is thirty years of age, a native of Kentucky and was appointed upon the recommendation of Congressman Stone.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 9.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18 1892.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great satisfaction afforded by the result of the late elections, the fact should not be lost sight of that while we have driven out one nefarious crowd, to a greater or less extent the way has been opened to let in another crowd of the same nature. The republicans of New York show signs of leaning again upon Platt and Jake Patterson. At the prospect of success in Indiana next year, the same republicans that looted the offices under Harrison gathered here in a swarm the other day. To put out the democratic machine anywhere means letting in an equally bad republican machine. Party machines will continue to be corrupt and utterly untrustworthy until the progress of reform shall have completely deprived them of the offices as a means of support. Until that time comes, events since 1884 have made it plain that there is no way to make progress except by upsetting first one and then the other. The average citizen stands no chance in the primary, but if he controls his own vote on election day he can be a terror to those who manipulate in politics for what there is in it. A defeat makes the sick devil a saint for the time being and reform takes a forward step.

A GOOD instance of bringing back the "same old crowd" is shown in the appointment of "Pres" Trusler as comptroller of this city. He was the one man who more than all others brought the republicans to disastrous defeat here when they went out of office some years ago. His absorbing occupation was to secure the removal of democrats to make places for republicans, which culminated in turning out the chief of the fire department because the latter would not obey his orders and remove democrats, Trusler being a member of the city council. This went on until the people thoroughly detested him. He seems to have learned nothing, for he now declares that in the late city election "the people voted for a change and they ought to have it," and he takes up his old occupation of working henchmen into places, one of his efforts being to secure the removal before the end of his

term of the present efficient and highly satisfactory superintendent of the city hospital. Trusler hardly comprehends the situation. The people did not vote for a change which would bring back the Truslers; he could not, if he were a candidate for an office, get a fourth of the votes of his own party. The people did not vote for any division of offices as spoil; they have passed beyond that relic of feudalism. They did not vote for any such change in offices as has been made, and, as we said last month, the same voters who gave the republicans this chance will turn them out unless they show a substantial, permanent progress in municipal administration. This can only be brought about by the introduction of the merit system, and that without any party string to it; nor will it be well to go on with the division of places, and in the meantime give out that the mayor has secured some civil service rules from Boston, and is determining whether there is anything in them suitable for Indianapolis.

REPORTS from Washington say that November 4, upon the heels of the passage of the repeal bill, "Senator Voorhees and several democratic congressmen went up to the White House to call upon the President." What about? Now anybody in the world who had ever heard of these worthies could have answered at once, "About office." There were a "number of Hoosier democrats on the anxious seat." Con. Cunningham "still hangs on" for a consulship. Jerome Herff "was told two weeks ago by Senator Voorhees that if he only lingered in the city until the repeal bill was disposed of his appointment would come promptly." Mellow and calm and feeling that all the world (of patronage) was his, Voorhees went up to demand the "immediate appointment of Mr. Herff." But the President had gone squirrel shooting. Then Voorhees and his suite of congressmen called upon Secretary Gresham. But Gresham had gone squirrel shooting too. Thus our senior senator and a considerable number of our representatives were baffled for the time in their main occupation and were compelled to pass an idle day. It must not be supposed that they were careless or indifferent to the gravity of the situation. "The air of disappointment in Hoosier circles became so dense that you

could have easily carved it." Voorhees "wore a countenance that told plainer than words that the lines of senatorial duty did not lie in pleasant places about him." The report further says that "he did not mince words in expressing his disgust to his Indiana friends." Judging by the past, this will produce results. Voorhees has been notorious in Indiana for the names he has called the President, and for each epithet he seems to have been awarded another office. It is reasonable to expect that the President will hold back a while and then yield.

THE CHRONICLE, for July, gave some account of the exploits of Mr. Cleveland's postmaster, Frank H. Thomas, at Topeka, Kansas. Thomas dismissed seventeen letter carriers and reported to the department the cause to be "incompetency and violation of orders and instructions." But to the men themselves in Topeka, Thomas said that the removals "were solely for political reasons." The President has just removed Postmaster Thomas and appointed a new postmaster. Let us hope that this is the beginning of a new era and not be critical because it took the administration from July to November to punish this impudent liar. Donham's time ought to come soon. Half a dozen such examples would end all attempts to beat the civil service law under this administration.

FROM *Good Government* we learn that Secretary Carlisle's brother Pole has been made postmaster at Covington, five months before the expiration of the term of the present postmaster, an efficient man and a one armed veteran, who, moreover, has a letter from the Secretary promising to allow him to serve out his term.

President Cleveland has written copiously and weightily concerning various evils, among them nepotism, but he sits in stolid helplessness, or indifference, apparently impervious to the personal disgrace resulting from Carlisle nepotism. The discomfort and depression arising from such scandalous violations of what is due to the people who elected Mr. Cleveland make one wish to have the myopia of President Eliot, who happy and enthusiastic in the face of these things, is stated to have aroused his audience before the

late elections to wild applause by quoting again of President Cleveland that so long as the helm of state is entrusted to his hands should the storm come, with Seneca's pilot he will say: "O, Neptune, you may save me if you will; you may sink me if you will; but whatever happen, I shall keep my rudder true."

ONE of the most unnecessary and uncalled for trials to which the merit system is made to submit is the advent of provincial politicians. They come from all sorts of places in the party machine, and get into all sorts of offices. They have heard of the civil service law, but know nothing of its provisions and workings. If any part of the classified service comes under their superintendence they start out in the belief that they are pioneer explorers to find some way to beat or break down the law. When they have determined upon a way they are much puffed up by their supposed discovery, and regard themselves as having undermined the merit system. They usually succeed in doing some injury, but meet an opposition which surprises them, and in the end they get a reputation more or less unsavory. This has been true through all grades, from Carlisle to Donham.

The last of these provincial politicians to bring himself into notoriety is Mr. Cleveland's new commissioner of Indian affairs. He has "discovered" that it is not well to have the fitness of Indian school superintendents, who have given bond for the safe keeping of the chairs, desks, tables, and other property committed to their care, "gauged by their rank in a pedagogical examination." It is not worth while to discuss this objection upon its merits for it has no merits. It is simply the act of a political sneak who got into office upon a platform promising to do away with the use of offices as spoil, and who is now trying to bring back into the spoils system places which had already been removed from it. He has no object except to divide offices among his partisans. Mr. Herbert Welsh, in the *New York Evening Post*, of November 10th, entirely exposes the falsity of the claim that it is necessary for the good of the service to turn these places back to the spoilsmen, and Mr. Welsh is the best authority in the country. During his former administration no one thing did more to bring political ruin to Mr. Cleveland than the debauchment of the Indian service. Experience does not seem to have taught its lesson. There is not the least excuse for having a common spoilsman for Indian commissioner. Five minutes conversation would have developed the fact that he was the enemy of a great body of literature found in Democratic platforms,

and in President Cleveland's writings in favor of the merit system. What is to be done about it? The President will, doubtless, refuse the commissioner's suggestion. When is a reform, acknowledged by the President to be of the greatest desirability, to be taken out of the hands of its enemies, where it is cheated at every turn, and put into the hands of officers friendly to it?

THE general verdict is that the spoils system is largely responsible for the murder of Mayor Harrison. Among the papers that have made editorial comment to this effect are the *Philadelphia Record*, *New York Times*, *New York Evening Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Indianapolis News*, *Buffalo Express*, *Cleveland Leader*, *New York Morning Advertiser*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Springfield Republican*, *Oil City Derrick*, *Jamestown News*, *Grand Rapids Herald*, *Boston Transcript* and *Baltimore Sun*.

Immediately after the murder Prendergast, in an interview, replied emphatically to the question:

"What was your reason for killing the mayor?"

"I was to have had the position of corporation counsel, but he played false to me, and I only did right in killing him."

And again on November 19 he repeated his reason with the same emphasis:

"They propose to enter a plea of insanity. I shall object to that. I want to acknowledge the commission of the crime and plead and prove justification."

"In what way will you prove justification?"

"The broken promise to make me corporation counsel. And then there are other things. But it will all come out at the trial."

Everyone acquainted with spoils ethics knows that it is not considered conduct unbecoming a spoils gentleman to promise an office to one in order to obtain the leisure and peace of mind necessary to give the place to another. If all the great officials and honorable representatives who have been occupied since last March with the distribution of places were to be murdered for the lies they have told their victims, the result would be a most startling and bloody object lesson; not, however, of the number of lies told, because the guilty person could be murdered but once.

The dreadful fear arises: Would Indiana, for instance, have any feudal chiefs surviving for the distribution of the small portion of spoil still undivided? The two appointments of Jump and Bracken alone must have required a colossal number of lies, from various persons; lies large and lies small, lies direct and lies indirect, and from the indications in the present CHRONICLE likely to continue indefinitely.

THE executive committee of the National League at its late meeting in New York reappointed the committee of investiga-

tion, headed by Mr. Foulke, and which so thoroughly kept before the country the civil service shortcomings of the Harrison administration. The committee will find plenty of work to do, and we are sure it will do it without any regard as to who is hurt. It would do well to begin with the Carlises, and the sooner the committee can reach Hoke Smith the better.

AFTER the adjournment of the fifty-first congress, in 1890, the senators claim to have kept at work, for sixty days, sixty-five personal and committee clerks. When congress met again, the house refused to allow a bill of \$22,000 for this alleged employment. The other day, when congress was about to adjourn, the house appropriated \$200,000 to pay the clerks of members for services during the repeal session. The senate promptly tacked on the old item of \$22,000, and a wrangle between the two houses followed as persistent, absorbing and petty as any family quarrel. In the midst of this the time fixed for adjournment came and the session ended. It is interesting to note some of the families who will be more or less inconvenienced by the failure of the rider, and to see how near "home" it came to posing patriots and statesmen:

Among the clerks who were to have six dollars a day for sixty days are T. Blodgett, son of ex-Senator Blodgett of New Jersey; L. L. Carlisle, son of ex-Senator Carlisle; L. W. George, son of Senator George; N. K. Jones, son of Senator Jones of Arkansas; C. B. Power, son of Senator Power of Montana; H. L. Pugh, son of Senator Pugh of Alabama; Mrs. M. F. Reagan, wife of ex-Senator Reagan of Texas; L. P. Sanders, son of ex-Senator Sanders of Montana; Ewing Coekrell, son of Senator Coekrell of Missouri; R. R. Quay, son of Senator Quay of Pennsylvania; C. N. Vance, son of Senator Vance of North Carolina; G. W. Morgan, son of Senator Morgan of Alabama, and J. P. Voorhees, son of Senator Voorhees of Indiana.

A VOORHEES TRIUMPH.

The appointment of Joshua Jump to be collector of internal revenue of the Terre Haute district closes one of the most disheartening and disgraceful chapters in the civil service. If, upon his second inauguration, Mr. Cleveland was not after all the great statesman he was represented to be and could not manage the civil service without a system of distributing offices which required the advice of local politicians, it was not to be supposed that he would make Voorhees his chief adviser in Indiana. Before his last nomination, Voorhees and his crowd were the enemies of Mr. Cleveland. They scarcely spoke of him except with foul-mouthed epithets. They worked night and day to cause him to fail of nomination. They did not like him and did not want him because they did not believe that his politics was of their kind, and their kind is, and always

has been, well known to be of the lowest and most vicious. Mr. Cleveland knew this; he knew that they had wrecked him in Indiana during his first administration because he had allowed them their vicious way. The majority of Mr. Cleveland's party in Indiana in 1892 were not of the Voorhees stripe. They were at least on a clean plane of politics and followed such leaders as Mr. Morss, of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, and Mr. Shanklin, of the *Evansville Courier*. These leaders stood immovable against the attempt of Voorhees and his followers to carry the Indiana delegates over to Hill, or some fellow like him, and by their stand alone, they finally cowed down Voorhees and secured the votes of the delegation for Cleveland. After the election the people of Indiana supposed that Voorhees, the sympathizer with secession and the champion of the Union soldier, the free-trader and protectionist, the anything and everything of finance, the man whose one unvaried pursuit was the loot of offices, had come to the end of his career. But it was not so. Mr. Shanklin's advice was openly disregarded, and Mr. Morss was quietly shelved by being given a consulship. Then Voorheesism spread over Indiana with all its blighting effects upon political morals. Risley, Burke, and Donham, followed in quick succession, and it was demonstrated that no one could stand with the President against Voorhees. The people of Indiana remembering the circumstances under which the Indiana delegates were brought to Mr. Cleveland at Chicago, regard the President as having licked the hand that smote him. When this had reached a certain point, and Voorhees was asked what course he would take in the matter of the suspension of the purchase of silver, he replied that the President had granted him so many favors that he could not refuse him anything he might ask. This lofty declaration of principles was followed by the action of Voorhees in the repeal matter and this in turn by the appointment of Jump, who was Voorhees's pet candidate, and whose appointment he apparently at the last moment bullied the President into making. There is only one possible excuse which the President can put forward and that is that he wanted to buy Voorhees's vote upon a measure in congress. The President's friends make this excuse for him, but if they think it was an honorable act, they are beyond the reach of argument.

In view of the final and complete triumph of Voorhees, it is well to recall an extract from the *Indianapolis News* of March 22, setting forth the nature of the Voorhees following in Indiana, remembering that the Burke referred to is now

United States District Attorney Burke, and the Joshua Jump referred to is now United States Collector Joshua Jump:

"It is recalled that immediately after the adjournment of the Indiana general assembly, two years ago, there was great rejoicing over the defeat of the co-employees bill, and of other bills in which the railroads were interested, particularly the Pennsylvania and Vandalia railroads. The Vandalia railroad company placed at the disposal of Mr. Burke, who had fought so hard for the railroad companies, John E. Lamb, who had been an industrious lobbyist of the railroads, and other democrats, a private car in which they traveled to Hot Springs in elegant style. Champagne was the cheapest drink aboard. At Hot Springs there was a gathering in which were Senator Voorhees, Lamb, Burke, Crawford Fairbanks, the Terre Haute distiller, Joshua Jump, and other democrats of that character. It was during the stay of that party at Hot Springs, that, according to Senator Voorhees, the United States attorneyship was promised to Burke."

LESSON OF THE ELECTION.

The voting at the election of November 8 took place under circumstances devoid of enthusiasm for the democratic party or for Mr. Cleveland's administration. The President's course since his inauguration had been such as to put the independent sentiment of the country in an attitude of hardly suppressed hostility, or, at least, of suspicion. The loot of the consulships, the open disregard by the cabinet officers of the established rules for promotion, the peculiar and brutal viciousness of Carlisle in his treatment of treasury employes, the apparent entire lack of notice from the President to his cabinet that in the management of the civil service the principles of the democratic platform must be observed, the open and wholesale removal of officers upon secret charges, the placing of inefficient ward politicians at the head of divisions in the departments at Washington, thus depriving subordinate employes of a chance for promotion, the general practice of placing men who are the bitter enemies of the merit system at the head of offices within the classified service, the failure to make any extension whatever of the civil service rules, the failure to punish officers who tricked the civil service law, the removal of fourth-class postmasters at the rate of 30,000 a year, the clean sweep at once inaugurated without hindrance by newly appointed officers, such as collectors of internal revenue, the universal permission to congressmen to manipulate the federal offices, with a view to their own renomination, the bogus attempt to reform the pension boards with congressmen's democratic doctors, the Voorhees domination, the Van Allen sale and the general, impudent and overbearing prevalence of the feudal system made it impossible for anyone except President Eliot, of Harvard college, and Colonel Codman, of Boston, to be enthusiastic for the President or his

party. Independents, therefore, turned themselves to teaching wholesome home lessons. The city of Indianapolis led off by changing a democratic majority of 2,700 two years ago to 3,000 the other way. The people of Brooklyn changed a 25,000 majority for Cleveland in 1892 to 25,000 the other way for a reform mayor, and the great democratic majority in the state of New York last year was changed to 89,000 against Maynard. In New Jersey a similar revolution took place, and Massachusetts sent Quincyism to the wall by 30,000 majority. The people were tired of being ruled by bosses, whose only means of living is in the parcelling of offices among henchmen. The division of the federal offices as spoils was a part and parcel of the general division which caused the dissatisfaction. The result of the elections is a great cause for rejoicing, and the chief element in that cause is the fact that now at every election many thousand voters join the ranks of those who refuse to be bound or ruled by a party machine.

MORE SWINISH SPOIL.

In THE CHRONICLE for June, 1893, under the heading "Swinish Spoil," we gave some account of the federal inspection of hogs in this city. At that time the republican superintendent of inspection and his two republican taggers and the six women whose fathers were or had been republicans, had been turned out because under a democratic administration they could not conduct an unbiased search for worms in pork. Their places had been taken by one Dr. Stucky, "a good, sound democrat," and two democratic taggers, and Mary Lucid and Nora Toomey, whose male relatives were democrats. Stucky received \$1,400 a year, the taggers \$720 each, and the others \$600 each. They had literally "a soft snap." No pork has been exported from this point since July and they had after that date nothing whatever to do. November 1 the secretary of agriculture, with a great newspaper flourish in which he had his joke at the "bureau of animal indolence," "suspended" this inspection bureau and all pay was stopped at that date.

There was an appropriation, however, for meat inspection. For Bynum, particularly, it was a golden opportunity to put under government pay some additional hustlers for his renomination next year. Another bureau of inspection was invented. This was to inspect hogs intended for home consumption while foreigners were to take their chances. At the head of this bureau appears Dr. Pritchard, a veterinary surgeon, with a salary of \$1,800, \$400 more than Stucky received. The two aforesaid taggers, John Clegg and Martin Quinn, were transferred to him at their former pay. He has also under him the following additional hog inspectors, Jacob Fox, William Wampner, and William Peggs, each receiving \$900 a year. This bu-

reau is to inspect the hogs on foot as well as after slaughter—alive, and dead. This requires a very considerable degree of expert knowledge. We have made some examination of the appointees. William Peggs from 1886 to 1893 appears in the city directory as a laborer, a teamster, a driver, and again a teamster. William Wampner appears from 1886 to 1893, as a carpenter, a driver and a teamster. Jacob Fox has a more varied history, running into public and private life. He was originally a shoemaker. In 1885, when the late Postmaster Jones turned the four women mail bag menders out of their places in the post-office here, Jacob Fox was given a place and mended mail bags during Mr. Cleveland's first administration. Then he seems to have drifted temporarily into shoe-making again, but in 1891 he became a policeman, from which position as a sort of finishing education, he goes to the inspection of hogs. Stucky with his bureau is hoping and expecting re-instatement for the inspection of hogs "for abroad."

It is interesting to note the "practical" principles which have governed this whole transaction. Stucky and his subordinates were "appointed" by Bynum and Turpie. Pritchard and his subordinates were "appointed" by Bynum. Each member of both crowds is for Bynum for renomination. Next spring Pritchard and Stucky and Clegg and Quinn and Fox and Wampner and Peggs and the male relatives of Miss Lucid and Miss Twoomey will show what men can do in the way of setting up primaries for a congressman, when the congressman pays them out of the public treasury. This is "practical politics." This is Quincy's "existing political conditions." This is party administration having its hogs inspected by its "friends."

TWO PETTY FEDERAL OFFICES.

"The Existing Political Conditions."—

Josiah Quincy.

II.

JOSHUA JUMP.

October 31.—Ex-Congressman John E. Lamb, of Terre Haute, is here in the interest of his friends who want office.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

November 1.—Hon. John E. Lamb sent an important telegram to Joshua Jump, at Terre Haute, to-day, respecting the appointment of a collector of internal revenue for that district. There is considerable anxiety among the friends of Representative Brookshire as to the contents of the message. Senator Voorhees's followers believe the message informed Jump that he would be appointed collector this week. Mr. Brookshire's followers contend that it either indicated doubt as to whether the appointment would go to Terre Haute or Crawfordsville, or informed Jump that his appointment would not be made until after the adjournment of congress.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

November 1.—Reliable information from Washington to-night states that to-morrow or day after Joshua Jump of this city will be appointed internal revenue collector of this district. This will be a victory for Senator Voorhees, as Congressman

Brookshire is backing Hulet of Crawfordsville.—*Terre Haute Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

November 2.—President Cleveland and Secretary Carlisle are considering the Terre Haute internal revenue collectorship along with several other treasury offices at Woodley to-day. Joshua Jump will be appointed.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

November 3.—It is believed that the appointment of Joshua Jump as collector of the Seventh Indiana revenue district will be announced in a few days. There is little doubt that he will be the successful candidate, and great effort was made by Senator Voorhees to have the appointment confirmed before adjournment was taken. Secretary Carlisle has been closeted with the President at Woodley for two or three days, and announces that as soon as the election is over quite a batch of appointments will be made public.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel.*

November 4.—Mr. Voorhees confidently expects the appointment of Joshua Jump to be collector of internal revenue the first of next week, but when Jump's name was mentioned to Representative Brookshire to-day, the Crawfordsville statesman inquired what assurance has been received by Senator Voorhees that Mr. Jump would be appointed, and who had given the assurance. A friend of Mr. Brookshire said to-day, after talking with that gentleman, that the Terre Haute man was not sure to get the place; that it might yet go to W. B. Hulet, of Crawfordsville, and that Mr. Brookshire was evidently in possession of some secret information from the President which led him to reasonably doubt the success of Jump. It is stated that all of Jump's business ramifications, including his partnership with John E. Lamb, his warm friendship for Distiller Fairbanks, and various other matters relating to the Terre Haute ring, have all been carefully explained to the President, and that the latter was deeply impressed by them.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

November 6.—Joshua Jump's commission as collector of internal revenue was forwarded to him at Terre Haute to-day. As stated in the dispatches Saturday the nomination was agreed upon last week, but it was decided not to make the formal announcement until to-day. Congressman Brookshire has been opposing Jump's appointment. He called at the White House this morning and made an effort to see Mr. Cleveland, but the President was not receiving. When informed by the *News* correspondent that the appointment was settled and Jump's commission had been forwarded to him, Mr. Brookshire looked amazed, and started for the Treasury Department to verify the news. The nomination of Jump is a triumph for Senator Voorhees and John E. Lamb, although Jump was indorsed by every Democratic congressman in the revenue district except Taylor and Brookshire.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

November 8.—A congressman who called to see Senator Voorhees to-day says he found the distinguished Hoosier statesman in a frame of mind. It appears that the Senator expected to leave the city for Indiana this afternoon, with Senator Turpie and Representative Cooper, who departed for their homes, but he did not want to leave till he knew the appointment of Joshua Jump to be collector of internal revenue was so fully determined that his appointment papers were in the mails. When he called at the Treasury Department he learned that the appointment was made out yesterday and sent to the White House for the signature of the President, but that it had not been sent back to the Treasury Department for the mails; furthermore it was intimated that "there was a hen on," or words to that effect, as the President had not indicated that he would surely sign the appointment. The Senator could not get an audience with the President, although the latter was at the White House to-day, and attended a cabinet meeting.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

November 9.—Rain poured down continuously until nightfall. The water fairly piled up on the asphalt streets and ran in torrents through the gutters. It was a dismal journey, indeed, under such conditions, that Senator Daniel Woolsey Voorhees set out upon about 9 o'clock this morning. Alone in a covered carriage he started toward the country-seat of President Cleveland, situated five or six miles west of the White House. What might have been his thoughts and his opinion of the chief magistrate of the nation, as the senator from Indiana sat in his hired vehicle and peered out of its windows upon the down-pour can only be imagined from the condition of his mind.

Being refused an audience by the President at the White House yesterday, Senator Voorhees determined to visit that personage in the quiet recesses of his woodland home this morning, and to learn why one Joshua Jump, of Terre Haute, had not been officially informed of his appointment as collector of internal revenue; or why, to be technically correct, the commission of Jump, which was sent to the White House four days ago, and had not received the President's signature. The fact that Senator Voorhees was in a frame of mind during all of that part of yesterday following his rebuff at the White House was reported by your correspondent yesterday. The senator did not find himself in a more comfortable condition this morning. He told his friend before his lonely journey through the rain that he intended to go to Woodley and see the President or know why he could not see him, and learn why Jump had not been appointed, even if it resulted in his ultimate return to the practice of law in Indiana. He thought he would just as leave hang up his shingle again in Terre Haute and expound Blackstone as stay longer in the senate if he was to have a continuation of the treatment which had, during the past few days, been accorded him at the hand of the administration. A number of the senator's Hoosier friends lingered about his committee-room at the capitol and in the room in the Maltby Buildings, just north of the capitol grounds, where Chester R. Faulkner, the faithful private secretary to the senator, conducts the personal and political end of the senator's interests. They anxiously awaited a report upon Daniel's desperate move. About noon a closed carriage drove under the porte cochere of the White House, and a minute later a doorkeeper handed the occupant a message in writing. The vehicle then disappeared. A short time afterwards official announcement was made that "Joshua Jump, of Indiana, had been appointed collector of internal revenue." It is stated that Senator Voorhees brought the message himself, or caused it to be brought by a messenger, and that it was not forthcoming with ease.

It is now stated that the mind of the President was many weeks ago filled with direct charges and vague insinuations against Joshua Jump. These charges led him to believe that while Jump might in himself be capable and honest he would be surrounded as an official with influences which should not be for the good of the service. It is probable that these charges will be laid before the committee on finance when nomination goes to that body next month for action preliminary to confirmation, but inasmuch as Senator Voorhees is chairman of the committee it is not likely that any move to defeat confirmation will succeed.

The appointment of Joshua Jump as collector of internal revenue is an important event in the political career of Hon. Elijah Voorhees Brookshire, of Crawfordsville, representative of the eighth district. It is stated by one of that gentleman's most intimate friends, that it means Mr. Brookshire's retirement from congress. The appointment is the consummation of a general deal by which John E. Lamb, of Terre Haute, law partner of Jump, is to be returned to congress. Mr. Brookshire will not discuss the subject for publication, but he is quoted as having in private conversation acknowledged that he understood the details of the deal, and that Lamb would be his opponent for the nomination next spring. With Jump in charge

of the powerful machinery of the internal revenue office and Distiller Fairbanks in the saddle, not only will the interests of Senator Voorhees be taken care of, but John E. Lamb will be boomed for political honors.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

BRACKEN.

October 25.—Representative McNagney is on the warpath against Internal Revenue Collector Bracken. The trouble is over the appointment of a deputy collector. Mr. McNagney says that the office belongs to the Fort Wayne district; that it has been given to that district for many years past, and that it is as much entitled to it as it is to any other office, and he has, upon this assumption, recommended Charles Reese for the position. Mr. Reese is a prominent German Lutheran, of Fort Wayne, and, proceeding under the belief that the office would go to that district, he has secured a large number of indorsements. Captain Bracken has, in some manner, indicated to the people of Fort Wayne, that he does not intend to give the deputyship to that district. He does not indicate where he will place the office, but a belief prevails in some quarters here that it may go to Roscoe Griffith, of Muncie, who was strongly indorsed for the collectorship. At any rate, the information that the place will not go to Fort Wayne has struck Mr. McNagney broadsides and almost taken him off his feet. He naturally feels very much cut up about it, and intends to strike back.

There is good ground for the Fort Wayne democrats to protest against the determination of Bracken to place his deputyship outside of their district. The Fort Wayne democrats have, unquestionably, been treated shabbily by this administration, and the representative from that district is not slow to openly denounce their treatment. He says that President Harrison did a great deal more for the district than President Cleveland has done or intends doing. The democrats fully expected to fill the Leipsic consulship, but when the incumbent was removed the place went to another state, and now it has been stated that the Mississippi-river commissionership, held by Judge Taylor, has been offered to another section.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

October 25.—A lively "kick" has come up from Fort Wayne over the choice of a deputy collector of internal revenue in the sixth district. Collector Bracken has served notice on the politicians of Allen county that he will depart from the time-honored custom of taking the deputy internal revenue collector from the Twelfth congressional district. The Twelfth district has submitted the name of Charles Reese, a leading German Lutheran, of Fort Wayne, for deputy collector. He was heavily indorsed, and by Congressman McNagney and others.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

October 26.—The official announcement that William Zacharias has been appointed traveling deputy and Louis Federmann stamp clerk by Collector Bracken has caused quite a flurry among the local applicants for places in the revenue service. Zacharias and Federmann both belong to Franklin county, the home of the collector, and the boys say that this is all the patronage that county is entitled to. Here there are about forty applicants, with four places to be filled.—*Greensburg (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis News.*

* * *

October 28.—"I guess we have made a mistake in this man." This is what Senator Voorhees is, upon reliable authority, quoted to have said in a private conversation the other day, referring to the appointment of Capt. William H. Bracken, of Brookville, to be collector of internal revenue for the eastern Indiana district.

The senator had been writing and wiring Collector Bracken in reference to the appointment of two or three deputy collectors and had been unable to obtain a reply to his requests. The senator, in a moment of despair, remarked that he had probably made a mistake in securing the appointment of Bracken,

as it was evident that the latter did not intend to give him any patronage. Subsequently, it is stated, the senator succeeded in securing an answer and a promise. But Bracken's delay left an impression upon the senator.

It is stated by a prominent Indiana democrat here that the reason Collector Bracken did not reply to the requests of Senator Voorhees was that he had communicated them to Judge Holman, and was awaiting instructions from the latter. In point of fact Captain Bracken owes his appointment to the influence of Daniel W. Voorhees, but he insists upon recognizing William S. Holman as his sponsor. As has been explained by the *Journal* correspondent, Judge Holman was buncoed into the indorsement of Bracken, much against his will.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

October.—Representative Cooper is another one of the Indiana democrats who is deeply disgusted at Bracken. Mr. Cooper confidently expected to secure a number of positions under Collector Bracken, and he lays his failure, as does Senator Voorhees, to secure places to the interference of Judge Holman.

Meanwhile, every democratic member of congress in Collector Bracken's district is railing at Holman. The three members from the northern part of the state, who were confident that the chief deputyship would be given to McNagney, have no language adequate to the occasion. They are unable to express their indignation toward Holman, whom they hold responsible for the distribution of the internal revenue offices, and whom they charge with not only having turned Bracken against them, but with attempting to "play the pork" and gobble up all the positions, with a view to quelling the opposition against him in his district. The situation is interesting. There is a general row over Bracken's patronage, and two or three of the democratic members of the house directly interested threaten to rise in their places one of these fair days and make some observations decidedly personal to Holman and Bracken.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal.*

* * *

November 7.—William H. Bracken, the new internal revenue collector for this district, spent Sunday in the city. Mr. Bracken said that all the places would be filled by the end of the week. The collector has re-commissioned all the old deputies and he will continue them in office until the new men familiarize themselves with the duties.—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*

* * *

There is a prospect of a break between Senator Voorhees and Collector of Internal Revenue Bracken, of Brookville, if the latter don't keep his promises and make a few appointments for the Senator. One bone of contention at present is the appointment of a deputy collector in Ripley county. Before his appointment Captain Bracken promised to appoint Luther Cox, of Holton, deputy, in case Mr. Bracken landed the collectorship. Luther Cox is one of the fiery, young Jacksonian element, who resigned a place in the railway mail service when President Harrison was elected because he declined to serve under a Republican president. This dramatic move commended Cox particularly to Senator Voorhees. As soon as Bracken was appointed Voorhees sent him a telegram requesting Cox's appointment at once. It did not come. The senator failed to get a reply, and has been trying to hurry Bracken ever since. One of Luther Cox's relatives, George W. Cox, wants the place, and Representative Holman, although he indorsed Luther Cox, now claims that he did so under a misapprehension. Bracken wants to name George W. Cox to serve half the term, with a promise to Cox No. 2 (Luther) he shall serve out the remaining half. Senator Voorhees is very wrathful over this attempt of Bracken to "do the sneak act" on his promise, and proposes to make the political waters of Indiana turbulent if Bracken don't come to time.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, November 19.*

CAUSES OF THE LANDSLIDE.

"I am entirely unfamiliar with the duties of the office and the workings of the custom-house, what offices I shall be called upon to fill, and what the demands of the service are. I believe in making haste slowly, and am not in favor of revolutionizing things in hot haste."—*Interview with Judge Kilbreth, on his appointment as collector, in New York Times, July 29.*

W. F. Harrity ran over from Philadelphia to-night to look after some fourth-class post-offices in Pennsylvania in which he is interested. He found Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell and escorted him to his room at the Arlington, where the subject was discussed. Mr. Harrity will return home to-morrow, and the chances are that in a day or two his recommendations will be carried out.—*Washington Dispatch, New York Times, October 5.*

Preparatory to leaving for the west to-day, Senator Palmer made the rounds of the departments and saw the President for the purpose of settling up some of the important Illinois appointments.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, November 6.*

Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt this morning, in discussing the wholesale reduction of competent republican clerks in the departments in order to give democrats the better positions and salaries, said: "Unfortunately the commission is powerless to stop those outrages. It has no authority to interfere. Under the last administration I vainly endeavored to have the control of promotions in the departments placed with the commission, but unfortunately President Harrison could not be persuaded that there was even a possibility of a change in administration. Frequent complaints have been made to the commission about the acts of Secretaries Carlisle and Smith on this line, but this is the first case against the post-office department under Mr. Bissell, and I must confess my surprise. Mr. Bissell always has been perfectly frank and honest with me."—*Washington Dispatch, Buffalo Express, October 25.*

Surprising to both the friends and enemies of true civil reform is the act of Secretary Hoke Smith in abolishing the board of promotions in the interior department. To the enemies of an honest public service the surprise must be most gratifying, but to those who believe that government business should be transacted in accordance with business principles this official declaration of hostility is far from welcome.—*Washington Star, July 15.*

This plan provides for reducing the republican clerks holding positions of the higher grade to the lower ones, and promoting good democratic clerks to the vacancy. The records and pension division of the war department was the scene of the first operations of this plan. During the summer months over one hundred clerks were reduced and a hundred promoted to the higher places. Secretary Lamont, on the plea that he did not wish to embarrass the clerks by having the truth known that they were reduced on the ground of inefficiency, suppressed all their names from the newspapers, and the victims, desiring to hold their place even at reduced salaries, kept quiet and submitted to the reduction.

In Secretary Carlisle's department no secrecy has been observed. All actions of this kind have been announced, and it was no trouble to learn that politics, pure and simple, governed this change of places. In the second auditor's bureau, which is provided over by T. Stobbo Farrow, of South Carolina, on the 10th of this month, sixty clerks were compelled to change places. In some instances the reduction in sal-

ary and promotion accordingly amounted to \$400 per annum. From a source that is entirely trustworthy the *Express* correspondent learns that every one of the thirty clerks that were reduced were republicans and every one of those promoted were democrats or had strong democratic influence. It is also asserted that those reduced had splendid records and far exceeded in ability those who take their places.

In the first comptroller's office, however, the changes have almost been unanimous. This bureau is presided over by Robert B. Bowler, of Ohio. When he took charge of his bureau he found therein sixty-one employes, of whom thirty-five were republicans. He has been in office only about four months, but during that period seven of the republicans have been dismissed, while twenty-seven of the others were compelled to change places and salaries with democrats. This official also has announced that if he is left alone he will make a clean sweep, giving all the higher class places to democrats and forcing the republicans down to the lower grades.

In the second comptroller's office an order was issued the other day making eighteen of these political changes. In the sixth auditor's office twenty-nine changes have been made so far.

Another place where this plan has been worked very successfully for the democrats is in the pension office. During the past two weeks over one hundred of these political changes have been made. An investigation shows that of those promoted not more than eight or ten were republicans.—*Washington Dispatch, Buffalo Express, September 25.*

Secretary Hoke Smith came to Atlanta yesterday ostensibly to see his family, but in reality to settle the postmastership fight, and, unless all signs fail, he did settle it. The fight was a three-cornered one between J. M. Couper, backed by Senator Gordon; Dr. Ames Fox, backed by Senator Colquitt and Congressman Livingstone, and Anton Kontz, who has strong local backing. But none of these will win. The lucky man is ex-Postmaster Renroe, who was postmaster under Mr. Cleveland's first administration. The appointment will not be an especially popular one, but the people will be glad to see the controversy settled.—*Atlanta (Ga.) Dispatch, New York Times, September 19.*

Secretary Smith's handling of everything connected with the civil service in his department is fantastic in the extreme. His latest performances in the census office include some dismissals which are beyond explanation by any ordinary rules. One of these cases is that of Josiah C. Stoddard, of New York, late disbursing clerk. Mr. Stoddard was formerly disbursing clerk in the department of labor, having been placed there by Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, who has just been placed in charge of the census office also. Mr. Stoddard left the department of labor to go over to the census office because they need a particularly careful officer there. Census accounts are curious things, involving all kinds of out-of-the-way items. The disbursing clerk, therefore, requires to have a keen intelligence to enable him to discriminate between what can properly be paid and what can not. A former disbursing officer of the census office, through no intentional wrong-doing of his own, succeeded in laying up against himself a mass of charges which were disallowed at the treasury department, aggregating some \$12,000, and his bondsmen had finally to go to Congress for relief. Mr. Stoddard, however, has handled his business with such care and precaution that some \$9,000,000 have passed through his hands without a single disallowance, so far as can be ascertained. On the

very eve of Commissioner Wright's taking charge of the census office, this man whom he had selected once for his own department on account of his exceptional abilities is turned adrift.

Another instance in point is that of John D. Leland, of New York, who was chief of the population division in the tenth census, was very highly thought of by General Walker, was retained by Superintendent Porter through all his administration because of his experience and his record for usefulness, and who is withal, it is understood, an out-and-out democrat. The fact, however, that he was a northern man and came over from the last administration was probably argument enough to enable somebody who has the ear of Secretary Smith to procure his dismissal.—*Washington Dispatch, New York Evening Post, October 7.*

A REPUBLICAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY PROSECUTES REPUBLICAN LAW-BREAKERS.

The fourth and most important of the series of prosecutions begun this year in Kentucky under the federal law prohibiting political assessments, resulted, on the 25th of October, in the conviction of Walter P. Shaw in the United States district court. A brief review of the facts brought out can not fail to interest your readers.

Shortly after Albert Scott was appointed collector of this, the fifth district of Kentucky, there was organized among the storekeepers and gaugers of the district what was termed a "revenue circle." Shaw, who was at the time a clerk in the collector's office, visited the various distilleries in the district where the revenue officers were assigned to duty, and organized the society; he administered an oath to the officers and explained the object of the organization. It was in substance that they were to secretly contribute two per cent. of their salaries each month to be used for political purposes and for the maintenance of themselves and the collector in office. It has been impossible to ascertain precisely the amount of money collected by the "circle," but it probably amounted to three or four thousand dollars. This "circle" was dissolved June, 1890, and another organization was got up, fixing the monthly assessments at five per cent. from the beginning of each officer's service, crediting those who had paid the "circle" with the two per cent., and this five per cent. was collected until the 1st of December, 1892. A complete list of the clerks, employes and officers in the internal revenue service in this district, together with the amounts of the salary drawn by them, and the amount due by them—that is, five per cent. on the whole amount of the salaries, less any payments that had been made—was furnished monthly to a man, first C. R. Barnes, and afterward F. M. Heinig, whose duty it was to send to the persons whose names appeared on the list a card requesting them to pay the amount or remit it to him. The person who collected these assessments made a list at the end of the month, giving the name and the amount paid by each officer, and then made a check to one Niman,

who is a brother-in-law of the chief deputy, William E. Riley. Niman would cash the check, and, after deducting two per cent., take the money and the list to one Wade Sheltman, who had formerly been a business partner of Riley's. Sheltman deposited a good deal of the money in bank; it appeared that he had paid out to various political committees about \$11,700.

The total amount collected was something like \$40,000. About \$25,000 has been traced, by the evidence of bankers, into the hands of Sheltman, but other large collections have been made by him, the amount of which it has been impossible to ascertain. It is estimated that there was something like \$20,000 or \$25,000 paid to ex-Collector Scott and Riley. What disposition was made by them of this large sum of money is not yet known.

Barnes and Heinig deducted two or three per cent. for their services for making the collections, Niman two per cent., and Sheltman various amounts at different times, amounting to two or three per cent.

The list that was prepared by Barnes and Heinig of each month's collections was delivered to Sheltman, who delivered it at the end of each month to Riley or to Scott. The persons who failed to pay their assessments were not assigned to duty until the assessments were paid. There never was any committee of any sort to examine the accounts of any of these parties. Besides this, the collector and his chief deputy often had the store-keepers and gaugers going to ward meetings and to political conventions to aid them in their factional controversies, and were allowed by Scott to make up claims against the government for services which were never rendered, and these claims were approved by the collector. It is doubtful, in short, whether there ever existed anywhere more gross abuses than have been discovered in this district under ex-Collector Scott and his chief deputy Riley.

The prosecutions now on foot resulted from investigations made by the grand juries, pursuant to a request of the United States Civil Service Commission. The commission transmitted to George W. Jolly, the United States district attorney, a number of affidavits and letters received by them in Washington about a year ago, charging that the civil service law had been violated in the second collection district and in the fifth collection district. Six indictments were returned by the grand jury at Owensboro; three have been tried, and two out of the three defendants tried have been convicted. Three indictments were returned at Louisville, one of which has just been tried with the result of convicting Shaw. The cases of Scott and Riley will be tried on the 27th of November, and, if they have been worked up with the same admirable thoroughness which has distinguished Mr. Jolly's work in the other cases he has tried, there is good reason to look for conviction in both instances. Every patriotic Kentuckian is prouder of his state for this month's record.—*November Good Government.*

THE PLEDGES.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

"Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegatious composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT.

One mode of the misappropriation of public funds is avoided when appointments to office, instead of being the rewards of partisan activity, are awarded to those whose efficiency promises a fair return of work for the compensation paid to them. To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office, and to remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils, civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefits already gained through this instrumentality, and the further usefulness it promises, entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed, or who hope for the elevation of political sentiment and the purification of political methods. * * *

The oath I now take to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States not only impressively defines the great responsibility I assume, but suggests obedience to constitutional commands as the rule by which my official conduct must be guided. I shall, to the best of my ability and within my sphere of duty, preserve the constitution by loyally protecting every grant of federal power it contains, by defending all its restraints when attacked by impatience and restlessness, and by enforcing its limitations and reservations in favor of the states and the people.

Fully impressed with the gravity of the duties that confront me, and mindful of my weakness, I should be appalled if it were my lot to bear unaided the responsibilities that await me. I am, however, saved from discouragement when I remember that I shall have the support and the counsel and co-operation of wise and patriotic men, who will stand at my side in cabinet places, or will represent the people in their legislative halls. I find also much comfort in remembering that my countrymen are just and generous, and in the assurance that they will not condemn those who, by sincere devotion to their service, deserve their forbearance and approval.

Above all, I know there is a Supreme Being who rules the affairs of men, and whose goodness and mercy have always followed the American people; and I know He will not turn from us now if we humbly and reverently seek His powerful aid.—*From the President's Inaugural Address.*

A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC PAPER.

So, on the subject of civil service reform, President Cleveland speaks in language which none can misunderstand. There is no hedging because now the spoils happen to be within the reach of those of his own party. President Cleveland is just as much in favor of putting the civil service on a business

basis as ever was Candidate Cleveland. Not only does he promise faithful observance of the law as it stands, but he expresses the desire that its scope be extended. A politician would have spoken otherwise. But Mr. Cleveland is a statesman.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, March 6.*

THE PERFORMANCE.

AN OVERBEARING FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Ex-Sheriff Wicks, of Vigo county, has been here several weeks looking for a chiefship of a bureau in the treasury department. Senator Voorhees has assumed the responsibility of providing for Wicks, but is having some difficulty in securing a place for him, as the Indiana quota was filled some time ago.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, November 3.*

* * *

Michael Burke, of Michigau City, has been appointed to a place in the government printing office through Senator Voorhees.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 21.*

* * *

Miss Virgluia Kaiser, of Richmond, Ind., lately arrived in Washington, has been appointed to a position in the bludery department of the government printing office. This is another case of the philanthropic spirit of Judge Chester Faulkner, of Ripley county. Miss Kaiser came here recently in search of employment, and failing to secure it was soon reduced to comparatively destitute circumstances. The case was brought to the attention of Judge Faulkner, private secretary to Senator Voorhees. He sought the public printer and stated the case, and in less than two hours had secured an appointment for Miss Kaiser.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 25.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees arrived in this city yesterday on his way from Washington to his home in Terre Haute. He did not stop off, however, but met several of his friends at the union station while waiting for his train. He stated that he would return to this city in a few days, when there would be a general consideration of the political patronage which he has been instrumental in dispensing. There are a great many dissatisfied persons who will have to be placated before Mr. Voorhees will have any real rest or peace of mind. He was accompanied to Terre Haute by John E. Lamb.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, November 16.*

* * *

A few days ago Peter Staff and Zeb Smith, two Terre Haute soldiers, were dropped from the pension rolls. They were drawing pensions under the general law, and not under the act of 1890. They applied to Senator Voorhees, and both have been restored to the rolls with increased pensions.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 16.*

* * *

Three written questions were handed the senator. They were:

"Did you take a hand in the appointment of George G. Tanner as surveyor of customs here?"

"Have you been asked to assist in getting Edward P. Thompson, postmaster here, out of office?"

"When will Pension Agent Ensley's successor be appointed?"

The senator read them over carefully, and then said: "Now, I do not care to talk about these things. I will tell you why. I never interfere with appointments that belong to other men. The appointments in Indianapolis are under the control of Congressman Bynum and Senator Turpie. Mr. Bynum and Mr. Turpie both live here. It would be wrong for me to interfere with appointments at their home. I have said to congressmen all along: 'You go ahead in all matters in your district; if I can be of any service to you I shall be glad to help you.' I never take the lead in these cases. Take the case of Mr. Tanner. If I should sign his recommendation it would be because the congressman had asked me to do so. I control the appointments in the city in which I live. I was able to secure the appointment of a democratic postmaster at Terre

Haute and a democratic collector of internal revenue in that district. I say this all by way of explanation. You can readily see that I ought not to discuss appointments that belong to Senator Turpie and Congressman Bynum." He said in reference to the appointment of Joshua Jump, as collector of internal revenue, that when he decided to recommend the appointment of Jump he felt that he was recommending a man against whom no objection could be raised. He said he did not believe there were more than two or three persons objecting to the appointment. In reference to the Indianapolis post-office, the senator said: "Of course Mr. Thompson ought to be removed. He ought to be removed at once. He was not fit timber for postmaster in the first place. He was not appointed in the regular way; he came in to serve out the term of another man. Of course he ought to go; he ought to go at once."—*Indianapolis News' Interview with Senator Voorhees, November 23.*

* * *

Congressman Bretz has secured an appointment for McHenry Owens, of Bedford, as special pension examiner.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 27.*

* * *

Congressman Hammond's private secretary, D. H. Fenton, is candidate for chief of a bureau in the treasury department. Mr. Hammond will use his influence to secure the appointment of his protegee. Mr. Hammond scored quite a victory in securing the appointment of his predecessor, Dr. Patton, as receiver of a land office in the Cherokee strip. It is believed that he made the way easy for his own re-nomination also by so doing.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 28.*

* * *

D. H. Fenton, private secretary to Congressman Hammond, and a resident of Hammond, Ind., has been appointed chief of the book-keeping division of the sixth auditor's office of the treasury department.—*Washington Dispatch Indianapolis News, November 8.*

* * *

Leroy Wade, of Posey county, is said to have a fair prospect of being appointed assistant attorney-general. He is endorsed by Senator Voorhees and Congressmen Bretz and Taylor.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, April, 1893.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor will not be to blame if Posey county is not given substantial recognition in the near future. Backed by both senators Mr. Taylor is pushing Leroy Wade, of Posey county, for assistant attorney-general to succeed Judge Chaney, appointed from Indiana.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 5.*

* * *

Major Kidd, of Wabash, wants to succeed Jim Tyner of Peru, as assistant attorney-general for the post-office department. The major is an influential man.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel March 12.*

* * *

Through the efforts of Congressman Martin, Meredith Kidd, of Wabash, has been appointed upon the commission to negotiate with the five civilized tribes.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, November 2.*

* * *

Congressman Cooper is given credit for the appointment yesterday of Luther F. Short as consul-general to Constantinople. Mr. Short is editor of the Franklin (Ind.) Democrat and secretary of the Democratic Editorial Association of Indiana. Mr. Short was one of the earliest consular applicants from Indiana, having applied for a place before the inauguration. In the fight before the democratic national convention he was a steadfast Cleveland man. The consul-generalship at Constantinople is worth probably \$5,000 a year.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 22.*

* * *

Dr. G. W. Buckner, colored, of Evansville, will probably be appointed assistant supervising surgeon of the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington at

a salary of \$1,800 a year. *Congressman Taylor has been making a fight for Dr. Buckner for the first place; but that has been settled on another colored man. Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 4.*

* * *

The laugh just now is on editor William M. Moss, of the Bloomfield Democrat. Mr. Moss has caused to be printed in his own printing office a circular letter signed by the chairman and secretary of the democratic committee of his county and addressed to Senators Voorhees and Turpie, expounding his many virtues and arguing to the point that he should be appointed collector of internal revenue for the district he resides in. The circular has been placed in the hands of certain independent democrats here, but Mr. Moss's friends, seeing the impropriety of it, are trying to suppress the document. The circular relates among other things that Mr. Moss was born in a log house; that he printed at his own cost the democratic tickets in the campaign of 1884 and charged nothing for the work; that he published two democratic newspapers, and that he is now superintendent of the Bloomfield schools, member of the state committee and leader of the affairs of his town. Mr. Moss is now seeking after the position of superintendent of Indian schools, with fair prospects of success.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, April 21.*

[Moss got an Indian inspectorship a few days ago.]

* * *

The fight for the position of collector of the Indianapolis custom-house has become acrimonious in its nature. It is a three-sided fight between Maurice Donnelly, John Rail and Smith Myers. There are other applicants for the place, but they do not appear to figure in it to any great extent. Word was received here a few days ago that Congressman Bynum had said that the appointment would probably be made Saturday (to-morrow), and that the appointee would be John Rail. This stirred up Donnelly's friends to a white heat, and a lot of charges against Rail was sent on to Washington; one bundle for Mr. Bynum, another for President Cleveland, and a third for Secretary Carlisle.

One of Mr. Rail's strongest supporters is Martin J. Murphy, president of the city council. A friend met Mr. Murphy on the street and said to him, "If John Rail gets that place, there will be hell to pay."

"Yes," said Murphy, "and if he don't get it there will be two kinds of hell to pay."

There was some talk this morning that the democracy would unite on some other candidate and telegraph Bynum to drop Rail and Donnelly in the interests of harmony. Rail's friends, however, say that this will not be done; that the place has been promised to him and he must have it.

There is another story going around to the effect that persons receiving the appointment to office are required to obligate themselves to pay in a certain portion of their salary for campaign funds. This could not be traced to any person who had been requested to make such contributions, and Chairman Taggart says that it is a falsehood.—*Indianapolis News, May 5.*

* * *

Congressman Bynum, of Indiana, was one of about twenty congressmen to call on Secretary Carlisle this morning before 10:30 o'clock. This is one of the secretary's regular reception days, and he has been very strict in allowing no office-seekers to call on him at other than reception days. His office this morning was crowded with applicants and their congressional representatives. Mr. Bynum was alone, but came to see the secretary about having the surveyor of the port at Indianapolis appointed within a short time.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 19.*

* * *

Representative Bynum called at the treasury department this morning to make known his recommendation for the surveyor of the port at Indianapolis. Secretary Carlisle, however, has commenced to feel the strain of the silver fight and was

confined to his house, weak and indisposed. Mr. Bynum was compelled to postpone his recommendation until the secretary could be seen at his office. He said this morning that he had made up his mind some months ago whom he would recommend, but would not make known the name until the appointment was made.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 23.*

* * *

Congressman Bynum called on Secretary Carlisle and again indicated his readiness to spring the name of the new surveyor of the port at Indianapolis whenever the secretary was prepared to hear it. Secretary Carlisle said to-day that he would take up appointments probably next week. This conclusion is undoubtedly based on the belief that the silver question will be out of the way by that time. The surveyor will probably not be named before next week. It is reported that an entirely new name has been secured by Mr. Bynum. "Charley" Bridges, of Indianapolis, who was here several days last week, made an attempt to land the office, so it is claimed, but men who are closest to Bynum do not believe Bridges will succeed.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 25.*

* * *

Representative Bynum is said to be having about as much agony over the surveyorship of customs at Indianapolis as Representative Holman had at one time recently over choosing a collector of internal revenue. Neither wanted to name a man from among the many aspirants; neither wanted to discriminate, and each would have been happy with either dear charmer aspirant away. Mr. Bynum's action just at this time is a mystery at the treasury department, where officials say they are unable to learn who the Indianapolis congressman wants given the place, which is regarded as a fat plum. Mr. Bynum refuses to tell even his most intimate friends in congress whom he wants appointed. He says he has no choice, and yet he is quoted as having said that the man who will be appointed has not been publicly named for the position, and that the appointment will create surprise. Secretary Carlisle is reported to be in Mr. Bynum's confidence and to have the name of his choice. A high treasury official said to-day that the secret of Mr. Bynum's mysteriousness and secrecy was due to the fact that he had "queered" himself at the White House over an appointment some months ago. It is already anticipated by Indiana democrats in congress that a great deal of dissatisfaction will follow the appointment, which Secretary Carlisle hinted to-day would be made next week. It will surely be made within a couple of days after the silver bill is passed by the senate.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, October 26.*

* * *

Representative Bynum has cut the gordian knot in the matter of the surveyorship of the port of Indianapolis. The fight for the place has been so bitter and there have been so many candidates that Mr. Bynum deemed it best to select some one for the place who had not been a candidate, and therefore in no way mixed up in any factional quarrel. Mr. Bynum and Senators Voorhees and Turpie picked out the man and got his consent to accept and then joined in his recommendation to the President. The name was satisfactory to the latter and the appointment will probably be made by him to-morrow. The new surveyor will be Mr. George G. Tanner.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, November 7.*

* * *

The appointment of Mr. Tanner ends a contest for office that has been annoying to Congressman Bynum. Soon after the election of President Cleveland many candidates for the place announced themselves. It was the understanding that the appointment would be made on the recommendation of Mr. Bynum, and he was besieged early and late by the applicants. The original candidates for the place were Smith H. Myers, Maurice Donnelly, James M. Healy, Thomas Madden, John A. Reaume, John Rail and Edward St. George Rogers. Several of the candidates and their friends spent much

time in Washington immediately after the inauguration. Each candidate professed to believe at some time during the long wait that he would be appointed. Local Democrats have charged that Congressman Bynum played "hot and cold" with the candidates. It is averred that at one time he told the friends of Smith H. Myers that Mr. Myers would be appointed, and that at other times he said the same thing with reference to other candidates. Along in the summer it was announced from Washington that John Rail, the superintendent of the water company, would be appointed. This announcement brought forth a protest from some Democrats, who declared that Rail was not qualified for the position. The protest was forwarded to Washington, and Rail's commission did not come. Still later it was declared that either Thomas Madden or J. A. Reaume would be appointed, and later still some of the local Democrats seemed to think that W. T. Steele, ex-superintendent of the Citizens' Street Railroad Company, would be the man. The fight all the way through was marked with bitterness, and friends of the various candidates have threatened to "get even" with Bynum unless their particular candidate was appointed. Congressman Bynum has maintained all the way through the contest that he was not guilty of double dealing, and that he was not making definite promises to candidates, as was alleged.—*Indianapolis News, November 7.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees, Congressmen Martin, Cooper and Bynum were at the White House this morning, before the cabinet meeting, hoping to see the President in the interest of several applications for office. The President sent word out that he would be occupied with executive business until the cabinet meeting, and could not see his callers. This was considerable of a disappointment to the Indiana men. Senator Voorhees intends to leave for Indiana to-morrow. President Cleveland gave out word through his private secretary this morning that no new appointment cases would be considered until congress met. A number of new appointments have been considered and practically settled. These will be announced, but no new cases will be taken up. One of the appointments settled is understood to be the Indiana pension agent. Mayor Zollinger, of Fort Wayne, will be appointed.

"When will the Indianapolis postmaster be appointed?" Congressman Bynum was asked to-day.

"I don't know; ask Senator Turpie. He is looking after that."—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, November 10.*

* * *

Congressman W. D. Bynum has about concluded all satisfactory arrangements for the appointment of George G. Tanner, of Indianapolis, as collector of customs for that port.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, November 13.*

* * *

Yesterday Capt. Thomas Hanlon, chairman of the Floyd county democratic central committee, received from Senator Voorhees a letter in regard to the appointment of the postmaster of this city to succeed W. B. Godfrey that showed in the most unmistakable manner the position of the distinguished statesman, and caused the friends of C. W. Schindler considerable elation, with a corresponding depressing effect on the other aspirants for the place and their friends. In the letter Mr. Voorhees states that he had indorsed the recommendation of Mr. Schindler for the place at the request of the Hon. Jason B. Brown, congressman from the New Albany district, and that he could see no reason for withdrawing his indorsement. The appointment of the postmasters, the letter recited, rested with the congressman from the various districts when they were in accord with the administration having the appointing power, and that in this case he could see no reason why Mr. Brown should be deprived of that privilege.—*New Albany Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, July 14.*

[Schindler was appointed postmaster.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18 1892.

VOL. II, No. 10.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1893.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE President's message is noted for its vigorous support of civil service reform, and in this respect it is in line with all of his writings. It is noticeable also that he particularly mentions cabinet officers who express an opinion in favor of reform, or who have done anything to carry it out in their departments. An example of this notice is in his calling attention to the fact that Secretary Morton has not made spoil of his chiefs of division. This is a severe censure upon such cabinet officers as Carlisle and Hoke Smith. But why has the President been so timid? Why did he not long ago tell Carlisle and Smith that he would have none of their spoils methods?

THE President has also this month done another vigorous act which makes for righteousness in the removal of Johnston from the civil service commission, and in the appointment of Mr. John R. Proctor to the vacancy. It is to be hoped that we again have a useful commission. Johnston was strangely out of place. He was in favor of an extension of the merit system but dissented from naming particular places for it. He was always unhappy over the classification of the free delivery post-offices, and at last criticised this to President Cleveland because it was done after Harrison's defeat, not thinking that he was with equal severity criticising his own superior. He was sleepless in his vigilance for democratic partisans. He thought no man entitled to know the cause of his removal until it came to the request for his own resignation. He went about Washington with a pistol in his hip pocket, shaking his fists when he felt his honor was touched, and threatening to "slap" the faces of those who criticised him. The editor of the CHRONICLE has been specially mentioned for this last attention.

THE President, in his message, said some things about civil service reformers which would have been better omitted. Still, a man who has turned out a civil service commissioner and the Topeka postmaster in the same month for blocking or tricking the civil service law, may claim some room for his temper. It is well known that Mr. Cleveland has never liked to hear unpala-

table truth, and reformers do not lay it up against him that he calls them "querulous" and "self-constituted guardians of the law," and their theories "sublimated," and so on. It does not hurt them; it makes him feel better, and it eases the rage of the crowd of looters whom he allows chiefly to have his ear.

It can not be expected, however, that the "self-constituted guardians of reform" will be silent. One of their sublimated theories has been that it was unmanly and unjust to dismiss officers upon charges which only the congressmen were allowed to see, and they have "querulously" insisted that the President ought not to buy Voorhees's vote, nor in the name of pension reform fill up the pension boards with congressmen's political doctors to whom we pay \$1,700,000 a year; nor should the offices under the civil service law be put in charge of those who would be glad to see that law broken down. They will not stop talking about these and other things like them, for they have found that if they do, the ideas which at once come to the front exclusively are not the ideas in the fervid writings of Mr. Cleveland in favor of civil service reform, but they are the ideas of the Carlises and the Hoke Smiths. The "self-constituted guardians" began advocating this reform in 1867, and they have always been used to such little pleasantries as the President now treats them to, and from all kinds of politicians, from the President to the ward-heeler. Against this they have brought this reform to its present rugged and healthy state, and they propose to carry it to completion.

THE report from Washington that Voorhees wants to be the democratic candidate for President in 1896, seems to have a foundation. It would be a bitter commentary upon Mr. Cleveland's statesmanship, should it result that "placating" this humbug, who would be comic if he were not so dangerous, with spoil gave him such importance as to make him the presidential candidate of his party. If it should turn out that the democrats deserve defeat in 1896 it is to be hoped that they will nominate Voorhees. Let them shoulder all that is bad in politics and in public life and blunder into a defeat in comparison with which Maynard's defeat will seem a victory.

IN other columns we give the usual detailed account of the labors of Indiana congressmen in Washington during the month. Congressman Cooper is trying to get a place for "Dick" Johnson. Bynum has worked William Warmack, colored, into a porter's place in the railway mail service, and has revived here what Secretary Morton called the "Bureau of Animal Indolence," and Dr. Stucky and his assistants have been again restored to full pay. The only concern which exports meat from this place has had an order from Germany, and it is likely that this bureau will have several days' work to do before the holidays. Congressman Martin has caused Collector Bracken to appoint "the Hon. William H. Harkins, of Portland, a deputy collector." Martin is also the hero of a bill to repeal the civil service law. Congressman Hammond "is giving some attention to presidential postmasters." Bretz is trying to have John Johnson, editor of the *Democrat*, made postmaster at Bedford, and John W. McCarty at Washington, and one Wilson at Worthington. Jason Brown expects "a sweep-out of the republican employes at the Jeffersonville army depot about the first of January." Congressman Conn very boldly refused the postmaster-general to get up a petition to support his man for the postmastership at Notre Dame. Congressman Taylor is trying hard to get his man in as inspector of steamboats at Evansville, against Poet Hays, Congressman Caruth's man. He expects to "name" an Alaska commissioner, a surgeon of the freedmen's hospital, and an assistant attorney-general. Congressman Holman "is sweating purple moisture" over the fight for the Shelbyville post-office. Congressman Voorhees has called upon Logan Carlisle to give "Charles E. Brown, a colored democrat," a place, and has designated three men, any one of whom may be turned out for his man.

THE Indian Rights Association has recently issued a pamphlet under the title, "The Appointment of a First-rate Indian Agent by the New Administration." It was written out of the fullness of heart to do all possible justice, and not, as a foreigner unfamiliar with the American civil service system would suppose, to lampoon the administration. In natural surprise he might be pardoned the exclamation,

"Great Heavens, in this land of the free, is it such an epoch, so unusual a circumstance, that they issue a bulletin to announce that a first-rate Indian agent has been appointed! What sort of men is it their custom to put over these helpless wards of the nation? What a land is this! I shall next read of the jailer who is humane and competent, of the manager of the orphan asylum who does not beat and starve the orphans, and of a gentleman who does not lie and cheat."

If he is a philosophical foreigner he will read that the grossly incompetent agent removed was Senator Pettigrew's man, and he will then come upon the astounding fact that in this country these places are parcelled out, after months of broils and fights, among senators and congressmen who use them largely as private perquisites. Upon further investigation he will find that the principle of appointment has not been changed, but the new Indian agent was chosen by favoritism, as Pettigrew's man was, only the former turns out to be a good man.

Secretary Carlisle has made another of those changes which have so often disarmed the would-be defenders of this administration. A. O. Latham, chief of the diplomatic and consular division of fifth auditor's office, whose resignation has been called for, is a veteran treasury officer, with an excellent record for character, skill, and ability. There are no visible reasons for his removal except the fact that he has attended too honestly to his duties to take the sort of interest in politics which is a passport to the secretary's favor. He will have to step out and make room for a raw recruit who has proved his democracy by his works. The management of the diplomatic and consular division requires expert knowledge in order to protect the government thoroughly well and to save time and friction for all concerned. To take out a man who has the work of the office at his fingers' ends, whose acquaintance with the precedents is so full as to save searching in nine cases out of ten, and to put in his place one who will require twenty years' practice to reach the same point of excellence, can have only one effect: it must cripple the service and add to the labors of everybody in the office or having business with it.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, November 21.*

As is well understood, the President allows the members of his cabinet entire freedom to act as spoilsmen or not. Each man is free to run his department according to his individual taste, and most of them prefer to act in opposition to the democratic platform and to the President's repeated utterances. Yet he seems annoyed to have their acts brought to his notice, and he has turned a deaf ear to all requests to him to interfere. He has always vigorously disapproved of nepotism. It has been suggested that there were family reasons why the secretary of the treasury needed his son. Whatever the reason, the president gave way and Logan Carlisle was appointed. Month after month this youth has visited an unmerciful proscription upon old and faithful employes, and his father has acquiesced and the Presi-

dent has acquiesced. Has not the time come for a public protest from the various civil service reform associations against these acts, and especially against the pernicious principle adopted by the President of non-interference? Doubtless the committee, of which Mr. Foulke is chairman, will look into the civil service of the treasury, and it may be well to wait for their report.

THE Civil Service Reform Association of Pennsylvania has issued a bulletin under date of October, 1893, which contains a feature that could be copied by other associations with great profit. It prints clippings from the daily press regarding appointments and removals in the various offices. Elsewhere will be found some interesting illustrations regarding the Philadelphia post-office and the class of men whom Postmaster Carr has chosen to fill the places of the republican incumbents, out of "duty to the government, and to the patrons of this office, having regard to the duty I owe myself as an official not only under oath but also under heavy security." Mr. Carr should free his mind of cant and imitate the brutal frankness of Harrity's internal revenue collector, who decapitated his subordinates with the explanation that to the victor belong the spoils.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

In your resume of the results of the election you omitted all notice of the fact that the republican ticket in this state was elected on a *direct* civil service reform issue; on a platform which distinctly pledges the party to reform existing abuses in the civil service, and, best of all, that the comptroller-elect has not only pledged himself, but is *going to keep his pledge*, to refuse warrants for the payment of salaries to persons whom we show have been illegally appointed. I think that there never has been a state election in which civil service reform was made so direct and positive an issue, nor which has been more productive of *results*. Mr. McAneny's communication to the last issue of *Good Government*, if anything, understates the case, but it was written in ignorance of the fact that Comptroller-elect Roberts had personally renewed to me his anti-election pledges, and by his earnest and diligent inquiry into the detail of the matters involved in our civil service reform crusade, has given the very best evidence of his sincerity.

Very truly, etc., FRANK W. LOOMIS.

Buffalo, New York, November 29.

The canvass of the election returns since the above letter was written shows that James A. Roberts led all other candidates, and bears out Mr. Loomis's statement of the weight of the reform question in the campaign. The reform structure in New York had been nearly racked to pieces by Hill, Flower and Tammany. And to the Buffalo Association, which is now the most efficient in the country, must be given the credit of leading in the movement to right it up. This association spends time and money and knows no party or individual. To its incentive, more than to anything

else, will be due the coming final overthrow of Plattism, Hillism, and Tammanyism in that state.

ONE of the most powerful causes of the republican defeat in 1888 was Plattism. In the recent election in New York Hillism, which is the same thing, brought defeat to the democrats by 100,000 against Maynard. It would be the height of absurdity to say that this defeat indicated that the people wanted Plattism back. Yet in the republican primaries in New York December 12, the old crowd headed by Platt's man, Jake Patterson, were overwhelmingly victorious. This again shows what the CHRONICLE has always maintained, that the primary is impracticable as a place for ridding the public of a corrupt and incorrigible party machine. Not a tenth of the members of a party go to the primary, and if they did the life-politicians would "down" them. The only practicable means in sight of dealing with Plattism and Hillism is for voters to refuse utterly to be bound by the action of any party caucus or convention.

FIVE or six years ago Croker, the chief boss of Tammany, declared under oath that he was a poor man. Later he became the head of Tammany Hall. He has recently invested a half million in a stock farm and has bought and maintains a stable of race horses, and has now purchased an eighty thousand dollar house on Fifth avenue, and he lives as a very rich man. Five years ago Mayor Gilroy, another Tammany leader, was only a deputy county clerk and was poor. He has never had any occupation but politics. He is now a very rich man. The same condition of wealth, perhaps in a less extent, is true of other Tammany leaders who were poor men, and who, while becoming rich, have engaged in no business except politics in connection with Tammany Hall. The money they have can come from no other source than from receipts which come into their hands as Tammany bosses. This shows what an amount of money can be made out of political pulls when the spoils system reaches its full perfection as it has in Tammany Hall. No books are kept by this organization. But no man can be appointed to an office until he has made a contribution to Tammany. No man, from judge to constable, can be a candidate unless he buys the privilege by a contribution. The periodical assessments upon the wages of public employes are as relentless and irresistible as public taxation is. Contractors are obliged to pay for their contracts and for the privilege of carrying them out unmolested and for having their bills allowed after their work is done. The great corporations and business interests

of New York city pay blackmail to be let alone in the exercise of their ordinary rights. They also pay blackmail to prevent blackmailing legislation. The business interests of New York city do not dare to make an open contribution to any object unfriendly to Tammany. No business man in New York dares publicly to say anything against Tammany. Small tradesmen are forced to join Tammany and contribute to its funds to save their business from being destroyed. Saloons and houses of ill-fame are constant objects of enormous blackmail. As a high authority says, this condition of things is such that there is nothing in Russia that approaches it, nor in Turkey that can surpass it.

THE late assistant secretary of state expressed the opinion that however excellent the management of their consular service by foreign countries might be, it was not feasible for us. Just why was not then plain and it is still less so upon reading the London letter to the *New York Evening Post*, under date of November 24, regarding the English consular system, and printed elsewhere. There is a record of promotions and longer service whilst our latest barbarity was the removal of Mr. Studer, our consul at Singapore. He writes to a friend:

"Health permitting, I may see you next spring in New York (the doctors don't want me to leave here for the north in autumn). I am not at all ashamed to tell you that, after twenty-two years of service as consul (undermined health from climatic causes and hard work), I not long ago was notified by the department of state that the President had appointed my successor to be consul general at this port. I expect him to arrive shortly."

In the face of this apparently wanton brutality it is encouraging to note the plain speaking of Mr. Quincy's fellow-citizens, the Boston Merchants' Association, a non-partisan organization. They also appear to think that there is no difficulty in organizing the consular service purely on the merit system. It is safe to say that Mr. Cleveland's successor will have learned wisdom by his experience, and that the consular service will not again be used as spoil to reward editors, and the secretaries and presidents and chairmen of political committees nor other importunate and blatant party hacks.

ONE OF the hopeful signs is the increasing tendency among civil service reformers to have the same standard of judgment for the acts of a republican President and of a democratic President in his management of the civil service. It marked an epoch in reform when a republican like Henry C. Lea addressed a letter of bitter and humiliating truth to a republican President, and the following resolu-

tion marks an even greater gain for reform because it is the utterance of those whose personal devotion to President Cleveland has been such that to disassociate his acts and to judge them absolutely without bias required a high grade of citizenship.

The following resolution, bearing the signatures of Charles Eliot Norton, president, and Philip S. Abbot, secretary, has been adopted by the executive committee of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association:

"Resolved, That the executive committee of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association deeply regret President Cleveland has thus far in his second administration failed to carry out the pledges of the democratic party and his own utterances in regard to the reform of the civil service, and they further regret that under his administration a large proportion of the appointments to office has been made for partisan services. They regret this the more deeply because they believe that President Cleveland had an unparalleled opportunity to promote the principles of reform in the civil service, and that his dereliction in respect to appointments has rendered further steps of reform more arduous."

LOST OPPORTUNITIES.

Harper's Weekly of December 9th has a just and conclusive editorial upon Mr. Bissell as postmaster-general. He has incurred the hatred of the spoilsmen. They are angry at him as "not a good democrat." He has brought this upon himself by refusing to wantonly remove division chiefs, by refusing to promote democrats and reduce republicans, by causing the removal of the Topeka postmaster, by insisting that the civil service law shall be enforced, by requiring charges before he will remove fourth-class postmasters who have not been in office four years, and by other acts in the same line. Nevertheless, all these things together do not make the beginning of a great career. Yet, as the *Weekly* says, Mr. Bissell has encountered nearly all of the enmity and opposition that he would have met had he set out to accomplish a fundamental reform. This would have been to secure the transfer of the chiefs of divisions in Washington and throughout the country to the classified service, and to establish rules for promotion under the civil service commission, to apply the Boston labor service system to his department. But the one great work before him was the overthrow of the abuse of the fourth-class post-offices. He has not done that; instead he has retrograded. He has made a rule that a four-year tenure shall of itself be a cause for removal. Granted that congressmen are to continue to put in their favorites, reform could not be set back more than by such a rule. He has allowed congressmen to come with charges which are kept secret, but upon which these postmasters have been removed wholesale, so that his rule is in great measure a shadow, and the removals have been full of outrageous injustice. Witness the Irvington

post-office, in this county. Congressmen never put in their watch-dogs more freely than they do now. Yet they are angry because they have to get up charges, knowing that it is a mere form, and therefore holding it in contempt. On the other hand, Mr. Bissell has not gained the people, for the country views the practice with grave disapproval. This is neither statesmanship nor practical politics. Mr. Bissell has missed his opportunity. It lay in grasping and acting upon the fact that the right system for the appointment of fourth-class postmasters, when it is adopted, will cast out every personal or party consideration, and will absolutely remove the influence of congressmen from these appointments. This last is the *sine qua non* to any reform.

The same is true of President Cleveland in his larger field. He came into office this time absolutely free to follow any course he might choose. The country was ready for the fullest measure of reform in his dealing with the civil service. His own utterances for years, his party platform, and the party campaign text-book, were a complete barrier against the onslaught of the spoilsmen. He, too, lost his opportunity. This seems the more unbearable, for it came back to him after he had lost it once before. It will never come again. He chose to make of first importance matters of minor importance. The silver crisis could have had no other result than it did have. Property and labor were aroused, and Voorhees did not need to be "placated." It was of no greater moment than the greenback crisis in the seventies, nor than any other of the economic questions which have, from time to time in the history of our government, become acute. In dealing with them, no President does more than his routine duty, and no acts of any President in connection with them have made him great. The tariff revision, if carried through, can not claim to rank above the revision of 1846; yet President Polk has and deserves no high place in the country's history.

These unfortunate mistakes of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bissell can only come from shortsightedness. They must believe that the pressure upon them for places is the pressure of the nation. In reality, it is solely and only the pressure of a would-be oligarchy made up of congressmen and their followers scattered throughout the country, noisy and persistent, but in reality comprising but a small fraction of the people. The people do not want this degrading seizure of the public offices to continue. They would have gathered around President Cleveland in any struggle, however radical, he chose to make to overthrow the practice.

THE TENTH REPORT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Everyone should send for the tenth annual report of the civil service commission, which contains information to be found nowhere else, and in a gratifying manner makes clear the triumphant progress of civil service reform. The civil service law now embraces about 44,000 places, and that it is to be enforced is rapidly coming to be an accepted fact. The cost to the government of carrying out the act is about a dollar a place, or \$42,000. In addition to those in these places there are about 150,000 more persons in the civil service, 69,000 of these being postmasters and 25,000 being laborers. The balance is largely composed of places which can be transferred to the classified service by presidential order, and this is only a matter of time. A like presidential order can classify the 25,000 laborers. This leaves the 69,000 postmasters to be taken away from the spoilsmen by the Lodge bill and by a system of promotion and permanence of tenure which shall cause postmasters in the larger offices to disappear as local political manipulators as the higher officers in the railway mail have so disappeared.

The report treats at length of the classification of the free delivery offices, and gives lively examples of the notions of public business which have prevailed in this country. At one office where the postmaster made a clean sweep before the order went into effect each new letter carrier paid thirty-five dollars down and five dollars a day to his predecessor to teach him how to do his work. The warfare against postmasters who tricked the law goes on steadily but not satisfactorily for lack of sufficient power in the commission for a complete investigation.

The commission attacks the absurdity of the number of excepted places which both in Washington and throughout the country are used to quarter upon the treasury in superior positions mere politicians ignorant of the duties. Here, again, the same queer notions of business crop out. In dismissing the incumbent of one of the excepted places, the postmaster said to him in writing:

Your conduct as chief register clerk while under my charge as postmaster, calls from me an expression that is well merited. The place you occupied being an excepted place, and one that I am necessarily compelled to fill with one of my own party, makes it necessary for us to part; no cause of complaint in regard to your official acts, as I have found you an efficient officer, besides your gentlemanly treatment of myself, prompts me to write you this letter, and I recommend you as an honorable and capable man, and any one would do well to have such men as yourself in their employ.

In another office and on like occasion the postmaster said:

I assure you that it is with feelings akin to pain

that circumstances over which I have no control make it necessary that I should fill the offices under my control with gentlemen of my own party affiliations. Your gentlemanly and courteous treatment, and your business qualifications are such that I feel warranted in recommending you to any position to which you aspire. Since you have been associated with me you have proved by your works that nothing I could say in your behalf would be amiss. In parting with you I part with a man who is not only capable, but honest, and in every sense a gentleman; and I can truthfully say that our party differences is the only reason of our severing the pleasant business relations that have existed between us.

The commission has made an extremely valuable investigation of the civil service of different nations and publishes the results in full. In brief, the systems vary from Morocco where the theory and practice is that public officers should, by bribery and in every other way, make as much money as possible out of the offices, to the democratic government of Switzerland where appointment and tenure are for merit and open to all without favoritism. The difference is the difference between barbarism and the highest civilization. In our civil service law, with its democratic competition open to all, without life tenure, but with the same tenure that prevails in all great business institutions, we have the inauguration of the system which goes with high civilization. In our treatment of the fourth class post-offices and of the excepted places and of the 150,000 places in the unclassified service generally, we are on a par with Russia, Turkey and Morocco.

THE VAN ALLEN CASE.

[From the Indianapolis News, December 7.]

In response to a request for his own views and those of the civil service reformers in regard to the refusal of J. J. Van Alen to accept the Italian ambassadorship, Lucius B. Swift said to-day:

"The facts in the Van Alen case are not in any manner changed. It will always be true that his sole distinction was in being a society man, moving in a limited circle, and that ordinarily the President would never have heard of him, to say nothing of making him an American ambassador. Van Alen's denial does not make it any the less true that he received the office solely because Whitney got it for him for having made a large contribution to the Democratic campaign fund. It is one of the healthiest signs that public opinion made a stand against this gross misuse of a public trust. We have many very rich men who with their families would like to shine socially in foreign capitals, and if contributions of \$30,000 or \$40,000 to campaign funds would secure ambassadorships, plenty of them would pay the money, and we have plenty of Whitneys who would see that the offices were handed over in return. The danger of this practice does not seem to have been overestimated either by the 'decent' or the 'malignant' critics of the Van Alen appointment. It is not probable that Van Alen was moved

to refuse by American criticism. He would care very little for that, but he had reason to fear for his social standing in England, where public offices are not used to pay private individuals for anything. He doubtless also keenly realized that at the Italian court and in the streets of Rome he would feel that he was always being pointed out as the man who bought his place with a money contribution to a party committee."

[From the Indianapolis Sentinel, December 9.]

We regret to observe that Mr. Lucius B. Swift is still "chewing the rag" in the Van Alen matter. We have a great deal of respect for Mr. Swift because we believe him to be one of the few civil service reformers who are thoroughly in earnest and quite disinterested. Although he carries the logic of his hobby to an extent that makes his ideas utterly impracticable, he is usually fair in his statements, but we do not think he is at all fair in the following:

The facts in the Van Alen case are not in any manner changed. It will always be true that his sole distinction was in being a society man, moving in a limited circle, and that ordinarily the president would never have heard of him, to say nothing of making him an American ambassador. Van Alen's denial does not make it any less true that he received the office solely because Whitney got it for him for having made a large contribution to the democratic campaign fund. It is one of the healthiest signs that public opinion made a stand against this gross misuse of a public trust.

There are comparatively few men appointed to office of whom the President would ever have heard if they had not been recommended to him by some one. That is one of the necessities of any administration of government. It is absolutely immaterial whether the President ever heard of him before the appointment was recommended to him or not. Neither is it material that an applicant should have attained any "distinction," nor is it any detriment that he is "a society man," or that he moves in "a limited circle." The only question is whether he is "fit" for the position. That is Mr. Swift's own standard for appointment. That is what is urged by all civil service reformers everywhere as the proper standard. President Cleveland says he investigated the matter and was thoroughly satisfied of his fitness, and until some evidence can be shown to the contrary the opinion must stand. The President is the head civil service examiner, and he has passed this man with the highest mark that could be given. The only further evidence before the public, of which we have knowledge, is Van Alen's letter, and that certainly confirms the opinion of the President.

We do not understand on what grounds Mr. Swift asserts positively, in the face of the denial of Van Alen and of the President, that it is "true that he received the office solely because Whitney got it for him for having made a large contribution to the democratic campaign fund." This is not only a gratuitous assumption, but it is an assumption in the face of evidence. What does Mr. Swift know

about the relations of Whitney and Van Alen? How does he know that this contribution is the only link that binds them? How does he know that Mr. Whitney did not know the "fitness" which the President ascertained, and which the public now generally concede? And even if that were Whitney's only motive, what right has Mr. Swift to say that it was the President's motive? If Mr. Swift has any evidence to submit on these points we should be pleased to have him produce it.

[From the Indianapolis Sentinel, December 15.]

To the Editor of the Indianapolis Sentinel:

In the *Sentinel* of December 9 you ask what evidence I have, as against the President's judgment that Van Alen was fitted for the Italian ambassadorship and after Van Alen's denial that he received the place because he made a large contribution to the democratic campaign fund, that he did receive the place for that reason.

Mr. Van Alen was a man whose sole distinction was along society lines—dinners at Newport in the summer and a hunting stud in England during the hunting season. He had been entirely unknown in the political history of the country. Last year, as Mr. Whitney says, "when friends were few and calls were great," Van Alen paid something over \$30,000 into the democratic campaign fund. Then he expressed a wish for and was appointed to the place of ambassador to Italy.

Mr. John Wanamaker was a Philadelphia shopkeeper, and was distinguished in no other manner, except in the field of religion. In 1888, by solicitation, he raised some \$400,000 for the republican campaign fund. Then he applied for and was appointed to the place of postmaster-general.

Turning to the index of the National Democratic Campaign Text-Book of 1892, under the title of "Wanamaker, Postmaster-General," we find "Purchase of a Cabinet Seat, 189." Turning to the page referred to, the text-book says: "Perhaps the most disgraceful act committed by President Harrison was the appointment of Mr. Wanamaker as postmaster-general. Wanamaker was a man who had been entirely unknown in the political history of the country. * * * When the election had elevated Mr. Wanamaker's candidate to the presidency, Mr. Wanamaker by virtue of his services became an applicant for a cabinet position. Mr. Harrison generously responded, and Mr. Wanamaker was made postmaster-general." Notwithstanding the fact that President Harrison and Mr. Wanamaker always said that the latter was appointed solely for fitness, I have never thought that the text-book over-stated the case, and I do not hesitate to say, with the text-book, that Mr. Wanamaker received his place solely by virtue of his services. If he had not raised the fund he would not have been thought of for the appointment and would not have received it.

The Wanamaker case, as annotated by the text-book, throws a bright light on the Van Alen case. It is difficult to find any difference, except that another ox is now being gored. If

Mr. Van Alen had not made the heavy contribution, he would not have been thought of for the place, and he would not have been "backed" by Whitney's coercive statement to the President, "*This, you know, is the first time you have been approached by me on the subject of appointments,*" and the President would not have felt compelled to appoint him. Letter writing by Mr. Van Alen and the President can not change the facts. The victory gained by public opinion will make future appointing officers and political managers reluctant to repeat this dangerous example.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

Indianapolis, December 12, 1893.

(The *Sentinel* of the same date comments editorially upon the above letter. After stating that no evidence is produced as requested and after re-stating its argument as to Van Alen's fitness it concludes as follows:)

"Mr. Swift's citation of Wanamaker is unfortunate for his theory. No comparison could more clearly show the high character of Mr. Van Alen. Wanamaker was known everywhere as a man who did everything on the business principle of getting what he paid for. He not only contributed largely, but acted as a soliciting agent for the worst gang of corruptionists the country ever knew—the Pennsylvania crowd that Mr. Swift aided in fighting. When the office was obtained for him he took it in the face of a clamor greater than that raised in the Van Alen case. He had paid and he wanted his goods. Very different was Mr. Van Alen. When the clamor was raised in his case, he waited until the confirmation by the senate had shown that there was no objection to him as a man. Then he said, in effect: 'I have bought no office, and I will not accept one under circumstances that are claimed to indicate that I did. I do not wish even the tarnish of suspicion on my good name.' Mr. Cleveland urged him to accept, but he preferred this conclusive evidence that he was not an office-purchaser—that he was not a Wanamaker. Surely Mr. Van Alen is entitled to his good name. That is all he asks."

Removals and appointments made out of "duty to the government, and to the patrons of this office, having regard to the duty I owe myself as an official not only under oath, but also under heavy security."—Postmaster Carr.

Postmaster Carr yesterday discharged fourteen republicans from the post-office and appointed democrats to succeed them. All of the republicans discharged were outside the civil service rules and regulations.

* * *

Postmaster Carr yesterday made half a dozen appointments of postal station superintendents and clerks. All the appointees had been backed by democratic organizations of their respective wards.

At Station B, Thirty-eighth street, below Market, Hart Sterr, republican, is succeeded as superintendent by William H. Schembs, secretary of the Twenty-fourth ward democratic executive committee.

George Malone, president of the Keystone Democratic Club, of the twenty-ninth ward, and brother of the vice-president of the National Association of Letter-carriers, becomes superintendent of Columbia Station, Twentieth street and Columbia avenue, in place of Frank P. Goodwin, republican. The salary is \$1,200. Mr. Malone resides in the same division with National Chairman Harrity.

John Osborne, who has had a news stand in Germantown and has been prominently active in politics there, is made clerk in charge of the Upsal station, succeeding Charles A. Unruh, resigned.

F. Antoine Stieber is a candidate for superintendent of the Bridesburg station. The salary is \$800. Mr. Stieber is supported by Democratic City Committeeman Charles J. Young and the ward committeemen.

Postmaster Carr yesterday notified Charles B. Hall, superintendent of the registry division of the post-office, that Lehman P. Ashmead had been appointed to become his successor on the 16th inst. Mr. Hall is a co-laborer with Magistrate Durham and Select Councilman Houseman in Seventh ward republican politics, and was appointed registry superintendent by Postmaster Field.

The numerous candidates for his \$2,100 a year place, in addition to Mr. Ashmead, included Benjamin F. Gilbert, of the twenty-second ward, ex-superintendent of the stamp division, who was backed by ex-City Treasurer W. Redwood Wright and the ward organization; Walter Warner, of the Sixteenth ward, formerly cashier of the money order department; John D. Ruoff, of the twentieth ward, ex-Assistant Custodian of the Post-office Building, and City Committeeman Richard C. Gorman, of the thirty-seventh ward, and ex-clerk of the registry department. All of these candidates were supported by the democratic organizations of their respective neighborhoods.

Mr. Ashmead's appointment was recommended by many prominent democrats, among whom were Governor Pattison, William F. Harrity, Justice Samuel Gustine Thompson, Henry Flanders, Judge Arnold, John R. Read, ex-Mayor King, David W. Sellers, ex-Sheriff Wright, Health Officer Veale, ex-Sheriff Krumbhaar, City Chairman Wilhere, John M. Campbell, Joseph I. Doran and John Huggard. Among other citizens by whom Mr. Ashmead's competency for the position was attested were: George W. Childs, L. Clarke Davis, Charles E. Warburton, J. J. Sullivan, John M. Gest, A. Warren Kelsey and James F. Sullivan.—*Philadelphia Record*, September 9.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT VORHEES.

Secretary Hoke Smith scored a point on Senator Voorhees a few days ago. The relations that have existed between the administration's representative in the Senate and the secretary of the interior have been strained for some time past. Senator Voorhees has had a rod in pickle for Secretary Smith for several months. He went out of his way to apply it mildly on the pension question in his repeal speech. The trouble between the two statesmen originated several months ago over the subject of office. Secretary Smith made his point on the senator a few days ago by refusing to appoint the latter's son, Charles P. Voorhees, of Washington State, as one of the commissioners to treat with the Puget Sound Indians. There was a strong demand from the Washington democrats for Mr. Voorhees's appointment. There are three members of the commission, and such commissions are generally constituted of two members of one political party and one from the other.

Congressman John L. Wilson, of Washington, went to Secretary Smith and asked him to waive the usual courtesy to the minority party and give the place reserved for a republican to Mr. Voorhees. Congressman Wilson is a republican and a former Hoosier, and made this plea for Senator Voorhees's son in return for a favor which the senator showed him several years ago, by securing his appointment from President Arthur as receiver of the land office in Washington Territory. Congressman Wilson claims that the appointment which Senator Voorhees secured for him gave him his first start in the west, from which he has risen to his present position in politics. Naturally he desired to contribute to the success of the senator's son. But Secretary Smith declined to appoint Senator Voorhees's son, but gave the position to a republican instead.—*Washington Dispatch Indianapolis News*, November 9.

* * *

There is no admiration between Senator Voorhees and Secretary Smith. They disagreed over patronage shortly after the inauguration, and the Senator has

asked no favor of Secretary Smith since When the secretary refused to appoint the senator's son as a member of the Puyllup Indian commission in the state of Washington a few days ago, he touched the senator again on a tender spot. Senator Voorhees did not ask the appointment, but he feels that the blow was aimed at him personally.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, November 10.*

* * *

This morning word was brought to Senator Voorhees that Secretary Smith had declined to recognize any further indorsements of the senator in making appointments, and that the senator's appointees would be discharged. It was reported that two had been displaced already. "I wish he would discharge some of the men whose appointments I secured," was the senator's comment this morning. Senator Voorhees is not disturbed over the rumor. Secretary Smith is in Georgia.—*Washington Dispatch Indianapolis News, November 13.*

* * *

It may be of interest to Indiana democrats to know that there is already a movement on foot to instruct the next Indiana delegation to the democratic national convention for Senator Daniel W. Voorhees for president. Some of the senator's friends here believe that the time has come when his name should be brought to the front for the presidency. Never, they say, was the organization in Indiana in better shape for securing instructions to the national convention than at the present time. The senator will have his enemies in his own party, as usual. But it is believed that the distribution of federal patronage in that state has been carried on so successfully that the Voorhees machine is invincible. The *News's* correspondent has the very highest authority for stating that already some of the plans have been laid for securing a Voorhees delegation to the next national convention.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 13.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees, who reached Washington yesterday afternoon, came up to his office in the Maltby building this morning and resumed work. Several Indiana office-seekers were waiting for him. The Senator is in excellent health.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 1.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees has asked Chief Clerk Logan Carlisle, of the Treasury Department, to reappoint Charles E. Brown, a colored democrat, of Richmond, Ind., to his old place as clerk in the third auditor's office. Brown was in the employ of the late ex-Senator McDonald for thirteen years, and was appointed to office on Mr. McDonald's recommendation under President Cleveland's last administration. Senator Voorhees has designated three Indiana colored republicans, Thomas Evans, Harry Williams and William Thompson, now holding office under the third auditor, and asks that one of them be removed to make way for Senator McDonald's protege. The claim is made that Mayor Denny, of Indianapolis, made a special trip to Washington, as soon as President Harrison was inaugurated, to have Brown removed.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 8.*

* * *

The disappointed 375 applicants for positions under Joshua Jump, the new internal revenue collector, are mad enough to-day to be talking about holding an indignation meeting. Their complaint is that the twenty-five men appointed are not entitled to the places. The chief deputy, Lindeman, has been a democrat but four years, and Scott, the second deputy, not much longer. One of the new gaugers has been keeping a saloon and club-house. The selections are all of Lamb's make. The Scott appointment has caused quite a sensation by reason of the discovery that he was dismissed as a gauger when General Manson was collector four years ago last August, and his dismissal was on the recommendation of special agent Somerville. The charge is understood to have been that in gauging spirits he gave the distillers the benefit of all doubts. As second deputy he will have supervision of the

gaugers and their deputies. It will be recalled that soon after Mr. Cleveland took office in March the Indianapolis *Sentinel* printed a series of Washington specials in which it was alleged in positive terms that the appointment of Jump was in the interest of a conspiracy of distillers. Fairbanks, the great distiller and brewer, who is Jump's relative and John Lamb's "side partner," has been holding various conferences with the gang since the facts about Scott came to the surface. The *Sentinel* specials are also printed in the *Gazette*, the democratic organ here. Moreover, the editor of the *Gazette* wrote a personal letter to Mr. Cleveland making the point against Jump's appointment that it would be in the interest of Fairbanks, who, according to the talk heard on every hand now, "owns the town."

So strong was the pressure for places that Postmaster Donham was called upon to again perform his familiar part as a wielder of Lamb's ax. Superintendent of Carriers Adams was much surprised to find in the daily paper the announcement that he had been removed and Mike Brophy, former secretary of the democratic committee, appointed in his place. Adams had served in his position for ten years continuously, and on Donham's assurance that he could remain through his term he declined a business offer. At that time the *Gazette* praised Donham for adhering to "genuine civil-service reform" by the retention of Adams and two others, one of whom has since been removed and the other is retained for personal reasons.

The *Journal* correspondent met Mr. Fairbanks this morning and asked him if he had known of the cause for Scott's dismissal from the service when a gauger. He pretended to take the question as applying to the dismissal in the first instance, when Scott was a gauger under Collector Minshall, and when he was a republican. Fairbanks said Scott had then helped a democratic candidate for the council and was dismissed for that.

"Well you believe in that doctrine; ought not he to have been dismissed?"

"Certainly."

"You are a spoils man, aren't you?"

"Yes."

"And you also believe in the 'machine?'"

"Certainly."

Fairbanks declined to discuss the dismissal of Scott under Collector Manson, democrat.—*Terre Haute dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, November 26.*

* * *

Mr. John E. Lamb is saying that the statement printed in the *Journal* to the effect that Scott, whom he (Lamb) had appointed second deputy of the internal revenue office, had been dismissed for cause as a gauger under Collector Manson (Dem.), is a lie. Collector Jump has been trying to learn where the *Journal* correspondent obtained his information, but so far as known he has not made any effort to learn if the statement is true. Lamb and Jump can easily ascertain the truth of this statement also: That Scott has been dismissed three times from the service. He was dismissed under Collector White for gauging spirits to the benefit of the distillery, but was restored later. Collector Minshall dismissed him. Mr. Minshall is in Terre Haute. Either Lamb or Jump can learn the facts from him. The third time was the instance when he was a gauger under Collector Manson, and when his dismissal was ordered by telegraph from the department at Washington.—*Terre Haute dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 7.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees and members of the Indiana delegation expect to call on the President tomorrow in the interest of Col. Zollinger for pension agent.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 11.*

DEPUTY PRESIDENT HOLMAN.

The President on Saturday ended a bitter and earnest fight by the appointment of Robert J. Gardiner as postmaster at Aurora, Ind. The office pays \$1,700 a year, and has been the bone of contention

of four of the leading citizens of that town, or rather of three citizens and one woman. Gardiner was backed by Judge Holman, and therefore there was but a slim chance of the other candidates even getting within speaking distance of the office. The fight was all made before the judge.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 23.*

* * *

The appointment of John M. Turner as postmaster at Monticello, White county, Ind., ends a contest which has lasted for over five months, in which the post-office department declined to act on the nomination of Congressman Hammond. Mr. Turner was appointed on the 24th of May last, but before his commission was forwarded Congressman Hammond intercepted it, and filed a protest against the appointment. The Indiana congressman did not urge any personal objections to Mr. Turner, who is well recommended, but protested against the nomination of a man whom he had not recommended. Mr. Hammond's strong fight for Mr. Low is explained on the ground of his desire to discharge a political debt of gratitude. In the congressional convention in which Mr. Hammond was nominated Low was a member of the White county delegation, and his vote alone decided the contest in favor of Hammond. Low was the only member of the White county delegation who voted for Mr. Hammond, and he did so against the strong resistance from every other member of the delegation, which was committed to Valentine Zimmerman, of Rochester, who had been the congressional candidate in 1888.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, November 7.*

[Turner was Holman's "man."]

* * *

There is considerable buzz in Washington over the Shelbyville post-office, and a goodly number of politicians from that little Indiana city are here in the interests of their candidates. The two chief contestants, Alfred Major and William Buxton came in early this morning. Also came Isa M. Wray, who is another applicant. Judge L. C. Hackett and Mr. Briggs brought up the rear, but they are inclined to reticence as to the purpose of their visit. Mr. Major is a book-keeper for Scott Wray, editor of the Shelbyville *Democrat*, while Buxton is Wray's brother-in-law and ex-chairman of the democratic committee of Shelby county. So interesting has this contest for the post-office honors become that it is now thought best to call a primary election to decide which of the candidates should receive the appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 1.*

* * *

It would seem that William S. Holman's official troubles will never end. The Shelbyville post-office worm is just now gnawing at his vitals. The Rays and Wrays are after him. Isom Wray called on Holman to-day and asked for the place for Bruxton, ex-chairman of the county committee. There is another prominent candidate in the person of Majors, who is Editor W. Scott Ray's book-keeper. Isom Wray is Bruxton's brother-in-law. It looks to one upon the ground here as though the Rays and Wrays were locking arms in the contest with some bitterness—Isom striving for Bruxton and Scott laboring for Majors. Judge Holman listened to Isom to-day, and then said he guessed he would just order an election to determine the contest, and so the ballot is to finally settle the dispute. The judge is sweating purple moisture over the fight and feels that he is sure to come out at the little end of the horn, for the man who wins at the election will not feel, of course, that he owes his place to Holman, and the one that loses will certainly lay his loss to the congressman of the district. Judge Holman would like to please Editor Ray in the matter, but he fears to "take sides." W. Scott Ray, it will be remembered, bitterly denounced the idea of renominating Cleveland at Chicago last year.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 1.*

* * *

The announcement in the Washington dispatches this morning that Representative Holman would order an election for postmaster here was received with approval. The underhand fight between certain

rival candidates has been particularly bitter and much bad blood exhibited. The local leaders are about evenly divided in their support. Edward Ames Major, city clerk and book-keeper for W. Scott Ray, was supposed to have a sure call on the position, but the appointment of his cousin, S. S. Major, to the internal revenue service has caused the friends of William J. Buxton, the strongest rival candidate, to make a more vigorous fight for their man. These two have control of nearly all the local politicians. The other candidates, Gen. John W. Vannoy, Joseph R. Kennerly and John H. McGuire would not be in a fight against the leaders, not belonging to any ring, but among the mass of democratic voters would give the ringsters a good fight. Both Ray and Wray will probably be aspirants for congress in this district the next time.—*Shelbyville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 2.*

* * *

Congressman Holman—from whose renomination Editor O'Brien, of the *Lawrenceburg Register*, has been appealing to be delivered—appears to be sanguine. He says he never has fought for renomination, and does not intend to at his age. He will rest his case "in the hands of his friends," meanwhile giving them a quiet tip occasionally on how they can handle it to the best advantage.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 9.*

DEPUTY PRESIDENT TAYLOR.

Congressman Taylor called on Secretary Carlisle this morning in regard to the steamboat inspectorship of the Evansville district which will be vacant in a few days. The leading candidates are Captain Zinzach, of Evansville, and Will J. Hays, a Louisville poet. The latter is backed by Congressman Caruth.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 7.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor called at the White House this morning and had an extended interview with President Cleveland upon the matter of appointing a steamboat inspector for the sixth district, which includes Evansville. It has been reported that Secretary Carlisle was in favor of the appointment of a man named Hayes of Louisville, but the result of Mr. Taylor's interview warrants a belief that a resident of Indiana will get the place. Mr. Taylor and the entire Indiana delegation, without exception, have been working for the appointment of Capt. John Zinzich of Evansville. Capt. Zinzich is at present ship chandler and he has been in the river service for fifty years. Not only is he strongly backed in Indiana, but delegations from Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Illinois are supporting him.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 13.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor called at the White House again this morning in the interest of Capt. Zinzich of Evansville, who wants to secure the appointment as supervising inspector of steam vessels. President Cleveland informed the congressman that he desired to give the matter his personal attention, and that notwithstanding the resignation of the present incumbent has been called for a change is not likely to occur for some little time. It is well known that Secretary Carlisle leans a little toward Hayes of Kentucky, who is also an applicant for the place. This fact leads the Kentucky members to believe that their man will succeed to the place that has been so long filled by an Indiana resident. They say Secretary Carlisle will endeavor to settle the matter very soon. This only invigorates the Indiana members to make a harder fight for their man.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 16.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor made a call on Secretary Smith yesterday to secure action on several Indiana appointments which have been promised him, but was unable to get an audience. Several of Mr. Taylor's democratic constituents are on the anxious seat. He expects to secure the appointment of a commissioner to Alaska, an assistant surgeon of Freedman's Hospital from the Department of the Interior, and has hopes, also, that an assistant attor-

ney-generalship will be conferred on a citizen of his district.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 7.*

* * *

In the first district, which is represented by Mr. Taylor, one of the most unobtrusive but useful members in the delegation, a fight is being made by a sprinkling of the local democrats against his renomination. Just what it will amount to remains to be seen. There are usually lively contests in the first district for democratic nominations. One of Mr. Taylor's opponents, his chief opponent, in fact, is Editor Sparks, of the *Mt. Vernon Democrat*. Mr. Sparks failed to get the appointment as postmaster, and has been hopelessly irreconcilable since.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 9.*

* * *

Indiana has knocked another plum from the official tree and this time it fell into the open bonnet of Henry W. Mellen, a young attorney of Boonville. He has been appointed commissioner in and for the district of Alaska, to reside in Juneau City. It is a place of profit. Mr. Mellen is a very deserving young attorney and a democrat of high morals. He came here several months ago and filed his application for the office of secretary to Alaska. President Cleveland deemed it wise to appoint a resident of Alaska to this place, though at the same time he promised that Mr. Mellen should be recognized with something. He was backed not alone by his congressman, Mr. Taylor, but by the entire Indiana delegation, to whom the news of the appointment comes with gratification.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 11.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor, of the First Indiana district, has made a record in securing appointments of postmasters that is the envy of all his democratic colleagues. He has secured a greater per cent. of democratic postmasters than any other congressman in the country. There are but two republican postmasters left in his district. One of these is presidential, at Petersburg, where there will be a change very shortly, after which the sole remaining republican postmaster in the First congressional district in Indiana will be at Rome, a small, fourth-class office in Perry county. Next to Congressman Taylor are Messrs. Bretz and Brookshire of Indiana. For a long time Congressman Bretz was accredited with having secured more removals of fourth-class postmasters than any other democratic congressman in the country. But Mr. Taylor has since quietly forged to the front. Mr. Brookshire has only one presidential postmaster remaining in his district, and he expects that there will be a change in that office very soon. The lone republican postmaster in the presidential class in Mr. Brookshire's district holds forth at Sullivan. Mr. Brookshire has only a few fourth-class offices remaining, and only one of these is of much importance, and that is Veedersburg. Congressman McNaghy has seven presidential offices, as follows: Angola, Lagrange, Garrett, Butler, Albion, Kendallville and Ligonier. He has about twenty fourth-class post-offices from which Republicans still hand out the mail.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 13.*

* * *

Three presidential postmasters were appointed in Indiana to-day. The incumbents were removed in each case. At Princeton, in Congressman Taylor's district, was the most important change. Ollie W. Kolb, the appointee, is a grocer, and a scion of one of the pioneer democratic families of Gibson county. He succeeds O. M. Lohner, removed for offensive partnership. The office pays \$1800 salary.

* * *

Through the influence of Congressman Bynum, United States Marshal William H. Hawkins, of Indianapolis, has been appointed custodian of the public building.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 13.*

* * *

Upon the recommendation of Congressman Bynum, William Warmack, colored, of Indianapolis, has been appointed porter on a mail car in the railway mail service.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 8.*

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN CONSULAR SERVICE.

The British consular service, in contradistinction to the American consular service, is regarded by its members in the light of a career. Applicants for consular posts, after having received a nomination, must pass an examination, of which the chief subjects are the French language, British mercantile and commercial law, and the particular language spoken in the district where the post applied for is situated. Having obtained an appointment, usually that of vice-consul at a minor port, advancement depends upon the amount of energy and ability displayed by the appointee. As will be seen from the statements of services of the attached list of consuls, important consular posts are not filled capriciously, but are only given to men who have shown exceptional ability during services extending, in the majority of cases, over a considerable length of time. Appreciation of long and meritorious services is occasionally shown by the bestowal of diplomatic appointments on consular officers. Some instances of this are here given:

Henry Francis Cowper, consul at Lisbon.—From 1862 to 1868 held unpaid positions in the consular service at various places in South America. Was appointed paid vice-consul at Trinidad de Cuba in December, 1868, and employed on special service at Omoa, Honduras, from March to July, 1875. Promoted to be consul at Santos in May, 1878. Appointed consul for the provinces of Sao Paulo and Parana, to reside at Santos, March, 1885. Transferred to Lisbon, March, 1890, and appointed for southern Portugal, to reside at Lisbon, July, 1891.

Length of service 31 years.
Consulship 15 years.

William Henry Wrench, senior consul at Constantinople.—Was acting consul at Damascus in 1860; vice consul at Beyrout, 1862; vice-consul for the Dardanelles, 1864; vice-consul at Stamboul, July, 1872. Had varied diplomatic experience in Eastern Europe, and after occupying alternately positions of acting consul-general and acting assistant judge at Constantinople till December, 1877, was, in April, 1879, promoted to the consulship at Constantinople. His consulship has, however, been broken and renewed at various times through appointments to conduct special negotiations with Turkey. Was made C. M. M. in 1885.

Period of service 33 years.
Consulship 14 years.

Charles Louis St. John, consul at New Orleans.—Nominated vice-consul at Christiana, November 21, 1867. Passed an examination February 28, 1868. Was acting consul-general from time to time in Christiana. Appointed vice-consul at Jassy in 1871. Between 1872 and 1877 was acting consul-general for various periods at Bucharest and Belgrade. Was promoted to the consulship at Ragusa in March, 1877. Acted temporarily as consul at Prizrend from September, 1879, to October, 1880. Transferred to Reunion, February, 1883; to Charleston in March, 1890; as consul for North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, and to New Orleans in January, 1893, as consul for Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

Length of service 25 years.
Consulship 16 years.

James Troup, consul at Yokohama.—After being engaged in the civil service as assistant interpreter in Japan, was between 1869 and 1873, at various times, acting consul at Nee-gata and Hakodaki. Promoted to be vice-consul at Nee-gata in April, 1873, and to be consul at Nagasaki, April, 1877. Transferred to Hiogo and Osaka in April, 1882, and to Yokohama, June, 1888, as consul for the district of Kanagawa.

Period of service.....23 years
Consulship.....16 years

George Jamieson, consul at Shanghai.—Was at first a student interpreter in China in 1864. Afterwards filled various appointments in China, sometimes as acting consul, till November, 1877, when he was promoted to be vice-consul at Pagoda Island and to be consul at Kiukiang in February, 1880. Was called to the bar in June, 1880. Became acting assistant judge at Shanghai, acting judge at Yokohama, and in April, 1891, was appointed assistant judge of supreme court for China and Japan and consul at Shanghai.

Period of service.....29 years
Consulship.....13 years

Denis Donohoe, consul at San Francisco.—Entered the consular service in 1857, and was appointed vice-consul at Puerto Cabello on January 6. On June 4, of same year, passed an examination and was appointed consul at Buffalo, U. S., July 1, 1857. Was transferred to New Orleans, May 14, 1864, and appointed consul for the town and district of New Orleans and for the states of Arkansas and Mississippi, February, 1871. On November 7, 1871, Mr. Donohoe was transferred to Baltimore as consul for Maryland, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri; was appointed consul for states of California, Oregon, and Nevada, and for territories of Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona; went to reside at San Francisco, January 6, 1887.

Length of service.....36 years
Consulship.....36 years

John Michell, consul at St. Petersburg.—Entered the public service as a third-class clerk in the admiralty in 1860. Was appointed unpaid vice-consul at St. Petersburg, November, 1866; was acting consul there at various periods during 1867, 1868, and 1869. He then assisted in the work of verifying the Turko-Persian boundary maps, till August, 1869, when he resumed the post of acting consul at St. Petersburg. In January, 1875, he was promoted to be consul and translator, and in July, 1886, northern, northeastern and central Russia were placed under his charge.

Length of service.....33 years
Consulship.....18 years

Capt. Robert Charles Clipperton, consul at Philadelphia.—Was an officer in the Austrian army, from 1848 up till 1856. He was appointed British vice-consul at Theodosia, Crimea, in May, 1858, after passing an examination. Was acting consul at Kertch in 1861, and promoted to the consulship there in December, 1862. He was transferred to Nantes in 1866, and to Brest in 1871. In June, 1874, he returned to Nantes; his supervision being extended to the ports and places in the departments of Loire Inferieure, La Vendee, and Charente Inferieure. He was transferred to Philadelphia October 1, 1872, as consul for Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

Length of service.....35 years
Consulship.....31 years

Col. James Hayes Saddler, consul at Chicago.—Served as officer in the British army from 1858 till 1882, and was in the meantime appointed unpaid vice-consul at Boulogne in October, 1868. Was acting consul there from September, 1869, till October, 1871, and acting paid vice-consul at Boulogne and Caen from April, 1873, till June, 1874. Was appointed vice-consul at La Rochelle in June, 1874, and promoted to the important post of consul at Chicago June 1, 1886. The state of Missouri was added to his district in March, 1887. He was acting consul-general at Guatemala for a short period in 1889 and 1890.

Length of service.....25 years
Consulship.....7 years

Capt. William Francis Seagrave, R. F. R. G. S., consul at Baltimore.—Served from 1845 till 1865 as officer in the British army. Ob-

tained the post of consul at Reunion by examination, November, 1867. Transferred to Stockholm as consul for the eastern coast of Sweden, February, 1874. Took over the consulship at Nantes, October, 1879, and in January, 1887, was appointed consul at Baltimore, for the states of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky.

Length of service as consul.....26 years.

Ronald Bridgett, consul, Buenos Ayres.—Was acting consul at Buenos Ayres from July, 1873, till November, 1874. Nominated vice-consul at Buenos Ayres, March, 1875. From May, 1875, from time to time, till 1881, was acting-consul at Buenos Ayres. Was promoted to be consul for Texas, to reside at Galveston, in July, 1882, and transferred to Buenos Ayres as consul for the Argentine Republic in May, 1884. Was placed in charge of the archives of the legation, as acting consul-general at Buenos Ayres, from May to June, 1885.

Length of service.....26 years
Consulship.....11 years

Albemarle Percy Inglis, consul, Copenhagen.—Was acting consul at Caen and Leghorn at various periods from October, 1864, till May, 1870. Was appointed unpaid vice-consul at Leghorn in June, 1870. Was frequently acting consul at Leghorn from August, 1870, till May, 1883, when he was promoted to be consul for the provinces of Lucca, Visa, Leghorn and Grossero. Was appointed consul for Denmark, to reside at Copenhagen, April 22, 1887.

Length of service.....29 years
Consulship.....10 years

William Lane Booker, C. M. G., consul-general, New York.—Was employed for five years in the consulate at San Francisco; was acting counsel there from July, 1856, till April, 1857. Appointed consul at San Francisco, May 1, 1857, for state of California. In February, 1871, state of Oregon and Washington territory were added to his district. Was promoted to be consul-general at New York, January 1, 1883. He was made a C. M. G., August 6, 1886.

Length of service as consul.....36 years

Charles George Guy Percival, consul, Marseilles.—Served twelve years in the royal navy, from 1845 to 1857. Was appointed to be vice-consul at Caen, December, 1859. Removed to Port Said in July, 1873, and was promoted to be consul January, 1875. In October, 1879, he was appointed consul at Bordeaux, and in October, 1882, transferred to Marseilles as consul for that port and six neighboring departments.

Length of service.....34 years
Consulship.....18 years

Adam Samuel James Block, consul at Constantinople.—Passed a competitive examination in October, 1877, and was appointed a student dragoman at Constantinople in October, 1877. Appointed vice-consul at Beyroot, September, 1882. Was acting vice-consul at Damascus during part of 1883 and 1884. Was appointed assistant dragoman to the embassy at Constantinople, with the rank of vice-consul interpreter, in August, 1885. Was promoted to be consul and interpreter at Constantinople, March 1, 1890.

Length of service.....16 years.
Consulship.....3 years.

Sydney Hamilton Little, Consul, Madrid.—Was appointed vice consul at Havana in 1887. Was acting consul at Havana during part of 1889 and 1890. Was promoted to be consul at Madrid and clerk and assistant to the legation March 1, 1890.

Length of service.....6 years.
Consulship.....3 years.

Raphael Borg, consul at Cairo.—Entered the public service as supernumerary clerk to the consular court at Alexandria, in March,

1863. Served as acting consul at Cairo at various times from June, 1868, till October, 1878. Was appointed vice-consul at Cairo in May, 1880, and was promoted to be consul there March 1, 1884.

Length of service.....30 years.
Consulship.....9 years.

William Ward, consul at Bordeaux.—Was acting consul at Hamburg for several short periods from 1861 till 1866, when he passed an examination, and was appointed vice-consul at Memel in June, 1886. Was promoted to be consul at Bremen, August, 1871, for Bremen and its territory, the grand Duchy of Oldenburg, and the ports and districts of Emden, Leer and Geestemunde. In 1880 his supervision was extended to the province of Hanover. In the same year he was transferred to Portland, Me., where he remained until placed in charge of the consulate at Bordeaux, which post he still holds.

Length of service.....32 years.
Consulship.....22 years.

DIPLOMATS FORMERLY IN CONSULAR SERVICE.

Colonel Sir Charles Bean Euan-Smith, K. C. B., C. S. I.—After serving in the Indian army was acting consul-general at Zanzibar from June till September, 1875. Was consul at Muscat during part of 1879. Between 1880 and September, 1887, when he was appointed agent and consul-general at Zanzibar, he was engaged in political service under the Indian office. He was made a C. B. in 1889, and K. C. B. in 1890. Was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Morocco, and consul-general in Morocco, March 10, 1891. He recently vacated the latter post.

Sir Spencer St. John, K. C. M. G., British minister at Mexico.—Was secretary in political missions to Borneo and Siam during 1848 and 1850. Was appointed consul-general at Borneo in 1855. Later he served as charge d'affaires and consul-general in Hayti. He was promoted to be minister resident and consul-general in Hayti in 1872. He afterwards acted in the same capacity at Laim, and was subsequently intrusted with special missions to Bolivia and Mexico; was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Mexico, November 28, 1884.

Sir John Walsham, Bart.—Minister at Bucharest. Began his public career as clerk in the foreign office. Appointed acting consul at Mexico in 1859. Was subsequently intrusted with minor diplomatic posts at Madrid, Berlin, and Paris. At various times during 1884 and 1885 he was appointed acting minister plenipotentiary at Paris in the absence of the ambassador, and in November, 1885, was promoted to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China and the King of Corea. Was transferred to Bucharest in April, 1892, where he still remains.

Captain Henry Michael Jones, V. C., Minister at Bankok.—After a military service of about eight years, he was given a temporary charge of the consulates at Bosna, Serai, and at Scrutaria. Was appointed consul for the Fiji and Tonga Islands, July, 1863. Promoted to be consul-general at Tabreez, July, 1868. Transferred to Christiana and Phillippopolis in 1875 and 1880 respectively, was promoted to be minister resident and consul-general at Bankok in January, 1889; at which post he still remains.

Major James Hay Wodehouse, Minister at Hawaii.—After brief service in the militia, was appointed consul in the Leeward Islands. He was subsequently transferred to Para, Brazil, and later promoted to be commissioner and consul-general in the Sandwich Islands. After thirty two years of consular service he was rewarded with the post of minister resident at Hawaii in July, 1892.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18 1892.

VOL. II, No. 11.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

IN stating last month that the Buffalo Association had initiated the present movement in New York against the Hill machine we understood the first step to have been a resolution offered by a Buffalo delegate in the last meeting of the National League. We have since learned that the New York Association had by a committee already taken steps in the matter. The movement now has gathered headway and promises to set the law of that state firmly upon its feet.

BEFORE the election last fall, it was repeatedly charged that the New York civil service law was being violated by Governor Flower and the state officers, and the Hill machine generally. Flower and his officers denied it and in this they were sustained by a servile civil service commission. One of the commissioners had the effrontery to appear at the last meeting of the National League and there make a speech defending Flower and claiming that the law was honestly enforced. When the attention of Flower and of the state comptroller, Campbell, was called to distinct violations, and they were warned not to continue paying salaries, they ignored the whole matter. The election gave the state an honest comptroller who declared that he would pay no salaries of employes in the classified service who had not obtained their places through competition under the law. Comptroller Roberts held the key to the situation, and his determination completely baffled the Hill machine and brought the facts to light. A report by the chief examiner dated January 11, shows that as early as February 27, 1893, 271 persons had been given places in the state service in deliberate violation of the law. In some of the institutions the civil service commission had held no examinations for applicants since 1884. This is Hillism. This is the Hill-Tammany notion of enforcing the law. Since he found an immovable comptroller in his way, Flower has been loudest in his declarations that the law must be enforced; yet just before the comptroller went into office in order to save some favorites, he transferred some fifteen of

the places concerned from the classified to the unclassified service. This goes to show that he is the same rascally tool that he always was.

It is announced that Congressman Bynum will "take up" the Indianapolis post-office as soon as he gets through with the tariff bill. The country should understand that our post-office is in excellent condition, the employes are faithful, politics are excluded, the civil service law is honestly enforced and that any change which Congressman Bynum can bring about will be a damage to the public service. This undeniable fact should not be lost sight of. Bynum has no interest in this matter except a personal benefit to himself in the way of getting henchmen to work for his renomination and re-election while being paid out of the public funds. He hesitated about trying for renomination for fear he could not be re-elected but he seems to have decided that he can be. He has never been anything but a buccaneer in politics. His views of public administration are wholly bad and his acts carry out his views. He belongs to a class of officials who have been a curse to Indiana and she will never take her rightful place until she can shake them off and be represented by men who have political morality.

THE dispatch of the Indianapolis *Sentinel's* special Washington correspondent dated January 23 says:

To-morrow Senator Voorhees and Representative McNagney will call on Secretary Hoke Smith to recommend the appointment of Spencer, of Ft. Wayne, for pension agent. * * * It is safe to predict that Secretary Smith will not object to Spencer on account of brief army record and his appointment seems almost certain. There are other candidates, it is true, who have the earnest support of their members, but it is well understood that Senator Voorhees controls all the state appointments. He has controlled all the other appointments, such as bank examiner, marshal, district attorney, and revenue collector, and he is not going to be turned down on the last office to be filled in the state.

However much the regret, it can not be denied that this dispatch states the truth. In granting this control of appointments the President has knowingly put into places of profit and honor and influence the worst in the politics of Indiana, a state which has not had a high standard of political morals. It would seem well for this matter to be discussed by reformers and reform

papers. Let us find out where we stand. This is either a corrupt use of public office and a flagrant breach of a public trust, or it is not.

MR. BURKE, the member of the Voorhees ring whom Voorhees made attorney of the district of Indiana, has been brought to notice again by inexcusable and fatal blundering in drawing the most important counts of indictments against men charged with wrecking the Indianapolis National Bank. It is worthy of note also that the government has called in John W. Kern, who was the only other candidate for Burke's office, to assist the latter in the first important cases which have come before the court since Burke's appointment. It is worthy of note also that Mr. Kern was appointed attorney for the receiver of the bank who in turn is said to have been appointed by Mr. Bynum. Thus do all things work together for harmony, especially public offices and perquisites.

IN the rejection of Hornblower, nominated for the supreme court, the President has another lesson of the small account in which he is really held by the average spoils congressman and of the stand-and-deliver spirit which the average congressman has towards the executive department. The CHRONICLE has often noted the terror and abject submission to which congress has reduced executive officers in Washington, and the Hornblower incident is but another evidence of its contempt. We have heard much of how the President may manage congress by "judicious" use of the offices. Yet here again it is shown that for the least exercise of his constitutional right against their taste they turn upon him like pirates who see their prey slipping away. The President is not entitled to any particular sympathy in this matter. The technical ground of the rejection was that he had not counselled about the nomination with Hill and Murphy, the senators from New York. Not to consult was right; but where is the room for sympathy with a President who does counsel about Indiana nominations with Voorhees, a man no whit better than Hill and Murphy, and who lets other senators dictate nominations. There has never been a more brazen looting of offices by congressmen than President Cleveland has

allowed for nearly a year. It has never before been so openly taken for granted that congressmen "appoint" to the offices. What could Mr. Cleveland have meant when he said before inauguration, "If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point"? There has been a constant revel in partisan spoil with the President's permission and assistance. Every man who knows anything of the subject knows that there can never be reform while the President permits congressmen to seize the offices. We had hoped that President Cleveland, profiting by the failure of his first administration, would declare and maintain the independence of the executive. Refusing to do so, he is doomed to a second failure. He seems to have shortened his sight and can see only certain legislation, important, to be sure, but not more important than has occurred, and always will occur, in the routine affairs of government. Meantime the venality and piracy which sap the moral foundations of the government of our cities, of our states and of the nation flourish with but slight hindrance from him. With his second presidency the completion of national reform was possible and hoped for. But it is not to be, and reformers will have to gird themselves for a long future struggle. Again, and perhaps many times, they must resort to the ballot. It is, after all, not yet settled under what party the final victory will be gained.

THE President has nominated Wheeler H. Peckham, of New York, for the supreme court vacancy, and again without consulting Hill and Murphy. The latter are much exasperated, and are straining nerve and muscle to defeat the nomination. The senate will be likely to think twice before rejecting the nomination, as the people almost to a man are with the President as against any claim of any senator to be consulted. The only fault in the matter lies with the President himself. It is very enjoyable to see Hill and Murphy in such stress as this move puts them, and great strife and excitement will result. The President may gain this victory. But if he does no principle will be established; it will only be established that now and then he will not allow senators to dictate appointments. Yet merely to carry this isolated point, he will stir up as much strife, and he will engender a more relentless hatred of himself than he would if he had announced to the country that dictation and advice, and all manner of interference of every kind, by members of either house of congress in relation to appointments, except the constitutional right vested in the senate when in actual session, were at an end, and had after that

lived up to the announcement. Streaks of reform with very thick layers of spoil do not give satisfaction to the people while to political buccaneers like Hill, Murphy, and Voorhees, a streak of reform is like the proverbial red rag to a bull, although in fact in the finest pasture.

A COMMITTEE of the national league, of which Morrill Wyman, Jr., is chairman, has prepared a bill for an act to aid the President in appointing first, second and third class postmasters. The bill provides for a record of fidelity and efficiency to be kept of all such postmasters, and of the higher grades of employes under them. All of these may become applicants for vacancies. Vacancies in first and second class offices are open to those in service in such offices throughout the country. Vacancies in third class offices are filled from the appointment district and from those employed in such offices. The country is to be divided into appointment districts. The postmaster-general must require certain information in applications. He is then to examine application papers and rating of applicants, and make his recommendation to the President. Other things being equal, rank and seniority are to govern. The President may direct the civil service commission to hold examinations for the third class offices. Under the English system, in many respects like this, it is interesting to note that a clerk at Plymouth became postmaster at Bridgewater; a chief clerk at Manchester became postmaster at Bristol; the postmaster at Lynn became postmaster at Doncaster; an inspector of letter-carriers at Liverpool became postmaster at Lynn.

Sometime such a bill can be got through congress. In the meantime, a President who went into office as Mr. Cleveland did in March last, could by a simple executive order accomplish every object aimed at by this bill. All it needs is a fair degree of statesmanship and nerve and consistency, instead of a childish fear of losing his party. Suppose the President had ordered Postmaster General Bissell to provide such a system of selection as this bill provides for and had made his nominations to the senate accordingly, what could the mercenaries, who have in fact dictated his appointments, have done about it? Nothing but curse and refuse to confirm and cut down appropriations and other spiteful things natural to them, all of which would have briefly preceded the final triumph of the President.

THE CHRONICLE is indebted to Mr William P. Fishback for a copy of some resolutions drafted by his father for a local Whig convention in Ohio, in 1835. They are interesting, as showing that from the very

beginning of the Jacksonian practice, its dangerous, monarchical, and despotic tendencies were comprehended by thoughtful men. The riot which has been run during all the years since has been due, not to parties, but to the party machines, the system of bargain and sale, by which ward heelers help men into large places and in return receive from them small places. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That all attempts on the part of the high officers of the government to bring the patronage of their official stations into conflict with the freedom of elections, by holding out to the voter the hope of reward or menace of punishment, is subversive of our republican institutions.

Resolved, That public offices, created for the public benefit, ought not to be regarded as "the spoils of victory," as the doctrine has a direct tendency to degrade elections [the highest acts of freemen], into mere mercenary scrambles for the loaves and fishes in which the honest many are always the losers and the designing few the gainers.

Two important indications of a widespread desire for better administration have appeared. An association called the Anti-Spoils League has been formed, which is designed to unite throughout the country all who are in favor of excluding every element of spoil from the transaction of public business. No expense is incurred in joining this association; citizens are simply asked to openly declare themselves. The other movement appears in a meeting to be held this month in Philadelphia of those throughout the country who are in favor of better city government. The list embraces many distinguished names. The admitted fact that city government is the greatest failure of American institutions has made a deep impression, and the determination to find a remedy has a gratifying strength.

JUDGE WILLIAM H. TAFT, of the Cincinnati district of the United States court, delivered an address in that city upon civil service reform before the alumni of the Woodward high school, and it was published in the Cincinnati *Tribune* of December 28 last. The address shows a thorough familiarity with the reform system, and with the public service, and was admirably adapted to the audience. Having been formerly at the head of the department of justice, Judge Taft is able to say from experience that the methods of the civil service commission are "a most satisfactory means of determining the fitness" of candidates for places. The address fitly says that no defense worthy of the name has ever been made of the spoils system. Another exact truth is also stated in the assertion that it would be a vast improvement over the prevailing system in our cities if laborers and employes were selected only from those who measured nearest to a certain height. This is true

because politics would be excluded, and it is only some such comparison that fully brings out the absurdity of the spoils system. The particular urgency of the address is to show the necessity for introducing the merit system into cities. Judge Taft shows how the boss makes himself an "uncrowned king," but we do not agree with him that the boss is not necessarily a wrong-doer. He does not, as a rule, violate the criminal laws, but he belongs and always will belong to the class which preys upon the community. He uses, or causes to be used, a public trust for his personal benefit, and this is corrupt.

We are glad to see such an address delivered before an educational body. As a rule our schools and churches are afraid to openly and specifically oppose the spoils system. The teacher and the preacher dread its Briarean arms. The fear is not unlike the fear which forty years ago made the church and the school anxious to repress discussion of the right and wrong of slavery. We do not mean to overlook the religious press. In a considerable list of exchanges we have never found a single line of opposition to the spoils system. The CHRONICLE believes that it tells the truth without regard to persons or parties, but the uneasiness of schools and young men's christian associations at a free copy seen in their reading-rooms is frequently and ludicrously displayed.

MR. QUINCY has received another rebuke from the most influential body of his fellow-citizens. The Boston Chamber of Commerce at its annual meeting, January 17, adopted resolutions to the effect that the consular service should be reformed "so that it shall stand upon merit and permanency rather than upon the spoils system."

THE MASSACHUSETTS REFORM CLUB.

The Massachusetts Reform Club has cleared the atmosphere around it. It has been a problem whether it was really a reform club, or whether it was a club whose motto should have been "For Cleveland and Everything He does, Right or Wrong." At its meeting January 12th, the club settled the matter by declaring that it stands for reform without regard to persons.

The question was whether the club should keep silent as to Mr. Quincy's view of civil service reform, and as to the use of offices to buy votes in congress. Among those in favor of this silence, Mr. Winslow Warren urged that the administration needed confidence and support, and abstention from criticism; that the President feels that he has plenty of

cold criticism and little real encouragement; that civil service reform would never come through any President; that the tariff and silver questions vastly overshadow this reform in importance. He regretted to be compelled to vote so as to declare that he would never believe it wise to use offices to carry through any great question. Mr. Gamaliel Bradford on the same side said the President could not get anything done without the pressure of the offices. Said Mr. Bradford:

"Take the matter of the silver bill; the only way the President could get that passed was by putting the consulships into the congressmen's hands, just as Mr. Quincy did, and I believe he was right in doing so."

We submit that there has been nothing like the foregoing since the days of the Cotton Whigs. It is the same craven spirit which made the career of Daniel Webster end in ruin and which led George Ticknor and his following to put Charles Sumner and the Richard H. Dana of that time under the ban. So it seems will President Cleveland's career come to nothing, and all who depart from true principles to shield him will find themselves with those who made the mighty mistake which preceded the destruction of slavery.

Against these astounding positions spoke, as we gather from the various accounts, Richard H. Dana, James J. Myers, Moorfield Storey, J. G. Thorp, Morrill Wyman, jr., Archibald M. Howe, John W. Carter and Charles F. Dole. We regret the lack of space to give the fullest report of what each one said. Quoting generally from the different speakers, Quincy was thanked for stating the spoils theory in the most gentlemanly manner possible, although his stand was the same as that of Senator Ingalls. It was absurd to keep silent in order to spare the President's feelings. That was tried and it failed in Cleveland's former administration. Never for twenty years had the spoils system been so flagrant at Washington as now. Office-seekers surround the President. If reformers keep silent how can the reform grow? The President was busy nine-tenths of his time distributing offices. Edward Atkinson was called to Washington to confer with the President upon monetary matters, but after waiting three days came home without seeing the President, so busy was the latter distributing offices. It was time to speak and if the principles declared were the principles of the club, then it had departed from the object of its formation. The club did not have consideration for President Harrison's feelings, and if it now kept silent it owed Mr. Harrison an apology. If we wait for tariff reform, the Wilson bill is only a compromise, and we shall have to wait till

doomsday. If the offices had not been used for silver legislation the senators who held out would have yielded sooner to public opinion. If we believe it is proper to buy legislation with offices, we can not consistently rebuke the lobby and any one wanting a law passed can justify himself by the example of the club. It was surprising that the club had listened to such doctrine. Any one who begins with toleration of the spoils theory in any way will end where Quincy has ended.

At the close of the speaking the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the unqualified and active support which the President gives and has given to the United States civil service commissioners in the work of executing the civil service laws and rules, as well as the acts and recommendations of several cabinet officers, which help to strengthen the work and methods of the commission, afford much encouragement to all who are interested in the destruction of the spoils system.

Resolved, That we earnestly request the President to extend the civil service rules so that they shall be applied to the non-political, unclassified service in all the departments of the executive branch of the government at the earliest possible day, believing that it is well recognized by all honest citizens and officials that wherever the law and rules regulating the appointment, promotion and removal of public servants are applied the public service is made better and stronger.

Resolved, That this club emphatically dissents from the proposition that all hope of civil service reform outside the classified service is but "a sublimated theory," but, on the contrary, this club believes and asserts that it is both possible and practical to apply the spirit of civil service reform in making all appointments to non-political positions under the government.

Resolved, That this club is unalterably opposed to a system which permits appointments to office to be made the price of legislative support.

INDIANA STATESMEN AT WORK.

Our record of the occupation of Indiana congressmen during the month is perhaps more interesting than usual. Senator Voorhees has been absorbed in the Indianapolis pension agency. The death of Colonel Zollinger, who had been promised the place, was a severe blow, though promptly recovered from. Voorhees sent a long message of condolence to the widow, and the same afternoon held a conference with Indiana congressmen where it was agreed that northern Indiana should have the spoil. Voorhees gave no consideration to applicants from southern Indiana, it being admitted that Congressman McNaghy was "short" on loot and this place must be "accorded to him for district strength." In spite of this, candidates appeared from all sides and Voorhees has been nearly pulled to pieces. McNaghy has got one of his editors into the Lagrange post-office. Congressman Taylor has a man for the pension agency and thinks he has a cinch on it. His time is mostly occupied with his prolonged boost of Zinzich up to the Evansville steamboat inspectorship, but he announces that a colored man will be made assistant surgeon of the Freedmen's hospital, and is making a heroic effort for a place for Colonel

Wm. Gavitt in the interior department, and is pressing a man for an Oklahoma judgeship, and has got one Stowers into the government printing office. Martin also thinks he has a cinch on the pension agency, and he has got a man in as treasury watchman, and has appointed a postmaster at Zanesville and likewise at Decatur. Under Congressman Conn the South Bend post-office question is at a white heat. One candidate, Ginz, after promising in writing to abide Conn's decision and comply with all of Conn's conditions and requirements, withdrew his application and then tried to get the place on his own hook as an original Cleveland man. Conn is on the war path. Jason Brown was at home in a fight to the finish for renomination and had to be arrested and taken back to Washington. He has had two-thirds of the laborers in the Jeffersonville depot removed and has put his men at the trough. Bretz has removed the postmaster at Odon, and has knocked from the tree two appointments, a revenue agency and an Indian school inspectorship. Bretz has worked hard to quarter his henchmen on the treasury, and it is interesting to note the effect in his struggle for renomination. His postmasters and his revenue service appointees are all for him. The newspapers owned by his postmasters at Vincennes, Shoals, Bedford and other places are warmly loyal, and the *Paoli News*, edited by his private secretary, says: "The gallant democracy of the second congressional district is falling into line like a stone wall in support of the present member of congress, the Hon. John L. Bretz." Holman is still sweating purple sweat over the fight for the Shelbyville post-office, and *apropos* of his appointment of Noah Mendenhall to be his private secretary when a brother of the latter already had a place, the democrats of Decatur county declare that "two of a family is more than they can and will stand." Congressman Hammond decided to appoint Editor Isherwood postmaster at Delphi. Thereupon the editor of a rival democratic paper began a tremendous anti-Isherwood campaign and nine other candidates are demanding the place. The seat of war has been moved to Washington.

These brief notes give some idea of what our congressmen are doing. Any unbiased man must admit that they are stirring around. Meanwhile there are nominally before congress and the country questions of trade and finance which some claim are more important than dealings with the civil service. Clearly our Indiana statesmen do not think so.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

OVER-LORD VOORHEES.

Another caller at the executive mansion was Col. C. A. Zollinger, of Ft. Wayne. He wants re-appointment to the office of pension agent for Indiana, which he formerly held.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 20.*

* * *

The death of Col. Zollinger, mayor of Ft. Wayne, was sorrowfully discussed by the Indiana members present to-day, for it has been but a few days

since President Cleveland announced in a quiet way that he should receive the appointment as pension agent for the State of Indiana, which position he so creditably filled eight years ago. Senator Voorhees this afternoon sent this message of condolence: * *

Later in the afternoon a little conference was held between Senator Voorhees and Congressmen Marlin and Conn. It was agreed that Northern Indiana should have recognition in the appointment of pension agent.—Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 29.

* * *

It is a sad commentary on the "race for spoils" among the Indiana Democrats, that while the death of Mayor Zollinger, of Fort Wayne, was not generally known to the Indiana delegation until noon to-day, at 2:30 P. M. Senator Voorhees and other members of the delegation were in conference trying to settle who should succeed Zollinger as the prospective pension agent for Indiana. There are between thirty and forty places under Pension Agent Ensley, most of which had been spoken for already on the strength of Col. Zollinger's prospective appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 29.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees has received a large number of applications for appointment as pension agent of Indiana by telegraph. They come principally from southern Indiana. The senator will give no special consideration to the applications, for the office is conceded to the Ft. Wayne Congressional District, if a suitable man can be found, and under any circumstances is limited to either Martin's, Conn's or McNaghy's congressional district. The fact that Congressman McNaghy's Democratic constituents have received so little federal patronage, influences his colleagues (Martin and Conn) to refer to him in the matter.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 30.*

* * *

Representative McNaghy, of Ft. Wayne, is to name the new pension agent for Indiana. This conclusion was the result of a conference upon the part of Senator Voorhees, and all the Democratic congressmen here from Indiana. The position had been conceded to the late Mayor Zollinger, of Ft. Wayne, and the untimely and sudden death of that gentleman has left a sort of implied obligation to give the place to that district. Added to this is a feeling here that Mr. McNaghy has not fared well with this administration, so far as outside patronage is concerned, and that this position should be accorded to him for district strength. Mr. McNaghy will not divulge the name of the man whom he will present for the pension agency, but it is the understanding that he will name Martin Van Buren Spencer, a lawyer and ex-soldier of Ft. Wayne. A veteran is sure to get the place. Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, was an aspirant, and many of his friends have, during the past day or two, believed he was in the race, but he is not.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 30.*

* * *

M. V. B. Spencer, of Ft. Wayne, whose appointment as pension agent for Indiana is considered highly probable, arrived at a late hour last night. He wants the appointment, and carried a grip-sack full of strong local recommendations. He will remain several days to confer with Congressman McNaghy and the senators.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 4.*

* * *

Dr. Norman Teal, of Kendallville, is in Ft. Wayne to-day getting the indorsement of prominent democrats for the state pension agency. Dr. Teal, it is said, will make a tour of the entire district.—*Fort Wayne dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 4.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor has a candidate for pension agent for Indiana in the person of Col. A. D. Owen, of New Harmony.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 6.*

* * *

The friends of Martin Van Buren Spencer, of Fort Wayne, who have been working for his ap-

pointment to the position of pension agent for Indiana, are reported to have run up against a snag in the form of a protest against his appointment on account of alleged irregularities in his war record. It is said that consideration of the filling of the office has been postponed for some days in order that Mr. Spencer's record may be inquired into. The arrival of Senator Turpie, who wants Joseph Reilly appointed to the position, adds another new element of doubt and delay to the situation.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 5.*

* * *

Senator Turpie arrived to-day. A crowd of Hoosiers wanted him to take up the pension agency matter and see the President at once, but he said he was tired and couldn't look after it until next Tuesday, so it has been postponed.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 5.*

* * *

Each of the three congressmen, McNaghy, Taylor and Martin, thinks he has a cinch on the pension agency. All have presented their claims to Senators Turpie and Voorhees, for it is recognized that their indorsement will go in getting the office. The senators have given ear to all claims, but no decision has yet been rendered. Ft. Wayne still has the lead.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January.*

* * *

Judge Samuel M. Hench, of Ft. Wayne, put in an early appearance at the capital this morning, ostensibly to assist his cousin, C. S. McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania, who was injured at the Ford Theater disaster. There are others, however, who believe that the Judge is going to take a hand in the pension agency which is just now attracting so much interest. With due respect to them all, it is conceded that Mr. McNaghy's man, Martin V. Spencer, has by far the lead, and if no question is raised as to the time of his service in the army, he will be likely to get the appointment. If this bars him, there will be a merry time before another winner is picked. Mr. Spencer is here and also is Elza T. Stringer, another resident of Ft. Wayne, who wants the place. Ft. Wayne has other candidates in Milton Thompson, Dr. Norman Teale and Capt. Charles Rees. Besides these candidates Congressman Martin comes forth with one in the person of Marcellus M. Justus, of Bluffton.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 9.*

* * *

The Indiana democratic leaders are beating the bushes of Allen county trying to find material for pension agent of Indiana. Several candidates are expected here this week under the belief that the office will be disposed of before the week ends. Col. I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, whom Senator Voorhees is inclined to favor, and Dr. Norman Teal, of Kendallville, are already overdue.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 9.*

* * *

The solution to the Indiana pension agency contest is no nearer now than yesterday, but the congressmen are inclined to think that in another week the matter will be disposed of. Mr. Elza T. Stringer, of Fort Wayne, who has been mentioned as one of the candidates for the place, returned home to-night, leaving Mr. Spencer to fight it out.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 10.*

* * *

The pension agency contest continues to occupy the attention of the Indiana members, but there has been no real progression unless perhaps the struggle has narrowed down between two men, namely, Martin Spencer, of Fort Wayne, Mr. McNaghy's candidate, and Mr. Owens, of Mt. Vernon, who is backed by Mr. Taylor. While the other candidates who were here have withdrawn and departed for home, leaving the field practically to Spencer, Mr. Taylor has been one who would not give up. He says he will be in the race until the last and believes his man will win.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 11.*

* * *

Intimation was made to-day at the capitol that it

was not all together improbable that a prominent German citizen of Ft. Wayne may, after all, get the Indiana pension agency. While Representative McNaghy has not given up hope of the appointment of Martin Spencer, others regard his chances as less favorable than a few days ago.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 11.*

* * *

This week has been devoted to but one topic of discussion by Indiana democrats—the selection of a pension agent for Indiana. The democratic leaders predict that the nomination will be announced before the week ends, but complications have arisen which promise to delay the appointment. If Voorhees could control the appointment, he would name I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City. As it is, the chances are that Congressman McNaghy's voice will prevail. If it does, the delegation will indorse M. V. B. Spencer. He has practically all the indorsements from Allen county, but other candidates are appearing in the field. E. F. Stringer, of Ft. Wayne, an old soldier, is here looking for the appointment. There are suggestions of names from other parts of the state, if the twelfth congressional district democrats should fail to agree on a man. Congressmen Martin and Conn have a few dark horses standing in the stable groomed and eager to enter this race. Col. C. C. Matson, of Greencastle, will certainly go into the race if it becomes a free-for-all, while Congressman Taylor, of the first district, has a candidate in Col. A. D. Owen, of New Harmony, who, if the appointment goes to Southern Indiana, is not to be counted out. But Spencer, of Ft. Wayne, may fairly be said to be the favorite now. Judge Hensch, of Ft. Wayne, is also a dark horse.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 11.*

* * *

Some of the recent aspirants at Ft. Wayne presented good claims for the office, but Mr. McNaghy concluded that the retirement of Spencer for any other man in his district would only compound his troubles and make him new enemies. Captain Campbell, of Anderson, was at one time seriously considered, and was ardently supported by Mr. Bynum, but Senators Voorhees and Turpie have finally swung into line again with Mr. McNaghy, and agreed that the office shall go to Spencer. The nomination is confidently expected the first of next week.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 12.*

* * *

J. B. McDonald, editor of the *Ligonier Banner*, is expected here this week to urge on the Indiana delegation the claims of his father, I. B. McDonald, of Columbia City, for the pension agency.

Congressman Conn has presented to Senator Voorhees and the Indiana delegation the application of Col. Matthew McInery, of South Bend, for the pension agency.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 13.*

* * *

This was to have been the second day for settlement in the minds of Indiana's senators who shall be the pension agent. Pressing business, however, caused consideration to be deferred, and tomorrow is expected the decision as to which one of the numerous candidates will receive the indorsement.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 17.*

* * *

Senator Voorhees is in trouble over the Indiana pension agency. The Fort Wayne democrats served notice on him early in the game that unless Col. Zollinger's mantle fell on an Allen county democrat, they would make trouble for the senator. To appease this cry, Senator Voorhees publicly announced that he would recommend no one except a northern Indiana democrat, because southern Indiana had received the lion's share of patronage. This has stirred up southern Indiana democrats. Congressman Taylor saw the senator to day and laid a number of "sassy" letters from southern Indiana democrats before him, strongly refuting his declaration and demanding either the pension agency for southern Indiana or his political scalp.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 18.*

Senator Voorhees stated to your correspondent this afternoon, that the long talked of and all important conference which is to be held for the indorsement of a pension agent will not take place for the time being, as other important matters are occupying the attention of the Indiana Senators.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 18.*

* * *

The appointment of the Indiana pension agent could have been accomplished two weeks ago without much friction. But now the fight is decidedly warm and promises to grow hotter before it is finally settled. Until a few days ago the chief factors in the delegation have agreed upon M. V. B. Spencer, of Ft. Wayne. Repeated efforts to get the delegation together to formally indorse Spencer have failed, and now it is understood that nothing will be done until next week. The delay has brought out all the dark horses. Nearly every congressional district now has from one to two candidates.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 19.*

* * *

Congressman McNaghy to-day voiced his opinion that if Senators Voorhees and Turpie indorse Martin V. Spencer for pension agent, President Cleveland will make the appointment without paying attention to any objection that might come from the interior department. Judge Holman, on the contrary, believes that the wishes of a cabinet officer will be respected, and that President Cleveland will not upon his sole responsibility make the appointment. This is the existing state of affairs while the two Indiana senators withhold their indorsements.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 19.*

* * *

John G. Schwegman was sworn in to-night as postmaster for this city under the democratic administration, and B. F. Wissler [editor of the *Sun*] was appointed his assistant.—*Richmond dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 16.*

* * *

Judge Samuel Hensch, of Fort Wayne, is a candidate for a place in the treasury department. This morning he called on Secretary Carlisle, accompanied by the senators from Indiana, to make known his desires.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 11.*

* * *

The democratic county primary yesterday to select delegates to the congressional convention, which will select a district chairman, was the first occasion the Lamb-Fairbanks Tammany has had to dictate the action of a democratic meeting. The machine worked as smoothly as that of its New York prototype. Postmaster Donham, who is chairman of the county committee, called the meeting to order, and Police Commissioner Sankey was installed as chairman. The delegates from the city to the congressional convention are all out-and-out Lamb-Fairbanks men, one of them being a new employee of the revenue office. The Lamb-Fairbanks Tammany now has absolute control of the post-office, revenue office, county commissioners' court, police department, and indications are that it "bosses" the school board.—*Terre Haute dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 31.*

* * *

There is quite a contest at present over the post-office at Winchester. G. D. Williamson is here in the interests of O. E. Davis. Col. M. B. Miller, special pension examiner, of Freeport, has left his post to work for L. G. Ellingham [editor Winchester Democrat.] It is also understood that he filed charges against the other candidate, which makes the matter all the more interesting. The office is in a republican district and Senator Voorhees will have the disposition of it. As yet the senator has made no choice.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 11.*

* * *

About ten days ago Garland D. Williamson went to Washington to work in the interest of O. E. Davis, but that is regarded as a joke, and occasioned Mr. Heaston's friends no uneasiness; but when Col. M. B. Miller, who is special pension examiner at Freeport, Ill., left his post of duty and went to

the national capital to work in the interest of his prospective son-in-law, Mr. Ellingham, they became a little shaky. The editor recognizes the fact that he is not very popular, and has said a number of times that he would not under any circumstances go into an election, because he knew he would not stand a ghost of a show. Local democrats claim to have polled the democratic vote and to know that Mr. Ellingham would receive but three votes besides his own. They say that Mr. Ellingham is aware of this fact, and, regardless of democratic harmony, is relying on the influence of Miller to make him postmaster over the almost unanimous protest of the democratic patrons of this office, even though it wrecks the party.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 15.*

* * *

The Indiana senators have recommended John Lynch for postmaster at Liberty, Ind., after a long contest. Ex-Representative Rude and George C. Strubel, of Liberty, have been here working for the appointment of Miller.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 19.*

* * *

Con Cunningham, of Crawfordsville, who made a struggle at Washington for months to secure a consulship, writes to friends that he has been given a place temporarily as assistant doorkeeper of the house of representatives, and that "he will soon be invited to the pie counter," meaning thereby that he will be sent abroad.—*Indianapolis News, January 19.*

* * *

The nomination of C. H. Leach to be postmaster at Kokomo gives excellent satisfaction to the democracy of this city and county. He had the support of nearly every prominent democrat in Kokomo and was successful in a popular election held last March, receiving a clear majority over the combined vote of the five other contestants. Up to that time his most formidable opponent was C. H. Havens of the *Kokomo Dispatch*, Auditor of State Henderson's paper. Havens is a brother-in-law of Leach. He did not enter the election and withdrew from the race, throwing his strength to Leach.

The appointment has been reckoned a foregone conclusion here since last July, Leach having the indorsement of both Senators Voorhees and Turpie and the active support of Auditor of State Henderson and other eminent democrats. The retiring postmaster, G. W. McKinsey, has been a most excellent official.—*Kokomo (Ind.) Dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, November 6.*

* * *

The appointment of Michael H. Kennedy to be postmaster at Lafayette came like a clap of thunder to those who were not on the inside. It was generally supposed that in view of the all-important financial situation now occupying senatorial and presidential circles, there would not be any forward movement on the post-office here, particularly as the Hon. B. Wilson Smith, present incumbent, had but about five months more to serve. His predecessor, Mr. Ruger, a democrat, was not disturbed by President Harrison, and actually served four years and two or three months.—*Lafayette Dispatch, Indianapolis News, September 27.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD McNAGHY.

Congressman McNaghy secured the appointment of D. A. Fawcett for the Lagrange office. Mr. Fawcett is the editor of the *Lagrange Democrat*, and his appointment is considered a vindication for the democrats, because a contemptible fight was made on him. The other presidential office goes to Congressman Hammond's man, Adam R. Eberl.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 9.*

* * *

Two other members of the Indiana delegation are rejoicing over to-day's appointments. Mr. Hammond has placed V. C. Hanawalt in the post-office at Logansport, and Mr. Brookshire has secured the Sullivan office for his friend, Wm. H. Parks. Mr. Hammond has also recommended a change in the office at Delphi. Editor Isherwood, of the *Delphi Times*, is

his choice for postmaster, and the change is daily expected.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 10.*

* * *

Congressman McNagny has secured the appointment of George E. Young as postmaster at Angola, Ind.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 10.*

* * *

Abram Orr, who was recommended for postmaster at Kendallville by Congressman McNagny, after an exciting contest, has added to the embarrassment of the situation by declining the office now that it is within his reach. He has offered no explanation.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 5.*

* * *

Upon the recommendation of congressman McNagny, J. C. Compton, of Fort Wayne, has been appointed inspector of the free delivery system for Indiana.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 19.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD TAYLOR.

Capt. John J. Zinzich, of Evansville, will now work all the harder to secure appointment as inspector of steam vessels on the Ohio river. To-day Secretary Carlisle called for the resignation of John Ingle, supervising inspector.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 15.*

* * *

Secretary Carlisle to-day told Representative Caruth, of Louisville, that the appointment of supervising inspector of steamboats at Cincinnati would likely determine who should be appointed to the similar office at Evansville. The secretary does not want to give the Cincinnati and the Evansville offices both to Kentucky men.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 16.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor and Capt. Zinzich, of Evansville, called at the White House to-day and held a long interview with the President. The captain feels that his chances for appointment have improved wonderfully, and he expects the place.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 20.*

* * *

Capt. John Zinzich, of Evansville, called at the treasury department to-day with Representative Taylor, to see Secretary Carlisle, and then visited the capitol. Captain Zinzich believes, as does Representative Taylor, that he will surely be appointed supervising inspector of steamboats for the Evansville district. Mr. Taylor assured the Journal correspondent to-day that Will S. Hays, of Louisville, was not in the race, although the Kentuckians believe their man will be appointed.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis Journal, December 20.*

* * *

Captain John J. Zinzich has been here for two or three days, but was only discovered this morning, as he did not desire his presence to become public. He came on from Evansville to make a personal effort for appointment of supervising steamboat inspector. He hopes, with the assistance of Congressman Taylor, and one or two other Indiana members, to present to Secretary Carlisle and President Cleveland the necessity of allowing the office to fall again upon a resident of Evansville.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 20.*

* * *

Congressman Caruth says that he has discovered sufficient evidence to convince him that there is treachery among some Kentuckians, who, while indorsing W. S. Hayes, of Louisville, for the Evansville steamboat inspectorship, are secretly at work to secure the place for Captain Zinzich. Caruth is much exercised over his discovery.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 6.*

* * *

Representative Taylor is not only confident of securing the appointment of Captain Zinzich, of Evansville, to the position of supervising inspector of steamboats within the next ten days, but he believes now that he may bag the state pension

agency.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 7.*

* * *

At this peculiar time the friends of John H. Thropp, of Evansville, are making a grand rally, proclaiming that Captain Zinzich is out of the field, Congressman Taylor says Zinzich is in to win and his appointment may be looked for within the next few days.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 16.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor announces that Dr. George W. Buckner, colored, of Evansville, will be appointed assistant surgeon for the Freedmen's Hospital, this city. He endeavored to give an Indiana man the office of surgeon-in-chief, but it is very likely a resident of this city will get it.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 15.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor, of the first Indiana district, is making a heroic effort to secure a place in the interior department for Col. Wm. Gavitt, of Evansville.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 20.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor is pressing Judge E. A. Ely, of Petersburg, for appointment to a judgeship in Oklahoma.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 3.*

* * *

Congressman Taylor succeeded in getting John B. Stowers, of Evansville, in the government printing office to-day.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 4.*

* * *

Congressmen Taylor and Jason Brown were at the White House to-day, urging the appointment of John J. Zinzich, of Evansville, as steamboat inspector. Congressman Stone, of Kentucky, has added to the complications about this office by recommending John Troop, an Evansville man.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 18.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD JASON BROWN.

Representative Jason B. Brown observed to the Journal correspondent to-day that he expected a sweep-out of the republican employes at the Jeffersonville army depot about the 1st of January. There are loud complaints from the democrats who want those places, and the general demand from the hungry office-seekers has been made for some months. They point to the fact that under the last administration republicans were early installed into the positions, and bewail the inaction under President Cleveland. It looks as though the republicans who took charge at Jeffersonville early in the spring of 1889 were so capable that no grounds for their dismissal can be found.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 8.*

* * *

Representative Jason B. Brown will call upon Secretary Lamont again to-morrow and make another insistence upon the immediate removal of all the republican employes at the Jeffersonville army depot.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 17.*

* * *

Representative Jason B. Brown continues absent from his seat in the house. He is at home looking after a renomination. He has told his friends here that he is in the field for an aggressive race and a fight to the finish.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 8.*

* * *

The democrats of the Third district met at North Vernon this afternoon to select a member of the state central committee for this district. The contest was a spirited one, and was the field against Hon. Jason B. Brown, congressman from this district, who is seeking a renomination.—*Scymour dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 9.*

* * *

Representative Brown sent the names of three democrats to the secretary of war to-day for appointment to positions in the quartermaster's military depot at Jeffersonville, and is confident of

their immediate appointment, although he will not make known their names for some days yet. About two-thirds of the force of that depot have been changed recently.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 21.*

* * *

The Hon. Jason Brown has secured the appointment of Hugo Albin, of Jeffersonville, to the position of chief packer at the government depot at that city. It is a permanent position, and pays a good salary.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis Sentinel, January 23.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD HAMMOND.

Congressman Hammond is giving some attention to the question of presidential postmasters. Four of the leading offices in his district become vacantly early in the year. These are at Hammond, Goodland, Rochester.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 9.*

* * *

R. M. Isherwood, the editor of the democratic paper at Delphi, is in the city. He is an applicant for the post-office in his city, with fair prospects of getting it.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 6.*

* * *

R. M. Isherwood, editor of the Times, wants to be postmaster at Delphi, and is now in Washington looking after his interests. A. B. Crampton, editor of the Citizen (democratic), and John A. Cartwright, ex-representative to the state legislature, are opposed to Isherwood, and they, too, are in Washington, attempting to persuade President Cleveland that Isherwood's appointment would split the democratic party of Carroll county into two sections, and that the largest section would be the one opposed to Isherwood. This contest has been long and bitter, and whichever way it is settled it will leave the party of Jackson and Cleveland in a badly demoralized condition.—*Delphi dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 9.*

* * *

The opposition to the appointment of Editor Isherwood, of the Delphi Times, as postmaster of Delphi, has taken very positive form, and the local democracy has ordered a popular election to determine a choice. Mr. Isherwood is indorsed by Congressman Hammond. Nine candidates will submit their names to ballot, but Mr. Isherwood declines to enter the contest.—*Indianapolis News, January 17.*

* * *

There is a lively row on over the Delphi office. N. J. Howe, of Delphi, is here, trying to induce Senator Turpie to override Congressman Hammond's recommendation for the office.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis News, January 22.*

* * *

There is a hitch in the senate committee on post offices and post-roads over the nomination of V. C. Hanawalt to be postmaster at Logansport. The nomination has been held up on charges preferred against the nominee. Some letters, and an affidavit or two, have been laid before the committee, stating that Hanawalt is an exceedingly unpopular citizen of Logansport, and that his nomination was made in payment for services which he rendered National Committeeman S. P. Sheerin, and others interested in the gas plant of Logansport, by procuring certain franchises and privileges at the hands of the city council, and manipulating affairs in the interest of this corporation and against the interests of the citizens there. It is alleged that the improper motive which brought about the nomination, and the intense unpopularity of Hanawalt, should be enough to cause the committee to report the nomination adversely, and the senate to reject it. Had it not been for these charges, which are well authenticated, the nomination would have been acted upon favorably some days ago.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis Journal, January 19.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD CONN.

Congressman Conn called on Postmaster-General Bissell this morning, in regard to the appointment of a postmaster at Notre Dame. The post-office is a

small institution, whose patrons are all connected with the university. First Assistant Postmaster Maxwell requested that a petition signed by the students of Notre Dame also be submitted in behalf of Father Cosby. Congressman Conn has declined to comply with this request. In a polite but emphatic letter to Postmaster General Bissell to-day, he said that he thought the recommendation of the trustees of the university, backed by his own ought to be sufficient in view of Father Cosby's high standing, and the custom that has prevailed for forty years of vesting the office in the president of Notre Dame.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, November 24.*

* * *

The South Bend (Ind.) post-office question is now at white heat. There promises to be lively times between Adolph Ginz, one of the applicants, and Congressman Conn, the member from the South Bend district. Ginz filed an application March 1, last, with Congressman Conn, accompanied by a personal letter, in which he pledged himself, his friends and supporters to abide by Mr. Conn's decision as between the various applicants which he would recommend. Mr. Ginz, it is said, also pledged himself to comply with all the conditions and requirements Mr. Conn might see fit to impose, and to exert his efforts toward keeping peace over the result, whatever it might be. Ginz's letter making these sweeping and abject compliances is now on file in the post-office department. Last week there came a hitch between Ginz and Mr. Conn and Ginz ordered his papers returned by telegraph. The congressman understood this to mean a withdrawal from the race and forwarded the papers. It has since been learned that Ginz has tried another route to the appointment than through Congressman Conn's influence, and has been writing to President Cleveland, Secretary Lamont and other prominent officials explaining that he was an original Cleveland man, and asking the appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 29.*

* * *

Five presidential postmasters for Indiana were nominated by the President to-day. Of these Congressman Conn secured two, at Goshen and Notre Dame, and Congressman Jason Brown lays claim to the remaining three, at Jeffersonville, North Vernon and Seymour. The nominations were as follows: Patrick C. Donavan at Jeffersonville, Joseph A. Bean at Goshen, James Renie at North Vernon, George D. Price at Seymour, and William Corby, president of Notre Dame University, at Notre Dame.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 6.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD MARTIN.

Congressman Martin had James McCoy, of Danville, a republican and an old soldier, removed from his position as a treasury watchman to-day. The place was given to James Lynch, of Wells county, a democratic ex-soldier. Representative Martin has been promised the appointment of O. K. Chaney as postmaster at Lanesville to-morrow. The republican postmaster is to be removed at Mr. Martin's request.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 26.*

* * *

O. K. Chaney was appointed postmaster at Zanesville, also on Mr. Martin's recommendation.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 26.*

* * *

Collector Bracken of the Sixth Indiana revenue district, upon the recommendation of Congressman Martin, has appointed the Hon. William H. Harkins of Portland a deputy collector.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 8.*

* * *

Congressman Martin of the Eleventh Indiana district this morning recommended the appointment of two new postmasters in his district. James B. Chapman will probably get the Hartford City office, and John M. Jackson the one at Peru. Recommendations in either case is as good as appointment.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, November 29.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD COOPER.

Congressman Cooper is endeavoring to secure an appointment for "Dick" Johnson, an Indiana man,

who formerly held an office in the Treasury department.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 8.*

* * *

The democratic patrons of the Danville post-office yesterday elected a postmaster, according to the orders of Congressman Cooper, and Robert Wade was the lucky man. He was the man who was elected last winter at the meeting held to protest against Cooper's recommendation of Editor King of the *Gazette*.—*Danville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 18.*

* * *

There was a stir created in the post-office here to-day when Postmaster Rush informed mail carriers Albert Owens and Cornelius Larabee that their services were no longer desired. These two men were efficient employes and democrats on their routes would not sign a petition for their removal. Some days ago, however, they learned they were to be removed and at once wrote to the president of the civil service commission.—*Columbus dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 12.*

* * *

Henry C. Hoagland of Trafalgar, Johnson county, who has been assured of a place on the capitol police through the efforts of Congressman Cooper, came in to-day and submitted to an examination.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January.*

* * *

Congressman Cooper has secured the appointment of C. H. Spencer, ex-mayor of Columbus, Ind., as lieutenant of the watch in the interior department. This is preparatory to securing a better position for him later.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 10.*

* * *

Willis G. Neff will be appointed postmaster at Greencastle in the next few days. Mr. Neff has some very high recommendations for the office, and was indorsed by Congressman Cooper.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 5.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD BROOKSHIRE.

Friends of Congressman Brookshire, in the eighth district, see danger ahead for Mr. Brookshire in the fact that Thomas J. Mann, of Sullivan, who was elected district committeeman, is a close friend of John E. Lamb, of Vigo. A strong fight against the recommendation of Brookshire is anticipated.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 11.*

* * *

Walter F. Hulett, of Crawfordsville, is in the city and called at the treasury department to-day. It is said that he is after a government position. He was a candidate for the collectorship of his district.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis Sentinel, Dec. 14.*

* * *

The batch of appointments that went before the senate to-day caused happiness to Congressmen Taylor, Brookshire and Martin, for they got three more presidential post-offices for Indiana democrats. These offices are: Petersburg, Mr. Taylor's district, to be filled by T. K. Fleming, a liveryman. This is the last one in his district to be looked after; Sullivan, Mr. Brookshire's district, Wm. H. Burk, a merchant, appointed; Decatur, Mr. Martin's district, John Wellen, appointed.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 8.*

* * *

The office pays \$1,800 salary. The appointment of Charles W. Bristley at Thorntown, settles a long controversy. Charges were preferred against the incumbent and affidavits made to secure his removal. The case was called up a few days ago at the request of Congressman Brookshire. Both senators have also indorsed Bristley. The salary of the Thorntown office is \$1,200. The Warsaw office, to which W. D. Alleman was appointed, was in Congressman Conn's district. The salary was \$1,200.—*Washington Dispatch, Indianapolis News, October 3.*

* * *

The State of Indiana has received more patronage proportionately, it is claimed, than any other one state in the Union. This is particularly true of

places in the treasury department. It is very difficult for an aspirant for office to gain access to the President, or any member of his cabinet, without he is accompanied by his senator or representative.

* * *

UNDER-LORD BRETZ.

Congressman Bretz will be a candidate for renomination, but will not have a clear field. W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, is supposed to be a candidate. Mr. Cullop sought the appointment of district attorney for Indiana, and afterwards wanted to be appointed Governor of Utah.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 9.*

* * *

Three important presidential offices in Congressman Bretz's district will be vacant January 8. The names of the successful candidates have already been settled, and they will be appointed probably on the expiration of the terms of the present postmasters. At Bedford, John Johnson, editor of the *Bedford Democrat*, will be recommended by Mr. Bretz. At Washington, John W. McCarty will secure the congressional recommendation, and at Worthington, Mr. Wilson, who was the choice of the democratic primary election, will be appointed, if Congressman Bretz's recommendation prevails.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 9.*

* * *

Congressman Bretz returned home this afternoon to spend the holidays. Before going he was notified by Postmaster General Bissell that John Johnson, editor of the *Bedford Democrat*, would be appointed this afternoon to the Bedford post-office.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, December 21.*

* * *

Congressman Bretz has succeeded in removing the postmaster at Odon, Daviess county, although he has served but two years, and William J. Danner, a prominent merchant, has been appointed to the office.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 6.*

* * *

Congressman Bretz is likewise well pleased, for he succeeded in knocking two appointments from the tree. Eph. Inman, of Shoals, who was elected from the second congressional district, is named as revenue agent and assigned to New Orleans to look after the sugar industry. Henry Wiegman, of Bedford, gets a six hundred dollar place as inspector in the Indian school at Genoa, Neb.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 8.*

* * *

Mr. Bretz has made a very conservative member of congress. He has worked hard to please his friends, but, unfortunately, he does not control enough offices to go round. However, he has filled the majority of the post-offices with democrats, who are working for his renomination, and he has also secured places for a few friends of his in the revenue service. These gentlemen are also for him. Eph. Inman, of Shoals, through Mr. Bretz, was appointed a revenue agent. The democratic newspapers of Vincennes, Shoals, Bedford, and other places, whose editors have received commissions as postmasters, are very earnest in their support, and the *Paoli News*, whose editor is Mr. Bretz's private secretary, begins a column editorial in his praise this week, with the declaration, "The gallant democracy of the second congressional district is falling into line like a stone wall in support of its present member of congress, the Honorable John L. Bretz.—*Indianapolis News, January 13.*

* * *

UNDER-LORD HOLMAN.

There is going to be a lively fight in the house of representatives one of these days when Collector Bracken, of the sixth Indiana revenue district, asks for an appropriation for additional clerk hire. It is probable that several Indiana democratic congressmen will take occasion to pay off a few political scores and get even with Collector Bracken for broken promises in regard to the patronage of the collector's office. Senator Voorhees is not feeling in the best of humor toward Bracken, and the latter may find a formidable obstacle in the senate. All the northern Indiana representatives are feeling "sore" because Mr. Bracken has not, it is alleged, made a

fair distribution of his patronage among the northern counties. Bracken's defender will loom up in the person of Judge Holman.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 28.*

* * *

The election for postmaster ordered by Congressman Holman takes place here to-morrow. The management of the affair was taken by the city democratic committee, which limited the voters to the democratic patrons of Addison township. Nearly a hundred democrats who reside in surrounding townships get mail at this office, and they could not understand why they should be shut out. There will be eight names on the tickets. Edward Ames Major, the city clerk; General John W. Vannoy, Wm. J. Buxton, ex-auditor; Joseph R. Keenerly, deputy postmaster; John H. Maguire, Thomas J. Cherry, Andrew J. Higgins and James Dickinson. Major seems to have the best of the fight up to to-day, although some surprise may be expected. Higgins has offered to distribute \$100 every month to the poor of the city if he be elected, and has executed a five thousand dollar bond to that effect.—*Shelbyville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 28.*

* * *

The election of a democratic postmaster passed off quietly in this city to-day. Charges were made rather openly during the day of the bribery of electors and other frauds. One candidate declared that although he had signed an agreement to abide by the result of the election, the frauds were so open and brazen that he would be compelled to make a squeal.—*Shelbyville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 29.*

* * *

The election for postmaster here on last Thursday does not seem to have settled the question. As soon as the vote was announced letters and telegrams were sent to Congressman Holman protesting against his recommending City Clerk Major, who received more votes than any other one man. The bitter feeling among the candidates and their friends has not abated a particle, but is getting stronger as each day passes. It is understood that charges have been filed against Major to the effect that he attended the last national democratic convention and worked against the renomination of Cleveland.—*Shelbyville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, December 31.*

* * *

The fight against the renomination of Representative Holman, by members of his own party, is being carried on with great energy. Wires are being pulled to sidetrack him in every movement that is being made to continue him in congress. The democrats of this (Decatur) county are angry over the recent appointment of Noah Mendenhall, of Franklin, a brother of James E. Mendenhall, and private secretary of Judge Holman. They declare that two of a family is more than they can and will stand; that the day will come when they will have a voice, and they propose to even up.—*Greensburg dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 8.*

* * *

Three factions developed in the democratic convention held here yesterday afternoon, W. H. O'Brien appearing in direct hostility to Congressman Holman—John S. Martin espousing Holman's cause, and Judge Hord being regarded as representing Governor Matthew's forces. O'Brien was nominated for district committeeman on the first ballot. This ballot was interpreted as meaning that the forces in opposition to Holman were in the ascendancy in the district.—*Lawrenceburg dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 9.*

* * *

The fight for the Shelbyville post-office does not seem to be over by any means, but is growing warmer day by day. From the very start there were four strong applicants with strong political "pulls," and last November Mr. Holman picked out ex-Recorder Buxton for the place, but the Ray wing, which for years controlled the patronage, made serious objections and demanded an election, at which their candidate received a plurality of the votes cast. Mr. Buxton's recommendations were

the strongest, but the Ray wing had no trouble in getting their man, G. A. Major, selected. Mr. Holman at last handed his name to the President, but it was met by protest from men of standing and integrity. The Ray ring has been opposed to Cleveland's renomination, and it is said Major himself attended the national convention and opposed him and favored Hill.—*Shelbyville dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 9.*

* * *

Congressman Holman's friends are very much excited over the re election of O'Brien, of Lawrenceburg, as a member of the state committee. It is understood here that O'Brien's re-election was contested in every township by the Holman men.—*Indianapolis News, January 12.*

* * *

Edwin F. Uhl, of Michigan, assistant secretary of state, vice Josiah Quincy, resigned, was delegate-at-large to the Chicago convention last year, where he stood for Cleveland, and nominated Judge Morse for vice-president.

* * *

Secretary Herbert has appointed his son-in-law, Benjamin Micou, an Alabama youth to fortune and to fame unknown, to be chief clerk of the navy department. The son-in-law knows nothing whatever of the business he will be called upon to attend to, but other clerks in the department, among whom the secretary should have found his chief clerk, can show him how while he draws the salary.—*New York Commercial Advertiser, December 6.*

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The railway mail service not only adds to the promptness of mail delivery at all offices, but it is the especial instrumentality which puts the smaller and way-places in the service on an equality in that regard with the larger and terminal offices. This branch of the postal service has, therefore, received much attention from the postmaster-general, and though it is gratifying to know that it is in a condition of high efficiency and great usefulness, I am led to agree with the postmaster-general that there is room for its further improvement. There are now connected with the post-office establishment 2,324 employes who are in the classified service. The head of this great department gives conclusive evidence of the value of civil service reform, when, after an experience that renders his judgment on the subject absolutely reliable, he expresses the opinion that without the benefit of this system it would be impossible to conduct the vast business intrusted to him.

I desire to commend as especially worthy of prompt attention the suggestions of the postmaster-general relating to a more sensible and business-like organization and a better distribution of responsibility in his department.

* * *

The method of employing mechanical labor at navy-yards through hoards of labor and making efficiency the sole test by which laborers are employed and continued, is producing the best results, and the secretary is earnestly devoting himself to its development.

Attention is invited to the statements of his report in regard to the workings of the system.

* * *

Among the heads of divisions of this department [agriculture] the changes have been exceedingly few. Three vacancies, occurring

from death and resignations, have been filled by the promotion of assistants in the same divisions. These promotions of experienced and faithful assistants have not only been in the interests of efficient work, but have suggested to those in the department who look for retention and promotion, that merit and devotion to duty are their best reliance.

I join the secretary in recommending that hereafter each applicant for the position of inspector or assistant inspector in the bureau of animal industry be required, as a condition precedent to his appointment, to exhibit to the United States civil service commission his diploma from an established, regular and reputable veterinary college, and that his appointment be supplemented by such an examination in veterinary science as the commission may prescribe.

* * *

The continued intelligent execution of the civil service law and the increasing approval by the people of its operation are most gratifying. The recent extension of its limitations and regulations to the employes at free delivery post-offices, which has been honestly and promptly accomplished by the commission, with the hearty co-operation of the postmaster-general, is an immensely important advance in the usefulness of the system. I am, if possible, more than ever convinced of the incalculable benefits conferred by the civil service law, not only in its effect upon the public service, but also, what is even more important, in its effect in elevating the tone of political life generally.

The course of civil service reform in this country instructively and interestingly illustrates how strong a hold a movement gains upon our people which has underlying a sentiment of justice and right, and which at the same time promises a better administration of their government. The law embodying this reform found its way to our statute books, more from fear of the popular sentiment existing in its favor than from any love of the reform itself on the part of legislators; and it has lived, and grown, and flourished in spite of the covert as well as open hostilities of spoilsmen, and notwithstanding the querulous impracticability of many self constituted guardians. Beneath all the vagaries and sublimated theories, which are attracted to it, there underlies this reform a sturdy, common sense principle, not only suited to this mundane sphere, but whose application our people are more and more recognizing to be absolutely essential to the most successful operation of their government and its perpetuity.

It seems to me to be entirely inconsistent with the character of this reform, as well as with its best enforcement, to oblige the commission to rely for clerical assistance upon clerks detailed from other departments. There ought not to be such a condition in any department that clerks hired to do work there can be spared to habitually work at another place, and it does not accord with a sensible view of civil service reform that persons should be employed on the theory that their labor is necessary in one department when, in point of fact, their services are devoted to entirely different work in another department. I earnestly urge that the clerks necessary to carry on the work of the commission be regularly put upon its roster, and that the system of obliging the commissioners to rely upon the services of clerks belonging to other departments be discontinued. This ought not to increase the expense to the government, while it would certainly be more consistent and add greatly to the efficiency of the commission.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18 1892.

VOL. II, No. 12.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE President has at last removed Postmaster Thompson, of the Indianapolis post-office, for offensive partisanship during Harrison's administration. In view of the fact that the President is now letting democratic congressmen use the federal service to the fullest extent to secure their own renomination, and in view of the further fact that some of them, like Holman, Jason Brown and Cooper, could not possibly be renominated without the utmost efforts of their federal office-holders, the removal of Mr. Thompson for offensive partisanship will have to be put down as a perfect specimen of colossal hypocrisy. The only approximation to it in Indiana were the removals secured by Voorhees for "immorality." Senator Turpie had refused to vote for the confirmation of Hornblower. He has been much humiliated among the spoilsmen at home because he could not secure Thompson's removal. Two days after that removal he voted for Peckham, and the belief is very general that his vote was influenced by the "tact" of the President, of which we are hearing. There is a painful juxtaposition of the removal of Thompson and the vote for Peckham. Mr. Albert Sahm, the newly appointed postmaster, can undoubtedly learn the post-office business, but it would be absurd to say that he can learn in a short time what Mr. Thompson has learned in nineteen years in this post-office. Mr. Sahm declares that he will enforce the civil service law "in letter and in spirit." This means a good deal, but there is reason to believe that he will do it, and in view of this fair promise it is fair to omit notice of some points in his political career which are open to grave criticism.

THE success of the Peckham nomination would not have established any principle and its failure is therefore no more at most than a regrettable incident. If the President had laid down the rule that he would not allow a senator or a representative to speak to him or to communicate with him in any manner upon the subject of appointments to office and had made the Peckham nomination under that rule, the defeat of the nomination because

it was not dictated by Hill would have aroused the country. As it was, success would only have shown that the President would not let some senators dictate. The victory would have been as bare of permanent result as were the victories of Hayes and Garfield over Conkling in similar cases. As we said last month the President will stir up a strife over this isolated case as great as he would cause in putting through a fundamental reform; nor can the people see that he is consistent in letting such men as Voorhees, who are no better than Hill, dictate nominations and refusing the latter the same privilege.

The reports are so numerous and so well authenticated that there can be no dispute as to the manner in which the President attempted to secure the Peckham confirmation. The constitutional way which he was bound to follow was to send the nomination and leave the senate uninfluenced to make its decision. As a matter of fact members of the cabinet went to the senate and personally lobbied for votes, and offices were showered upon senators suspected of being doubtful. It is almost impossible to believe it, but this transaction is like a chapter from Walpole's time.

IN view of developments which have been coming to light in Washington since congress met last summer, the people of Indiana will have to consider whether men who represent this state in the national legislature have sold their opinions and votes for patronage—not necessarily in open bargain and sale, but has patronage been presented in such a "tactful" manner by the President that it has caused some of our representatives to advocate and vote for measures which they would otherwise have been against? Has the determination, which the President's closest friends declare he has been acting upon, to purchase congressmen's votes with offices caused some of our congressmen to sell their votes for such a price? The evidence is almost conclusive against them. Congressman Bynum and Senator Voorhees will be called upon particularly to answer this question. Indiana will carry a heavy load of bad government, but we do not believe she will tolerate men who trade off their votes and opinions.

THE investigation of the Fort Wayne post-office brought out again the general

character of inspectors. With each change of administration they adapt themselves to their superiors. They go out knowing what kind of a report is wanted, and they come back with that report. It was so at Terre Haute and it was so at Fort Wayne. It is so with inspectors generally under every administration. If they show a disposition to be honest and impartial, it affects the tenure of henchmen, and that makes trouble for congressmen, and the inspectors incur an enmity which is all-powerful in the civil service.

Another point made plain is the entire groundlessness of the average charges. The remedy for this is publicity at all times. The secrecy which has been enforced has encouraged falsehood and backbiting throughout the country to a degree beyond comprehension, and to enforce this secrecy is criminal in any administration. If a man knows that his charge against a public employe will be telegraphed back home, he will try to keep to the truth.

Probably a complete remedy for the attempt of the heads of offices to create vacancies for political reasons would be to give the civil service commission the right by law to summon and swear witnesses in matters relating to dismissals, and this should by all means be done. In the meantime what is to hinder the commission from going to any place and getting what information it can about dismissals? In most cases it could get all the information, and after hearing one side it would find the heads of offices only too glad to make the best possible explanation. In all cases everything should be done publicly. With the information thus gained the commission could come at the truth, and could with great force ask the proper authorities to correct misuse of the law.

WE have read with interest a report of the proceedings of the national conference for good city government held in Philadelphia, January 25 and 26. It is curious to note how many of the participants just missed the mark, how many had palliatives but were not aware that there was a specific. One proposition was to meet the bad influence of the corruptionists and disorderly classes with a good influence equally persuasive and equally energetic of the other people of the community.

Another proposed to educate the people in the province of municipal government. Another proposed to bring pressure to secure better nominations. There was also the declaration that municipal politics should be divorced from national politics and that the influence of women should be brought to bear, and so on. Carl Schurz set forth the specific. The cause of municipal corruption is the spoil of office. No amount of pressure by good citizens to keep public officers straight, no plan to secure good nominations, no separation of municipal from national politics, nor any other thing proposed at this conference will ever bring about municipal reform, so long as minor city offices and employment are distributed as spoil by ward bosses. The spoil must be taken away and there is only one tried and approved method of doing it, and that is by the merit system of open competition and by the Boston labor service system.

IT IS not often that the doctrine that the salaries of public employes are to be taxed, not for the benefit of the people by an income tax, but for the benefit of a party machine, by a stand-and-deliver assessment, finds such a bold statement as is given it by the Democratic State Committee of Connecticut, which sent out to the employes referred to the following:

Finance Committee, Democratic State Committee, No. 778 Chapel Street, Room C, Garfield Building, New Haven, Conn.:

DEAR SIR—For the purpose of paying rents, expenses and legitimate bills of the Democratic State Committee,

Resolved, By the finance committee of the Democratic State Committee, that all officials who may be appointed to office under the national and state governments be requested, upon receiving said appointments, to pay into the treasury of the said Democratic State Committee the following sums annually: For all appointments from which an income of between \$200 and \$400 per annum is derived, the sum of \$10; for all appointments from which an income of from \$400 to \$1,000 per annum is received, 2½ per cent. of the salary; for all appointments from which an income of 1,000 and upwards is received, 5 per cent. of the salary, payable semi-annually to the treasurer of the said committee.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Democratic State Committee be requested to forward to every appointee of Gov. Morris, and to every democratic appointee of the national and state governments, a copy of the above vote of the finance committee, with the request that they comply as far as possible with the tenor of the resolution.

One of the members of the committee is the collector of customs at Bridgeport, and if justice is to have its due, he will have to answer for soliciting funds from persons in the employ of the United States. The sending of the circular to employes in public buildings renders every member of the committee liable. The maximum penalty is a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for three years.

THERE are a class of reformers, much less in numbers than a few years ago,

who couple with a peculiar devotedness to Mr. Cleveland the doctrine that civil service reform must wait until the tariff question is settled. Now if any person has been supposed fitted to speak for tariff reformers it has been Mr. Watterson. In a recent interview he gives some idea of how long under the above doctrine the reform of the civil service would have to wait. He says:

I have recently expressed myself so elaborately as to the Wilson bill that any repetition would seem superfluous. It is a bad bill from the beginning to the end. It will do no good and much harm. It may set the cause of genuine revenue reform back a generation. But it will not stop tariff agitation. Every one who supports it begins by qualifying his approval.

THE civil service reformers of Maryland have again come forward by a bill introduced into their general assembly to establish the merit system in that state. The bill contains the usual provisions of such laws. It is interesting to note that at a conference held upon the subject with members of the general assembly there appeared a decided feeling in favor of the bill, and the mayor of Baltimore so declared himself by a letter. That such a law should pass is probably too much to expect from Gorman's state, but it is only a question of time.

IN announcing his determination to retire from public life, Congressman Harter says:

"A congressional career has many attractions, but more drawbacks. It does not suit me to be nine-tenths an office-broker and one-tenth a legislator."

We were told the other day by some Boston reformers that the only hope of breaking up congressional patronage was through congress. As a matter of fact, the men who would be in favor of the reform are more and more leaving congress. The only hope of bringing congressmen back to their constitutional duties is through the President. He must by his fiat cut them off from patronage.

PENNSYLVANIA democrats who are tired of the boss organization of their party in that state have united under the name, "The Pennsylvania Democracy," and have nominated a candidate for congressman-at-large. He gives an interesting description, applicable universally to party machines, of the way in which the "regular democracy" of Pennsylvania occupies itself. He says:

Although Mr. Patterson's election as governor was understood to be a triumph over political bossism, he was no sooner in office than he surrendered the government of the state into the hands of a political clique which immediately made the executive department a political headquarters for completing a system of boss organization of the

democratic party. The department heads were filled by the boss and his supply lieutenants, and the public offices swarmed with his henchmen and satellites. The public business was subordinated to political scheming for controlling conventions, making and defeating delegates, bartering patronage, promulgating edicts and advancing and securing factional control of the party. Executive appointments were distributed at boss dictation without regard to personal character or fitness in the appointees, but solely as a reward for cringing subserviency. No surrender could be more abject, no betrayal of the people more utter.

The regular democratic machine as thus described, headed by ex-Postmaster Harry, has just been given by the President the offices of collector, surveyor and naval officer of the port of Philadelphia.

F. W. M. CUTCHEON, chairman of the Minnesota state democratic committee, recently resigned the chairmanship in a letter which again proves, what every one knew, that party machines as they now exist in this country are devoid of political principles of any kind, and are only kept in existence, so far as their present membership is concerned, by the enjoyment or the hope and prospect of enjoyment of official plunder. In his letter of resignation he tells a shameful story in which the present administration has an active and willing part. Mr. Cutcheon says:

I accepted the chairmanship of your committee in the earnest hope that I should be able to be of service in so preserving and improving the organization of the democratic party in this state that it would be prepared successfully to meet the demands of the political campaign of the coming year, and that I might thus assist to hasten the coming of the complete triumph of the principles we all have at heart. Either the building up of a political machine, in the popular sense of the word, or the mongering of federal offices was very far from my thought, and is to-day farther from my inclination. However, I was hardly installed in the position to which in April last you did me the honor to elect me, when I was forced to realize that the democrats of the state expected from me the devotion of virtually my entire time and energies to obtaining and distributing federal patronage; that for the present, at least, they had little attention to devote to the promotion of the effectiveness of the party organization; that all eyes were turned towards the spoils of past success, instead of towards the necessity of laboring for future victory. The work of attempting to obtain and parcel out offices was forced upon me, not only from this pressure upon the part of the members of the party in the state, but by continual requests from some of the departments of the federal government for recommendations of fit persons to be appointed to a multitude of minor offices. Under the circumstances, I have endeavored to render the individual members of the party who have applied to me, and who seemed deserving, such assistance as lay in my power, and so to perform these services and to promote the public and party interests.

The work, however, has required and still requires an expenditure of time, money and energy that is entirely beyond my ability. The position of chairman of this committee demands a person who possesses ample leisure and pecuniary means as well as an inclina-

tion for its duties. I possess none of these qualifications. The chairmanship should be filled by one either in sympathy with the other and more powerful agencies which the present administration chooses to employ in selecting persons for federal appointment in Minnesota, or one who commands leisure, means, and inclination to combat these agencies successfully. I do not enjoy the sympathy, the leisure, or the means, referred to. Moreover, without being guilty of disloyal criticism of the present democratic administration, I may say that I am not in sympathy with the policy that has been adopted by it in making appointments to federal offices. I believe that no one would give support more heartily than would I to a policy of genuine civil service reform—a policy in accordance with which removals from office would be occasioned solely by unfitness to hold it on the part of the incumbent—and appointment dictated only by the special fitness of the appointee; but with the policy adopted by the present administration, which is at once retrogressive from the standpoint of the reformer, and unjust from the standpoint of the partisan, I have no sympathy. In my opinion this system retains all the vices characteristic of the spoils system and possesses none of its redeeming qualities.

THE FORT WAYNE POST-OFFICE.

On account of the repeated complaints of partisan manipulation in the Fort Wayne post-office, a committee consisting of William Dudley Foulke and Lucius B. Swift, of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, was appointed to look into the matter. They spent two days in Fort Wayne and their report may be found in full in the *Indianapolis Journal* of February 8. The present postmaster, W. W. Rockhill, part owner of the *Fort Wayne Journal*, took possession of the office July 20, 1893. He found it under the civil service rules, under whose operation three democrats had already gained places. Mr. Rockhill's case is of that class which in the past have caused great struggle and bitterness in connection with the civil service law and the outcome of which has caused the administrations under which they occurred to be branded as hypocritical and treacherous. Mr. Rockhill was a man of good standing in the community, liked by his fellow-citizens and in his business dealings honest. But he is one of those officers, plenty enough now but becoming less numerous, who think that the ordinary rules of fair dealing do not apply in politics. His mind was corrupted with the view that he must make places for partisans, and to accomplish this he resorted to slyness, trickery and deceit. With two exceptions, he would have been ashamed in his Fort Wayne newspaper establishment to deprive men of their means of support for analogous reasons to those given for dismissing carriers and clerks from this post-office. If the reasons had been true, as a private employer he would have first given a reprimand. The men would have been warned and everything would have been done frankly

and openly. but as postmaster he did not mention the subject to the men but he sent charges against them secretly to Washington and the first notice the men had was a dismissal from employment. Cases were filed, the trials had and the judgments were rendered without a word of notice to the accused. In one case he dismissed a carrier upon charges wholly untrue and the carrier was reinstated from Washington. Mr. Rockhill almost immediately dismissed him again upon new charges which were undoubtedly false. Before the second dismissal and before the carrier heard of the new charges, an inspector named Holmes appeared as he said for the purpose of investigating the charges, but he left Fort Wayne and forgot, as he afterwards wrote, to mention the new charges. Yet upon his adverse report as to those charges the second dismissal was approved. In one case the charge upon which a carrier was dismissed was not known to the postmaster when he sent the written dismissal. This fact puts the motive of Mr. Rockhill beyond any question. The post-office department has made one improvement; after the men are dismissed it will in most cases let them know the grounds and that is the way these assigned causes came to light. What has always been claimed is now proved: If the charges could be brought to light they would not stand the test of the judgment of the community. These were trumped up and they had no foundation in fact. In some cases there was no pretense of an accusation; the men were told that they were dismissed for the good of the service. In other cases the postmaster sent them letters, saying; "Your resignation will be accepted," and then crowded them out by putting other men in their places. He cares nothing for the civil service law and admits that he does not understand it. He is simply McNagney's man; and we repeat again that the civil service law should be in the hands of men who want to carry it out.

THE MACHINE ROUTED.

There has been going on at Indianapolis for many weeks a struggle which is of interest to the whole country. It will be remembered that the republicans elected a mayor last October by 3,000 majority. He frankly realized the fact that the enormous change from 2,700 the other way at the preceding election was caused by voters who want and are determined to have, if possible, the best city government, and he determined to address himself to the matter, of getting it. The mayor with the three city boards and the comptroller are required under the charter to form a cabinet and are directed to adopt the merit system for appointments. The police and fire departments are expressly excepted but the board

having control of those departments is given the power to adopt the rules. The mayor declared in favor of the merit system and proposed that his cabinet should adopt it; and the board of public safety declared that it would adopt similar rules for the police and fire departments. A curious and motley crusade against these proposals was begun by the party machine. Comptroller Pres. Trusler, whom the mayor by a serious mistake of judgment had given his office, led the machine. In wards, precincts and club rooms and where two or three could be got together, resolutions against "civil service" were carried with a whirl. Individuals one after another declared themselves against it, and finally the party organ, the *Indianapolis Journal*, although an old civil service reform advocate, was whipped into line. Merrill Moores, chairman of the republican county committee, worked desperately to secure their defeat. It must be said that all together they made a good deal of noise. The mayor and the members of the boards listened to everything but kept steadily on in the preparation of the rules. From time to time they gave public expression of their views to the effect that they knew what their duty was and they meant to do it. The board of public safety adopted its rules without dissent. When the mayor's cabinet met the vote stood ten in favor of the rules to Trusler against them.

We give elsewhere the principal points of the objections publicly made. Clearly neither they nor the members that made them are formidable. The citizens of Indianapolis with the exception of this hungry fringe of party hacks and ward workers and little bosses were with the mayor. It is a great example to show what the CHRONICLE has always claimed—that the people are opposed to the spoils system. The rules are not yet accessible and we defer comment.

A TYPICAL BOSS.

Since the defeat of Maynard there has been no penal news so gratifying to the public as the verdict of guilty against John Y. McKane, of Gravesend. He was a carpenter, and took to town politics. By the usual hustler's methods he became town supervisor, chief of police, commissioner of police, commissioner of highways, commissioner of common land and commissioner of excise all at once. He was now in shape to do business. No person or corporation that had to ask favors could safely ignore Carpenter McKane. When letting building contracts, railroad corporations, hotel builders, jockey clubs, and all keepers of questionable resorts took note of this, and McKane was overwhelmed with business. As excise commissioner he could grant his patrons licenses, and as chief of police he could look the other way while pool selling, prize fighting, and all manner of law breaking went on. He controlled all town expenditures, handled the town money and paid the bills with his personal checks. He sold the town lands, and built the town buildings. He became rich.

He had a difference with Boss McLaughlin, of Brooklyn, and to punish the latter he decided to have his town go for Harrison in 1888, and the vote was counted that way. The New York *Tribune* called attention to his good work, and he led the John Y. McKane Association at the inauguration of Harrison, and was received at the White House, and was allowed to name the United States marshal. Two years later he supported Fassett, and Gravesend gave 1098 votes for the latter against 180 for Flower. In 1892 he had made up with McLaughlin, and Gravesend was counted heavily for Cleveland. The John Y. McKane Association marched in the Cleveland inaugural procession, and McKane named the present postmaster. He was a good man—at Sheepshead Bay, where he lived. He was superintendent of the Sunday-school, and zealous in his religious duties. But at West Brighton he consorted with pool sellers, prize-fighters, dive keepers, and so on. He divided up the town so that the six election districts centered in one room, where the election could be under his eye. In 1891 the number of registered voters was 2,547, in 1892 it was 4,843. He finally toppled over. In 1893 he put 6,218 names on the registry list as voters where the population of the town was 8,418. He refused to allow the registry list to be copied. He defied a court injunction, and arrested and threw into jail persons who came under the protection of the court to act as watchers. For these offenses he has been tried and convicted. His career represents the natural and complete development of the spoils system. It is true he is convicted, but it took the ablest lawyers and a trial of over three weeks, costing thousands of dollars, to do it. And with that it was feared to trust the regular methods of drawing the grand jury, or the regular sheriff, or the regular prosecuting attorney.

It has often been said that the spoils system would subvert free government. The blindest can see that if it were perfected throughout the country as McKane perfected it, free government would be actually gone, and no courts or juries could help us.

THE SAME OLD STORY.

The report of the Indian Rights Association for the year 1893 has the merit of being plain. So far as the Indian service is concerned, it is the old story of lying, deceit, trickery and treachery. Before his inauguration President Cleveland, through a friend, asked the association to suggest a name for Indian commissioner. A number of names were suggested and were disregarded, and an Illinois politician named Browning was appointed, who was entirely devoid of experience in Indian matters. Among its other exploits the administration removed Mr. Steele, the Blackfeet agent, and of remarkable efficiency, appointing an army officer in his place. When asked the reason, Browning said the President felt almost obliged to make military appointments. Mr. Crouse, the Pima agent, was removed and

Mr. J. Roe Young, of Kentucky, who was not a military officer, was given his place. Mr. Crouse being anxious to know why he was removed, wrote to the association:

"I should be very much pleased to learn the nature of the charges preferred against me, if any. I have had from three to five employes of democratic faith in good positions here ever since I took charge of the affairs of the agency, and in the selection of employes for various places no religious or political affiliations have been considered at any time. What I am most interested in is to know the cause of my removal."

The association asked Browning, and the only reply it could get was, "the good of the service required it."

Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Robinson were removed from the post of superintendent and teacher respectively of the Ponca school. They asked Browning for a copy of the charges, but he ignored their request. The association then made the same request, and Browning replied that it was for the good of the service, but that he was not required to give reasons. The association gently replied, regretting the necessity of discussing the case before the public. Browning at once responded that the charges had been sent to Mr. Robinson. The charges consisted of a report by an inspector, a new political appointment, and whose report was pervaded with personal hostility, accounted for by a statement which the inspector's indiscretion at the school drew from Mr. Robinson. Benjamin H. Miller, an experienced and faithful Indian inspector was removed, and the only charge the association could ever find out was that "a man from Georgia wanted his place." It is difficult to comment upon the removal of Captain Brown, the Pine Ridge agent. The reason stated was that the assistant Indian commissioner regarded him as an enthusiast, impractical and extravagant in his estimates. The instance given of his extravagance was a request for steel fence-posts in the sand-hills, where wooden ones were constantly destroyed by fire. That he was impracticable was false, and his enthusiasm was sadly needed. The CHRONICLE has already commented upon Browning's proposal to remove from the classified service superintendents who have to give bond for school furniture and like property. In this line Browning has been doing a little business on his own account. He abolished two teachers' positions within the classified service at Chilocco school and created two assistant teachers' positions without the classified service. Into one of these creations he put his niece and into the other the son of a friend.

At the writing of the report Hoke Smith had deigned to counsel with the association regarding the improvement of the Indian school service. The report is anticipating the appointment of Dr. Hailman, and if it is made, it bespeaks support for the administration. The appointment has been made, but the CHRONICLE will wait awhile to see if Dr. Hailman is cramped by any more of Browning's capers.

THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

We have received the printed proceedings of the Lake Mohonk conference which was held in October, 1893. Through the whole the spoils system is made to appear the one insurmountable obstacle to the civilization, or even fair treatment, of the Indians. In a conference of one hundred and seventy members, embracing some of the most eminent philanthropic names of the country, this was the universal declaration. We can not do better than quote the words of the speakers. Herbert Welsh said:

"Upon the policy adopted by the executive in making appointments to and removals from office within the Indian service will depend, in a large measure, the success or failure of this great work. The spoils system has in the past been the bane of this as of all other departments within the civil service of the United States. Both political parties have been equally guilty of the abuse of the Indian service by making its salaries the purse from which to pay party debts, and by improper political appointments and removals. This system, so wholly at war with common sense and those established principles on which every successful business concern is based, has afflicted the Indian service with a spirit of weakness and inefficiency amounting at times to demoralization and chaos. It has not only introduced at various times into every part of the service large numbers of persons wholly without qualification, either in character or ability, for their positions—persons who were never selected with that end in view, who secured appointment by political pressure—but it has taught every worthy person in the service that high character and faithful work are no guarantee to the retention of place. It has scattered the garnered harvest of experience to the winds, as of no greater value than chaff, and has undone the patient work of years with a single thoughtless stroke of the pen.

Philip C. Garrett said: Very disastrous to successful administration from any business point of view is this most unbusiness-like and pernicious system. When is the day to come, when, with cars closed to interested parties and politicians, a President will be allowed by public opinion to observe and investigate deliberately on his own initiative the merits of all incumbents of offices in his gift, and retain or dismiss for merit or demerit only? Not till then will it be possible to administer the Indian office so as with reasonable celerity and humanity to solve the troublesome problem it presents.

Captain Wotherspoon said: I do not think an army officer should be used except as a stop-gap, until a proper law can be passed, applying civil service to the Indian service from its top to its bottom. My own experience is this as *quasi*-agent. When I come to take charge, I find my doctor is a blacksmith, appointed by Senator So-and-so. My carpenter is an indifferent saddler, my saddler nothing, and my clerk the political henchman of some politician. How can we do efficient work unless we can appoint our own employes and be responsible to the heads of our department, as in military service? Give us these, and we can do good work. I have one interpreter who has a salary of one hundred dollars a month, and his fitness consists in a perfect knowledge of the Apache language. I have had nearly five hundred applications from politicians, backed by senators and congressmen, to discharge this man, and put in people who never saw an Apache in their lives and know absolutely nothing of the language. Yet my clerk must act as interpreter for the

Apaches. Unless he can do this, he is of no use.

Dr. Proudfit said: I want to call attention to one argument which has been left out, in behalf of placing the Indian service under the civil service rules; and that is the argument of humanity. I am an original civil service reformer. If there is one argument which ought to commend itself to everybody without regard to politics as pre-eminently requiring to be administered on civil service reform principles, it is the Indian department. Why? Has not experience taught us that it is utterly ruinous to administer it on any other principles? It makes little difference whether our letters are delivered twenty-four hours earlier or later, whether we lose a few hundred dollars in the ordinance department of the army or navy; but I tell you it makes all the difference in the world whether you are going to put a man in office, for political reasons, who will mismanage a department where the bodies and souls of men and women are concerned. You put in an ignorant, corrupt, inefficient man, you put in place-men, a man who is "on the make," and what is the result? It is demoralization to the Indians.

These extracts show the opinion of those who spend much time and money for no other reason than to benefit the Indians. They have accurate knowledge of what will benefit the Indians. The administration is an ignominy in comparison. Yet their experience is disregarded, their recommendations are ignored, and congressmen from Maine to California are permitted to send their henchmen to the Indian country to be quartered upon the Indian appropriations. We could commend to the conference a less excusing tone toward public officials. It is not worth while to be deprecatory when dealing with officials who are at heart political sharpers.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND THE PURCHASE OF CONGRESSMEN.

Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

SIR—In your January issue you quote, with some severity of criticism, a remark of mine at the dinner of the Massachusetts Reform Club, to the effect that the President was right in using the consulships to buy the votes of the senators on behalf of repealing the Sherman silver bill. The words were no doubt correctly quoted, but they do not cover all which, with the context, I intended to convey. I have been a civil service reformer for twenty-five years, but I thought at the first as I think now, that the promoters overlooked a defect in the organization of our government against which their efforts would dash themselves in vain. By tremendous and persistent agitation a certain measure of reform has no doubt been accomplished, but at the end of a quarter of a century I find the outcry against the spoils system nearly as great as ever. It may be said that the people of the country are thoroughly weary of the subject. No President ever has been found, and it is almost certain that under the present system none ever will be found, to meet the demands of the reformers. The civil service commission exists by the reluctant tolerance of congress under the lash of incessant public agitation. If that body dared it would suppress it at once, and if the senate, by a few more experiments like that of last autumn, finds out that it can safely defy public opinion, the country may be treated to the spectacle of an appropriation bill, which will reduce the civil service commission to an untimely end for want of funds.

The root of the evil lies in the usurpation by congress of the whole power of the government. At the Massachusetts Reform Club dinner Mr. R. H. Dana, civil service reformer *pur sang*, referred to

the civil service of other countries. If he will follow out the comparison he will find that in every case the civil service is pure just in proportion as the executive is strong, because it is for the interest of the executive that it shall be. The governments of Prussia and the German empire are a military despotism such as I, for one, have no desire to see here; but in no country is the civil service tenure more permanent, or promotion more regular. In Great Britain, which has the strongest executive of any really parliamentary government, the spoils system has been wholly done away with. It is in France and Italy, where executive power is merely a puppet in the hands of the chambers, which occupy themselves in setting up and pulling down ministries at the bidding of private interests, where the finances are in disorder and the budget shows a constant deficit. It is in these countries, and for precisely the same reasons, that the spoils system rages almost as fiercely as in the United States.

Of course the control of legislation means the control of administration, and the President of the United States has little more voice in legislation than any ordinary citizen. He has, indeed, power to say in extreme cases, what shall *not* be done—unless two-thirds of congress insist upon it. Beyond this he can only send messages, and these are referred to committees, which use them purely as a means of compelling submission to party and private demands. A good illustration is furnished in the disgraceful spectacle of our financial condition. The revenue shows a deficit, current bills are unpaid, and the cash in the treasury is rapidly running down, yet congress has taken no step to relieve the emergency. After pleading in vain with the committees, the secretary has felt himself obliged to resort to an old statute authorizing the issue of five per cent. bonds, an implement about as antiquated as a muzzle-loading musket. Yet congress, with, be it observed, a democratic majority in both houses, instead of trying to help him out, falls to quarreling whether he has the right to issue the bonds, or to use the money for his expenses.

Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, a kind of Apostle Paul of the movement, has written a considerable and very interesting book in praise of the reform and condition of the English civil service. Yet not once does he take the trouble to consider how these things were brought about. It was through the public, personal and individual responsibility of ministers for their appointments. Some years ago, Mr. Disraeli was suspected of having appointed a relative to some minor office. Instantly he was set upon in the House of Commons, and received such punishment as served for ample warning not only for himself, but for all future ministers.

The first effectual step towards civil service reform will be taken when the country insists that the President, through his cabinet, shall have the same opportunity of stating publicly his views and wishes with regard to legislation as members of congress have, and shall thus be relieved from the necessity of private solicitation and lobbying with members and committees, and as a corollary of this, that the cabinet shall be held to public and personal responsibility for appointments on the open floor of congress; so that prompt and sharp castigation shall make it more costly to yield than to resist the solicitation of office-seeking members.

To recur to the original point. Last autumn a large part of the people of the country felt, wrongly as I thought, and still think, that the great financial depression was owing to the silver law. If Mr. Cleveland shared that feeling, and saw that no other means of securing the repeal by the vote of the senate was open to him, than that which always has been used for such purposes and against which no law existed, then I do not think that he should be denounced for deciding that actions may be of relative importance, and that the general welfare of the country is above any details which are not immoral or wicked in themselves.

Respectfully yours,

GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

MR. BRADFORD AND THE PURCHASE OF CONGRESSMEN.

The words of Mr. Bradford quoted last month in the CHRONICLE were as follows: "Take the matter of the silver bill; the only way the President could get that passed was by putting the consulships into the congressmen's hands, just as Mr. Quincy did, and I believe he was right in doing so." On receipt of the letter printed above we expected to find a denial of these words, or at least some modification of them. The words, however, are not only admitted, but there seems to be in Mr. Bradford's mind no conception of the political morality which the words indicate. Passing to the statements of his letter, the only people in this country who are weary of the subject of civil service reform are the spoilsmen and the nominal reformers. It has made a tremendous progress. In almost all parts of the country it has permeated the public thought, and the people at large have come to believe in it. There are few communities where a dismissal to make room for a partisan does not meet the disapproval of the majority. The reform has reached the stage that if the machinery of the law and the rules were once established throughout the country, the people would no more submit to a repeal than they would submit to a repeal of the ballot reform acts. We can not say what a congress composed as our congress is might not do. It might strike out the appropriation. A cowardly submission without criticism to any abuse of the civil service is the way to bring that about. In 1874 the republican party struck out the appropriation, and immediately after met the greatest defeat which had come to a party since the downfall of the whigs. To strike it out now would result in the shattering of the party that did it, as the repeal of the Missouri compromise shattered the party which did that.

Mr. Bradford says the root of the evil lies in the usurpation by congress of the whole power of the government. The evil lies in the usurpation by individual congressmen of the President's power of appointment, and in his weak submission. Our executive is not weak. Next to the arbitrary governments, it is one of the strongest in the world. Compared with ours, the English government is a town meeting democracy. Mr. Eaton considered fully how the reform of the English civil service was brought about, and Mr. Bradford has evidently been too "weary" of the subject to read his book with advantage. It was not brought about because the cabinet had seats in parliament. The cabinet had seats in parliament a hundred and sixty years before the English service was reformed; and if cabinet officers like Whitney, Don Dickinson, Wanamaker, Carlisle and Hoke Smith had seats in congress a hundred and sixty years, our service would not through them be reformed. The English reform originated wholly with the executive. The first report was made in 1853, and the order establishing examinations was

made by Lord Palmerston in 1855, and was that same year disapproved by a vote of the commons. Nevertheless the executive did not back down and talk about not being able to "carry its party," or "of the danger of sitting down between two stools."

It persisted and submitted the matter to a discussion of the people with such effect that in a single year the commons were compelled to give way. The same result would be reached here if we had a President with backbone enough to do his sworn duty.

The trouble with Mr. Bradford and those who agree with him is that they have the notion that it is the business of the President to get certain legislation through congress. The President has no such business. It is his business to publicly state his views, and there he should stop. If congress will not then legislate as the people desire, and if the people have no remedy except the coercion or purchase of such legislation by the President, then among us popular government has come to an end. The people have a remedy in the ballot. It is the remedy and the only remedy which the constitution designs, and if the corruption of congressmen by the executive can be brought to an end, the ballot will do its effectual work. It is true that needed legislation might be delayed, but this country had better suffer years of financial rack than have its laws given it for a price. It is an impropriety for the President, except by his public utterances, to seek to influence congressmen in any manner. He goes beyond his constitutional authority in attempting to work laws through congress; and if with offices he deliberately purchases senators or representatives to vote for measures which they would otherwise vote against, he makes a corrupt use of the power with which the people have trusted him. If Mr. Bradford can not see that, or if it is sufficient to him that there is no law against it, so much the worse for Mr. Bradford. It is no different from ordinary blocks-of-five purchase. The blocks-of-five men always say that they are simply paying the floaters "to vote right." If it is right for the President to buy legislation with offices, it is right for Mr. Bradford to buy it with money. It is true that no President has been found to meet the demands of reformers, but, as Mr. Bradford knows, it has not been for want of promises. Such a President will be found, and under the present system. He will manage the civil service as the constitution provides. He will publicly express himself as to legislative needs. He will resent any intrusion upon his constitutional power. And congress, without hope of reward from any source except in the approval of the people, will pass bills and submit them to the President for approval, and upon these bills he will exercise the discretion the constitution gives him. The time of waiting will be lengthened or shortened according as men like Mr. Bradford shall attempt to drag the name of reform into apology for acts for which there is no apology.

"CIVIL SERVICE" IN INDIANAPOLIS.

"Of course I'm dead agin it. Say, I'd be a rank sucker to give up all me spare time fer an office and then cut it up with some other bloke. Not on yer life! I believes that them as do the hnstlin' should get the offices, and when they gets a pig-iron cinch on a job, spike her down an' keep the other gny out. Dat's polyticks, an' dat's what makes ns fellers do the hnstlin'. Dat man Trnsler is a terrorbred, an' yer bet we're all wid'im to a standstill."—*Tommy Miller, light-weight boxer, republican, ex-member of Tammany Hall.*

* * *

"Reformers will eternally blast the hopes of any party that tolerates them. Then here is the civil service reform. That is the only thing that will cause men to leave their party."—*Sim Coy.*

* * *

"I am in favor of Pres. Trnsler and agin civil service. I tell you civil service never did ent any ice."—*Royal Hammer.*

* * *

I believe the civil service idea is a political heresy; that its tendency is to eliminate from the civil service all who have the manhood to have political opinions and who are worthy of American citizenship; that it perpetuates an office-holding class who are either hypocrites or are white-livered to the extent that they will change opinions to hold office; that in removing the interest of the masses in politics, it is the first step toward a monarchy or at least an aristocracy; that it is a cover for ungrateful politicians to hide their responsibilities to those who elevated them.—*Pres. Trnsler, City Controller.*

* * *

There is no disputing the fact that civil service breeds a class that cares for nothing but their own aggrandizement. Love of country is a pretty fable for school children and it finds no lodgment in their calculating natures, for if they were ever possessed with that commodity it has been destroyed through the blighting civil service method.—*William W. Jackson.*

* * *

We believe that it is as honorable for a man to try to become a fireman or a policeman as to try to be a United States senator, and we believe he should be appointed if the majority wants him to be. We do not believe that any party believes in civil service, as it is, unless the other party is in power. We do not believe that a man running a large business would employ men to help him in running his business if their sympathy and interest were in another concern in the same kind of business on the opposite side of the street. We do not believe that any man, a candidate for any office before any convention of any party, could be nominated if he declared himself in favor of civil service.—*Protest of Southsiders, read by Joseph B. Cameron.*

* * *

"I notice an interview with Controller Trnsler in last night's News. He expresses my idea of civil service—to the victor belongs the spoils. Why is it that Mr. Denny is so much better lawyer than Mayor Sullivan? He never discovered the civil service in the new city charter. Mr. Denny had to go to Boston to see how he could keep the democrats in their places. Why do we work for our candidate 'day and night?' Is it because we expect him to leave the democrats in their places and allow the republicans to hang around the streets and be called 'tin-horn' and 'peannt politicians'? Is it not strange that this city has been saved as long as it has when it was run by political parties and paid political assessments? We had money then in the treasury, but now it takes it to pay salaries to officers to help us out with civil service."—*Cal. Darnell.*

* * *

"Civil service be-be-be blown! Say, you will be short every night. What's the use of civil service, anyhow? No one will be able to get a job. Everybody would have to go to high-school and graduate, so they could tell the names of all the

rivers in Posey county, and how the Mississippi river compares with White river, and how high the Alps are, and a whole lot of stuff. There isn't anything in it."—*P. J. Ryan, democratic councilman and deputy collector of revenue.*

* * *

"Say, didn't you see what our club did last night?"

"No. What did your club do?"

"Wh—wh—why, we passed resolutions against the civil service rules."

"Did you read the rules?"

"Yep. We read them section by section, and they are no good."

"What particular section is objectionable?"

"Why, under the rules a man who has office can't talk politics nor pay a cent to the party."—*Ed Duvall, sanitary officer for the board of health.*

* * *

The members of the city administration who are in favor of the code of civil service rules, which will be considered by the mayor's cabinet to-night, assert that a strong effort is made on the part of politicians not only to defeat the adoption of the code, but to bring such a pressure to bear as to compel the discharge of the few democrats left, that republicans may get their places. This, it is asserted, is true in every department. Among those against whom these accusations are made are John W. Bowlus, candidate for county clerk; Ed Duvall, sanitary officer; Henry Smith, ex-councilman; H. B. Stont, ex-deputy city clerk; Merrill Moores, chairman of the republican county committee; William W. Milford, secretary of the republican county committee and clerk to the board of public works; Charles Krauss, councilman at large. Mr. Moores recently appeared before the board of public safety and asked that Clarence Foster (republican) be made clerk of that board, a position held now by Richard Herrick (democrat). He explained that he did not ask that one man be discharged that another might be appointed, but insisted that republicans should have all appointments to be made.

Mr. Moores is a member in good standing of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, of which William Dudley Fonke, of Richmond, is president. The object of the association is thus set forth in its constitution:

"The object of the association shall be to establish and maintain a system of appointment, promotion and removal in the civil service, founded upon the principle that public office is a public trust, admission to which should depend upon proved fitness. To this end the association will demand that appointments to subordinate executive offices, with such exceptions as may be expedient, not inconsistent with the principle already mentioned, shall be made from persons whose fitness has been ascertained by competitive examinations open to all applicants properly qualified; and that removals shall be made for legitimate cause only, such as dishonesty, negligence or inefficiency, but not for such reasons as political opinion or refusal to render party service; and the association will advocate all other appropriate measures for securing integrity, intelligence, efficiency, good order and due discipline in the civil service of the national government, the state of Indiana and the various municipalities therein."—*Indianapolis News.*

* * *

Col. W. W. Holloway, Mayor Denny's private secretary, is sometimes given to expletives. Ex-councilman Jasper came in to talk about "civil service." The mayor being out, Jasper and Holloway had, according to the News, the following conversation:

"Morning, Bill."

"Morning, Joe."

"Colonel, about the civil service rules. Don't you know that ? ! ! — — * * I 8 — ! ! — ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !"

"Joe, — — — ! ! ! ? ? — *, — ! ! ! — — — ! ? ? ? I 4 — —," quoth Mr. Holloway, and the meeting was at an end.

* * *

"The republicans of the first ward in mass

meeting assembled enter their emphatic protest against the adoption by a republican administration of so-called civil service rules formulated by a set of men who helped to achieve democratic success in the last presidential election."

* * *

"Resolved, That the republicans of the south side earnestly protest against the adoption of the proposed civil service rules, believing them to be un-American and treasonable to a republican form of government."

"Be it further resolved, That we, as republicans, do not believe that the Indianapolis News is capable of judging of what is for the best interest for the republican party. As proof, note its position on the tariff question."

"Be it further resolved, That we believe in majority rule, and to the majority belong the emoluments of office, from the highest to the lowest, and as republicans we are willing to stake our political future on that line of action."

* * *

"WHEREAS, It is reported that the city administration is about to adopt a set of civil service rules, which rules have been published in the Journal; and,

"WHEREAS, It is reported that said rules were prepared by persons whose opposition to the republican party is notorious, and whose motives may be viewed with distrust; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That said rules are un-American and a step toward the disfranchisement of a large number of voters, and that we condemn in the strongest terms the rules now under consideration by the Mayor's cabinet; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we will support no candidate for office who will not openly announce himself as opposed to all interference with the rights of voters under the guise of civil service reform.

"THE FOURTEENTH WARD LINCOLN LEAGUE."

* * *

WHEREAS, We are informed through the columns of the daily press of this city that his honor has under consideration the introduction of civil service into our municipal government, which, as a club, we believe that at this time is inexpedient, therefore be it

Resolved, That this club most respectfully and earnestly protests against such action.—*Commercial Travelers' Republican Club.*

* * *

There was another "mass"-meeting of men opposed to "civil service," last night. This time it was in the Sixth ward. There were six persons, not candidates, present. At noon to day still another "mass-meeting" was held. It was composed of John W. Bowlus, candidate for county clerk, and two other men who are trying to secure places under Mayor Denny.—*News Item.*

* * *

The precinct committeemen of the Tenth ward met in the criminal court room, Saturday night, and passed a resolution declaring that the republicans of the Tenth ward and of the city generally are opposed to the proposed rules.—*News Item.*

* * *

Eleven of the sixteen republican members of council met in the city clerk's office to canvass on the proposed civil service rules. The greater number present were either candidates for something or expect to be some time. Those in attendance were Rauh, Cooper, Krauss, Allen, Shaffer, Stout, Murphy, Puryear, Kaiser, Drew and Young. The majority agreed that they were opposed to the code and would tell Mayor Denny so. They also said that they intended to make an effort to prevent the rules from being adopted.—*News Item.*

* * *

Controller Trusler is against the rules openly, and will fight their passage by the cabinet. For his alleged valor in opposing the mayor in his civil service idea, Controller Trusler has been idolized by the spoils element of the party. Yesterday he was presented with a glass upon which was in-

scribed: "Civil Service—Rats." On the other side was a flag, and underneath was the name, "P. C. Trusler." Around the bottom of the glass was tied some red, white and blue ribbon."

* * *

The Indianapolis Journal, in its columns, has long been in favor of the merit system, and for many years, in editorials, it has set out the great benefits to be derived from the extension of civil service reform. While this city was under the democrats, it repeatedly upbraided them for disregarding the plain direction of the charter that the merit system must be introduced. October 20, 1893, ten days after the great victory of the republicans last fall, it had the following:

The placing of subordinate appointments in the city government on a civil service basis is not a matter of choice or discretion with the mayor or his boards. It is made obligatory by law. The charter, after providing for monthly meetings of the heads of departments, says, etc.:

We think it unfortunate that this provision excepts from its operation employees under the department of public safety, which includes the fire and police departments. But if the letter of the law does not include these departments, its spirit should more or less be applied to them. Outside of the fire and police forces, every subordinate appointment in the city government is required to be made according to civil service rules and "without regard to political opinions or services." This being the case, the appointments of deputy controller and deputy clerk, already made, were in violation of law.

But, February 2, 1894, the Journal said:

This provision [of the charter declaring that civil service rules shall be adopted] expressly excludes from its operation the chiefs and members of the police and fire departments, the market master, station-house keeper and all clerks and employees of the board of public safety. As to employees in other departments the charter requires the adoption of uniform rules to ascertain the fitness of applicants for office, without regard to political opinions or services. This gives the mayor and heads of departments the widest possible discretion as to what kind of rules or regulations shall be adopted. The charter would be fully complied with by a rule providing that all appointments to subordinate positions in the city government should be made with a view of promoting its efficiency, and that no appointment or promotion should be made except on the written report of a majority of the board controlling the department that they had examined the person and found him qualified. Such a rule could be put in a dozen lines. * * * It should not be necessary to examine a hundred men to find one competent clerk, nor is it necessary for any city administration to go outside of its party ranks to find persons to fill responsible positions. * * * The people who worked and voted for a change of city government last October wanted reform, but not that kind. Nor does the charter require that kind.

The Journal has evidently been seen by the machine. Yet there are few even of the partisan papers which, at the command of the party machine, would in such public humiliation return their necks to the yoke.

A MANACLED PRESS.

But remember, sir, that these are the attributes of a free press only. And is a press that is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can the people look for truths to partial

sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim the approach of national evils, nor seem to decry them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the palladium of liberty into an engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy, and patronage of government all to bear, with united force, on the means of general intelligence and on the adoption or rejection of political opinions.—*Daniel Webster in 1832.*

—— Baldwin, editor of the *Herald*, collector at Erie, Pa.

Wm. H. Peffer, of the *Sentinel*, postmaster at Carlisle, Pa.

W. C. Bush, of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Pittsfield, Ill.

James Renle, of the *Sun*, postmaster at North Vernon, Ind.

F. S. Ruffy, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Elyria, O.

B. C. Allensworth, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Pekin, Ill.

C. Donahue, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Freeport, Ill.

C. G. Barus, editor of the *Argus*, postmaster at Albion, Neb.

Perry Hughes, of the *Register* postmaster at Clinton, Illinois.

A. J. Coil, of the *Enterprise*, postmaster at Beardstown, Illinois.

F. W. Frye, editor of the *Palladium*, postmaster at Parsons, Kan.

C. W. Miller, editor of the *Demoerat*, postmaster at Waverly, Ia.

W. A. Eaton, editor of the *Demoerat*, postmaster at Kingman, Kan.

S. A. D. Cox, editor of the *Herald*, postmaster at Humboldt, Kan.

John Johnson, editor of the *Demoerat*, postmaster at Bedford, Ind.

John H. Sherman, of the *Demoerat*, postmaster at Ocala, Iowa.

E. W. Renkin, editor of the *Sentinel*, postmaster at Hooper, Neb.

Eugene Lewis, editor of the *Herald*, postmaster at Greenfield, Ind.

C. P. Rogers, editor of the *Bulletin*, postmaster at Huntington, N. Y.

Fred A. Lischer, of the *Demokrat*, postmaster at Davenport, Iowa.

T. A. Jernigan, of the *Raleigh State Chronicle*, minister to Corea.

B. F. Wissler, editor of the *Sun*, deputy postmaster at Richmond, Ind.

Giles Devier, editor of the *Register*, postmaster at Harrisonburg, Va.

C. P. Rogers, editor of the *Bulletin*, postmaster at Huntington, N. Y.

William N. Hood, of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Washington, Iowa.

Lucius O. Bishop, editor of the *Argus*, postmaster at Clinton, Indiana.

V. B. Crane, editor of the *Pilot*, postmaster at Jackson, Minnesota.

John O. Cronn, editor of the *Courier*, postmaster at Berryville, Virginia.

Charles E. Kinder, editor of the *News*, postmaster at Miami, Ohio.

W. H. Balthis, editor of the *Herald*, postmaster at Huntsville, Missouri.

Wm. B. Davis, of the *Democrat-Messenger*, postmaster at Mt. Sterling.

A. W. Buchanan, editor of the *Brazos Pilot*, postmaster at Bryan, Tex.

H. L. Storke, of the *Auburn Bulletin*, postmaster at Auburn, New York.

George W. Apgar, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y.

Clyde McManigle, editor of the *Commercial*, postmaster at Horton, Kan.

Geo. D. Cline, editor of the *True Republican*, postmaster at Hudson, Wis.

J. B. Sherrill, editor of the *Piedmont Farmer*, postmaster at Abilene, Kan.

John Adams, editor of the *Post*, postmaster at Columbia City, Indiana.

B. L. Strother, of the *Dickinson Co. News*, postmaster at Concord, N. C.

David A. Fawcett, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Lagrange, Ind.

George S. Stout, editor of the *Independent*, postmaster at Lake City, Mich.

John Culbertson, editor of the *Advertiser*, postmaster at Delaware, Ohio.

Samuel E. Nichols, of the *Buffalo Times*, pension agent at Buffalo, New York.

C. H. J. Taylor, publisher *American Citizen*, Kansas City, minister to Bolivia.

Eugene T. Chamberlain, of the *Albany Argus*, commissioner of navigation.

Robert M. Crawford, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Mineral Point, Wis.

W. I. Branagan, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Emmetsburg, Iowa.

Daniel F. Davis, editor of the *Telegram*, postmaster at Columbus, Nebraska.

Joseph H. Adams, editor of the *Southern Star*, postmaster at Ozark, Alabama.

Beauregard Ross, editor of the *Jeffersonian*, postmaster at Plattsburg, Missouri.

L. T. Alexander, editor of the *Jones County Times*, postmaster at Monticello, Iowa.

James Todd, editor of the *Nodaway Democrat*, postmaster at Maryville, Missouri.

William M. Moss, of the *Bloomfield (Indiana) Democrat*, Indian school supervisor.

William D. Merrill, editor of the *Courier*, postmaster at Prairie Du Chien, Wisconsin.

Washington Hesing, principal owner of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, postmaster at Chicago.

J. F. Salmon, editor of the *People's Press*, Cambridge, Ohio, inspector railway mail service.

William E. Timmons, editor of *Chase County Courier*, postmaster at Cottonwood Falls, Kansas.

Charles Belmont Davis, son of L. Clarke Davis, of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, consul to Florence.

TYPICAL CASES OF THE FORT WAYNE DISMISSALS.

THE MORGAN CASE.

My name is Frank M. Morgan. I was a carrier in the Ft. Wayne Post-office from August, 1889, to January, 1891, when I became a distributing clerk in the same office, which place I held until October 28, 1893. I threw the letter mail and always had it ready for the carriers, and my work seemed to give satisfaction. October 28th, last, I received a note from Postmaster Rockhill stating that my services

were no longer needed. I went to Mr. Rockhill the same day and asked him if there were any charges against me and he said nothing whatever. My place was taken by a man named Worden, a democrat. I am a republican. I wrote to First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones, asking if there were any charges against me. Receiving no reply, I wrote again, and received an answer that my letter was on file. His letter was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 8, 1894.

Mr. Frank M. Morgan, Ft. Wayne, Ind., 184 E. Jefferson St.:

Sir—Your letter of the 6th inst., relative to charges for which you were dismissed from Ft. Wayne P. O., has been received, and will be duly considered. Very respectfully,

FRANK H. JONES,
First Assistant Postmaster-General.

I have heard nothing further.

FRANK M. MORGAN.

THE BOWER CASE.

My name is Claude Bower. I was a messenger boy in the Ft. Wayne post-office, appointed in 1892. I held that place until December, 1893, when I was promoted to be stamp clerk, it being my duty to stamp letters and assist in distribution. I kept my work up. I had a partner and he was sick a great deal, and I kept his work up, too. August 15, 1893, a man named Kerr was sent in to me to be instructed in my work. I had been showing him about two hours when the following letter was handed to me:

FT. WAYNE, IND., Aug. 15, 1893.

Mr. Claude Bower, Ft. Wayne, Ind.:

Sir—Your resignation as stamper will be accepted, to take effect this evening.

Yours truly, W. W. ROCKHILL, Postmaster.

I left the office that evening. I had no talk with the postmaster. I never asked for any charges and never heard of any. CLAUDE BOWER.

THE ASHLEY CASE.

My name is George L. Ashley. I was a letter carrier in the Ft. Wayne post-office from August 12, 1889, until August 24, 1893. No complaint had ever been made against my service to my knowledge before I was dismissed. About August 10, 1893, Mr. Amos K. Mehl, a democrat who had been appointed substitute letter-carrier upon civil service examination, informed me that Mr. Gallmeier and Mr. Wright would be dismissed and that I would be dismissed also. He said if Mr. Paul Richter was placed on my route when I went on my vacation that I would never come back again. I asked what charges were against me and he said he did not know. I was notified about August 16th to take out the rest of my vacation. Mr. Kettler told me that Mr. Rockhill had requested it. I went on my vacation and Mr. Richter took my place. I received a notice on the night of the 23d that after the 24th my services would be no longer required. On the morning of the 24th I went to Mr. Rockhill, the postmaster. I asked him what the charges were against me and he said for the good of the service. I asked him was it for the good of the service to appoint in my place a man who during the preceding week had delivered the Masonic Temple mail to the Newspaper Union? He asked if I had never made any mistake. I answered that I had never a rush or where names were similar, but not such a break as that. He said, "Well, I have dismissed you for the good of the service." I asked First Assistant Postmaster Jones, who answered as follows:

DECEMBER 21, 1893.

Mr. George L. Ashley, Ex-Letter Carrier, Fort Wayne, Ind.:

Sir—Replying to yours of the 18th inst. in which you make inquiry as to nature of the charges on which you were removed as a letter-carrier, you are informed that said charges were preferred by the postmaster, who accused you of neglect, inefficiency and inability to cover your route in a reasonable and a required time, that he assigned one of the substitutes to the route, who made much better time and did more satisfactory service.

He specifies one instance of finding in your desk a letter addressed to C. H. Van Gorder, 221 Main street, which should have been delivered a month prior to the date of finding it.

The exigencies of the carrier service at this time make it imperative that only the best men should be continued therein.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANK H. JONES,

First Asst. Postmaster-General.

I saw Mr. Rockhill and asked if he made these charges. He said he had, and they were correct. I said they were not correct, and I would see Van Gorder. I did so, and showed him the letter. Then he said, "Where is there a notary, I will make an affidavit?" He said he had made no charges, and asked where there was a notary, and at once made the following affidavit which was sent to First Asst. Postmaster-General Jones, and its receipt acknowledged:

STATE OF INDIANA, } ss:
ALLEN COUNTY, }

C. H. Van Gorder, being duly sworn, on his oath says that he resides at 221 Main street, in the city of Fort Wayne, Ind., and is the person named in the annexed letter, signed by Frank H. Jones, first assistant postmaster-general of the United States; that he has resided at the said 221 Main street in the said city for about four years, and has been acquainted with Mr. George L. Ashley as mail-carrier for about three years, during which time said Ashley delivered mail at affiant's residence; that said Ashley was prompt, efficient and industrious as such mail-carrier, and was the most prompt and capable carrier that ever delivered mail upon said route; that the letters of affiant were never detained by said Ashley; that the letter specified in the charges against the said Ashley was detained in the Fort Wayne post-office at affiant's request during his absence at the World's Fair in Chicago, Illinois.

CHARLES H. VAN GORDER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of December, 1893.

HENRY C. HANNA,

[SEAL.]

Notary Public.

I never failed to cover my route under Postmaster Rockhill within schedule time, and Postmaster Higgins has told me that he had no complaint against me during his administration.

Mr. Mehl, who took Gallmeier's place about August 27, told me that Mr. Slater would not keep his place because he was secretary of the local civil service board, as all Mr. Rockhill's transactions passed through his hands. Slater was dismissed October 30.

GEORGE L. ASHLEY.

My name is Paul Richter. I am a letter-carrier in the Fort Wayne post-office. I am a democrat, and was appointed a substitute letter-carrier by Mr. Higgins on 21st of June, 1893. I began to carry Geo. L. Ashley's route on the 17th of August, 1893. He was then on his vacation. When I began that route the Van Gorder family had returned from Chicago. After August 23d, in going through my case I found a letter in a drawer addressed to Mrs. C. H. Van Gorder, which I took and delivered to her. Ashley's vacation began on August 17th.

The same day I found the letter I told Mr. Mehl. The date of the postal card was the 23d of July. At least one month afterward I delivered the letter to Van Gorder's, and I told Mr. Mehl of the letter the same day I found it. The postal card was substantially as follows: I am going to Chicago for one week. Please hold my mail until I return.

PAUL O. RICHTER.

A correspondent from Ogdensburg, New York, writes: "I think I owe for the CHRONICLE. * * I wish there more of other than Indiana politics in it."

[The CHRONICLE has made every effort to get the patronage spoils news of other states as fully and vividly told as that of Indiana and has failed. The goings on in this state are no worse than in many others, but here they are brought to the light of day. If there is ever the dawn of a better time in this state, it will be largely due to the steady, persistent gathering of facts by the three leading papers of Indianapolis, representing republican, democratic, and independent policies. One New York paper that in the Harrison administration was an inexhaustive store-house of spoils news the country over, is, most unfortunately for the CHRONICLE, silent in these days.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

If we see nothing in our victory but a license to revel in partisan spoil, we shall fail at every point.—
President-elect Cleveland at New York, November 18, 1892.

VOL. II, No. 13.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1894.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address, —

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Indianapolis, Ind.

THE index to the CHRONICLE, extending over the Harrison administration, has been printed and mailed to those who requested it. It will be promptly forwarded to any others who desire it. There are several reflections suggested by this very complete resumé. One is that there is now a distinct lowering of tone toward wanton removals. They are in the present administration taken for granted. The ruthless proscriptions of Carlisle and Quincy have aroused public disgust for them, but the cases themselves have not been repeatedly told, and the meanness and hardship of each case dwelt upon as in the preceding administration. There was nothing in that to equal the cynical openness of the claims of the congressional barons to parcel out spoils. Such reports as are now sent from Washington regarding what appointments Indiana congressmen have made, are making, or are about to make, were never sent before. There were no advocates among prominent reformers as now that worthy legislation may be rightfully attained by bribery with patronage, and no culmination of such baleful doctrine in the confirmation of a justice of the supreme court, sought in an open market, by the offer of spoil. For the first time in nine years it now appears to be taken for granted by civil service reformers that all outside the classified service will be removed, nor is there now any steady protest over the removals pressed forward as rapidly as practicable of postmasters, nor is there any protest over the admitted fact that the removals and appointments are for political reasons. It seemed inconceivable that a President elected under the conditions that Mr. Cleveland was, could be diverted from the one great reform possible to him, but he has been, and it can not be denied that the standard has been lowered, and specious excusing is far more prevalent than in the preceding administration.

THE close of the first year of President Cleveland's second administration brings little satisfaction to the friends of good government. With rare exceptions, of which

Hill is one, he has delegated his presidential power of appointment to political bosses. In the light of his long experience, he has done this with a full knowledge of what he was doing and he has done it in complete stultification of his many declarations against doing it. In view of the large body of literature produced by him antagonistic to this course, he would naturally be ashamed and humiliated by his own acts. But as has been well said he seems to have become cynical. This is illustrated by the fact that while the rate of the removal of postmasters for the first twelve months of Harrison's administration was 1,646 a month, Mr. Cleveland's monthly rate for the same period has been 1,977. The boss system was never more flourishing, and there are yet graver matters. It was for a long time incredible, but it is no longer beyond question that the President has given places in the civil service for votes in congress. This is a brief statement of the most corrupt and dangerous act which has occurred in the whole history of the spoils system. This, too, seems to have been done with the utmost deliberation and in doing it Mr. Cleveland has placed a blot upon his career which can neither be removed nor excused. During his first administration his wreck of the civil service found a host of apologists. They are silent now; a few Josiah Quincys are the only ones left to say it is right to bribe congressmen with offices. This bribery undoubtedly delayed the repeal of the silver purchase act; in the Peckham case the bribe was lost as completely as any money ever paid to a treacherous floater; and with the tariff bill bribed members have been paid a higher price by the whisky, sugar, coal and iron trusts. Every one should rejoice at this futility of presidential bribery.

Two important federal offices of Indianapolis are being "settled." The new postmaster will take his office in a few days. For the fourteen places which it is reported he will treat as spoil he had over 1,400 applications when he gave notice that he would receive no more. The new pension agent, Martin Van Buren Spencer, had difficulty in getting his place. For a long time Secretary Smith refused to appoint him because his term of service as a soldier was short. When Voorhees determined to have Spencer appointed, he

brought Smith's neck under the yoke in short order. There are twenty-eight places in the agency office. He says that in order to secure the office he promised to different congressmen every place there was in it, and up to March 7, congressmen had not furnished him the list of henchmen to be appointed. In the actual division, however, which is now going on, there is much crimination and recrimination, but Spencer says that he has made it satisfactory to the Indiana senators. The post-office of this city is admitted on all hands to be the most efficient it has ever been. Some of the fourteen employes about to be dismissed are model public servants, as, for instance, the superintendent of carriers and the stamp clerk. Of the twenty-eight present employes in the pension agency, Mr. Spencer has expressed himself as "greatly pleased," but he has told them that he will discharge them as fast as new men can learn the work. All of these men in both offices are to be removed because they are republicans and new men are to be put into their places because they are democrats. This is called the reward of party service. The declaration of the last democratic national platform that places in the civil service ought not to be a reward for party service is to be treated with contempt. Business principles have nothing to do with these proposed changes. They are to be made upon principles which would wreck any private business and which make taxes higher and more oppressive. It is true these two officers have an example in President Cleveland. Meanwhile the logic is likely to be applied both to the President and to them that if it is a good thing to loot the offices now, it will be a good thing for some other party to do it four years from now.

THE machine republicans here and elsewhere are openly saying that they "could put a yellow dog on the ticket this year and elect him." From their recent township nominations here they appear to believe what they say. It is impossible to say how much further down the democrats will get, but it is a good while yet to election, and there are large opportunities for them to recover. The situation would have to be desperate before the republicans, in local and state matters, could successfully shake yellow-dog tickets in the

faces of voters in this state. So long as the spoils system continues yellow-dog politicians will come to the front after every great victory. On account of yellow-dog politics the people at last drive out one party by a great defeat. It is a victory of the best in the community over the worst. In a little while the yellow-dog politicians of the victorious party step forward and claim it was their victory, and being in control of the machine nominate themselves for the offices, and we start on the other half of the circle.

MR. CLEVELAND must be proud of his manipulation of Voorhees. Against all the honest sentiment of the state he let Voorhees name Burke for district attorney, Donham for postmaster at Terre Haute, and every man for every place that Voorhees wanted. It was supposed that the naming of Joshua Jump, the partner of Voorhees's particular protégé, John Lamb, and attorney of the distiller Crawford Fairbanks, to be collector of internal revenue, would be too great a strain upon Mr. Cleveland's "tactful" policy; but it was not. It is true Voorhees voted for the repeal of the silver purchase act, but he attempted to annul his vote by shouting a speech full of all the financial fallacies of the time. He voted also for Peckham; but the administration minority was hopelessly safe. When, however, he came to the tariff bill, Voorhees was himself again. As soon as the bill went to the senate committee John Lamb went to Washington, where he has remained much of the time since, and is always reported to be "in close touch" with the committee having the bill in charge. Voorhees suddenly concludes that the whisky men ought not to pay their taxes now, but some years hence, and further, that being heavily burdened with taxes, they deserve a reduction which they get by a nominal increase. Those who said that Voorhees and Lamb, and Jump and Fairbanks, were going to rule things in this state, were right; but what about the President? There is one glimpse of sunshine in this infamous business. It may result in the defeat of Voorhees here in Indiana.

THE law gives Secretary Carlisle the power to select plans for public buildings by open competition among the architects of the country. The advantages are plain, and, if the intent of the law was carried out, there is no question but that the country would soon begin to get permanent effects in architecture similar to the noble but transitory exhibition which astonished the world at Chicago last summer. Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, president of the

American Institute of Architects, says: "This country is the greatest client of architecture known in history unless Rome, in the height of her wealth, power and glory, be excepted." We have built buildings by the rule of congressional patronage instead of by the rule of architecture. Congressmen and their heelers have passed into perpetual oblivion but their buildings stubbornly stay with us. Meanwhile new congressmen and new heelers are all the time making new buildings to become in turn exasperating monuments when in the near future the names of the vulgar builders will be forgotten. A year ago Secretary Carlisle informed the American Institute that he would choose plans for the Buffalo building in open competition. But, as Mr. Burnham says, congressional patronage interfered, and, without notifying the institute, Carlisle had plans prepared by the politicians who pose as government architects. Of course the plans are undesirable, and the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE knows without being told in the words of Mr. Burnham, that "the disreputable practices of municipal politics rule in the treasury department." The Secretary is simply a weak Covington politician who is ruled by a vicious son whom he has quartered upon the people.

MR. HENRY C. LEA recently said in *Harper's Weekly*, that Mr. Cleveland keeps congress "under fitful control by a prostitution of patronage more cynical than has hitherto disgraced the nation." To this, the *Weekly* says editorially:

"Now we are certainly not disposed to spare Mr. Cleveland whenever his management of the patronage is open to criticism, and we are far from approving all he has done. But in common justice we must say that when he is charged with 'a prostitution of patronage more cynical than has hitherto disgraced the nation,' the exaggeration is simply absurd and scandalous. To go no farther, Mr. Harrison's management of the patronage was unquestionably more cynical than Mr. Cleveland's."

Mr. Lea's comment dealt only with the use of patronage to buy legislation. Mr. Harrison, evil as his administration was, in its wanton removals and appointments, never used patronage to purchase congressmen's votes. The incessant occupation of the present administration, night and day, week in and week out, has been to appeal through patronage to the cupidity, and weakness, and dishonesty of congressmen, to secure legislation. There has never been anything more cynical than the openness with which this has been done, and it is useless to try to be blind or deaf to the danger of using patronage in this way. Granted that Mr. Harrison and his co-adjutor Clarkson, manipulated the patronage wholesale, that their motives were bad, that they both should have been

impeached, while Mr. Cleveland has had only the best of motives, and that the legislation he desires is needed, it is still true that in far-reaching demoralizing corruption, Mr. Cleveland's prostitution of patronage has been "more cynical than has hitherto disgraced the nation."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE does not believe in extra pay for government employes who have worked over hours. These employes are better paid than the same grade of employes are in private business; for instance, letter-carriers are paid several hundred dollars more annually than they would be for the same grade of work in private employment. Neither does the CHRONICLE believe in any law which sets apart letter-carriers as a class whose tenure is to be specially protected. Business principles should be applied to the entire public service; but no other principles should be applied. The executive department should have the power of dismissal; this is essential to discipline and efficiency. The civil service law is right in this respect. It is true that heads of offices take a mean and dishonest advantage of this power, as was done in Topeka, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne and elsewhere. The remedy for that is public opinion and punishment by the President. Information, however, is an absolute necessity, and to this end the civil service commission should have power to investigate every change in the public service within its charge, and to report the facts. Upon such facts public opinion and the President could act, and the time would speedily come when heads of offices would be ashamed to trick employes out of their places. It is unnecessary to repeat that every dismissed employe should be entitled at the time to an honest and fairly complete written statement of reasons, and that those reasons should be a part of the office records.

CIVIL service reformers should insist that the scales of justice weigh fairly all administrations and that the standard be not changed. If those interested will turn over their files of the CHRONICLE they will come across the case of Colonel Rice, the postmaster at Springfield, Mass., whom Mr. Harrison turned out. This was condemned in language none too vigorous or explicit as bad for the service, a betrayal of pledges, and coarse ingratitude toward an old soldier and efficient officer. If any change were to have been made in the Springfield office by the present administration, Colonel Rice should have been reinstated. The business community tried to get him appointed; but there has been so fierce a demand for this place for polit-

ical purposes, backed by Josiah Quincy, that the intimation has come from Washington that a new candidate must be presented. Have the friends of reform been so clear cut and outspoken in their denunciation of the use of this office for political purposes by this administration as they were when President Harrison used it in this same way? Turn also to the case of Postmaster Sperry, of New Haven. He had twenty-six years of the most efficient service back of him. The whole community wanted him kept. The President called it a "hard case," considered two months and then removed him. It is probably true that the late President would only have considered two minutes and would then have removed him. What is the difference in yielding after two minutes or after two months? Then there is the case of Postmaster Harlow, of St. Louis. His removal is wanton and in wanton disregard of the best interests of the city, of the desires of the people, and of decent treatment of a good officer. This large office has again simply been manipulated for political purposes, but like the other cases very little public protest has been made by civil service reformers. Do we have one standard for Mr. Harrison and another for Mr. Cleveland, or are we all getting calloused and brutalized by these recurring changes?

ON February 20 a meeting of Harvard students was held in Sanders Theater, Cambridge, to combine against the spoils system. President Eliot presided, and in opening the meeting said:

We have in this university the spectacle of a rightly organized staff of men employed in a public service. They are taken into the service of the college on probation, to be retained in that service if they are found efficient. In this way we have a body which is highly efficient, serviceable and American. Some people say that if we had civil service reform in our government service that changes would not come often enough, and that after all places were filled there would be little chance for any one to enter the service of the government. There are in this university 385 officers. All but six of these men have been appointed or promoted during my connection with the college. We have here as permanent a system as there is, yet we see that it is almost completely renovated in a period of twenty-five years.

The next day some 300 Harvard students met to perfect an organization for the promotion of civil service reform. The newspaper report says great enthusiasm prevailed.

We urge Indiana colleges to follow Harvard College. We urge it as a duty, and the most pressing duty at hand. The feudal spoils system is the most widely ramifying and the deadliest corruption at work to-day in the body politic. It is a question peculiarly fit for the enthusiastic work of college men; it is not sectarian, and it is not political, because it is the vice of all

parties of to-day. Indiana colleges can not afford to be indifferent or timid, and so intensify the unjust suspicion that there is in this state no general appreciation of the moral degradation of the spoils system or a callous indifference to it.

If a simultaneous movement were begun, it would be easy enough to secure the names of several thousand Indiana students in enthusiastic support in the new Anti-Spoils League. Below is a copy of the simple declaration to be signed, and which calls for no dues:

THE ANTI-SPOILS LEAGUE.

CARL SCHURZ, *President*. WILLIAM POTTS, *Secretary*. SILAS W. BURT, *Treasurer*.

OFFICE 54 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

We hereby declare ourselves in favor of the complete abolition of the Spoils System from the public service, believing that system to be unjust, undemocratic, injurious to political parties, fruitful of corruption, a burden to legislative and executive officers, and in every way opposed to the principles of good government.

We call upon all in authority to extend to the utmost the operation of the present reform laws; and by additional legislation, to carry the benefits of the Merit System to the farthest possible limits under our national, state and municipal governments.

Name.....

Address.....

AT the call of the senate the civil service commission has made a report of its investigations since March 4, 1889. These investigations have occurred in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Troy, New Orleans, St. Joseph, Toledo, Indianapolis, Albany, Atlanta, Rochester, Buffalo, Omaha, Denver, Topeka, Quincy, Rome, Terre Haute, Paducah and many other places. The completeness and efficacy of the commission's investigations are striking. Whenever it sets out it appears to get at the truth. With a reasonable addition to its authority, specifically giving the commission full power to investigate and report upon all occurrences under the civil service law, the fair and honorable enforcement of that law would only be a question of the near future. The recommendations of the commission have in cases of the highest importance, such as Baltimore, been entirely ignored, but there have been exceptions. Persons improperly employed have been dismissed in Denver, Omaha and elsewhere, and employes improperly discharged have been reinstated in San Francisco, Topeka and other places. Carlisle maintains his reputation. Among the irritating cases is that of a clerk named Gaddis, who had been detailed from the treasury department, and had worked under the commission for some months, giving good satisfaction, when he was dismissed through the baneful and callow influence which reigns in the treasury department.

Another Carlisle case, not in the report,

is that of a clerk in the treasury department, named Cumming, who, in an interview in a Washington paper, relating to the Wanamaker loot of the railway mail service in 1889, went out of his way to make false and malicious statements concerning Commissioner Roosevelt. Carlisle's attention was called to this, and he promptly promoted Cumming with an increase of several hundred dollars in salary.

UNPLEASANT REMINISCENCES.

Since the jury found John Y. McKane, the boss of Gravesend, guilty the *Indianapolis Journal* goes into a spasm at the bare mention of the fact that McKane in 1888 counted the vote of his town for Harrison and then named the United States marshal. Greater criminals than McKane were given vastly greater spoil by the late administration. For instance, Quay had his hundreds and thousands, where McKane had only his fives and tens. But the verdict of the jury, followed by the sentence of a court, has a conclusiveness about it by which the respectable, though usually blind, republicans must, however unwillingly, admit themselves convinced.

It is not only true that McKane counted the vote of his town for Harrison and then named the United States marshal, but it is one of the most degrading instances of paying a rascal for a rascal's work in an administration where excessively degrading instances were common. Nor until now has it ever been in any manner denied. It was widely noted at the time it occurred in New York and Brooklyn papers. It was again noted in 1892 in the same papers and at no time was it denied because it could not be.

In 1884 the town of Gravesend gave Cleveland 667 votes and Blaine 295. After that McKane quarreled with McLaughlin, the boss of the Kings county democracy, and in 1888 McKane went over to the republicans and in Gravesend Harrison received 833 votes, while Cleveland got only 397. A man named Dan Lake was democratic boss of the Eighth ward of Brooklyn and had been for many years a most active ward worker. The democrats had several times elected him supervisor and for two terms he was county auditor. While he was in the latter office all of the fraudulent bills for which the supervisors were indicted were audited and paid on the strength of Lake's guaranty. So much for the *Journal's* statement "that Mr. Lake had long been a reputable citizen of Brooklyn." While in the auditor's office he went over to the republicans with McKane and lost his job of democratic office-holding.

When Harrison was inaugurated Mc-

Kane led one hundred of his henchmen in the inaugural procession. They were put ahead of Brooklyn republicans as a mark of honor. In front of the reviewing stand Buffalo Bill led McKane close up to the stand, which compliment the president acknowledged amid great cheering. Later, McKane asked that Lake be appointed United States marshal, going very slyly to Washington March 13, 1890, refusing to register at the hotel. On the 17th of the same month the name of Daniel Lake was sent to the senate to be United States marshal for the eastern district of New York, and McKane in the meantime returned to Gravesend boasting that he had demanded and obtained Lake's nomination for services in casting the vote of Gravesend for Harrison.

The republicans in Lake's ward had a candidate in Robert W. Fielding, and the chairman of the county committee, with all his followers, had been to Washington urging Fielding's appointment. Fielding declared that insult had been added to injury "by shelving me and taking in my place a democrat from my own ward whom I have had to fight politically for over a dozen years. Here I have been struggling to hold our party vote in this democratic district for a decade, and have had to buck against the great power of this fellow Lake backed by Boss McLaughlin."

The *Journal* says that the fact that "Mr. Lake was a faithful and competent officer brands the assertion that he was named by McKane as a falsehood." Lake never took the office. Before the time came he was killed on his way home from one of McKane's Gravesend horse races. The *Journal* attempts to shoulder the matter of Lake's appointment upon General Tracy. If Tracy had anything to do with it, he would now be filled with contrition; he would not attempt to lie out of it. He went into the cabinet with crude views as to the civil service; but those views became clarified and he did what he could, and in doing so he rendered his country a great service. He did not go into the administration a professed saint and come out a convicted promise-breaker and incorrigible sinner. Considering the confidential relations which the *Journal* holds with two members of the late administration it must have been in possession of all of the facts, and must have willfully prevaricated.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN BALTIMORE.

A certain oriental nation is said to have no legal title for its sovereign, he is too sacred to be named by his subjects. It may be for the

[A paper read at the conference for good city government, held in Philadelphia, January 25, 1894, by Charles J. Bonaparte.]

same reason that there is no constitutional provision, statute or ordinance defining the powers or even recognizing the existence of the true ruler of Baltimore. I shall call him in this paper the Supreme Boss, but claim for the designation no other merit than that it will be readily understood by those most interested.

The office has existed for some twenty-five years, but it has not always been held by one man. On several occasions during that period it has been placed in commission. On October 27th, 1892, a speaker who had every reason to know whereof he spoke said at a public meeting:

"I tell you, your political liberties are in danger. There is a clique who have seized the democratic organization, and who hold it for personal aggrandizement. They have said to you (I am talking to democrats), 'We have determined who shall be the judges.' Frank Morrison, Robert J. Slater, and Rasin say to any young man who aspires to office: 'You shan't be nominated unless we say so, and we won't say so unless you pay for it.' Since then the two first named of the triumvirate have shared the fate of Antony and Lepidus, the democratic primaries of 1887 corresponding in result to the battle of Actium, and for the past six years an Augustus has borne unchallenged sway. The tenure of his office may be described as "during good behavior," but, "good" as thus used must be understood, like *agathoi* or *aristoi* in the literature of Greek politics, in the conventional sense. Mr. Freeman calls an aristocracy, as he uses the term, a rule of the best, not indeed of the best morally, but of those best fitted to rule. So a Baltimore boss remains such, while, and only while, he shows himself a better man than his competitors; not better in what he and they would call a Sunday-school sense, but better fitted to be a boss. Nowhere is the survived of the fittest better illustrated, each successive boss wrests power from the grasp of one who had previously clutched it and looks upon his own lieutenants and pupils much as a Roman Emperor regarded his generals. Were he a classical scholar (which he usually is not) his office might remind him of

"Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghastly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain."

But, however this may be, he knows well enough that he will keep his place no moment longer than he can hold it with the strong hand against all odds and all comers.

A boss in Maryland, like a Turkish Pasha, owes his dignity to merit only, and in great measure to the same kinds of merit. For the one position, as for the other, no one is disqualified by humble birth or limited education, or questionable antecedents and reputation. A poor man may rise to be a boss as he may to be a Pasha; but, in either case, he usually becomes a rich man soon after. The American potentate, however, lives in no such barbaric splendor as surrounds his eastern brother. Again, like Augustus, our present

ruler dwells among us to outward view a mere private citizen, with no shade of that divinity which doth hedge about a king. He is familiarly known as "Free," not because, as Clarendon said of an English king: "He is as free as any other monarch of Christendom," but from a corruption or abbreviation of his middle name. His colleague of the state at large (for we have a state boss as well) has been for some fourteen years a senator of the United States, but he has always preferred to rule Baltimore as Pericles did Athens, without any official authority. It is true that as Pericles was annually elected *strategos*, he has been successively a clerk of court, a naval officer of the port, and insurance commissioner, but the modern, no less than the ancient ruler, has invariably sought the substance, not the show, of power. He is willing that others should make and administer our laws, provided that he makes the law-makers and all other public servants, decides what laws shall be made and how they shall be administered. In certain respects, however, he differs widely from Pericles; he is no orator, and pretends to be no statesman. I do not recollect that I ever heard of his making a speech, and so far as my memory serves me, the only topic of national interest on which the public had a seemingly authentic statement of his views was the nomination of Mr. Cleveland in 1892. This he was reported to favor, although most of our politicians expressed another preference, because, as he was said to have declared in substance, "*He* had never found any cause to complain of Mr. Cleveland." Indeed, the *cacoethes loquendi* and any real interest in public affairs are very dangerous to a boss: the immediate predecessor of our present senior senator, both as senator and as state boss, and who was also afterwards city boss, had, while on both thrones, brief and turbulent reigns, closed by decisive overthrows, very largely because he could and would make speeches, and even express opinions in them.

The ordinary duties of a supreme boss are both responsible and onerous. He relieves those legal voters of the city who belong to its dominant party of the labor and anxiety involved in choosing candidates for all elective offices, and he renders, in no small measure, the same service to the party of opposition, for patriots of the kind called in New York "Tammany republicans," are well known in Baltimore. It will be remembered that this function had been already assumed by his former colleagues and himself in 1892, and, in view of the complaint then made by the speaker I have quoted, as to the terms of its exercise, I deem it but just to say that he has, to my knowledge, permitted, and even caused "young men who aspired to office" to be nominated without his being paid for it, at least in money or by them. In the principal democratic paper in Baltimore there appeared some months ago a narrative, in much detail, of his interview with another magnate, of greater dignity, but less real power, namely, the President of the United States. According to the

account thus published, the latter requested of him recognition (in political parlance, a euphemism for some measure of support at public expense) for certain "elements" in their common party, guilty in the past of much disaffection and even insubordination towards the supreme boss, but in warm sympathy with the President's reputed views. Our ruler is said to have shown none of that ill-judged bitterness exhibited by Queen Liliuokalani towards the rebels against her authority, but conceded promptly and gracefully a "reasonable" portion of such "recognition," and soon after the alleged interview, four gentlemen belonging to the association which I here represent were notified of their selection to serve in the present general assembly, one as senator, three as delegates, from the city of Baltimore. Together with all the other candidates for these or any other offices, they were unanimously nominated by the appropriate convention; the functions of such bodies in Baltimore, and their relations to the boss being closely analogous to those of the old French parliaments when the king appeared in a *lit de justice*. No one who knows these gentlemen (and they are well known) needs any assurance from them that they have gone to the legislature absolutely untrammelled by pledges express, or implied, or doubts that whatever may have been the motives of those who offered them election, their acceptance was dictated by a sense of public duty; indeed, rumor credits the boss with an expression of perfect indifference as to what bills they might introduce, *he* would "take care," he is currently quoted as saying, of these bills afterwards. It is therefore clear that his act of gracious oblivion was either a matter of pure "comity," or else is to receive his reward from some one other than those immediately favored.

Article 9 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Maryland declares:

"That no power of suspending laws or the execution of laws, unless by, or derived from the legislature, ought to be exercised or allowed."

"*Nous avons changé tout cela*," and a power of suspending laws or their execution exists in Baltimore, which is in no wise "derived from the legislature," although the political existence of members of the legislature is often "derived" from those who exercise this power. On our statute books are laws which seem to prescribe penalties for election frauds for various forms of gambling and of swindling disguised as gambling, for illicit liquor selling and for maintaining or advertising resorts for sexual immorality, but practically all these pretended crimes are licensed except the one first named, and that is rewarded. In an address which I delivered some years since at one of the annual meetings of our local society for the suppression of vice, I said, and I now and here repeat: "It is no exaggeration of language to say that saloons and gambling houses and brothels are here nurseries for statesmen, and the active hostility of their

keepers is, if not fatal, at least a grave impediment to success in public life; and that men and women who gain their living by habitually breaking the laws have a potent voice in selecting the public servants, who make, interpret, and execute those laws. The proprietor of a dive may be of one party or the other; neither enjoys a monopoly of this desirable constituency, but, whatever his politics, he is almost certainly a power at the primaries as a factor in the vote of his precinct; only practical experience can teach how much these facts aggravate the task of bringing him to punishment." The fishing bounties once granted by the National Government were defended as fostering a nursery of seamen; we ought not to complain of a mere impunity for the breach of obsolete laws accorded to those who provide training schools for our future rulers.

Still less can we reasonably object to a service pension, in the form of permanent public employment, awarded to those who have "worked" for the boss or his lieutenants at the polls and even suffered for them in jail. Of the admirable custom lastly mentioned, a significant illustration has been recently brought to my knowledge. In the year 1887 the Baltimore Reform League prosecuted criminally a large number of those who had served as judges or clerks of election throughout the city in the autumn of 1886. By a deplorable oversight on the part of the reigning bosses, which has not been repeated, the assistant state's attorney was a lawyer of marked ability and disposed to really bring criminals to justice, and, as a consequence, some twelve or fifteen of the officers mentioned were convicted of fraud in various forms and sent to jail. Moreover, the annoying irritability of public opinion at that time, due in some measure to the previous conviction of two of the same set of election judges for a murder, committed after their appointment and just before the election, prevented the governor's receiving orders to pardon them until they had all endured some months of imprisonment. Among these exemplars of loyalty and zeal was a certain clerk of election who in July last was appointed elevator man at the post-office building. This patriot's record was investigated by a special committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, and by them called to my attention as president of the association, and by me to that of the custodian of the building, who is also collector of internal revenue and the first appointee of the present administration to an important office in Maryland. My letter to him remained without acknowledgement, but very soon afterwards the newspapers announced that the health of the elevator man, undermined, perhaps, by his cruel incarceration for about seven months six years before, had failed under the arduous labors of his position, and this he resigned. Within the past month it has been ascertained that he continues to draw pay from the national treasury, but his post of duty has been changed to the base-

ment, where he is well enough to act as fireman. The treatment of his case by his superiors exemplifies a kind of devotion to reform which displays itself upstairs and fades away as the reformer's scene of action disappears from public view. Doubtless this spirit has its merits, but it awakens in me a qualified enthusiasm.

A very important "condition" of municipal government in Baltimore is the "Grandmother's Fund." As I am away from home, it may be well to explain that this is not a particular sum of money committed to a designated custodian, but represents the aggregate proceeds of various kinds of tribute levied upon the community by its real, as contradistinguished from its nominal, rulers. This tribute includes assessments on office-holders and candidates for office, "benevolences" from contractors doing work or furnishing supplies of any kind to the city or state institutions under public control, the price of franchises and privileges and special legislation of every kind, whether from the city council or the general assembly, the amounts contributed by corporations when subjected to a process known technically as "plugging," and the ransom paid by criminals of all sorts, and especially, as I have endeavored to explain, by policy players, brothel keepers and offenders against the liquor laws, for impunity. It will be readily seen that great tact and judgment as well as vigilance, must be displayed in this work of levy, for, such is the selfishness of human nature, that hardly one of those tithable would hesitate to evade payment of even the most moderate subsidy could he do so with safety, and, on the other hand, here as elsewhere, business will be checked by a prohibitory tariff. It is, moreover, necessary to "size up" each "job" separately before this is undertaken, for the circumstances and the disposition of the person "struck" will often determine whether or how hard to strike him.

To study the supreme boss, his rivals, his followers and his revenue, is to learn something of the true conditions of municipal government in Baltimore; he can say with Louis XIV, and with much the same measure of truth: "*L'Etat c'est moi*," he embodies and typifies those influences which have made the city's politics what they are, just as the great monarch embodied and typified the absolutism of his time and country. Any one boss may lose power, or die or grow virtuous, when he is rich enough and wishes to get into good society; but while his environment remains what it is, he will surely have a successor. Every people has had, and will have always, as good a government as it deserves.

GOVERNMENT BY AN OLIGARCHY.

It is believed that the nomination of Scott Harrison, brother of the ex-President, to be surveyor of the port of Kansas City, will be defeated. Chairman Vest, of the committee having in charge the nomination, and a Missourian himself, says the nomination can not be confirmed. *Senator Vest says he was not consulted about the nomination, which was a personal one of the President.*—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 9.*

The senate committee on commerce has just rejected the nomination of J. Scott Harrison for surveyor of the port at Kansas City. It is stated that the vote was unanimous.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 11.*

* * *

The senate, in executive session, yesterday rejected the nomination of J. Scott Harrison, to be surveyor of customs at Kansas City. A ye and nay vote was not asked upon the nomination after a statement of the case had been made by the Missouri senators.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, January 18.*

* * *

This Mr. Harrison was a brother of ex-President Harrison, and a democrat. So Mr. Cleveland, as an act of courtesy to his predecessor, appointed him government surveyor at Kansas City, Mo., which is Mr. Harrison's home. It was an excellent appointment, and on its merits deserved to be confirmed, aside from the fact of the relationship with the ex-President. But President Cleveland hadn't consulted Senators Vest and Cockrell of Missouri, and these worthies immediately unsheathed their knives. In their search for "reasons" why J. Scott Harrison should not be confirmed, these senators claimed that the appointee was not a democrat, because he had voted for his brother for President of the United States, although being in Missouri, a safe democratic commonwealth, General Harrison's brother might have been pardoned for so doing in view of his fraternal feeling. But the august senate stood by Vest and Cockrell, and J. Scott Harrison was rejected simply because he was not the choice of the Missouri senators, and for no other reason in the world.—*Springfield Republican, February 3.*

* * *

There is considerable speculation as to the attitude of the two Missouri senators toward the nomination. Messrs. Vest and Cockrell voted against the confirmation of Mr. Hornblower, and it was taken for granted by many that they would take the same stand against Mr. Peckham, but Governor Francis of Missouri arrived in Washington, and soon after his arrival the report became current that he had come as a peacemaker, and would endeavor to restore harmony between the President and the senators from Missouri. The President this afternoon sent to the senate the nomination of John R. Walker of Missouri, to be United States attorney for the western district of Missouri, and of Gen. Joseph O. Shelby to be United States marshal in the same district. Mr. Walker is a brother-in-law of Senator Cockrell, and his application was presented by the senator some time ago. The senator, however, did not especially recommend him, or at least says he did not. Gen. Shelby was supported for the place for which he has now been named by Senator Vest.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, February 5.*

* * *

In connection with the Hornblower case there is an interesting story afloat regarding the action of Senator Martin, of Kansas, in voting to confirm Mr. Hornblower. Some time ago the President nominated Dr. S. F. Neely, of Leavenworth, to be United States Marshal of Kansas. Neely had been recommended by Mr. Martin, and his appointment caused surprise to many who believed that the Kansas Senator was not in favor with the administration. It is said at the capitol that Mr. Martin induced the two New York senators to favor the immediate confirmation of Dr. Neely, and gave them to understand that he would vote against confirming Mr. Hornblower. However that may be, it is certain that Mr. Martin stood by the administration.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, January 17.*

* * *

Interest in the Peckham case was intensified today by the arrival of Secretaries Gresham and Carlisle at the capitol about 1 o'clock. Secretary Gresham went to the marble room and Secretary Carlisle took a seat in the private room of Secretary of the Senate Cox.

For the next hour there were some animated discussions between the secretaries and senators whom they had summoned from their seats. It

did not take Mr. Hill very long to ascertain that Messrs. Gresham and Carlisle were laboring in behalf of Mr. Peckham, and he immediately renewed his efforts to prove that he has greater influence with the senate than the administration has. A dozen or more senators who voted against Mr. Hornblower's confirmation were consulted by the two secretaries. Mr. Gorman had quite a long interview with Mr. Gresham. Mr. Martin, of Kansas, was another who was requested to meet the visitors. About the time Mr. Martin was invited out of the senate the President sent to the senate eleven Kansas post-office nominations. In the Hornblower struggle Mr. Martin was regarded as an ally of Hill. At the eleventh hour, however, he deserted Hill and voted for Hornblower, much to the disgust of the New York senators.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, February 8.*

* * *

According to the officials of the senate more nominations have already been rejected than during the whole of President Harrison's term, and the end is not yet. The first contest in the senate to be brought to a vote was on the nomination of Van Alen, as ambassador to Italy, and was won by the administration. After a protracted struggle, the nominee was confirmed on October 20th, only to resign later on. Next came the attack on Hornblower, resulting in his rejection on January 15th. The committee on commerce was next supported by the senate on January 17th in the rejection of J. Scott Harrison, nominated to be surveyor of customs for Kansas City, Mo., both the Missouri senators opposing the executive. On the same day the name of Kope Elias, nominated to be collector of internal revenue for the 4th North Carolina district, against whom Senator Vance made a fight, was withdrawn, he having previously declined the appointment in order to restore harmony. His successor was promptly confirmed. Against F. M. Simmons, nominated for the other North Carolina district, Senator Vance, aided by the republicans, is waging a relentless war with the probability that the nominee will be rejected or forced to withdraw. On February 13th Benjamin Lenthier, nominated to be consul to Sherbrooke, Que., was rejected, to be followed three days later by the rejection of Wheeler H. Peckham in the second bout over the supreme court vacancy. The atmosphere is not yet clear in the matter of nominations. Senator Cullom is opposing confirmation of some postmasters in Illinois; Senator Cali is up in arms over the batch of appointments for Florida, sent in last week, and Mr. Hill has not ceased his attack on some New York nominations which are particularly objectionable to him.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, February 25.*

* * *

The President to-day withdrew the nomination of Arthur M. Randall to be postmaster at St. Johnsbury, Vt. Mr. Randall is a democrat suggested for the office by Bradley B. Smalley, and, so far as anybody can find out, there is nothing the matter with him except that he is persona non grata to Representative Grout. Not long ago a case came before the committee from another state where the name of a postmaster sent in by the President to occupy an office at Danville, Ill., was withdrawn because Representative Cannon, a republican, objected to him. Having considered the subject in what it is pleased to call a "broad" manner, the committee resolved that it would not report any person for postmaster who was objectionable to the representative from the district.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, February 21.*

QUINCY.

The senate has rejected the nomination of Benjamin Lenthier, of Massachusetts, to be consul at Sherbrooke, Canada. He was a personal selection of Josiah Quincy. He was first nominated soon after March 4, 1893. The nomination was not reported from committee, and when the extra session convened his name was again sent in. The nomination fell with the session and was renewed at the beginning of the present session. This time the nomination was reported unfavorably, the

main objection being that Mr. Lenthier received his appointment as a reward for political services to Mr. Quincy.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, February 16.*

* * *

Col. J. Courtney Hixson, appointed consul and judge of the consular court at Fuchu, China, has issued a printed circular containing his photograph, autograph and a sketch of his life. From this it appears that he was "bawn in Georgia, sah," but at an early age became a resident of Alabama. He has been "commandant" of the military department of the Alabama university, which, of course, makes him a colonel. He has also practiced law and been editor of a weekly paper at Union Springs at Ala. The circular says he was a writer of great force and originality. Of his personal appearance the colonel says: "Colonel Hixson has a striking personality, and in any crowd he would attract attention, being of splendid and massive physique—six feet tall, straight as an arrow, with a dark, heavy mustache and military imperial, and the easy, graceful bearing of a gentleman of education and travel." As this information is furnished by the colonel himself it may be accepted as reliable. Those who have seen him say that he does not at all exaggerate the impressiveness of his mustache, and that his imperial is, in the language of the day, "out of sight."—*Indianapolis Journal, February 16.*

* * *

One of the faithful and experienced officials to whose lot it fell to feel the keen edge of Mr. Quincy's guillotine during the latter's brief but sanguinary career in the state department was Mr. George L. Catlin, our consul at Zurich. A college friend of Mr. Catlin's at Yale has written a letter in which he expresses some very justifiable indignation at the manner in which the removal was accomplished. Mr. Catlin's first intimation was a paragraph in his evening paper announcing that one Eugene Germain of Los Angeles had been appointed to his place. That was the way a grateful republic rewarded sixteen years of continuous and successful labor in the consular service. Mr. Catlin was stationed first at La Rochelle and then at Stuttgart, before being transferred to Zurich, where Quincy's avenging blade found him. Mr. Catlin declares that he has "reason to believe that it was Mr. Josiah Quincy, and he alone, who did it—and that at five minutes' notice." What kind of a man is he whom our Massachusetts prince of spoilsmen turned off with such uncommonly short shrift? Mr. Catlin is a Yale alumnus, a veteran officer of the Union army, a gentleman of scholarly tastes, speaking fluently three European languages. For many years he was the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. Mr. Catlin was considered one of the model consuls of the service. He was retained by Mr. Cleveland during his first presidential term, only to fall a victim to our insatiable young Bay State "reformer."—*Boston Journal.*

* * *

Take Julius Goldschmidt, our late consul-general at Vienna, for instance. He was one of the most uncompromising republicans ever in public employ, but he was also one of the most efficient men in our foreign service. Quincy turned him out and put into his place a man whose chief claim rests on his ability to play chess.

Another instance in point was that of Consul-General Lay at Ottawa. From a consular point of view the place does not amount to a great deal, but on its semi-diplomatic side it is very important. Mr. Lay is a natural diplomat, and is on the most agreeable social terms with all in Ottawa whom it is useful to know. Why should he be called home to make room for Mr. Riley, who, whatever his virtues as a citizen, must figure as a raw recruit in diplomacy for a good while to come?

Warner P. Sutton, our consul-general at Nuevo Laredo, was another man whom nature seemed to have cut out for his particular place. The Mexicans are a people by themselves; not one American in ten thousand understands them. But Sutton does. He knows them, their language, their

literature, their politics, their business and social interests. He understands how to treat them, and they like him and are ready to do anything for him. He had his eye on the whole frontier, and saved this country from many a collision on the border land. He must have been in the service a dozen years or so.

Adamson, our consul-general at Panama, had some odd traits, was a good deal of a martinet, and possessed a tremendous thirst for paper controversy when aroused. He was, nevertheless, so useful an officer, and so thorough-going an expert in local matters on the isthmus, that he served under Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison without disturbance.

Fechet, who was consul at Piedras Negras, is now in Washington, doing clerical work for one of the senators. He was a good consul, with something like a genius for the special duties laid on him in Mexico. Brown, who was at Glasgow, was a first-rate consul, and made a good local reputation for Americans, which is of great advantage to us in such a community. His reports were of the highest value to the department. Thomas H. Sherman at Liverpool—who was one of the stand-bys of the department, and whose knowledge of his consulate even before he went there was greater than any new man could hope to acquire after a considerable residence—must give way when Quincy takes charge. Why? The answer which Mr. Quincy would make to this question doubtless would be that the place is worth \$40,000 a year with its fees, and that it must go to some one belonging to the party in power. But why not ask congress to order the fees put into the treasury and give the office a fair salary, and then try to keep an experienced man there?

Trail, who was consul at Marseilles through Harrison's term, served under the former Cleveland administration as secretary of legation at Rio; so he evidently was not an offensive partisan. He was a Harvard graduate, a good linguist and a most faithful consul, sticking to his post through all the cholera panic and keeping the department carefully informed of everything which would be of value in protecting this country against the invasion of the scourge. He seemed to be ambitious for a career, and he ought to have been encouraged. So ought Washburn and Loomis, two other young men who gave promise of a future of marked usefulness. Washburn was consul at Madgeburg, and his reports were among the very best sent to Washington. He was a Cornell graduate, and a bright, intelligent fellow. Loomis was a scholarly young man and an able writer. He was at St. Etienne when his head came off. The crime for which he suffered was that he had been private secretary to Clarkson, the Iowa republican boss, while the latter was in charge of the campaign of 1888. But although Loomis was an ardent republican, he divorced politics and business, and would have made a useful officer under any administration.

Gardner, who was at Rotterdam, was another strong partisan. It is not known whether he would have wanted to stay; but Quincy should have given him the chance if he was willing, for he was one of the most faithful and energetic men we ever had in the service.

Frank Hill, who was consul at Montevideo, was one of Cleveland's original appointees. He was sent as consul to Asuncion in 1887. He was a Minnesota man, and a warm personal friend of the late Secretary Windom's. When Mr. Windom entered President Harrison's cabinet, he interested himself in procuring Hill's promotion—a task which was not difficult, because his record was of the best. Catlin, at Munich, was a nephew of ex-Secretary Tracy. He did not distinguish himself for exceptional general ability, but he was admirably fitted by his personal traits and education for the special place to which he had been assigned. Dougherty, at Callao, found consular work congenial, and did it in the most satisfactory manner.—*Washington dispatch to New York Evening Post, January 20.*

* * *

It is to be said of the appointment of Michael J.

Griffin as postmaster of Holyoke that the office has been filled on the basis of political support, and not on the simple and sound ground of seeking to discover what the business men and patrons of the office wanted and doing it. Mr. Griffin finally won the favor of Josiah Quincy and the democratic state committee, through a more or less open harmonizing of conflicting local ambitions, and so the democratic machine has carried the day, just as it has been boasting it would do. The activity of the democratic state committee in post-office fights, under the leadership of Josiah Quincy is something beyond what this state has before seen.—*Springfield Republican, January 12.*

* * *

It is an interesting fact in this connection that the ante-room of Mr. Quincy's Boston office is daily crowded with hungry applicants for place, and that the initials "J. Q." appear upon the papers of most of the successful candidates for the Massachusetts post-offices.—*Springfield Republican.*

* * *

Josiah Quincy's latest performance, while no worse in principle than some other things he has done, is liable to bring the administration into real trouble. There is a very large scandal brewing over his acceptance of a retainer from the government of the Argentine Republic to represent its interests as counsel before President Cleveland, who has been chosen arbitrator of the boundary controversy between Argentina and Brazil. The only ostensible reason for choosing Mr. Quincy for this work when so many abler international lawyers could have been retained, was his intimacy and supposed influence with the President.—*Washington dispatch, February 15.*

CARISLE.

Collector of the Port Townsend to-day appointed William A. Comegys as deputy collector. Secretary Carlisle recently ordered Collector Townsend to discharge William R. Shinn, his republican deputy, and to appoint John F. Cattahan in his place. This the collector refused to do, and selected Comegys, who is a democrat and ex-speaker of the house of representatives.—*Wilmington dispatch, New York Times, February 17.*

* * *

"The chief attorney of the lottery is the secretary of the treasury, John G. Carlisle." So says Manager James Douglass of the Kentucky State Lottery.

* * *

John H. Wise, of California, came to Washington last spring to plead his claims to "recognition" by the new administration, and went back in June with the collectorship of the port of San Francisco in his pocket. He was so full of Democratic zeal that he dribbled interviews all along his route westward, telling how he was going to reorganize the custom-house force and turn it into a good democratic institution.

Among his first acts as a reorganizer was the dismissal of several republicans who were in the classified service. Two examiners named Raymer Sharp and Charles J. Evans, and a sampler named G. D. Bunker, who were appointed on probation under his predecessor, Collector Phelps, reached the end of their probationary period on the 21st of June. Appraiser Ralston reported to the collector:

They have been punctual, industrious, and show themselves to have the ability to fill their positions thoroughly. I commend them to your favorable consideration, and recommend that they be appointed according to the civil service rules.

The collector's only response came in the form of a letter to each of the probationers, saying:

Your conduct and capacity not having been satisfactory to me as nominating officer, you will not be absolutely appointed, and therefore, in accordance with the terms of your temporary appointment, you will be out of service on the 22d inst., as provided in the civil service rules and regulations.

Mr. Sharp is a Harvard graduate and Mr. Evans a graduate of the University of California. Their places were filled by the reinstatement of two democrats named I. G. Underwood and D. W. Morris, who were removed by Collector Phelps. "I think it is only right that they should be reinstated," Mr. Wise was quoted as saying to a representative of the *San Francisco Call*.

"Sharp and Evans did not succeed them directly, but, as they are new men and on the probation list, I can remove them, and thus provide places for Underwood and Morris."

"Have the conduct and capacity of Messrs. Sharp, Evans, and Bunker been satisfactory?" he was asked.

"Certainly, and nothing can be said against them in that respect. As far as I know there has never been a complaint against them."

When asked if he had received the appraiser's letter commending the probationers, he answered:

"Yes, I believe there was such a letter received, but I did not pay much attention to it."

"Why did I remove Sampler Bunker? Just because I had to make a place for W. R. Prouse. Mr. Bunker performed his duties all right, but you know how it is—I must make places for some of my friends."

Two other sufferers in like manner, "to make room for friends" of the collector, though guiltless of any misdoings, were Inspector L. E. Beban and Night Inspector T. J. Halpin.

The attention of the civil service commission was called to the cases, and it investigated them. The affidavits of the newspaper reporter who had the significant interview with the collector, was forwarded from California and laid before the secretary of the treasury, with the other facts in the case. Wise was confronted with the affidavit, and admitted that it was substantially the truth.

Secretary Carlisle has written to the collector ordering him to reinstate Sharp, Bunker, Beban, and Halpin. The case of Evans is still under advisement.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, February 9.*

* * *

A "shake up"—so-called—the first of many yet to come, occurred among the clerks in the register's office, treasury department, to-day. The work of reorganizing the register's office is now in progress. Reforms will follow in other offices, and a plan mapped out by Secretary Carlisle contemplates the saving of from \$350,000 to \$400,000 a year in the treasury department when all the bureaus and divisions shall be trimmed down and all of what is regarded as "dead timber" shall be eliminated from the treasury roll.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, February 13.*

* * *

The changes made by Secretary Carlisle in assistant chiefs of division in the treasury department were officially announced this morning. Burton T. Doyle of Tennessee, first controller's office, is appointed assistant chief of the warrant division, vice Charles H. Miller of Massachusetts, reduced; Silas L. Lupton of Virginia, first auditor's office, is appointed assistant chief of public moneys division, vice Jerome Wise of New York, reduced. All the new men appointed are within the classified service at present, and all those reduced have been dropped into fourth-class clerkships at \$1,800 a year.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, January 27.*

* * *

The remains of John L. Ingraham, of Jeffersonville, the treasury clerk who died suddenly in Representative Jason B. Brown's room at the Riggs yesterday afternoon, were shipped to his old home this afternoon. There appears to be no doubt that the recent changes in the division where he worked and fear concerning the stability of his position and desire for a promotion and transfer wrought his death. He probably died from heart trouble.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Journal, January 29.*

* * *

The treasury department is getting another shaking up from Secretary Carlisle and his energetic son, Chief Clerk Logan Carlisle, which is causing something of the terror that was felt last spring when Mr. Sturtevant, the experienced chief of the stationery division, was removed. A number of assistant chiefs of divisions were disgraced a fortnight ago and clerks from the classified service, whose democracy was vouched for by their local representatives, were shoved up into their places. These changes were recommended in one or two

cases on the ground of the efficiency of the service, but in others politics was apparently the controlling reason. Controller Eckels did not take kindly to the idea of having his chiefs of division "fired" without his approval. When one of his chiefs, W. W. Eldridge, of Maryland, brought him a request which he had received from the secretary's office for his resignation, Mr. Eckels was a good deal surprised and somewhat piqued. He had heard nothing of it, and he promptly took the paper to Secretary Carlisle and intimated that he would like to have some knowledge, if not some voice, when changes were to be made in his office. He stated that Mr. Eldridge had been promoted under Secretary Fairchild; that he was a competent official and that he did not wish him removed. The secretary admitted the force of these representations, and Mr. Eldridge will not be disturbed. Secretary Carlisle is not much of a fighter, and he probably did not care for a round with the young controller. There are not many chiefs of bureaus, however, who have the courage and independence of Mr. Eckels in such matters, and Mr. Eldridge would undoubtedly have had to go if he had been in any other bureau. The present management at the treasury department is very different from that which prevailed under Mr. Fairchild, Mr. Cleveland's former secretary of the treasury. Mr. Fairchild recognized nothing but merit in making appointments and promotions, and several republicans, among them A. T. Huntington, who comes from Western Massachusetts, received important advancement while he was secretary.—*Washington dispatch, Springfield Republican, February 16.*

MISCELLANEOUS SPOIL.

By the appointment of Messrs. O'Donnell and Beach to-day as postmasters at Pittsburgh and New Haven respectively, President Cleveland has disposed of two cases which have given him considerable trouble. He has repeatedly referred to them as the two "hard" cases of his administration.

There was a fierce contest over the Pittsburgh office. The state administration, as well as Mr. Harrity, the chairman of the national democratic committee, were favorable to Messrs. Larkin and Foley. Congressmen Sipe indorsed Mr. Howley. Mr. O'Donnell was the dark horse in the race. He had been an applicant for the office of surveyor of customs at Pittsburgh, but had stepped aside for another candidate, whose friends subsequently indorsed Mr. O'Donnell. After considering the matter for several months, the President, finding it impossible to choose between the other three, selected Mr. O'Donnell as the compromise candidate.

Mr. Beach, who was nominated as postmaster at New Haven, was the only candidate for the office. He had the indorsement of Congressman Pigott, but strong pressure was brought to bear upon the President to retain Mr. N. D. Sperry, the republican incumbent. The influences in favor of Mr. Sperry were so great that the President hesitated for two months before making the change.

The first assistant postmaster will be John J. Lane, private secretary to Congressman Pigott from this district.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, March 9.*

* * *

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell, the axman of the post-office department, is threatened with a duel, and, what is worse, with a congressional investigation. The man who is after his official and physical scalp is Representative Strait, of South Carolina. The congressman claims that Mr. Maxwell has not only persistently deceived him but actually lied to him in regard to the distribution of post offices in the Palmetto state. Mr. Strait has, therefore, sent a letter to Mr. Maxwell, one paragraph of which reads as follows:

"You have promised to notify me when you were ready to consider the post-office appointments in Lancaster county, South Carolina. You have lied to me. You are unworthy the notice and respect of a gentleman, and you are nothing but a — puppy."

He was elected to the present congress as an alliance democrat, and is a radical free-trader and free

silverite, but is welcomed in the deliberations of the democratic caucus. Last fall the anti-Tillmanites of the South Carolina delegation were black-listed at the post-office department after a long conference between the Tillmanites, represented by Senator Irby, and their opponents, represented by Senator Butler. At this conference, which was presided over by Postmaster-General Bissell, there was a very lively time, and some of the participants came very near having a knock-down argument. Mr. Strait is a Tillmanite; so his name has ever since been on the black-list, and he has been absolutely ignored, being unable to name the postmaster even in his own town.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, February 23.*

* * *

The bitter struggle for the postmastership of Plainfield is practically ended. John Hetfield undoubtedly will get the place.

There were a dozen applicants for the post, but Congressman Dunn and the democratic senators united in favor of Mr. Hetfield, and his name on Saturday was sent in to the postmaster-general.—*Plainfield dispatch, New York Times, March 11.*

* * *

There was great excitement on the floor of the house this morning by a report that Chairman Wilson, of the ways and means committee, who is sick in Mexico, had taken a sudden turn for the worse. Mr. Wilson's closest friends here have but little hope of his recovery. Mr. Wilson himself, when he left for Mexico, intimated to two of his associates on the committee the belief that he would never return alive. The West Virginia congressman was very weak physically, and had succumbed to the continual strain of work on the tariff bill and the importunities of the office-seekers. He had more than six hundred applicants for office from his district, and being near Washington most of them waited upon him in person and pressed their claims persistently while he was in the thickest of the tariff fight.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, March 1.*

* * *

The vice-president has fared pretty well under the present administration as regards the places in the public service conferred upon members of his family. The latest one to profit is his son, Lewis G. Stevenson, who is now private secretary to the vice-president, and who was married a little while ago. The young man is slated for appointment as assistant paymaster in the navy.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, March 9.*

* * *

It would be sad news to Senator Voorhees and Indiana congressmen to hear that the government printing office had been brought under civil service regulations. The Senator has as many appointees in that bureau as any other man in Congress, with the possible exception of Senator Gorman. Even under the Harrison administration the senator's friends were "placed." When every other department seemed crowded to the limit with Hoosier employes, Senator Voorhees, as a last resort, always sent his trusty lieutenant, Faulkner, to the government printing office with "his man," and he has never come away disappointed.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, December 27.*

* * *

The condition of affairs in the government printing office amounts almost to a crisis. Public Printer Palmer has no assurances whether or not he will continue to serve in that capacity during the remainder of the administration or give way to a democrat. This unsettled condition of affairs has lasted for several months. Mr. Palmer has discharged none of the old working force of the office put in under the Harrison administration, and several hundred new employes have been added to the force since the new administration came into power, at the urgent demand of democratic senators and representatives. A few weeks ago the public printer found that he had a larger force on hand than ever before, and that they were idle about half the time. The additions to the force continually added to the crowded condition of the building, until eight men are working in one alley, where formerly only four

were placed in the arrangement for convenience.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, March 2.*

* * *

Collector Kilbreth yesterday restored the custom house cartage contract to Thomas A. Briggs. The treasury regulations call for the advertising of bids for the contract, which is estimated to be worth \$100,000 a year. Collector Magone, when he was in charge of the custom house, awarded the contract to Briggs, who was the lowest bidder. Last summer Collector Hendricks took the contract away from Briggs, and, without advertising for bids, awarded it to George B. Deane, Jr., the republican leader in the ninth assembly district, who took in partnership Bernard J. Biglin, George Hilliard, George Wanmaker, all republican district leaders in this city, and Le Roy Jacobs of Greene county. Yesterday Mr. Kilbreth canceled the contract with Deane and restored it to Briggs.—*New York Times, February 10.*

[Why "restore" to Briggs except upon open competition to the lowest bidder?]

* * *

So many changes in the unclassified list of employes in Collector Kilbreth's department at the appraiser's stores have taken place recently that the men speak of them as nothing short of a revolution in the department causing for the present considerable confusion. So many new faces are seen, it is said, that it is hard to tell who are employes of the department, even for those who have been there for some time. One of Appraiser Bunn's men the other evening saw a man in the stores whom he believed had no business there, and unceremoniously ordered him out. The man returned and proved himself a recently appointed watchman. Since then unfamiliar faces at the stores are regarded with caution. The changes have been made quietly, not from any feeling of compunction, for that they were made for political reasons is freely admitted. It has been done without fuss, in order to keep off a host of applicants, otherwise, it is said, the collector's office would have been crowded with at least 500 applicants for many days. Gen. Williams, when seen to-day, was very reticent on the subject, but he admitted that the radical change described had taken place. When asked for what cause, he said: "Oh, these changes are simply political; there is no other cause. They take place at the beginning of each administration. The men understand this perfectly well, and there is not much ado when they find themselves discharged.—*New York Evening Post, January 20.*

* * *

P. H. Geelan, postmaster at Big Springs, Kansas, was shot and killed to-day by Fred Hill. The shooting was the result of hard feelings between the men, because Geelan had held the post-office four years and did not get out and allow a successor to be named. Both are prominent in local politics. Hill's weapon was a rifle. The shooting occurred in the post-office.—*Associated Press Dispatch, March 14.*

* * *

In the appointment of William R. Dawson at Tidoute, Pa., this administration recognizes again the importance of a county chairman. About a year ago John M. Sigfried, democratic chairman of Warren county, carried off the Warren postmastership with its \$2,700 salary. It is the most remunerative office in the county. Mr. Sigfried was succeeded as chairman by Mr. Dawson, who now rakes in the \$1,500 postmastership at Tidoute, the second office in the county. Mr. Dawson was postmaster under the other Cleveland administration and made a good record. A savage fight was made against him this time, but he won with ease.

The democrats who have been conspiring to have Postmaster Dornfeld at North Tonawanda ousted because the office has been promoted to the presidential class, have run afoul an obstacle. It appears that Mr. Dornfeld is a democrat, and was appointed as a democrat by the fourth assistant postmaster-general, Col. Rathbone, just previous to the incoming of this administration.—*Washington Dispatch, Buffalo Express, March 13.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 14.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Indianapolis, Ind.

THE index of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE through the Harrison administration will be sent without charge to all who request it.

MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS has tendered to the senate the bust of Sumner presented to her husband by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It almost seems as if this were a case of casting pearls. What does the senate of the United States to-day know or care about Charles Sumner and his ideas of the duties and dignities of the once honored office of senator? Is it not almost an ignominy to place the bust of Sumner in the midst of men whose days and nights have been given up to patronage traffic? Would that the marble bust could come to life long enough to speak the mind of Sumner on the political lowness of the senate; when, for instance, the Indiana members sell a pension agency for the naming of every clerk but one which the agent demands for a relative, and their colleagues still meet them as honorable men and gentlemen.

THE republicans of this county have made their nominations for the various lucrative county offices. They are not interesting except that being made in the full expectation of election, they indicate about what we could expect of the party if again in power. Generally speaking, the nominees are of the machine; to a man they are thorough spoilsmen, largely wheel-horses, apt to be attached to political moves which will succeed for the time being, and who have done in the past a good deal of party machine work, with the hope and expectation of its leading sooner or later to a good paying office. There is nothing very lofty or patriotic about this. The people of Indiana for a good while have been trying to get rid of being taxed outrageously for the purpose of making lucky party machine men rich out of county offices. The struggle has been a desperate one between the people and the holders and seekers of these offices. These nominees will not help along that reform, but will do all they can to

block it. These remarks are pertinent, because the republicans here are saying that all who want reform in the county offices will vote their ticket.

THE proposed changes we mentioned last month in the Indianapolis post-office and pension agency are under full headway. Men and women are being turned out because they are republicans and other men and women are being put in because they are democrats or relatives, or more than all, because they are named by political bosses. This travesty upon business principles is being carried on side by side with the operation of the classified service. In that service there is no terror, no inhumanity and no practice which would wreck any private business. That this is infinitely better is universally admitted. Why, then, does President Cleveland permit the other to go on? Why does he not put the whole pension agency and the heads of divisions in this post-office under the rules? In this pension agency the situation shows the degradation of politics. Mr. Spencer, the pension agent, is a member of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association; yet, to get this office, on his own admission, he promised every one of the twenty eight places in it to Senators Voorhees and Turpie, except one place reserved for his sister, and which she has received. Voorhees and Turpie sold him the office and he sold them the places; President Cleveland ratified the contract, and it is now being carried out. If the President's apologists say that he knew nothing of the contract, and then the facts are brought to his notice by the Indiana association, and he refuses to remove Spencer, will they still deny his ratification of the contract?

THE *New York Times*, of April 14th, says that a month ago the President notified Senator Gorman and the rest of the Maryland delegation to submit a "slate" of Maryland appointments, "intimating, however, that he reserves two places for himself—the postmaster at Baltimore, and the district attorney." The "slate" has been submitted and the President has made the nominations, and in doing so, he has perpetuated the power of a man who for years has deprived the State of Maryland of free government.

The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, of April 16th, has a valuable dispatch from Washington concerning Gorman. The latter is apparently engaged in holding up the nomination of public printer until patronage terms are made. There are 2,000 employes in the printing office, and they are not in the classified service. Eight years ago Gorman was on the committee of public printing and secured so many appointments in the printing office that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ran a special train from Baltimore to Washington every morning, and back every night, to carry Gorman office-holders to and from their work. With those office-holders he completely throttled every attempt to throw off his machine. When the senate committees were reorganized under this administration, Gorman could have had his pick, but he chose the committee on printing, having an eye to the 2,000 places. His reasons are well set forth in the *Sentinel* dispatch:

In Baltimore there is a strong reform element in the democratic party opposed to Gorman, which has repeatedly failed to crush out the Maryland boss for want of organization. With the entire democratic press of Baltimore, and the professional and business element against him, Gorman always carries the primaries of that city, notwithstanding. This he accomplishes through the ward politicians, who are well organized under the control of trusted leaders. A machine politician can not succeed unless he is loyal to his henchmen, and Gorman never forgets the men who fight for him at the primaries, and Gorman men are seen by the hundreds at the navy yard, in the printing office, on the capitol police, and other public works of this city. Gorman does not barter his patronage on the "statesmen" of his state. The appointment of a Maryland man to a diplomatic or consular position is of no benefit to Gorman. The appointment of a ward-worker, or a township boss to a place on the capitol police, or an active Baltimore printer to a job in the printing office, will bring greater returns to Gorman when he has a fight on hand at the primaries, than the appointment of a dozen foreign ministers. When the primary day is at hand, the printers, carpenters, blacksmiths, whom he fixes with jobs at Washington, go home and pull of their coats and whoop it up for their boss at the primaries. That is practical politics.

But what about President Cleveland? He knows Gorman, and he knows that he is, and has been for years, at the head of a machine in which the efforts of thugs, murderers and scoundrels have been indispensable. Why does Mr. Cleveland have anything to do with such a man?

A CORRESPONDENT writes:

I sincerely regret the attitude of the present administration toward the reform. But I find it diffi-

cult to believe that Mr. Cleveland is guilty of direct vote-buying by selling offices. It seems to me you should not depart from your usual practice of being specific. Give names, dates, offices, etc., before imputing so much evil to one we feel is in sympathy with our cause.

We were never present, and never expect to be present, at the making of such bargains. We did not hear the bargain by which Wanamaker raised money for Quay, and received the postmaster-generalship, but we know that he got the office because he raised the money. We were not present when any bargain was made that McKane should count the vote of Gravesend for Harrison, and name the United States marshal, but we know that he was allowed to name the marshal for that service. We can not give names, dates and offices where Platt has made deals with Tammany, but we know that such deals have been carried out for years. We heard no bargain by which Van Alen was to give \$30,000 to the campaign fund, and receive the Italian mission, but we know he was named for the mission because he made the contribution. We were not present when votes upon the silver question were traded for patronage, but such votes were given. Nor did we hear patronage bargained for votes for Peckham, but patronage was used to secure such votes. Bargains in such matters are never made. Direct purchase and sale never occurs. But if any man can say that Mr. Cleveland has not used the patronage to influence congressmen's votes he is blind to the facts. It has been universally asserted. Voorhees has said that the President has been so kind to him in patronage that he could not refuse him anything. Quincy has openly boasted of the value and power of patronage in securing legislation. Senator Lodge gave as one of his reasons for voting against Peckham the shameless use of patronage to purchase votes for him. Not one of these and other facts is pretended to be denied.

SINCE the statement was published, of which the CHRONICLE gave the figures last month, showing that the changes in post-offices aggregate more than they did in the same time under Harrison, we have been looking for the per cent. calculator, who, in Mr. Cleveland's first administration, so gravely figured out apologies amid the wrecks of the civil service which strewed the country, and he has come. A writer, from Washington to the New York *Evening Post*, March 28, takes account of the whole number of post-offices existing at the respective times and makes out that in the presidential offices during the first year and nineteen days the changes under Wanamaker were 17 per cent. and under Bissell 11 per cent. In the fourth-class post-offices during the first year the changes

were 37 per cent. under Wanamaker and 34 per cent. under Bissell. The writer also repeats the following Cleveland saw:

To anybody who wishes to see things as they are and not distort them for purposes of misrepresentation, it will be plain enough that the spirit of civil service reform has made distinct progress, even if it has not gone as far as some of its promoters would have been glad to see it go.

We shall never be able to comprehend what satisfaction arises from such figuring and reasoning. In the opportunity to break up the loot of the fourth-class post-offices Mr. Bissell had one of the greatest which come to the hand of a statesman. He has completely missed it. His attempt to establish a four-year tenure is not a blessing but a curse, for it extends the scope of the pernicious four-year tenure act of 1820. Whether he goes a little slower or a little faster does not alter the facts. The fourth-class post-offices are being looted by congressmen and that is all there is of it.

SINCE the above was written, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler has, in the *New York Times* of April 16th, a blanket apology for the administration. Any one who knew Mr. Wheeler knew that this would come sooner or later. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say that he adopts Quincy's notion that consulships and other offices will be looted until the looters, that is the congressmen, pass a law forbidding it. Meanwhile, the President, with absolute authority vested in him by the constitution, is helpless. Mr. Wheeler does not notice such little circumstances as the snubbing of the reform democratic element in Indiana which secured Cleveland's nomination at Chicago, while the Voorhees-distillery crowd revel in spoil. Nor does the undisputed fact that the administration tried to buy votes with patronage for Peckham seem to have made any impression upon Mr. Wheeler. As chairman of the executive committee of the New York Civil Service Reform Association, Mr. Wheeler sat for years and let Tammany tweak the nose of the civil service law, and his view of the matter was that you could not believe all you heard.

A SENATE committee after a long investigation introduced a bill to improve the organization and methods of the treasury department. The second controller happens to be one Joe Nicholl, once a not very successful lawyer of Indianapolis, a government clerk during the first Cleveland administration, a brother-in-law of Sergeant-at-Arms Bright, and a nephew of the late Joseph E. McDonald, being one of the relatives that the latter so freely quartered upon the people. The new bill proposes to abolish Nicholl's office, and the Washington dispatches all say that for that reason Voorhees and Turpie and every

democratic congressman, including Holman, are opposing the bill with all their might, and are confident of defeating it. In this they are entirely true to their political nature. That nature is to strike the lowest political level that can possibly be found; and to keep Joe Nicholl in "a good soft berth," quickens their energies to an alacrity in which they delight. Their notion of statesmanship is to work and keep henchmen in place at whatever cost, and without any regard for the public service; to work the pension system for all it is worth, without any regard to merit or to the principles upon which pensions should be granted; and to load up the treasury with cheap dollars, without any regard to or knowledge of financial principles, utterly reckless of the effect upon the business of the country—and utterly oblivious of the fact that variation, or danger of variation in the standard of value, is the most successful paralyzer of business the befogged wit of man ever invented.

THE young men of the Christian Endeavor Societies in Kansas City and the "department of good citizenship" in the Indianapolis Christian Endeavor Union are stated to be engaged "actively, though quietly and unobtrusively," in the effort to promote the interests of good government. They are urged "to attend the primaries and to see to it, personally, that only clean, pure men are nominated." The machine has always been very much in earnest in pointing out the primary as the proper field for the reformer to work in. McKane, Murphy, Hill, Platt, Croker, Divver Gorman, Quay, and all the other big and little bosses are disinterested and emphatic in this opinion that the primary is the spot where the good citizen has the chance to down the bad citizen, and for thirty years their gullible victims have been bunced again and again. It does not seem as if it required a very clever man to see that men whose living is assured by public taxation, with time and some offices to give and contracts to control, and with an increasing skill with increasing experience can "steer," neatly and successfully, the young men of the Christian Endeavor Union so that they really assist, by their respectability, to hide the operations of a selfish, unscrupulous party machine.

No man has any duty to meet the boss and the machine in the primary. He stands no show and he will accomplish nothing. Learn from the enemy to do the one thing that always starts him to profane and ribald denunciation—be an independent, uncertain voter.

IN his closing address to the law class at the Leland Stanford University, ex-President Harrison advised the members to

"keep out of politics." Probably he had in mind the politics with which he has always been familiar—machine politics, Slick Six politics, politics which extends from very small deals and trades to the distribution of offices by the hundred thousand among political buccaneers. If this was in mind the advice was well timed. In not defining his meaning, Mr. Harrison indicated his own limitations. Any college man who does not propose to take an active and incessant part in such matters as municipal reform and in breaking up the spoils system generally, in maintaining a sound currency and in the minor, but ever present question of taxation, has not been well educated, and is not a good citizen. Every man should take a part in politics; he should give time to it, make sacrifices for it, and no important election or political movement should take place without his giving his best efforts to the side that makes for freeing government in every relation and locality from the parasites which prey upon it.

Mr. McAneny, assistant secretary, says in his monthly report:

That the work of enrolling members in the anti-spoils league is progressing with an encouraging degree of success. The league numbers 8,229 voters. The signatures represent 871 localities, distributed through forty-seven states and territories. In sixty cities, in which there are at present no active civil service reform associations, the signers form a body numerous enough to warrant urging the organization of such associations at once in affiliation with the national league.

BOSS GOVERNMENT.

Its Dependence Upon Spoil; Its Wide Ramifications; Its Impregnable Position Having Spoil to Give—Every Phase of which is Illustrated in New York.

This issue of the CHRONICLE devotes considerable space to an attempt to show how New York is now governed. A corrupt trading machine, manned by Platt for the state of New York and called the republican party, and democratic Tammany, entrenched in its largest city of over two millions, and formidable democratic machines elsewhere, like McLaughlin's in Brooklyn and Murphy's in Troy, make conditions favorable for the manifestation of every phase of the boss system. It is worth while to study the conditions in New York and the biographies of the two notorious bosses, Divver and Murphy, given elsewhere, because it all makes plain what a good many people are apt to forget—that the essential features of boss government are the same in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Gravesend, Indiana and Podunk. If our machine does not murder and maim as do Gorman's and Murphy's; does not blackmail and flaunt its manifold power openly and on a great scale as does Boss Croker's, and does not bully when nullifying the franchise as did McKane's, we get to thinking that the home machine is different and harmless. It may be

more galling to be ruled by a machine dominated by a single boss than by a machine run by an oligarchy, but there is no difference in methods. Tammany in New York and the Slick Six in Indianapolis got their power by the use of spoil and by spoil maintained their power. All boss or machine government is spoils government. The two are never found separated. And whether accomplished by Tammany methods or Gorman methods or Quay methods or Podunk methods there is always a throttling of the natural workings of a democratic government; always the use and manipulation of the tough and law-breaking elements of the community, and always the smothering by brutality or by guile of the disinterested and patriotic leadership of both parties. The state and city of New York seem to lie helpless under the heel of a boss system developed as variously and wonderfully as it is possible to conceive.

The chief cause of this helplessness is Mr. Platt's republican machine. It is responsible for the continued supremacy of Tammany. It might have been ended again and again had it not had secret republican aid.

"Many people fancy, because Gov. Hill carried New York when President Cleveland was defeated, that a plurality of the voters in the state would support him again, but in that contest, as the people here well know, *Hill succeeded only because he was able to sell a presidency for a governorship.*—*New York Tribune, February 14, 1890.*

Last autumn Mr. Platt had no intention of winning a republican victory, but the astutest of bosses occasionally miscalculates the depth of a popular uprising. The New York legislature became heavily republican, and decent citizens took courage. It could not fail to investigate the Tammany government of New York city root and branch. There is now a "Platt" investigation on after weeks of mysterious delays and moves, and rumors of trades and dickers regarding this investigation, and after the conduct of it had been declined by a number of lawyers of distinction. Wheeler H. Peckham gives the reason:

"This time they can't find a lawyer. What's the reason? I know, for myself, it is because they wouldn't give me the power, without which I wouldn't act, and because they wouldn't allow me to direct the prosecution whither I wished."

The speaker of the house goes weekly to Platt for instructions and every intelligent man who is not a partisan knows that Platt's will is the legislature's will. Platt is investigating Tammany's police department just far enough to get two of his men on the commission instead of Croker having all four.

A reform bill introduced into the legislature gave power to the next mayor to remove the heads of departments and to appoint their successors, making all their terms expire with that of the mayor. This bill has just been defeated by the aid of Platt republican votes. It hit Tammany but Platt wants Tammany and relief comes from his men. If a reform mayor like Schieren, of Brooklyn, should be elected next year, he would have to work with every head of department a Tammany selection; Mike Daly as commissioner of public

works, Scannell in the fire department and so on. What could he do?

Republican Hamilton Fish reports favorably bills increasing Tammany salaries; and he wears to-day some diamond shirt studs, the gift of Tammany. Says Owens, nominated by a Platt machine and elected last autumn to the legislature:

"I am a republican on general principles, but there is a \$7,500 mortgage on my house, and I think I ought to do all I can this winter to pay it off. Isn't that all right?"

With every paper of standing in New York clamoring for favorable action on various bills in the interest of good government and for the benefit of New York City, the New York *Tribune* in alliance with Platt, had only a few perfunctory words for such bills as

The rapid-transit bill of the chamber of Commerce.

The bill to put the sheriff on a salary and give all the fees of his office to the city.

The bill giving the next mayor power to remove all heads of departments.

The New York *Post* says:

Clear as is the trace of Tammany power in all these cases, it comes out most plainly in the treatment of the chamber of commerce's rapid transit bill. That is a measure upon which the best and most intelligent elements of the city are agreed as furnishing the wisest solution of the problem. Yet, when Mr. Hewitt went to Albany yesterday to advocate it, he discovered that there had been "sneaked" through the assembly a bill which gave the elevated railway company a complete monopoly for elevated structures on all the streets of the city below the Harlem river, and gave Tammany the very reasonable prospect of being able to construct with city money and operate as a city work an underground road which it could construct and operate in its own way. At the very time Mr. Hewitt was denouncing this astounding measure, Senator Lexow, Platt's spokesman and investigator, was doing his utmost to force it through the senate and get it to the governor before its true character could be exposed. If any additional proof was needed of a Platt-Tammany "combine," this performance of Senator Lexow would furnish it. He was opposing a Tammany investigation and advocating a huge Tammany job in almost the same breath.

* * * Putting aside all party considerations, too, one would say that the legislature of a Christian people would not adjourn leaving "Paddy" Divver and "Barney" Martin on the bench administering justice to the poor, and leaving "Jimmy" Martin in charge of its police force, and Croker levying blackmail on its taxpayers.

And yet, in spite of all this, Platt's grip on the party machine is secure, and he will be able to hold in line, as he has before, those excellent bigots who are always fooled by the party boss and are always used as the respectable wall behind which Tammany robs and and blackmails and Platt trades for a poor measure of spoil.

It is physically impossible, in the space of this paper to give any adequate illustration of the infinite ways the boss or spoils system is working in New York.

McKane's shortage is something like \$200,000. He had used the public funds to pay Sutherland, his justice of the peace, over \$10,000 for the year 1893, and for constables and justices for the town of Gravesend, with 8,000 inhabitants, for 1892 and 1893, \$66,568. According to the sworn confessions of elec-

tion inspectors McKane and his chief lieutenant stuffed 1,000 bogus ballots in the boxes at the close of the voting in the presidential election of 1892. In 1888 there was no pretense of a canvass of the votes. At least 1,000 bogus ballots were stuffed into the boxes after the polls were closed, and the totals were set down according to figures furnished by McKane, and based on the exigencies of the occasion. As an instance of the extortion practiced by this land pirate, after he had established his artificial ice plant on Coney Island, a license fee of \$200 was put on every wagon peddling natural ice. This squeeze drove out all competitors.

After tremendous effort and expense McKane and Sutherland were convicted. Sixteen election inspectors, including McKane's school-teacher, plead guilty and have been sentenced. His police justice, Sutherland, is a fugitive, and another, Newton, is serving a nine months' sentence.

In New York thirty-nine men for frauds in Tammany's attempt to make its man Maynard a supreme court judge, either plead guilty, or were convicted upon trial or ran away forfeiting their bail. All these were Tammany democrats, except six Tammany republicans. For these Tammany worked as for her own braves. The district of Police Justice Divver furnished eighteen of these thirty-nine criminals.

These are surface indications of the extent of the crimes that have been going on against the franchise. McKane, as a boss, has been crushed, some of his tools have been punished, and other tools of other bosses in New York likewise; but all the elements are still left to make new bosses, and to do the same work again. So long as spoil is left to be divided among henchmen, so long will another set of bosses build another machine.

In other fields Tammany is equally busy and equally infamous. Mr. Peckham says:

Tammany Hall takes the place of the lobby. At its head is a man who handles a large amount of money yearly and is accountable to no one. He says whether a bill shall pass or not. They are all afraid of Tammany. Many corporations pay large amounts for peace, as they put it. The Metropolitan Telephone Company pays, I understand, \$50,000 a year for peace. I know of one corporation which pays a similar amount. I tell you that every day of their lives these Tammany men are bribed and bribe others. Of course there is sometimes a cry of investigation.

As we have tried to show above, a republican machine is always ready to call off an attack for compensation in spoil.

A year ago Police Justice Andy White resigned his position and became a dock commissioner. He quit an \$8,000 place for a \$5,000 one. It was queried at the time in all of the Tammany dives, "Has Andy lost his grip?" Andy and Tammany had lost no grip. His advent made the board a unanimous Tammany body. The enormous work of this board had been done by contract, after advertised competition. After Andy's accession construction began to be done by days' work. One pier, for instance,

built upon Andy's system, cost just \$12,000 more than such piers had cost by the previous contract system. The board now has the proposed building of a water front which they place at a cost of between \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000. Experts place the cost at fully \$20,000,000 and property owners put the cost at \$50,000,000. Last year Comptroller Myers blocked this undertaking until he could examine the plans and thereupon Tammany refused him a renomination.

Last winter \$1,000,000 was appropriated in park improvements to aid the unemployed of New York. Thereupon Tammany employed a labor expert at \$5,000 a year who rode around in a carriage to inspect and to hire Tammany heelers; yet few were employed. Thousands of men came day after day for the promised work, but Tammany had other plans. It is keeping the \$1,000,000 to expend just before the next election.

Some of the rich men of New York desired to get through the legislature a bill to incorporate a provident loan association, which is a pawn shop for the benefit of the poor, and an entirely charitable undertaking; but the bill did not get on. Mayor Gilroy passed from enthusiasm to coolness. Tammany Sulzer said it was "a bad bill." It is stated that the regular pawn shops sent down to the legislature \$30,000. Unless the protests of the press make Tammany democrats and republicans feel uncomfortably notorious, the poor of New York will continue to pay 36 per cent. to the regular pawn shop.

Mr. Paul Dana has just had to resign from the park board because his associates refused to be bound by the law. Mr. Gray had to leave the fire department board because of the scandals in the purchase of supplies which he was powerless to avert. Dr. Parkhurst says a man told him that he dared not contribute openly to Dr. Parkhurst's fund because his new building would have an additional assessment of \$200,000 put upon it. When Boss Croker recently returned to New York, after his sixty-day trip across the continent in a magnificent private car, republican Chauncey M. Depew ordered that it be drawn over the New York Central railroad free of charge.

Harper's Weekly of April 7 shows the financial side of the boss or spoils rule in Brooklyn. Two-thirds of all moneys professedly expended for city purposes really have gone to the machine and its henchmen. They got the Long Island Water Supply Company's property for \$175,000 and Mayor Chapin prepared to take it off their hands for \$1,750,000. In this case there was an indomitable good citizen who fought this deal and the supreme court sustained him. Again the machine got the refusal from the owners of a public dumping-ground, started a clamor to buy a park for the poor and then through a dummy sold two thirds to the park commissioner for twice as much as they had paid for the whole. Again, three years ago, a South Brooklyn politician was about to be turned out of his house for

non-payment of rent. Six months ago he boasted he was worth \$300,000. Between these times he was a power in the board of aldermen. He held them together through a trolley deal and the franchise extension and the park purchases.

"At present he is a senator, with a big fur collar on his coat, and a roll of money so large that when he goes in a friend's saloon he throws down a \$100 bill, cocks his stump of cigar up as he pulls his mouth into an expression of infinite disdain, and says:

"'Jim, ask de blokes what dey'll have, and keep de change.'

"Swaggering and rolling his shoulders, he walks the streets, looking with wall-eyed haughtiness on his admiring fellow-men, who whisper as he passes along:

"'Dat's de man what bled de railroad for two hundred t'ousand cool plunks. Ain't he nerry?'

"'Some of dem aldermen only got two t'ousand out of it. Dis man hung on to de bag. Ain't he a daisy?'

The holding up of the Kings County Elevated Railway by the politicians was as open as any stage robbery on western plains. In spite of the protest of the press they bound this railway hand and foot and built their own line before the court of appeals could come to the rescue. Years after electric light companies were ready to illuminate Brooklyn they were not allowed franchises because they would not come to terms.

"At last Pope, Sewall & Co., two enterprising young men, ran wires over the house-tops to serve their customers in the business districts. Their wires were constantly cut and their men arrested, till they let in one of the political chiefs, who got in other political chiefs, and kicked out Pope and Sewall. Then, by means of the city government, they gave themselves large contracts at high figures, and stole their factory water from the city by a secret connection. They then made the closest kind of monopoly of the electric lighting, and prospered exceedingly until the last election."

The other day Judge Martine sentenced a policeman who had arrested a saloon-keeper for no other reason than a refusal to give the policeman free drinks. Says the account:

Before sentencing the prisoner, Judge Martine publicly told Mr. House, the policeman's counsel, that he refused to be dictated to by those who believed themselves in power. The strongest pressure, said the judge, had been brought to bear on him, from very high politicians, but he refused to be influenced by any such men in his judicial findings. Not a day had passed since the case was called, continued Judge Martine, without his being approached from some source concerning the fate of the guilty policeman.

The state has spent on the unfinished capitol at Albany, in thirty years, \$20,673,499. The capitol commissioner in 1892, said the building would be completed for a little over \$2,000,000. In 1894, he said it would take \$3,000,000 more to finish it. The *Buffalo Express* says:

There are now 1,600 men employed on the construction of the capitol. They are appointed by Commissioner Perry on the recommendation of the state officers, political committees and members of the legislature. Not a man gets a job unless he has the backing of some politician. The work has become simply a public trough at which the Albany spoilsmen can feed their clamorous supporters. John E. Milholland

went to Albany the other day to try to get patronage on the capitol for his new machine in New York. Milholland did not meet with good success, because, just at present, Tammany controls most of the appointments and has none to spare for its republican assistants. William Barnes, Jr., according to the *New York Herald*, confesses to having 84 men at the trough, but is kicking because he ought to have 400. Milholland says that Speaker Malby has been able to get but eight on the payroll. As he is *ex-officio*, a capitol commissioner, he is naturally looked upon by the gang as no good. Perhaps he is too honest to be a successful spoils-grabber in competition with the experts who have fed so long on this rich garbage. Sulzer, the minority leader, is more successful. He has 90 men.

Elsewhere is a sketch of Murphy, a great boss and a United States senator. March 5 the Troy dispatch to the *New York Times* stated that the political prestige of the boss was trembling in the balance; that the signs were that the election on the morrow would result in his defeat; that the citizens were in open revolt at his bossism. From Albany, on the same date to the same paper, was the dispatch that Governor Flower refused to sign the bill to provide for non-partisan boards of inspectors for Troy, on the ground that it was imperfectly drawn; that a delegation of seventeen clergymen called upon him and begged him to sign the bill; that Murphy, recognizing the tremendous uprising, was at home leading his forces in person; that the gang of toughs who followed the lead of the senator realized that they must make a desperate fight. What happened the next day is well known. Robert Ross, a reputable unarmed citizen, was wantonly murdered by one of a gang of repeaters. Troy was aroused and a committee of safety organized. With Murphyism controlling the mayor, the police department and the prosecuting officers, the people's committee have to contend. Governor Flower insisted that the attorney-general of the state should appoint as his deputy the assistant district attorney of Rensselaer county, and the attorney-general declined to take charge of the case under those conditions. A memorial to the governor said, "The forces that now disgrace and enthrall this city can not be dislodged except by persistent, honest and fearless attack. That attack can not be made by a prosecuting office which is itself a part of the corrupt system to be attacked." Governor Flower declined to meet the one hundred distinguished citizens of Troy who went to Albany to protest against leaving the conduct of the prosecution within the circle of Murphyism.

The last point is the enforcement of the civil service law in the state and in the cities. An appeal for an investigation has just been made to the legislature to investigate the violations and breaking down of the law by the governor. In New York City and Brooklyn the machine has found the law no impediment.

In conclusion, the reasons for this awful condition are vast spoil, and a republican machine entrenched in the state and democratic machines entrenched in various cities, both

ready to fight to the death any good citizen or any measure that puts this spoil in peril. In such a condition is it not worse than folly, is it not a crime, to be a party man in New York?

A GREAT BOSS—MURPHY, UNITED STATES SENATOR.

Who is Edward Murphy?

If it be a warm, comfortable afternoon, and business for the day has been attended to, it is more than likely that a short, thick-set, good-natured, genial-looking man with a white mustache, neatly dressed, will be leaning against the door-way of 8 Third street. Possibly one or two congenial companions will be with him.

If the afternoon is hot, he may be up stairs, in the little building which is on the lot mentioned. The elderly gentleman has blue eyes and soft white hands. He wears a diamond in his scarf. Apparently he is a gentleman of leisure, a good liver, temperate, and a pleasant man to meet. He has a genial way about him; his smile is soothing. He shakes hands warmly, and is glad to see the visitor.

If the visitor's business has been something that requires a confidential talk the kind old gentleman has probably taken him up stairs into a little club-room which is comfortably furnished, has some easy chairs, a poker table or two, and some racing pictures for its most noticeable pieces of furniture.

This is the headquarters of the little coterie which admires the old gentleman, and in whose society he spends much of his time evenings and pleasant afternoons when he is in the city. He does not look like a "boss." He is intelligent, but will not enter into any profound discussion of law, metaphysics, poetry, art, or any of the finer topics of conversation. His discourse will be limited chiefly to political places, stocks, and horse trotting. If the visitor tells him that Corbett has knocked Mitchell out he will probably ask "where did he land on him?"

If he were asked for his views on the tariff question, he would probably smile and say that he did not care to express any opinions just at present.

If, in company with him, a stroll down the street be taken past one or two prominent saloons, the keeper sitting in the doorway will nod to the rosy old gentleman and say "Hello, Ed," and Ed will reply, "Hello, Jim."

This will be the exchange of greeting between Jim Dwyer, poolroom keeper, and Edward Murphy, Jr., United States senator from the state of New York.

Edward Murphy is fifty-seven years old. He was born of parents who came from Ireland, and he has lived in Troy all his life. His father was a brewer on a small scale and made some money. Edward attended the public schools, and for a time was at the Catholic Institution at Fordham. He was not a brilliant scholar according to report, and had no tastes for professional life.

His early associates, some of whom are now alive, had not been good. He had more money to spend when he was a boy than the others, and it pleased his vanity to become something of a leader because of this fact. Some of those associates became afterward notorious sports. Murphy trained with them long enough to have acquired some of their tastes. When he was a young man, or even a boy, chicken fighting in Troy was a common pastime among the rougher element. When a crowd of the boys wanted a good chicken fight they appealed to Murphy, and he bought the chickens. He liked to see the fun.

Mr. Murphy was interested for a time in a place called the "Nonpareil," near the corner of Fulton street and Fifth avenue. Tradition says there was a cockpit in the place, and the sports used to gather there from time to time whenever good game birds could be secured. This place was burned in 1862.

Mr. Murphy's power in Troy is due to three or four prominent reasons. He has business interests which would make any man powerful. He has

been in politics, holding public offices, which he has used for his own advantage, long enough to have entrenched himself among that class of people which makes itself felt on election day, and he controls absolutely the so-called "Murphy machine."

He has associated with him in business enough republicans to secure a considerable influence from that party. When he was an alderman, he learned how the business of making or killing ordinances was done. He learned that franchises could be granted by the city councils. Later, he wanted some franchises of his own, and the city council was such that it was easy for him to get them. He is one of the large stockholders in the Troy City Railway Company. Some capitalists who knew how to make money in handling corporations took Mr. Murphy as a partner, and secured control of this corporation. The council which Mr. Murphy owned granted franchises on application, and the company now has the right to own and operate railways on almost every available street in the city, for which it paid not one red cent.

Some years ago, Daniel E. Conway became president of a company, which, if it had secured franchises, would have been a rival company. Mr. Conway's company offered the city \$40,000 for a franchise to lay tracks and run cars through certain streets. Mr. Conway is a political opponent of Mr. Murphy. The city council refused to grant the franchise. Mr. Murphy controlled the city council.

Mr. Murphy is the president of the Troy City Gas Company. He has taken a few republicans into that company, and they naturally knowing how he controls the municipal business of the city, are enrolled among what is generally known as the "Murphy Republicans." One of the stockholders in the street railway company, who is also a director, is Ex-Mayor William Kemp, who is a leader in the republican party. For business considerations, many of his followers are not hostile to Murphy. Mr. Murphy is president of the gas company and he has made considerable money by the manner in which the stock of this corporation has been handled. He is also a stockholder in the Electric Light Company and has made more money out of this.

Mr. Murphy's name has also been connected with the Huckleberry Road, and he is supposed to have made a comfortable amount of money from stocks in this corporation.

But the great and irresistible element in his power in Troy to-day is a machine which perpetuates itself, is absolutely within his control, and itself controls an army of ruffians, dive keepers, repeaters, cheap gamblers, saloon keepers, loafers and all manner of men who have no scruples to do any political trick, who have low ideas of morality, and will obey orders if they are paid for it. The machinery of law, which in ordinary circumstances would be expected to mete out just deserts to some of the army of the law breakers which infest the city on election day, is so absolutely controlled, directly or indirectly, by this Murphy machine, that decent men have almost decided that justice is impossible.

* * *

Edward Murphy has lived in the city of Troy all his life, and for the last twenty-five years has been actively engaged in politics.

At first he was an Alderman, after that he was a police commissioner, then he was mayor, afterwards he was chairman of the state democratic committee. On numerous occasions he had been a delegate to national conventions. He has attended every state convention. * * *

Isaac McConihe was the really big "boss" at that time, and Murphy was his pupil. McConihe was not only the "boss" of Rensselaer county, but figured in that capacity in state politics. He was chairman of the state committee. Innocently, as it is said, with probable truth, he became involved in business transactions with Tweed, and when the big "boss" of Tammany was overthrown and convicted, McConihe was forced out of that position.

That was Murphy's opportunity. As a member of the local police commission he secured absolute control of the police force of Troy. At about the same time he entered the brewing business, and soon built a prosperous trade. It has always been

alleged that his political influence helped make a market for his beer. He soon became the leading political figure in his town. He went across the river to Albany and began to take a hand in securing legislation from the state which would intrench him in his position in his own county. *If any office-holder was obnoxious to him he would procure a charter amendment to legislate that man out of office.*

Mr. Murphy had become the accepted "boss" of Rensselaer county in 1874, when Mr. Tilden was nominated for governor. He had extended his acquaintance to politicians all over the state. His pleasing address, a certain personal magnetism, and the fact that many unscrupulous and daring men in Troy looked to him as a leader and would obey his orders, made him useful to men who were at that time powerful throughout the state. Mr. Murphy was then well known as a sporting character. John Morrissey, whose early home was in Troy, was one of his chums, and he and Mr. Murphy trained together, attending sporting events and gaining acquaintance with sporting men with persistent regularity. * * *

Hostility to Mr. Cleveland was the bond which cemented more firmly than ever Mr. Murphy to Mr. Hill. They had been associates before. Their styles of politics were one. Hill knew that he could use Murphy to his own advantage, and, as soon as Hill adopted his policy of antagonizing Mr. Cleveland, he made Mr. Murphy his first lieutenant and chief adviser. They began a systematic "peanut" policy of driving out of public places all the men whom Mr. Cleveland had appointed, each of whom had been originally selected with a view to his efficiency as well as to his position in the democratic party. *James Shanahan, a friend of Mr. Cleveland, was forced to resign as superintendent of public works. This was brought about because the superintendent would not allow Mr. Murphy to dictate certain appointments on the Champlain Canal. When this change was made, the great patronage office of the state, that of superintendent of public works, passed into the hands of one of Mr. Murphy's supporters, Mr. Edward Hannan. He had lived in Troy in one of the toughest wards. He had been associated with the young loafers with whom Mr. Murphy had spent his boyhood.*

From that time Mr. Murphy and Mr. Hill used the immense patronage of the canal against Mr. Cleveland in building up their state machine. Anybody who wanted an office or work did not go to Albany to apply to Mr. Hannan, but to Troy to apply to Edward Murphy. * * *

While Mr. Murphy was thus the head of the state organization, and his distribution of patronage had fixed it so that it could not be shaken, he fixed his attention upon the state legislature for a season. Richard Croker, of New York was a friend of Mr. Murphy. It used to be said that Murphy would manage the legislature, while Mr. Croker would control New York City.

Up to the time that he set his hands on a legislature, individuals had made up his machine. When he had grasped the state lawmakers, the corporations were added to his list. They could be made very valuable in campaigns and in every part of the state. *Railroads, gas companies, electric companies, insurance companies, and whoever else depended for prosperity or existence on the nature of the laws that were made, were thus under the dictation of the man whom David B. Hill had set up in Troy. Great campaign funds can be raised when corporations are forced to contribute.*

When once a favorable relationship between the corporations and Mr. Murphy had been established, Mr. Murphy was enabled to make money for himself. In perfectly legitimate ways he began extensive and successful operations in business.

During the last few years he has grown rich. He is a millionaire, and more, too. He practically owns the greatest corporations in Troy. If he does not own them, he is the dominating influence in their management. He has been allowed to come in "on the ground floor" in extensive operations.

It would be a mistake to infer that such a man had confined his attention entirely to state legisla-

tion. He has acquired a great influence in many of the cities of this state. He has great influence with Richard Croker in New York City. Mr. Murphy has been interested with Mr. Croker in enterprises of large importance, and their political connection has been as close as must necessarily be that of any two men who stand at the head of New York City and the New York state democratic organization. They have been so successful that they have bought a farm near Richfield Springs, stocked it and are joint partners in it and a racing stable.

Since Mr. Murphy became a United States senator he has in no wise changed his former style of life or his political habits. Although a representative of the state of New York in a seat which has been held by Evarts, Conkling, Hamilton Fish and other distinguished men, he still attends to the ward politics of Troy. He dictates the nominations of the local candidates, he scans the list of election inspectors, and looks after the movements of the police in the tough wards of his city. Neglecting all thoughts of the tariff and other questions on which he is expected to vote as a representative of the state, he found it more congenial to spend the few days before election in consultation with the men who manipulate the squads of repeaters and adjust the election machinery so that whatever may be the vote cast, the count will show that the machine he has built up is still intact.

His political headquarters when in Troy are divided. Much of the work is done from his brewery office on Ferry street. Some of it is outlined in the saloons on Third street, where Mr. Murphy finds congenial companions.

The Murphy machine is still rolling on, but its wheels are red—red with the blood of men.

Slowly it has been built, but surely. *Decent men, honest politicians, have not been able to withstand it. It is held together by the "cohesive force of public plunder." It dictates the nomination of city officers—after consulting with Mr. Murphy. Nearly every one of its members holds an office which Mr. Murphy gave him.*

This machine is composed of a general committee of two from each ward in the city. There are thirteen wards. The committee selects the inspectors for the primaries just before election. Those inspectors are men who will do as the committee orders them to do or they will not be selected.

There are three inspectors from each ward. It has been the experience in Troy for a number of years that the inspectors thus appointed declared the Murphy candidates at the primaries to be the successful candidates, without much regard for the number of votes which may have been cast for any other candidate. The result is that very few people go to the caucuses. It is a useless proceeding, they think. The primaries are held, the inspectors appointed meet, go through the formality of receiving a few votes, and declare who are the candidates. The whole thing has come to be a farce in most of the wards. When a member of the general committee has about completed his term an election is held for a successor. The general committee appoints the men to pass on the qualification of voters and to count the votes. The result, in most cases, is a perpetuation of the committee. It practically reappoints itself.

An analysis of this committee, with names, history and occupation, will prove interesting to people who live in some other city than Troy, and may, perhaps, think that the Murphy "machine" is simply political talk.

In the first ward the members of the committee are William Donohue and William N. Keenan. *Mr. Donohue is a police magistrate. He held that office ten years ago. Samuel Morris and others preferred charges against him, which he did not see fit to face, and he resigned. Later, Mr. Murphy reappointed him. Mr. Keenan, the other member from the first ward, is one of Mr. Murphy's bookkeepers.*

In the second ward, the members of the general committee are William Dunphy and James W. Dwyer. Mr. Dunphy is an engineer in the Osgood Steamer Company. He is a brother of Police Captain Dunphy. *James W. Dwyer keeps a poolroom in which gambling is openly conducted.*

In the third ward committeemen are Charles R. De Freest and John F. Ahern. *Mr. De Freest is the well-known secretary of the democratic state committee, formerly clerk of the assembly. He now has a post with the state railroad commission, which Mr. Murphy secured for him. John F. Ahern keeps a saloon in Third street. A faro "lay-out" is above it on the second floor, and as long as Mr. Ahern obeys Mr. Murphy, the Murphy police do not interfere.*

In the fourth ward the committeemen are William Holmes and Andrew J. Forrest. *Mr. Holmes is the business partner of Mr. Ahern in the saloon in Third street. Andrew J. Forrest holds a position in the district attorney's office, secured by Murphy influence.*

In the fifth ward, John J. McCormick and Thomas McCabe are the members of the committee. *McCormick is city clerk, by grace of the Murphy influence and bookkeeper in Mr. Murphy's brewery. Mr. McCabe is in the fire department, and foreman of the Farham Steamer Company.*

In the sixth ward John Kinney and William Fallon are the committeemen. *Mr. Kinney is an employee at the court house through the Murphy influence. William Fallon keeps a saloon in that delectable part of Troy known as "the Patch." The police kindly allow Mr. Fallon to conduct business without any interference.*

The seventh ward presents a peculiar and instructive situation. It is peculiar because it is the only ward in Troy which is anti-Murphy. It is instructive because it illustrates the fact that as soon as a man breaks from Murphy, if he holds a public office he will lose it. The two committeemen are George E. Sands and John Allen. *Formerly they marched under the Murphy banner. Mr. Sands was then clerk of a court. He broke from Mr. Murphy. He is not clerk of a court now. John Allen was in a department at Albany in the state house. He revolted against the Murphy domination. He was removed from his office.*

In the eighth ward, Kyrou V. Cleary and John Devery are the committeemen. *Mr. Cleary is Mr. Murphy's cousin. He also holds a position in the office of the state controller at Albany. John Devery holds no office. He is anti-Murphy, and supported Whelan in the recent contest.*

In the ninth ward William H. Donahue is the only member of the committee, his associate having died recently. *Mr. Donahue is a brother of Clerk Donahue of the police board, an office kindly given to him by the Murphy influence.*

The members of the committee from the tenth ward are "Dan" Carney and "Jerry" Denny. *Mr. Carney is engineer of the Eddy Steamer Company. He has the reputation of being one of the most successful and skillful dog-fighters in Troy. Senator Murphy used to enjoy seeing a dog-fight himself years ago, before Mr. Hill thought of taking him to Washington as his associate. "Jerry" Denny of the tenth ward is a fireman of the Eddy Steamer Company.*

In the eleventh ward, William Martin and John J. Kenna are the members of the committee. *Mr. Martin is janitor at the city hall, and Mr. Kenna has an office in Mr. Hannan's office, the superintendent of public works. Both of these offices were bestowed by the Murphy influence.*

In the twelfth ward Patrick Byron and Charles Burke are the members of the committee. *Mr. Burke is a carpenter by trade, and inspector of the state dairy department by reason of the Murphy influence. Mr. Byron is chief engineer in the fire department, because the Murphy influence appointed him.*

In the thirteenth ward Martin Kane and Patrick Lewis are the members of the general committee. *Mr. Kane is a policeman, appointed through the Murphy influence.*

This constitutes the framework of the Murphy machine. Mr. Murphy is chief engineer of this machine. It grinds out the sort of grist which he directs. He attends to it almost as closely now that he is a member of the United States senate, as he did when he was simply a Troy brewer.

The committee meets usually at 8 Third street, upstairs, over Dwyer's poolroom. Dwyer is a mem-

ber of the committee, it will be remembered. His "place" is five doors from the resort of Senator Murphy when he is down town of an evening. This is at 18 Third street, over Breeze's.—*From the New York Times.*

A LESSER BOSS—DIVVER, POLICE JUSTICE.

"Patrick Divver, commonly called 'Paddy,' is the Tammany leader in the second assembly district. He is the keeper of a sailors' boarding-house and is the proprietor, or has interests, in several liquor saloons. He is an ex-member of the board of aldermen, a race-track frequenter and the friend and confidant of gamblers. He is on terms of intimacy with 'Johnny' Matthews and 'Jake' Shipsey, two members of the sporting and gambling fraternity, whose particular methods of gaining a livelihood are unknown to the frequenters of Paddy Divver's and other run-shops on Park Row, where they are generally to be found."—*"Tammany Biographies," April, 1890.*

A few months later a Tammany mayor was able to get a judge of a court of record, a president of the board of education, and two leading merchants to say that Divver was in "every way qualified" for the police justice bench.

"Gentlemen of the committee, I hope you will do your best at this election. They have been attacking our standard bearer, Judge Isaac H. Maynard [Hooroo! Woop! Bully for Maynard!], the most uprightest judge that ever lived. This is the banner district of Tammany Hall [Hooray! Three cheers for Judge Divver!], and no other district must get ahead of the old second. We must win this banner again. [We will! We will!] As the leader of this district, I will give the captain of the election district that polls the most votes for the democratic ticket a \$1,500 place. He can take the place himself or give it to one of his friends. [Most enthusiastic cheering.] To the captain of the district that polls the second largest number of votes I will give a gold watch and chain, and to the third largest I will give this silk banner."—*World.*

Patrick Divver's friends and lieutenants are among the most disreputable men in the city of New York. His political power is built upon crime and law-breaking. Here are the men upon whom he chiefly depends for his power and success; here are the men with whom he associates, who are constantly seen in the club-house of the Divver association, the headquarters of the Tammany hall committee of the district:

"LOS" CURTIS.—Notorious fourth ward dive-keeper, ready man with a gun, political heeler and supposed to be an office-holder of the class not required to enter their names on the city roll. Curtis formerly kept his dive in the basement at the corner of north William street and Park Row. He also kept a dive at No. 6 James street, which Police Captain Slevin, of the Oak street station, ever looked in May last when he raided the dives at Nos. 2 and 4 James street. Curtis was on the list to be raided, but, it is said, was saved through the influence of Divver. Curtis is Divver's most valuable man on election day, as he is afraid of no law. It was he who helped young Jimmy Divver poll 608 votes out of 620 cast in young Divver's election district. But

that was not all he did that day for the "cause," he helped other captains in the same way. Curtis has been involved in many shooting "scrapes." In the election of 1884, when Divver was defeated by "Fatty" Walsh in his race for alderman. Curtis shot at a man for voting against Divver, but he was too drunk to have a good aim. He has been arrested many times, but always manages to escape.

"MICKEY" C. PADDON—Former proprietor of a shady resort. He is a district captain for Divver and was never known to flinch. It was this gentleman who held, two years ago, the honorable position of librarian of the city hall. It was a standing joke that "Mickey" could not read a single book in his charge. He is now in the street-cleaning department, and holds an \$1,800 position as district superintendent. It is a very agreeable position, as all it requires is to drive around the district for a few hours daily. He is a member of the Divver Association and of Divver's committee on organization.

MIKE LALLY—Who hasn't heard of him? He was appointed a policeman on the Brooklyn bridge through the influence of Divver, about four years ago. He left his post on the bridge one night, and, going to a saloon in Front street, of which he was himself the owner, ordered his bartender to dance a jig. Although his request was complied with, Lally drew a pistol and shot him. In spite of the publicity given the affair Lally remained on the force. Subsequently Lally, while drunk, kicked Roundsman Brophy in the abdomen, and, while under suspension on this charge, entered a Water-street dive and shot Michael Delati, a bartender, in the breast, inflicting a wound which for a long time it was thought would prove fatal. As a result of Divver's omnipotent pull Lally was discharged in police court. The *World* then took up the case and the grand jury promptly indicted Lally, who fled before the indictment could be served. When he returned, two years later, every witness was conveniently absent from the city. The indictment still hangs over him. Lally was also involved in numerous other assaults. On one occasion he brutally knocked down and kicked, while prostrate, an elderly and respectable resident of Brooklyn for asking a question, and on another occasion insulted and beat a young woman. Last summer Divver got John Y. McKane to employ the ex-policeman as a detective at Coney Island. Prior to that he worked under Tammany Hall Contractor Dailey. Two weeks ago the remarkable fact became public in court that Divver had the effrontery to make Lally one of his assistant district captains. Lally was arrested for defying the election laws, and on his plea of guilty escaped with a fine of \$250 before Judge Barrett. He is, of course, a nightly visitor at the Divver Association, and it is generally understood that his name is on the city pay-roll under the classification of "laborer."

ALFRED O. NEILSON—Notorious fourth ward dive-keeper, twice convicted of keeping a disorderly house. He kept a resort at No. 94 Cherry Street. On July 21, last, he was tried in the court of special sessions, and was sentenced to the penitentiary for three months. Several months before that he had been fined \$50 for the same offense. He did not go to prison, however, succeeding in the usual mysterious way in getting out on bail, pending an appeal. For a third time he was arrested three weeks ago for keeping a disorderly house in the twenty-second precinct, but he escaped on the extraordinary plea that he was "a respectable citizen."

ED. FLYNN—Member of the Tammany Hall General Committee and of the Divver Association, and reputed owner of a shop at Pell street and the Bowery, a place frequented by the most degraded of the women who frequent Chinatown. He has been repeatedly arrested for violation of the excise law, and once for felonious assault.

TOM H. CONNELLY—Under indictment for assault on Policeman James E. Dougherty, of the Elizabeth street station. The policeman had ordered Connelly to remove the ice from the sidewalk in front of his residence at No. 40 City Hall place, several months ago, and for reply Connelly felled him to

the ground and stamped on him. Connelly is a member of the Tammany Hall general committee and of the Divver Association.

HENRY LAWSON—Ex-divekeeper and proprietor of the den known as "The Lighthouse," at No. 103 Cherry street. Lawson had been a persistent violator for years. He was recently closed through the efforts of Dr. Parkhurst. Election worker for Divver.

PATRICK FOSTER—Ex-keeper of the Tombs, handy man with a pistol and district captain for Divver. Several years ago he created a panic on a pleasure-boat by discharging his revolver at a boatload of passengers, wounding two of them. The steamer was heading for Brooklyn at the time, and Foster was taken to the Raymond street jail. He was bailed, and his case never came to trial. Member of the Tammany Hall general committee and Divver Association. Foster was captain of the eighteenth election district. Vote, Maynard, 267; Bartlette, 0. Buckley was convicted from this district.

JOHN BIEREGEL—Keeper of a thieves' resort at No. 73 New Chambers street. His place was closed several weeks ago through Dr. Parkhurst. When the case came up before the excise board the police of the Oak street station said that it was one of the worst resorts in the precinct. One of Divver's assistants on election day.

HENRY REDDING—Divekeeper at No. 342 Water street. He was arrested in May last through the exposures made in the newspapers, was promptly bailed in court, and went right back and opened up his place again.

VINCENZO DE VITO—Padrone and fraudulent obtainer of naturalization papers. Exposed by *The World*. Member of the Tammany Hall general committee and of the Divver Association.

"FATTY" WALSH—Ex-alderman, ex-warden of the Tombs, and lieutenant for P. Divver. Holds a \$2,100 position as dock master in the dock department. Career too well known to require more specific mention. Member of the Tammany Hall general committee and of the Divver Association.

JEREMIAH J. CRONIN—A faithful, very faithful worker on election day. Member of general committee and Divver Association. Captain of the nineteenth election district for Divver. Registration, 271. Vote, Maynard, 271; Bartlett, 0. Inspectors James J. Dooley and Michael Fay sentenced to State prison for five years each from this district, and Edward S. O'Donnell, said to be a relative of Divver; fled to Canada, forfeiting \$2,500 bail. Cronin was considered to have won the second prize offered by Divver.

ROBERT M. DORE—Inspector of excise, salary \$1,200; district captain for Divver in spite of his office; member of committee on organization and Divver Association; formerly frequenter of the dive known as "Bismarck Hall," on Park Row.

PETER PETERSON—Divekeeper at No. 110 Cherry street. His place was closed by Dr. Parkhurst two months ago. A good "quiet" worker. Is impatient at being counselled to lie low for the present, and not re-open up.

JAMES GROTHOR—Ex-divekeeper at No. 340 Water street, a vile place where no law is known. The dive was raided in May last, because of exposure in the newspapers, but quietly opened the following day. Recently closed for good by Dr. Parkhurst.

FRANK TIERNAN—Divekeeper at No. 346 Water street. Was arrested and his place closed in May last, but opened again. Finally closed by Dr. Parkhurst. Marches at the front of the Divver "chowder" parades.

FREDERICK WILSON—Divekeeper at No. 344 Water street. Recently closed up by Dr. Parkhurst. A heavy contributor.

HARRY LARSEN—Keeper of the dives at Nos. 88 and 97 Cherry street. Closed by Dr. Parkhurst. Wears the biggest diamond in the Divver club.

JACOB HARLAND—Divekeeper at No. 110½ Cherry street. Closed by Dr. Parkhurst. Would like to be an alderman.

CHARLES J. AUFFARTH—Election worker for Divver, and is a clerk in the license bureau attached

to the mayor's office at a salary of \$1,100; was captain of the twenty-second election district. Registration, 363. Vote, Maynard, 362; Bartlett, 1. Aufarth was considered to have won the first prize. Member of general committee and Divver Association.

MICHAEL A. SCUDI—Recently arrested for keeping a disorderly house in the back of his saloon at No. 195 Worth street. Member of the Tammany Hall general committee and the Divver Association.

LOUIE FRANZ—Dive-keeper at No. 95½ Cherry street. Election worker for Divver.

DENNIS J. BUCKLEY—Serving a sentence of one year in the penitentiary for election frauds committed in the hope of winning one of the prizes Divver offered. Member of the Divver association.

THOS. F. HUMPHREYS—In Canada. Had to skip out because he was indicted for election frauds, member of the Divver Association. He said before he went away that he would never go to prison, and threatened to turn state's evidence.

JAMES J. DOOLEY—In Sing Sing for five years. He tried to win one of Divver's prizes. Member of the Divver Association.

MEYER MARKS—In Canada. Prize, fraud, indictment, flight. Member of Divver Association. Said to be a cousin or nephew of Divver.

EDWARD S. O'DONNELL—In Canada. Tried to win a Divver prize. Sorry that he ever joined the Divver Association.

JAMES COLLINS—In Canada. Ditto, ditto, ditto. Also member P. D. A.

PATRICK J. MARONEY—Indicted for election frauds and fined \$500. Member of Divver Association.

WILL J. GILES—Indicted for election frauds and fined \$500. Member of the fatal association. He is on the eligible list for appointment on police force.

PHIL HARGRAVES—Indicted for election frauds; fine \$500. Member same organization.

JOSEPH ANDERSON—Indicted for election frauds, but fined only \$250. Member P. D. A.

EDWARD J. COPPERS—District captain, member of the general committee and the Divver Association. Holds the position of excise inspector, salary \$1,200. He was paid nearly \$6,000 for plumbing work by the department of public works in 1892. When Deputy Comptroller Storrs caught sight of the case he objected strongly and Coppers turned the business over to his son, Edwin, who does plumbing for the city at the old stand, at No. 483 Pearl street, while the father continues to hold the inspectorship. Edwin is also a member of the general committee. The excise inspector spends much of his time around the plumbing shop.

MIKE CALLAHAN—Former bouncer at Koster & Bial's, and owner of a low resort at No. 12 Chatham square, was nominated for assembly by Divver despite the protest of decent citizens of the district. Divver promised to withdraw Callahan in case of his own nomination for sheriff, but when it was refused him he said he would run Callahan if it meant his own political deathblow. Salary as assemblyman, \$1,500.

JOHN O'BRIEN—Political heeler and member of the Divver Association, holds the position of city marshal. Salary, \$2,000.

JAMES DIVVER—Son of Patrick Divver, was arrested in November, 1892, by United States marshals for giving, as was alleged, Charles Harris 50 cents to register under the name of Patrick Ryan in the forty-eighth election district of the second assembly district. The indictment charged that young Divver employed Harris, or Ryan, to register at fifteen different polling places, and that he paid the man 50 cents every time he registered. When the case was called for trial before Judge Benedict, March 14, 1893, Harris had a defective memory and the case was dismissed. Much to the surprise of every one in court Divver walked over to where Harris was confined and handed him a \$10 bill. Divver is a clerk in the second district civil court. Salary, \$3,000.

HARRY WILSON—Keeper of a dive of the lowest type at No. 357 Water street. October 27, 1891, Joseph

Farley, one of Wilson's workers, was arrested for false registration on complaint of Thomas F. Harrington, a republican watcher, and was taken before Divver, who occupied the bench in the Tombs police court. Wilson testified for Farley and the case was dismissed. Wilson is a Divver heeler.

Here is a list of Divver's office-holders, all of whom contested for the prizes, but were lucky enough not to be caught. These men are members of the general committee and of the Divver Association, and mingle with the divekeepers in the club-rooms in Madison street. They are:

JAMES W. LEDWITH, warden at the Jefferson Market Prison; salary, \$2,000.

WILLIAM, alias "KID," GALLAGHER, subpoena server in the district attorney's office; salary, \$1,200.

THOMAS P. DINNEEN, clerk at the Yorkville police court; salary, \$2,000.

FRANCIS J. O'CONNOR, clerk at the Yorkville police court; salary, \$2,000.

MICHEL PARKER, recording clerk in the surrogate's office; salary, \$1,200.

PATRICK WOLFE, clerk in the bureau of the water purveyor; salary, \$1,500.

CONSTANTINE DONOHUE, inspector in the water surveyor's office; salary, \$3.50 a day.

THOMAS J. SHEEHAN, messenger in the commissioner of jurors' office; salary, \$1,000.

DANIEL SULLIVAN, janitor of the county courthouse; salary, \$1,000.

EDWARD F. SMITH, examiner in the register's office; salary, \$1,500.

JOHN POWERS, keeper in Ludlow Street Jail; salary, \$1,000.

TIMOTHY J. DONOHUE, transcript docket clerk, county clerk's office; salary, \$1,200.

JOHN DAVIS, janitor of hall of records; salary, \$900.

MICHAEL HERLIHY, foreman of stables in street cleaning department; salary, \$900.

DANIEL J. MCCRYSTAL, foreman of stables, street cleaning department; salary, \$900.

BARTHOLOMEW MCGOWAN, disinfecter attached to sanitary bureau; salary, \$1,000.

MICHAEL D. DOWNEY, keeper in Tombs prison; salary, \$900.

WILLIAM FLYNN, keeper in Tombs prison; salary, \$900.

EDWARD H. DINAN, inspector of buildings; salary, \$1,200.

TIMOTHY F. PAYNE, messenger, building department; salary, \$900.

JAMES MCCOLLOUGH, janitor of the second district civil court; salary, \$900.

MATTHEW GAUGHAN, machinist, to supervise elevators, department of buildings; salary, \$1,200.

JAMES LANGAN, night watchman, registrar's office; salary, \$1,200.

HENRY DRISCOLL, general copy clerk, registrar's office; salary, \$1,000.

FRANCIS J. GRIMES, certificate clerk, registrar's office; salary, \$1,000.

LAWRENCE LANGAN, messenger, bureau for the collection of assessments and arrears of taxes; salary, \$1,150.

JAMES QUINLAN, keeper in the penitentiary; salary, \$900.

ROGER T. HARRISON, steam engineer, park department; \$3 a day.

SAMUEL WOLF, deputy sheriff; salary, \$2,500.

JAMES DIVVER, son of Judge Divver, clerk in second district civil court; salary, \$3,000.

MICHAEL J. DEERY, comparing clerk in the county clerk's office; salary, \$1,400.

MICHAEL F. BURKE, redemption clerk in the finance department; salary, \$1,300.

RICHARD M'LOUGHLIN, court attendant general sessions; salary, \$1,000.

FREDERICK STRAUSS, court attendant, city court; salary, \$1,000.

PHILIP FURLONG, court attendant, supreme court; salary, \$1,000.

JAMES R. KIERNAN, clerk of the chamber of records, supreme court; salary, \$1,200.

JOHN J. O'CONNELL, messenger, surrogate's office; salary, \$900.

THOMAS CROWLEY, assistant enrollment clerk, commissioner of jurors office; salary, \$960.

JOSEPH FITZGERALD, inspector of meters, water register's department; salary, \$3 a day.

THOMAS E. HOLLAND, measurer, water register's department; salary, \$1,000.

THOMAS GILMARTIN, measurer, water register's department; salary, \$1,000.

PATRICK KEANE, measurer, water register's department; salary, \$1,000.

EDWARD COLLINS, park policeman; salary, \$900.

JOHN T. NORTON, dairy inspector; salary, \$1,200.

JOHN T. MARTIN, court attendant; salary, \$1,000.

What do the citizens of New York think of Patrick Divver, his district and his friends?—*New York World*, April 2.

SPOIL AT LARGE.

Tower was appointed postmaster at Bloomfield in January, having been indorsed by Senator Smith and Congressman Cornish. Many Bloomfield democrats had no sooner heard of the appointment than they began to protest. They said that Tower was not the popular choice, but rather the selection of Robert Rudd, a New York lawyer. Mr. Rudd controls a large faction of the local party. It was said that Tower owed money to two of the men who became his bondsmen, and secured their signatures by promising to pay his bills if he should secure the appointment. It was determined to keep Tower out of his office if possible.—*Bloomfield dispatch*, *New York Times*, March 1.

Wilmington, N. C., is the largest city in this state, and the post-office there is the best paying one in North Carolina. Capt. W. P. Oldham, a prominent citizen of that city, was the leading applicant for the postmastership, and it was generally supposed that he would be successful, until a few days ago another man, a Mr. Morton, was appointed. The reason of Capt. Oldham's defeat has now come to light. It seems that Oldham, in a letter to Senator Ransom, used the following language:

The custodian of post-office building is made by the treasury department. If you will have this duty added to the postmaster, I will be under many obligations to you, and will be willing to share the pay of the office with you. I do not know what it pays, but I think it is about \$1,000 per year. The building has three departments, court-room of United States district court, post-office and observatory, all government property. The supervision of this building properly belongs to the postmaster, but it does not necessarily follow that he is always appointed custodian. It adds but little extra to his duties as postmaster, and the pay is good.

Senator Ransom naturally regarded this as an attempt to bribe him, and saw proper to lay the correspondence before the postmaster-general, and the other man was soon appointed.—*Raleigh dispatch*, *New York Evening Post*, December 30.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"I find that a year ago at this time I sent \$5 for your paper, and I am very sorry, indeed, that I must limit my contribution this year to \$2. This does not mean that my appreciation of the value of your work has lessened, nor that other interests have crowded it out, but simply that it is impossible for me to do more.

Thank you very much for your clear statement of Mr. Bradford's mistake in the February issue. * * * His letter only makes the matter worse, as it repeats in cold blood what might possibly have passed for an accidental expression drawn from him by the excitement of the speaking. If Gamaliel Bradford can not see the absolute wickedness of the executive purchasing legislation by the bribe of office, how almost hopeless seems the mission of the civil service reformer.

Your paper ought to have thousands, where now it has dollars. I wish you good cheer."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 15.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

DR. CHARLES E. FERGUSON, superintendent of the city hospital, has at last been harried into resigning, or rather, perhaps, resigned because he discovered that he was about to be removed. Professionally competent, possessed of business and executive ability of a high order, strictly impartial and in every way honorable, he was a model public officer. When the present city administration came in, in answer to the universal demand, it was announced that Dr. Ferguson would be left to serve out his term; but immediately a series of petty annoyances and higgling vexations were begun against him, such as disallowing bills for planting a few trees to shade a sunny ward, and other minor expenditures of a similar nature, all of which were after all paid. At last the "pins" seem to have been set, so that Dr. Ferguson was to be turned out solely to make room for a republican. The mayor could have prevented this if he had desired to do so, and he is the one to hold responsible for it. The fact that he was compelled, by some malicious and vicious appointees of his, to permit this dishonest use of the public service, will not be taken as an excuse.

THE new republican council at Anderson, in this state, immediately put in a republican superintendent of the electric light plant, republican lamp trimmers, and a republican city engineer, displacing the men who were in those positions. Yet we suppose Anderson would be surprised and grieved to know that this method puts her on a level with Morocco which transacts business after the same barbaric fashion.

On the other hand, all Indiana is not like Anderson and Algiers. The Logansport *Times* of May 4th says, that the complaint of the blunders of the new clerks and carriers in their post-office at Logansport, has been universal, that years of faithful service for the public seem to count for nothing in this department, but what does seem to count is the amount of work one has done to put his party in power. And very refreshing after the usual nause-

ating doses of "the patriotism of the belfry" is the following from the *Times*:

The United States can take many profitable lessons from Great Britain, the nations of continental Europe, and a few lessons even from the pagan Chinese. We yet lack considerable of knowing it all. There is absolutely no sense in discharging a mail carrier for any other reason than inefficiency. The public, whom he is supposed to serve, cares nothing about his political complexion. What the public wants is that its mail be handled as it should be.

THE Indianapolis *Sentinel* says that the recent appointment by Secretary Morton of Col. William Hicklin as government inspector at the stock yards is a striking illustration of the old adage as to bread cast upon the waters. Years ago the Morton and Hicklin farms in Nebraska were adjacent. Mr. Morton lost his farm through unfortunate speculation and Mr. Hicklin generously engaged his neighbor, Morton, at a hundred dollars a month to manage a newspaper owned by the former. Years passed on and Hicklin met with reverses and Morton prospered, and now comes the touching climax. According to the naïve admission of the *Sentinel*

"One of the first acts of Secretary Morton's official life was to hunt up the address of Col. Bill and write him a personal letter inquiring as to his affairs. Learning that some return for former favors would not come amiss, the secretary wrote asking Mr. Hicklin what he wanted in the way of appointment."

Mr. Morton's private obligations should certainly have been discharged but not by the public treasury. We are teaching a great deal in our public schools—patriotism among other things. Might it not be well whenever the scholars salute the flag to have them repeat a solemn invocation for strength as they grow older to resist all temptations to quarter upon public employment their needy relatives and all others to whom they are under private obligations.

IN contrast to the moral callousness shown in the above, it is refreshing to come upon one who had the moral delicacy which ought to characterize citizens in their public actions. The late Teakle Wallis, of Baltimore, who fought Gormanism unflinchingly and unsuccessfully because the boss whenever menaced had a President to fortify him with patronage, refused an office that he had pecuniary need of. He had given his support during a campaign to the mayor who offered the office, and Mr.

Wallis said he could not afford to have any one think that his support had not been disinterested.

THE people of Indiana for a long time have been endeavoring to grade the pay of county officers so as to make it bear some relation to the value of the services rendered, and the general assembly finally passed an act for that purpose. Under the former system in the wealthier and more populous counties there had come to be a considerable sprinkling of men who had gone into these offices worth nothing and had come out comparatively rich. They usually became men of leisure, remaining active in politics, and were pernicious supporters of the system by which they had prospered. This was county government of the most odious kind. There existed and still exists in Indiana an association of county officers whose sole object is to prevent the overthrow of this oligarchy-breeding system. After the reform law was passed they made a combined attack upon it by means of suits to test its constitutionality with relation to the different offices. In the case of the sheriffs they were defeated by a decision of the supreme court in which Judge Coffey joined. He was a candidate for renomination before the republican state convention which lately met in this city. Prior to the convention two attempts were made by persons in the interests of the county officers' association to obtain from Judge Coffey an expression in writing as to how he stood upon the other fee and salary cases yet undecided in the supreme court. These infamous attempts were met with the refusal they deserved, and the advocates of this old system of legalized robbery set to work to defeat Judge Coffey's nomination and succeeded in doing so by four votes. There is no mistake about these facts. The Indianapolis *Journal* was so scared about it that it said the next morning that if any mistakes had been made they could be corrected before the election. Every attempt has been made to cover the matter up. We wonder if the people of Indiana will stand this sort of thing. It was a plain attempt to corrupt the judiciary and to make sure that the candidate was corrupt when he was nominated. The Folger nomination in New York was a party machine trick; yet for that he was defeated by

197,000 majority. The successful scheme against Judge Coffey goes to the very foundation of government. Is the state of Indiana so debauched that it will take no notice of it?

THE new abolition movement, known as the Anti-spoils League, is rapidly gaining in numbers, but a membership of 10,000 is a mere beginning. As is usual in this state, Indiana University is the first to show activity and open sympathy. In the East, Williams College has followed Harvard with a membership at the start of forty. The secretary of the league, Mr. William Potts, 54 William street, New York City, will furnish cards for membership. THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is sent to the reading rooms of all the colleges in Indiana, to many Christian associations and to a large body of clergymen. It can not be possible that the facts it has printed for the past five years have not aroused the interest and desire of thoughtful readers for the total abolition of the spoils system, and from these should come a large enrollment.

MR. WINSLOW WARREN, who is a Quincy apologist and collector of the port of Boston, according to his speech at a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Reform Club, has evidently come to the conclusion that independence is such a good thing that he can not have too much of it. He declared, "I even propose to be independent of the Massachusetts Reform Club." He defines this somewhat by adding, "Since taking office I have found many difficulties of a practical nature which stand in the way of the civil service reform." Mr. Warren's acts as collector will later define his meaning better, but the sound is not reassuring. It suggests the wicked forestalling pursuit. He belongs to the cult, now much narrowed in numbers, who have always maintained that Mr. Cleveland could do no wrong, which would make criticism admissible or which would permit one jot of "sympathy" to be withdrawn. His words now import that like some others he will fail under the test, and that he has become so independent as to be a free lance as it were among his own principles. Possibly he and Quincy may combine and as Free Companions ride rough shod over their lifetime professions. It is true he says that he does not abate one jot of his civil service reform principles. We do not understand that Quincy has abated any of his principles; he is still in favor of abstract declarations. But it is the acts that strip a man of his honor and his good name and make him the most despised of public men—a reformer transformed into the puppet of bosses.

SURELY he is not believed by any considerable number of Americans to be a frivolous, short-sighted intriguer, who seeks his ends by means that would shock and discourage all his friends.—*New York Times.*

Congressman Caruth is a free silver man; he was zealous and bold in trying to prevent Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and ever since Cleveland became President, Caruth has been hostile. Now he is engaged in crushing a rebellion in his district in Kentucky. The rebels, like those of Gorman's, "are the very cream of the population politically, socially, and in a business way." Mr. Cleveland has popularly been supposed to represent this class of people, and these citizens of Kentucky spent money and time in the successful effort to crush the machinations against Mr. Cleveland, of men like Caruth. It does not seem that it would be too much to expect that under these circumstances Caruth and his rebels should be left by this administration to wind up their war with no outside interference. This is not the case, however. The treasury department, the post-office department, and the war department, have been called upon by Caruth, and they have responded.

The crowning ignominy was recently made known by the Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*. Major Handbury, of the United States engineers, was assigned to Louisville to take charge of the engineering work of the Ohio Falls canal. First Caruth secured the removal of Mr. Shaw, who had been assistant engineer for fifteen years; then he designated the brother of his law partner for the place. Major Handbury thought if his competent assistant had to go, he would try to get along without anybody in his place. Mr. Caruth kept getting men dismissed, but Major Handbury kept on conducting his office on scientific and business principles. Secretary Lamont and the chief of engineers were the tools to execute Caruth's orders. At the war department, says the *Post*, the only information given out about the matter is that the major had made himself very obnoxious to Mr. Caruth and some other citizens of Louisville by his persistent habit of "turning down" all their requests and suggestions. The climax of this odious work was that Major Handbury was transferred to Florida and was ordered to turn over his unfinished work to a subordinate officer and to leave at once.

The only explanation is that the administration has tried to buy Caruth's vote, and in the process has attempted to assist in crushing a revolt of decent citizens against a congressman who does not represent them, and has wreaked a contemptible vengeance upon an army officer of high character. The President indeed

"seeks his ends by means that shock and discourage his friends."

THE CLERGY AND THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

We commend the sermon of Mr. Dewhurst, printed in this paper, to the religious press, to the christian associations to which this and other civil reform papers have been sent, and to the clergy of this state especially, because, with many notable exceptions, they have not given this reform the support and sympathy to which its relative importance entitles it. The progress of the movement to abolish the spoils system is curiously like the movement for the abolition of slavery. As that history is read to-day one feels that the church at large did not appear well. Its ministers showed a timidity, a weakness, a vacillation, a bent toward casuistry, a deliberate blindness and deafness to facts distressing to those who feel that in all matters of conduct clergymen as a whole ought to lead the people in clear-seeing and in courageous action. The future student will find a like backwardness of the great masses of the clergy in their feeling toward the evils and the inherent wickedness of the spoils system. If ministers do not realize that the evils springing from that system ramify to every village in this country, that the system is dangerous to private morals, that it menaces the stability of a republican form of government, that it is brutal and degrading, it is only because they choose to be blind and deaf to facts thrust upon them, and for willful indifference and ignorance there is no excuse.

A common plea is that the pulpit should keep out of politics. The abolition of the spoils system can not be made "politics" by any jugglery. It pertains to no party; it is hated with equal hatred by the machines of both parties. All bosses of all parties fight to preserve spoil in the desperate effort to save themselves. If a clergyman objects to the advocacy of this reform in his pulpit, while we do not agree with the wisdom of the opinion, there is no criticism to be offered. But out of the pulpit he is a citizen and a minister and he can not evade his double obligation to stand openly for righteousness and to denounce a system that shows itself more base the more it is known. Rev. Robert S. MacArthur in celebrating his twenty fourth anniversary to the pastorate of the Calvary Baptist Church in New York, very pithily said last Sunday:

"If the sacred salt is to save the secular meat they should not be put into separate barrels. Every true American should find cause for patriotism and piety in the history of his country."

It is true that Phillips Brooks in the pulpit did not touch upon specific reforms

but out of it he made very manifest that he felt he had a stand to take and a duty to perform. But in the pulpit the power of Phillips Brooks to arouse the human heart to a passion for righteousness by dealing with great principles only in the abstract and stripped of all special illustrations from contemporary life was a great and rare gift. When attempted by most clergymen the result is an entire absence of influence on matters of conduct.

There are certain evils that have become the safe and respectable foot balls to be kicked about in the pulpit and in the religious press. These evils are puerile by the side of the evils inherent in the spoils system, and it is amazing to listen to denunciations of these comparatively petty misdemeanors and then to meet silence or indifference or exasperating want of comprehension regarding a system founded upon injustice and immorality.

THE FAILURE OF THE SPOLIATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE FOR TARIFF REFORM.

The combination of reformers against the spoils system has always had among its numbers a large contingent who have never felt that this struggle was of the first importance. Tariff reform, they have said, must have precedence. While this theory has been preached and acted upon we have seen President Cleveland turn out over 150,000 public employes to make places for henchmen of his own party and quit office without accomplishing anything for tariff reform. We have seen President Harrison turn out over 150,000 public employes to make places for henchmen of his own party and quit office with the McKinley bill upon the statute book. We have then seen President Cleveland again in the process of turning out over 150,000 public employes to make places for henchmen of his own party and using this patronage with special reference to securing the votes of congressmen for measures he desires to see passed, and we have the prospect of some changes in tariff taxation and of an income tax, which is a fair exponent of the views of organized bands of tramps who are now going about living upon the savings of other people.

We have never believed that the tariff turned the tide which caused the defeat of Cleveland in 1888, or of Harrison in 1892. We believe that hypocrisy exposed, bogus saintship in office stripped of its covering, Gorman and Quay rascality—in a word, the disgust of a boss-ridden nation—has caused the loss of voters which brought deserved defeat. However that may be, the tariff reformers came into complete possession of the government by reason of the election of 1892. No devotees of a cause ever had a better opportunity, but for ten months after the election they put in their time dividing spoil. This is a part of the programme by which civil

service reform waits upon tariff reform. It was a veritable sacrifice, made with deliberation. Here were Voorhees and Gorman and all of the other supposedly propitiated bosses pampered with spoil under two Cleveland administrations at last brought to the point of dealing with tariff reform. This is the ninth month of their work. Of what they have done the following authorities speak decisively. March 9 the Indianapolis *Sentinel* said:

The senate committee has made its report on the Wilson bill and the report is simply infamous. It shows the sugar trust, the whisky trust, the railroad and coal combine, and the iron mine combine have had their way with the committee, and the whisky man from Troy has had his demands granted as to collars and cuffs.

Within a week Senator Mills said:

"I find that the bill before us is not the Wilson bill, but a bill that ought perhaps to bear the honored name of the senior senator from Maryland, Mr. Gorman, or the name of the senator from Ohio, Mr. Brice.

"No man can torture me into the admission that the bill pending before this body is a response to the pledges made by the democratic convention to the democratic people of the United States."

What is the cause of this wreck of expectations? For many months federal offices, worth in the aggregate millions a year, have been given out as a bait in the interest of tariff reform. The excuses given for it sanction bribery with startling frankness. This is the end of a policy which has been followed and advocated and excused since 1886. The end is a prospective law which is a legal outrage.

How much longer is this to go on? It ought not to go on any longer. So long as party machine managers have the spoil, it will always be a matter of indifference to them whether laws are passed or not. Their principles are the principles of the floater, who gets his money before casting his vote, and then is ready to sell it over again.

This purchase and sale has been of gradual growth. When the first signs appeared that the President might be entering upon this policy in his second administration, the *New York Times* said, editorially:

But as he could not rely upon it [the respect and confidence of the people] long if he undertook to carry out his views with congress by a "deal" in which offices were traded for votes, it is not conceivable that he contemplates such a deal. * * * Surely he is not believed by any considerable number of Americans to be a frivolous, short-sighted intriguer, who seeks his ends by means that would shock and discourage all his friends, and that would moreover be hopelessly inefficacious.

Later it became apparent that the plan to buy with patronage the representatives who could not be trusted to carry out the pledges of the democratic party, had been mapped out with cool deliberation and on a large scale. There was not even the excuse that it was resorted to in a desperate fight as a last measure. Josiah Quincy, in Boston, before a large number of its most distinguished citizens, was triumphant over the power of the President to influence legislation by patronage. He had sympathy and support; fortunately for one's faith in the survival of a conscience in Boston, only a minority gave sanction.

In 1890 two papers were read before the national civil service reform league meeting in Boston, insisting that the abolition of the spoils system was the first issue and the vital issue, and that those who believed other questions were more important could accomplish nothing while great bosses and little bosses were maintained and kept strong and impudent on spoil. An effort was made in the league to prevent the printing of those papers. The soundness of those views has been demonstrated by what has since happened. It is time to protest more vigorously when a tariff reformer, who claims also to be a civil service reformer, disposes of the question by a statement that tariff reform is the more pressing and more vital issue. We have yet to hear or to read any detailed proof or argument maintaining such a position; on the other hand, civil service reformers have not shirked the demonstration that the evils of the spoils system ramified to every city and town and hamlet in this country, and attacked the very foundation of a democratic government, and that aside from all moral considerations as a practical question every other reform was prostrate so long as we bore the yoke of a lot of feudal chieftains.

The time has now come to put under foot the doctrine that it is necessary for any purpose whatever to give public offices as spoil to any party machine or any boss or set of bosses or to any person or persons for any purpose whatever. The war-cry should be the spoils system must be destroyed, and the way to destroy it is to cease to use it. If this destroys a President, or a dozen Presidents, a party or a dozen parties, so let it be.

ANNALS OF INDIANA CONGRESSMEN.

Barring some minor interruptions, such as the necessity for Voorhees to speak an hour or two upon the tariff bill, the reports show that our Indiana delegation in Washington since our last notice of them three months ago have kept quite steadily to their normal work. In his speech Voorhees made a resounding noise about wealth and trusts under cover of which those favored entities were creeping into the statute books upon favorable terms. Turning to the reports, in the appointment of Lynch to be postmaster at Liberty, Voorhees administered a slap in the face to a large section of Liberty democrats and eighty-five telegraphed Voorhees that the appointment "will be resented at the polls." As heretofore stated Voorhees brought Hoke Smith to time in forcing the appointment of Spencer to the Indianapolis pension agency. He had a pitched battle with some presumptuous democrats over the Frankfort post-office. An election was held and one Smith was chosen, but Voorhees was for Marvin and lost the battle. Perhaps his most signal victory in his long list of triumphs during the past year was in getting a place for Con. Cunningham, who has been in Washington since the inauguration and whose struggles for a place have occupied pages of the

CHRONICLE and who has now become an emigrant inspector at Port Huron. Voorhees a month ago was working tooth and nail to make Joseph Gwin superintendent of the railway mail service, but appears to have failed for the present.

The Indianapolis *Sentinel* has pretty steadily criticised Senator Voorhees for what he did to give the whisky ring more time to pay taxes. This made Voorhees smart, and April 19th he declared of Mr. Morss, the owner of the *Sentinel*, and the present consul-general in Paris, "I could have called him home to-morrow if I but said the word."

Our readers will remember "Judge" Chester R. Faulkner, annals of whom have from time to time appeared in the CHRONICLE, and whom Voorhees keeps steadily in some public job. He also, as Voorhees's man, joined in the effort to put down the *Sentinel*, and sent it the following letter:

UNITED STATES SENATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 7, 1894.

TO THE EDITOR—SIR: I See that you aire giving a good Eal advise a Bout the tariff and if you will Compaire the Differnt tariff Bills you will finde this Result:

McKinley Bill49.58 per cent.
Wilson Bill35.52 per cent.
Mill Bill42.78 per cent.
Senate Bill.....34.15 per cent,
Now these aire the Facts So take your Chise.

Yours as ever,

C. R. FAULKNER.

The Indiana delegation is likely to be beaten in the effort mentioned last month to defeat the bill reorganizing the treasury department and legislating Joe Nicholl out of office, but it is given out that Carlisle will fix Nicholl with something equally as good. April 11 Voorhees and Turpie went up to the post-office department and urged greater rapidity in decapitating fourth-class postmasters. May 9 our senators spent but little time in the senate. They first went with Representative McNagney and an Indiana lawyer to the President to try to obtain a pardon for one Ritter, a bank defaulter. Then the two senators joined Representative Taylor and Captain Zuchsiegle, of Evansville, whom they escorted to the treasury. Captain Zuchsiegle is an old constituent of Secretary Carlisle, but the purpose of his visit to-day with his political backing was to enter a plea for appointment as an inspector of buildings. Voorhees delivered a eulogy upon Zuchsiegle, saying that in a campaign he was indispensable in rounding up the German vote at the last moment for the democrats and his dialect speeches were simply irresistible. All he asks for this is a little inspectorship, says Voorhees.

Our representatives are beginning to find out what sly old dogs Voorhees and Turpie are. The other day they slipped up to the public printer and had him give two-thousand-dollar places to William Edmonds and H. O. Holman. Shortly after McNagney went up to have a man appointed, but was told that the Indiana quota was full. Thereupon

McNagney, Cooper, Taylor, Bynum, Holman, Bretz, Martin and all the rest raised a loud and exceeding bitter cry. Each had henchmen to quarter upon the printing department, "worthy and *bona fide* residents of Indiana," yet the places are given to men who have not seen Indiana for years; and when they go with demands for their *bona fide* henchmen the appointing power inquires whether Indiana wants the earth. They propose to let the democrats of Indiana know who is responsible for this imposition.

Congressman Taylor never relaxed his struggle to make Zinsich steamboat inspector up to April 5th. This struggle has been depicted in columns of Washington dispatches extending over many months, but on April 13th it went to an Arkansas man. Hammond has disposed of three very bitter post-office fights. The most noted was at Delphi, where there was an election, but Mr. Bissell refused to sanction the successful candidate, because he lived over the Delphi corporation line, and this secured Hammond's man, Editor Isherwood, for the place. The anti-Isherwoodites kept up the struggle for two months. Hammond has also appointed William Jackson postmaster at Winamac, Thomas Mayors at Remington, and one Houser at Rensselaer, John Brodie, prison director, postmaster at Valparaiso, and Jay Shields, a clerk in the auditor's office, postmaster at Rochester. After a long struggle, Bretz got the postmaster at Epsom removed, and put Jerome Reese into his place. At Kendallville there was an election, and Jerry Foley was chosen for the post-office; McNagney wrote for the returns, and they were found stowed away in a barn. When they reached McNagney they were badly mutilated, and were accompanied by a bill against him for the expenses of the election. He did not see the joke, but with some bitterness he agreed to pay the bill. This circumstance started up remonstrances against Jerry's appointment, but McNagney finally got him through.

Bynum got a place for J. J. Netterville in the government printing-office, and allowed Secretary Morton to appoint Bill Hicklin to inspect meat in Bynum's animal industry political machine at Indianapolis. Senator Turpie tried to get his nephew, J. W. Jones, made receiver of the Bozeman land-office, but met with the failure usual to his many struggles after spoils. Congressman Brookshire has appointed W. H. Huff, watchman in the treasury department. Brookshire will have a hard pull for re-nomination. The Washington dispatch of April 16th, to the *Indianapolis News* says that—

John E. Lamb has been quietly undermining Brookshire's political fortress, and Senator Voorhees has been helping him. Whenever Brookshire declined to recommend a man to an office, Lamb and Voorhees took him up and managed to secure him a place somewhere in the government service. The senator and his Terre Haute protege have caused Mr. Brookshire a great deal of embarrassment in appointments.

After a long fight Conn appointed Walter

Harrigan postmaster at South Bend; also, one Beck, of Goshen, was appointed, through his influence, assistant teacher in an Indian school.

Since last February Congressman Jason Brown has been in a fierce struggle for re-nomination. United States district attorney Burke spent two weeks attending to necessary work in the primaries of Clark county. As the *Indianapolis News* briefly put it: "It was first, Brown for Burke; now it is Burke for Brown." Editor Jennings, to whom Congressman Brown failed to give an office, says:

Brown made a hundred speeches in the district during the campaign for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, but he made the third speech that was made in the house for the repeal of the Sherman act. He flopped for a piece of patronage pie in the appointment of Frank Burke as district attorney. He has appointed two or three lieutenants in each county to distribute the patronage, and if I had consented to become a member of the ring I could have had the appointment I sought. Brown told me plainly that he would not be able to do anything for me unless I would agree to work for his re-nomination.

In Jennings county Brown's forces are said to be led by the editor of the *North Vernon Sun*, who is also postmaster of the town. The correspondent of the *Indianapolis News*, in a diverting account of Brown's fight for re-nomination, said:

When republican filibustering required the democrats in congress to secure a quorum of their own members, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mr. Brown, who was then in his district in the interest of his re-nomination. The charge of absenteeism has been pressed so vigorously in Washington county that he has not dared to leave his post of duty to go there and confront and disprove the accusation. But he has detailed his secretary of the house committee on elections, who lives in Salem, to go there and organize his friends. This secretary is Mr. Robert H. Mitchell, formerly prosecuting attorney of the county, and he is there now earnestly at work for his chief—at government expense.

General C. C. Williams, late United States minister to Stockholm, contributes an article to *The American Journal of Politics*, New York, March, condemnatory of "the spoils-system." Citing the condition of the Papal States under Gregory XIII, and attributing to the high-handed injustice of that potentate the swarms of banditti which overran the country, he draws a parallel between the then condition of things in the Papal States, and the existing prevalence of disorder and crime in our own country, as illustrative of the position that like causes produce like results. As the spoils-system, he says, is in every way lacking in justice, it must be charged with responsibility for a large part of the present demoralization. It is a common saying, he continues, that nothing can be done at Washington (in respect to offices) without influence, and that anything can be done by influence. Landed estates are not confiscated, as under Gregory XIII, but, take the President and senate together, their confiscations of civil offices will aggregate in value about as much as the confiscations of the church potentate. He refers to no particular President or administration; the practice has been the same with each party, for many years. If, in addition to the national government, we take city and state governments, there are more than two hundred thousand offices in this country which are subject to the spoils-method, and the injustice of the system tends to alienate respect for government, and produce demoralization.—*Literary Digest*, March 29.

The stalwart democratic state central committee met here to-day. J. B. Crouch was removed from the committee, it being charged that he was engaged in an office brokerage business in Washington and had been representing "stalwart" applicants for employment ever since last March. The secretary was instructed to notify the President and heads of departments at Washington that Crouch no longer represented the stalwart democracy of Kansas.—*Topeka Dispatch, New York Times, February 20.*

Buffalo furnished the most interesting feature of to-day's investigation of the State board of health. That feature was a letter from Lieutenant-Governor Sheehan to Secretary Balch. Until Comptroller Roberts relieved him, Julius H. Haas, a faithful Sheehanite from the second assembly district in Buffalo, was a registrar in the health department. He got \$125 a month from the state. He is one of the employes who, by the report of the board's executive committee, did considerably less work than he was paid for doing. Mr. Haas did practically nothing for the \$125 salary he drew for October, 1892.

"BUFFALO, Oct. 10.

"DEAR DR. BALCH—I need the services of Julius Haas here absolutely until after election. He is indispensable to me in a legislative contest in one of the districts, and in other ways. You will do me a great personal favor if you will give him a vacation until election is over.

"Yours very truly,

"WILLIAM F. SHEEHAN."

—*Albany dispatch, Buffalo Express, March 8.*

Gov. McKinley's second term as Ohio's chief executive has thus far proved no improvement upon his first from a strict business standpoint. An atmosphere of scandal continues to hang about a number of the state institutions where McKinley office-holders have been enjoying their easy places without much regard for the public welfare.

The penitentiary in this city is the greatest of the state institutions. Two thousand prisoners are crowded into it. Chaplain Dudley fell from grace so far as to have very peculiar financial relations with convicts seeking his influence for parole and had to step down and out. He was the second of McKinley's appointees in that place to retire in disgrace. The warden is being attacked for incompetency even by republican papers. Shocking stories of cruel treatment of prisoners are published frequently and are believed to be well founded.

The McKinley management of the deaf and dumb institution in this city has also been discredited. Superintendent Clark was investigated two months ago at the governor's direction by the Board of State Charities, a non-partisan board composed of highly-respected gentlemen, and two weeks since a report was submitted to McKinley finding the superintendent incompetent and disqualified by disposition for the place. Among other facts it was shown that he had reported an average attendance for last year greater by sixty than the largest number of pupils enrolled in any single day. This fact revealed the methods by which Superintendent Clark was able in his last annual report to exhibit the lowest per capita cost of maintenance in the history of the institution. The governor has not yet removed Clark or indicated what he intends to do.

The Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster has also been the theater of numerous scandals, and while the board of trustees promptly whitewashed the management the stories will not remain smothered, but reappear to bother and worry the administration.—*Columbus dispatch, New York Times, March 10.*

A MANACLED PRESS.

But, remember, sir, that these are the attributes of a free press only. And is a press that is purchased or pensioned more free than a press that is fettered? Can

the people look for truths to partial sources, whether rendered partial through fear or through favor? Why shall not a manacled press be trusted with the maintenance and defense of popular rights? Because it is supposed to be under the influence of a power which may prove greater than the love of truth. Such a press may screen abuses in government or be silent. It may fear to speak. And may it not fear to speak, too, when its conductors, if they speak in any but one way, may lose their means of livelihood? Is dependence on government for bread no temptation to screen its abuses? Will the press always speak the truth, when the truth, if spoken, may be the means of silencing it for the future? Is the truth in no danger, is the watchman under no temptation, when he can neither proclaim the approach of national evils, nor seem to deery them, without the loss of his place?

Mr. President, an open attempt to secure the aid and friendship of the public press, by bestowing the emoluments of office on its active conductors, seems to me, of everything we have witnessed, to be the most reprehensible. It degrades both the government and the press. As far as its natural effect extends, it turns the pædium of liberty into an engine of party. It brings the agency, activity, energy, and patronage of government all to bear, with united force, on the means of intelligence and the adoption or rejection of political opinions.—*Daniel Webster in 1832.*

Benton B. Jones, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Cortland, New York.

Martin Russell, newspaper man, collector of customs at Chicago, Ill.

J. W. Stewart, editor of the *Bazoo*, postmaster at Smith Center, Kansas.

B. J. Sheridan, editor of the *Western Spirit*, postmaster at Paola, Kansas.

Matthew Thomson, editor of the *Signal*, postmaster at Alma, Kansas.

Thomas J. Lowry, editor of the *News*, postmaster at Mount Airy, N. C.

Andrew Simonson, editor of the *Agriculturist*, master at Racine, Wis.

J. F. Henderson, of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Aledo, Ill.

J. L. Highley, editor of the *Journal*, postmaster at Garnett, Kansas.

J. E. Wolden, editor of the *Journal*, postmaster at Napa, Cal.

R. M. Isherwood, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Delphi, Ind.

H. G. Crouch, editor of the *Argus*, postmaster at Kingston, N. Y.

C. C. Chain, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Bushnell, Ill.

Wm. Sulic, of the *Review*, postmaster at Rosebury, Oregon.

J. F. Hall, editor of the *Spirit of the Times*, postmaster at Batavia, N. Y.

Andrew Herod, of the *Courier-Democrat*, postmaster at Seneca, Kansas.

Nathaniel T. Allison, of the *Star-Courier*, postmaster at Columbus, Kansas.

Rainard B. Wohlquist, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Hastings, Neb.

A. G. Moderow, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Stanton, Neb.

Mark W. Murray, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Pender, Neb.

Bridget Lane, mother of editor of the *Record*, postmaster at Summit, N. J.

Cyrus N. Walls, editor of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Taylorsville, Ill.

E. P. Thompson, editor of the *Weekly*, postmaster at Aberdeen, Minn.

W. W. Smith, editor of the *Free Press*, postmaster at Leipsic, O.

John Adams, editor of the *Post*, postmaster at Columbia City, Ind.

John B. Gaines, editor of the *Times*, postmaster at Bowling Green, Ky.

J. M. Higgs, editor of the *Examiner*, postmaster at Connersville, Ind.

Elpha Biedler, nephew of the editor of the *News*, postmaster at Mt. Pulaski, Ill.

John F. Sherman, of the *Democrat*, postmaster at Wahoo, Mo.

SERMON

Delivered by Rev. Frederic E. Dewhurst at Plymouth Church, Sunday, April 15, 1894.

[Preceded by readings from Lincoln's first inaugural and "Lowell's Commemoration Ode."]

Luke xi:47, 48.—Ye build the tombs of the prophets and your father killed them. So ye are witnesses and consent unto the work of your fathers; for they killed them and ye build their tombs.

It is needless to say that this is satire of the keenest sort; satire that is almost aglow with the white heat of indignation, yet an indignation that is not blind to those incongruities of life that awaken the sense of humor.

There is something terrible in the lashing of words that it gave to the representative religious people of his time, something far more terrible than the actual lashing with the whip of small cords when he drove the traders from the temple. But if we ourselves had stood there, the actual victims of his scornful attack, I do not see how we could have suppressed a passing smile at the subtle humor in this allusion to the tomb building propensity, even though like all the other words it had carried the shaft of condemnation to our hearts.

Let us view the situation for a moment. Jesus stood there almost at the close of his tragic career, fully conscious now at last of the irreconcilable conflict between himself and those who represented the official religion; it was himself against the whole church; he had realized by degrees that those from whom he naturally might have expected sympathy were his most implacable foes; and at length unable to restrain longer his indignation he launches forth on this tide of invective. Presently he points with his hand toward those white tombs outside the city that had been rebuilt by that generation and gathered from ruin and oblivion; they were the pride and boast of these people. "Our fathers killed the prophets," they said, "and in order to show our sorrow and to help undo the wrong and to prove that we ourselves have the prophet loving spirit we will rebuild their tombs."

But how strangely and swiftly Christ reverses all this—"Ye consent," he says, "unto the deeds of your fathers; for they killed the prophets and ye build their tombs; you are fit and worthy successors; your tomb building is only another exhibition of prophet-slaying."

Now, I say there is a subtle sense of humor in this swift reversal of motives underlying a deed that was intended to correct and discountenance the deeds of a past generation; but deeper than the humor or the satire of it is an analysis of motives that is searching to the last degree—a disclosure of the inner working of certain phases of human life that cover a wider field than the men or the generation to whom the words were first addressed.

These words have come afresh to my mind on this anniversary of Lincoln's death. Many of us here to-day can well recall that mournful morning twenty-nine years ago to-day, when the telegraph or the daily papers brought the tragic tidings of the President's assassination. It was like a thick cloud that completely hid the sun which had been shining upon us with new light and clearness in the few brief days since there had come the happier tidings that the long war was over.

How inevitably humanity marches onward to its triumphs and conquests over new Calvaries, planting upon each a cross. Verily without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. The atonement for the wrongs that are graven deep in human life is made when the innocent, the brave, the holy suffer and perish that they may disappear.

In those events some of you here to day were actors, bearing the marks still in your bodies. Others of us here to-day were but mere children, not old enough to know the meaning of it all. And I look into the faces of many more to whom all these events are mere history, and to whom the name of Lincoln, like that of Washington, is an object of reverence about which gathers the halo that surrounds the memory of all heroes who have receded far enough into the past.

Almost an entire generation has passed away since Lincoln died, and more than a generation has come and gone since the days when the prophets of emancipation opened their mouths to proclaim their "Thus saith the Lord," the message that failed not until it reached its Mount of Transfiguration in the Emancipation proclamation and its Golgotha in the tragedy of April 14th.

The generation which has been passing over the stage since then has not been negligent in the building of tombs to the prophets. In the most beautiful and fashionable avenue in Boston, through whose streets Garrison was dragged by a mob of her citizens, now stands his statue, almost fulfilling Lowell's words:

"The hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return,
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

And all the men and women who belonged to the prophetic group are now at last held in reverence; their monuments glisten in the light of day; their deeds are immortalized in bronze.

Lincoln to be sure was not a prophet; he had not the temper of the seer; it would not have been possible for him to do the work of Garrison and Phillips. He was of that com-

pany, also noble, who serve the future best by serving their own day and generation well. In him at last the pent-up feeling and purposes of the people found a voice. Emerson in his funeral eulogy gave the true estimate of Lincoln. He said: "He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of the continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue."

Now all these men have receded into the past; those of the prophet type, those also of the statesman type, and we are the children of the generation in which they lived, which they served. The natural and fitting duty that befalls us, so far as they are concerned, is to build their monuments, to perpetuate their names and memories in sacred memorials.

It is obedience to a right and holy instinct that places the statue of Garrison on Commonwealth avenue; that enshrines in bronze the memories of heroic men in the public squares of our cities and villages; that sends toward heaven a shaft so strong and stately as this monument close by. Such visible tokens of love and devotion, however belated they may be, are honorable to humanity.

But we must not forget that there is also in all this tomb-building activity an immense power to deceive and bewilder. It is all so evidently noble that it carries with it the presumption of a motive and spirit which men do not by any means always possess. There is great satisfaction in building monuments and erecting statues; we seem in that honorable activity to be proclaiming to the world that if we had lived in the days of the fathers we should not have been sharers with them in the blood of the prophets; the very proof of this, we say, is seen in the reverence and honor in which we now hold their names. But it was just the charge that Christ brought against his contemporaries, that they were fitting and worthy successors of their fathers and that their tomb-building showed it. Now how could this be true? Is not this the explanation? These people, like the most of men perhaps, lived not out of convictions, but out of traditions; their acts sprang not from original inspirations and deep-rooted personal persuasions, but from that which they had received by inheritance, by education and by the compulsion of forces external to themselves; they were not really themselves; they were acting a part; they had assumed a role; they were enacting a character, and that is why they were called hypocrites; it was largely an unconscious process. Most cant, Carlyle used to say, is sincere cant. The essential fault was that they did not stand in original and open-eyed relations with life; therefore they could not understand and receive the prophets. They could understand only the routine that had been marked out and walk in the path that was already well beaten, so distinctly the safe road that the fool could not err therein.

Therefore when the time came that they were willing to build tombs to the prophets, eager to do them honor, it meant no essential change of attitude on their part; it did not mean that they had exchanged the way of tradition for the way of conviction and life. It meant only that the prophet had at last come to his posthumous reward, as the prophet always does; it meant that his new and original word had now been so long familiarized that it could at last itself become a safe tradition; it meant that these masqueraders in garments not their own could at last weave the ideas of the past prophets into a new garment for the present and go on masquerading still; it meant that the prophet had simply provided them with a new raft by means of which they could still preserve their inertia and spiritual indolence and float on down the sea of life.

That, I think, was the real sting of Christ's satire and the true meaning of his declaration that they were consenting unto the work of their fathers; "for they killed them and ye build their tombs." The killing of the last generation was an exhibition of the traditional spirit; the tomb-building, when it came, was also an exhibition of the traditional spirit, for the past conviction which was rejected had at length become a new tradition, which it was safe and popular to accept. And this charge was the more convincing because they were rejecting the new and living prophet before them, which was proof that they had no ears for the prophetic message. "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, also."

Herein, then, is the great lesson for us all. It is not building tombs to the prophets that established our reverence for them, but such a response to the spirit of their message as shall show itself in lives morally alert and eager. Our statue and monument building may be honorable to us, but before we can know that it is we must ask ourselves one question: Whose statue would you erect in the public square to-day? Who among living men is your idol and hero? To whose voice do you listen and by whose words are you persuaded and led on to action? Who is your man and your chieftain among living men?

It all comes back to this—that life is a holy and ceaseless struggle. "There is no discharge in this war." There is a sublime moral sense in which the teaching of the old Greek philosopher Heraclitus is true, that this universe is in perpetual flux and movement; it is continually changing its form and meaning; the devouring and cleansing fire is its perpetual symbol. And the Hebrew writer caught something of that meaning when he wrote that the divine voice once shook the earth and said, "Once more will I make to tremble not the earth only but also the heaven which signifieth the removing of the things that are shaken as of things that hath been made, that those things that are not shaken may remain."

So there is the ceaseless movement, the restless, eager, unsatiable demand of the moral

order upon us. There is scarcely time for bivouac; you win a battle and stop to take breath, to rejoice in the victory, but you must be up and on; there are more battles to win, and so it will be forever.

It is wholly right that our past moral gains should fix themselves in the customs, the traditions, the laws and habits of the people; fix themselves until they become moral instincts transferable by heredity and ingrained in the moral fiber of the race. We must hold on to our gains. We must put the pawl into the ratchet to keep things from unwinding. But after all the ratchet wheel is not the wheel that goes forward; it is not the symbol of movement and progress; it is the symbol only of the conservation of what we have. And unless we progress there is no sense in conserving anything; unless the sight of the prophets' tombs inspire us to the exercise of the prophetic spirit, the building of the tombs is itself a delusion and a snare.

I trust I may not be misunderstood, but it sometimes seems to me a mistake to perpetuate the veterans' organizations in the generation that lies beyond the participants themselves. It was a noble and inspiring moment when the soldiery dissolved quietly back into citizenship, for the soldiery is the vanishing fact; citizenship is the perpetual and abiding fact; it vanishes not away; in all shakings of heaven and earth it alone is not removed. The sons of veterans do indeed perpetuate the memory of their soldier fathers; but it is a loftier and holier duty for all of us who are sons of veterans to be the sons of soldiers who became citizens. To discern the vital and urgent duty of the present, to see the duty that claims us for our struggle even as it claimed our fathers for theirs, this is the most noble monument we can build.

And all this seems more urgent and true than ever when we look around us and realize the graver responsibilities of citizenship in a land like ours. Terrible are the responsibilities of freedom. The experiment of popular self-government is one as full of peril as it is of opportunity. It is an experiment that calls for vigilance to the last. "We have solved the problem already," say the political optimists. Let us not say that; let us say rather, it must be solved, and by God's grace it shall be solved.

"Here or nowhere is thy ideal." Out of the material, the spiritual is to be wrought. Life is not in the monastery, but here in the world of commerce, of politics and of social life. What we need to realize is that the moral life is in these things, not apart from them. All political, commercial and social questions are but the other side of ethical questions.

The progress and safety of a republic beyond all other forms of government therefore depend upon the constant discernment of the moral heart of all political problems. The sons of veterans, if they are really loyal to the fathers, must do something more than build monuments to them; they must bring to the front the moral claims of the present; that is

the way to build the monument that no satire can touch.

I wish to speak above all possible implications of partisanship (and all moral issues inevitably rise above partisanship), but certainly there are issues and problems in our political life that need more than anything else a clear moral discernment to make them in their way as important as those for which our fathers fought.

Almost ever since the close of the civil war we have been trying to eradicate the spoils system from our political life. And the main reason why it is not buried in the depths of oblivion is because it has not found its way into the citadel of our consciences with sufficient force. It is not because it lacks the material for moral enthusiasm, for it is the most unequivocally ethical question in the whole field of our political life. There is hardly anything more utterly debauching, more blinding in its effects, than this infamous system. It has stood in the way of the highest usefulness of all our recent national administrations, and it sends its poison into the remotest regions of petty local politics. It is, next to slavery, the most absolutely corrupting influence in our political life. Some of the most promising and right-minded young men that I have known who have gone into political life (and you all can duplicate cases from your own acquaintance) have fallen before its power as trees fall before the hurricane. It is sad enough to read some of the recent apologies that have come from men high-minded in most relations of life, but who have become so bewildered as reluctantly to admit that it is right to buy patronage and political support with office rather than imperil the principal issues before the nation.

Fellow-men, when that degree of moral debauchery has come about, it is time for a party to arise which shall distinctly avow that there is no measure that can be primary and essential until the corrupting spoils system is buried in fifty feet of earth; slung into the sea with the millstone of the gods about its neck. It would not take long to do this; one President who would not vacillate or shrink for an instant would accomplish it; one who should be willing to leap into the gulf like Curtius would fill up the gulf forever, and though it meant political failure to himself, his failure would be the vicarious sacrifice for a people.

The moral quality of such things as this is slow in making itself fully realized. There was once indifference to the fact of slavery; but gradually it became apparent that it was a corrupting and demoralizing thing for a man to have a proprietorship in a fellow-man. Well, it is also corrupting and demoralizing for any man to have such a proprietorship in a fellow-man's political action that he can buy his support with the promise of a post-office or a petty consulate in some remote Patagonia or can barter for his political support by granting him the distribution of patronage. It is not simply an indecent and impolitic thing; it is

morally debauching beyond power of exaggeration and it is a direct plunge at the very heart of self-government; for if those who govern themselves are not incorruptible, where indeed is the stability of free institutions?

I affirm this not from the standpoint of a cast-iron ethics. I fully believe there is relativity in moral action; that some things claim precedence of others in importance and so in right. I would not insist on the too easy moral formula that the right is right and that's the end of the matter. The right itself often has to be determined by a comparison of all interests involved.

Again and again I have tried to feel the force of those who are telling us that the spoils system is wrong, but that it must wait until the pressing questions of finance, or of the tariff, of the election bills and the like, are disposed of. "Men can go on buying and selling patronage a little longer," it is said, "but they can not bear the suspense of uncertainty on these graver and more pressing issues."

It is plausible but it is misleading, for there are always questions of greater apparent urgency than the simple questions that need only firmness and courage to settle once for all. Here is a wrong that has come to the point that all honest men are ashamed of it. And yet we appear to be powerless to effect a change.

Now, in the face of all this, it seems to me that our monument building can wait. We can let the graves of the fathers go a little longer uncared for. Their bones will rest in peace and their spirits will rejoice in an activity on our part that is contemporaneous with ourselves.

There are a few men now in congress engaged in the fatuous attempt, which every now and then is made, to put the name of God into the constitution. How vain and foolish such an endeavor! It would change no fact; it would create no new relation; it would stimulate to no new devotion. A fiat God would be no better than a fiat dollar. God is in the constitution only when the infinite purpose gets discerned and loved and enacted by mortal man. It almost seems that he would break through the eternal silence and cry out: Spare me the empty honor of putting my name on the pages of the constitution and exert yourselves toward staying corruption and bribery. Not those who say to me, "Lord, Lord! but those who do my will, are those in whom my soul delights."

I have seemed to particularize, but it is only in the way of seizing what is perhaps the most conspicuous example. The applications are, however, far wider than to this single example of a corrupting influence at work in our political life. But the principle is that we should live not in the past but in the present; that we should seek the place of application to our own conditions of the ideas and spirit which have made the past glorious and our father worthy to be praised. If we really love and honor the men whose deeds at last seem to us glorious and praiseworthy, let us declare

that love not so much by erecting memorials to their name as by manifesting in the midst of our own life the spirit that was in them.

"Is earth too poor to give us
Something to live for here that shall outlive us?"

* * * * *

No age was e'er degenerate
Unless men held it at too cheap a rate
For in our likeness still we shape our fate.
Ah, there is something here
Unfathomed by the cynic's sneer,
Something that gives our feeble light,
A high immunity from Night,
Something that leaps Life's narrow bars
To claim its birthright with the host of heaven;
A seed of sunshine that doth leaven
Our earthly dullness with the beams of stars,
And glorify our clay
With light from fountains older than the Day;
A conscience more divine than we,
A gladness fed with secret tears,
A vexing, forward-reaching sense
Of some more noble permanence;
A light across the sea,
Which haunts the soul and will not let it be,
Still glimmering from the heights of undegenerate years."

RESOLUTIONS.

"We condemn the outrageous bargain and sale of federal patronage by the Cleveland administration in its unblinking efforts to usurp the prerogatives of the legislative branch of the government, to force favorite measures through congress and compel the confirmation of presidential appointments by the senate.

"We believe that the benevolent, educational and correctional institutions of the state should be placed under non-partisan control."—*Indiana Republican State Platform, April 24, 1894.*

Under the present administration an abuse has arisen which, though not heretofore unknown, has been so little worked that it comes with startling force and opens to the reformer an almost endless vista of struggle and dismay. Heretofore the debauchery of the public service has been mostly for the purpose of aiding in factional fights: for the advancement of one or another person within the ranks of a party, the implied return being in the form of personal loyalty to the appointing power and support to his claims for party position. The new bargain is on a different basis. It being understood that the head of the administration has no further design for place for himself, his return for feed at the public crib is to come, not in the shape of votes for him in convention, but of votes for his measures in congress. We are thus brought face to face with the presence of a most insidious and dangerous corruption.

Heretofore our congressmen have found their forces sapped, their energies weakened and their time taken from their legitimate duties by the office-broking demands, which have, first, weakened their power as legislators, and, second, tended to a great deterioration in the character of the men seeking congressional honor. Now it is supposed that their votes on public questions are to be the price of places for their henchmen.

In the past a congressman has earned his reelection by much running after and importuning of the cabinet and heads of departments. In the future he is to earn it by the sale of his convictions. An abyss of corruption so great as to be conquerable only by overturn, instead of by niplifting, yawns at our feet. That this is not more generally seen and more severely denounced, lies in the fact the use of the system so far has been in the interest of legislation which is in accord with the beliefs and convictions of most of us who are identified with the civil service reform movement. How doubly dangerous is such an evil, when men whose mental clearness and moral purpose we are wont to ap-

plaud, can throw them both to the winds; and not only uphold it in the excitement of debate, but can defend and approve it in studied communications to the press?

It would be idle to claim that the evil named does not exist because no evidence of corrupt bargaining can be shown. Of course it can't. But it is nevertheless believed that this evil is upon us, and is already working.—*From the resolutions of the Newlon [Mass.] Civil Service Reform Association, April, 1894.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

A correspondent writes: My attention has been called to a reference in the current number of the CHRONICLE, at the foot of page 121, as to the effect of the operation of the civil service law in Brooklyn. I suggest that Brooklyn's experience has really been better than is indicated and ask whether some attention may not be directed to this fact in your next issue. Except during the administration of Mayor Whitney, the civil service rules have been a serious impediment to the "machine," and at the present time may be said to be operating perfectly. Brooklyn was fortunate in having rules drawn with the utmost care by so competent a draftsman as Mr. E. M. Shepard, and their enforcement has always been in the hands of a first-class commission. The result of this has been that so far as entrance to the service is concerned there has been almost a total absence of cause for complaint. During previous administrations it has been of course impracticable to protect the men appointed to office or position from the influence to which they have been subjected immediately after coming into service. The promotion or relegation of employes, and even the amount of drudgery forced into their work, has been at the will of heads of departments, and for this reason the influences they have been able to exert have always been for the best. But up to the point of entrance nothing of this kind has occurred. Even during Mayor Boody's administration, for instance, when the control of the system was in the hands of the splendid commission of which Mr. Alexander E. Orr was chairman, the machine found that the civil service was admirably protected from any assaults it might hope to make. The present commission, of which Mr. Orr is still chairman, is, if possible, even a stronger one than the last, and there is every reason to believe that within the next year Brooklyn may present a perfect object-lesson of the good effects of civil service reform principles in practice in municipal government.

TO THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE: Your long chapter in the last CHRONICLE on New York was very effective. A similar chapter on Philadelphia would be equally startling.

WM. A. AIKIN.

Reform Club, New York.

THE INDIANAPOLIS PENSION AGENCY.

A few days ago Mr. Bynum wrote to the pension agent demanding "official" recognition for the seventh congressional district in the distribution of Mr. Spencer's patronage. The reply came prompt-

ly from Mr. Spencer that, acting under the instructions of Senators Voorhees and Turpie, he had given nearly all the political plums to the twelfth congressional district, and there was nothing in sight for Bynum's district.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, March 26.*

* * *

United States Pension Agent Spencer has notified John P. Stone, James R. East and Miss Mary Simonson that their services in the office will not be needed after this week. Mr. East served through the war and was wounded. Miss Simonson is a daughter of Captain Simonson, the artilleryman, who was killed during the war, and who was often mentioned in the war reports as an artilleryman of unusual bravery and skill.—*Indianapolis News, March 26.*

* * *

In Miss Simonson's place the pension agent has appointed his sister.

Current report is that there are differences between Pension Agent Spencer, Congressman McNagney and the two United States senators from Indiana about the patronage of the office. Congressman McNagney, who comes from Columbia City, the home of Miss Simonson, said to her before the appointment of an agent was made, that she should hold her place in the office. He knew of her father's faithful service to the government, and was aware that, for other reasons, she was deserving. The day after Miss Simonson had been notified by Mr. Spencer that her services would not be required after April 1, she received a letter from Congressman McNagney, in which he said it seemed that he did not have any influence with the new pension agent. He said he had tried to have Miss Simonson retained in the office, but Mr. Spencer was unable to carry out his (the congressman's) wishes, because the senators from the state had men for all the places in the office. At that time the pension agent's sister had come here to take the place of Miss Simonson.

It is the understanding among Indianapolis democrats that Mr. Spencer, before he was able to get the help of the two senators, surrendered all rights as to appointments, except as to the one place for his sister. A democrat said to-day that Mr. Spencer could not get the appointment through Congressman McNagney alone, and that before the two senators would recommend him for the place they exacted an agreement that they should make the appointments in the office. Mr. Spencer has said to friends since he came to Indianapolis, that every one of the old clerks will have to go.—*Indianapolis News, April 5.*

* * *

"Has Mr. Cooper had any more success in securing appointments than other congressmen have had?"

"No more than any one else. He has no more influence with me than other congressmen have that I know of."

There are twenty-eight employes in the pension office. Ten of these are new. Four were made to fill vacancies caused by the resignations of Messrs. Ensley, Jones, Smith, and Davis. The other six vacancies were caused by removals.

"Will there be other changes?"

"Not until the present payment of pensions has been completed."

"Will all of the eighteen old clerks be changed?"

"They will probably all be changed, but the changes will be gradually made, and the clerks who occupy the most prominent positions will be retained to the last, so that the efficiency of the new force may be promoted."

Mr. Spencer said that Miss Simonson had not been removed as had been alleged, but she had resigned upon the statement of the case to her that persons promised employment had followed Mr. Spencer to the city, and hoped for immediate installation into the office. Of the remaining old clerks in the office, two are democrats, but they will go.—*Interview, Indianapolis News, May 3.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 16.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

IN this commencement season, when all eyes are turned toward the colleges, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE prints in full the short-hand report of the address of Mr. Moorfield Storey in Sanders theater before students of Harvard College. The CHRONICLE has now for over five years been regularly sent to the libraries of all the best known colleges of the United States. Will not Mr. Storey's speech move these college readers to a keener feeling for the duties of citizenship? College presidents and professors, as a rule, personally deprecate the spoils system, but with many and notable exceptions they, like the masses of the clergy, have been strangely indifferent to the duty of doing anything to make others realize the actual condition and significance of the spoils system in this country. This indifference is largely willful. It is not convenient or pleasant to state the facts regarding the gifts of public offices, regardless of party or persons; to give the histories of big and little bosses; to describe the present system of buying and selling legislation, the barter used being patronage. These odious facts hit so many respectable persons all about us. They strain social relations. They cool the interest of private benefactors who thrive upon legislation bought with patronage. They anger spoils-grabbing legislators on whose good humor state institutions depend for income. But in spite of all pains and penalties, colleges must do their part toward making the republic safe by sending out *citizens*. And we must not let our colleges escape their duty. We must prod them on. Mr. Storey has done it genially, thoroughly and eloquently, and his audience manifested proper enthusiasm.

THE \$25,000 proposed to be raised for a memorial to George William Curtis is such a modest sum that it ought to be an offering of many people widely scattered. Those who understood while he lived what manner of man he was, and the many who, through partisan bigotry, were blinded until his death cleared their vision, all have now a chance to build a monument to him and better yet to perpetuate his work in the "Curtis lectureship," a course of annual lectures upon the duties of

American citizenship and kindred subjects. This feature was a happy thought, and the feeling of everybody who knew Mr. Curtis must be, how pleasing to him would such a testimonial be. Subscriptions are to be sent to William L. Trenholm, treasurer, 160 Broadway, New York City.

SINCE the last issue of the CHRONICLE the dreaded calamity which weak-kneed civil service reformers always predicted would happen if other civil service reformers refused "sympathy" to compromising Presidents, refused respect to knavish congressmen, refused to tolerate plundering the public service under the guise of "practical politics," and in fact insisted upon hitting an enemy whenever and wherever he appeared, has happened. The appropriation for the civil service commission and for the operation of the civil service law has been struck out. It was done in the house May 22. The victory was easy and complete. All of the democratic congressmen from Indiana voted to strike out. Bynum so voted and made a speech to the same effect. We emphasize this now because, following his well-known habit, Bynum will be denying it before long. The victory, however, was not final. On May 24, when in open daylight the enemies of civil service reform had to face it and go upon record in a recorded vote, they melted away like smoke. The proposition to strike out was beaten two to one. Reform has not won such another victory since the passage of the Pendleton act. It is the Gettysburg of the war against the spoils system. When the final vote was taken only two Indiana congressmen, Taylor and Bretz, dared to vote to strike out. Johnson, Brookshire, Cooper and McNagney voted against striking out. Brown, Conn, Hammond, Holman and Martin, democrats, and Waugh, republican, did not vote. While the vote was being taken Bynum left the hall and stayed away until it was finished.

THE freedom with which Quay once made use of the state money is well known, and of course the people of Pennsylvania do not approve of that. He is full of vagaries upon financial questions, although the people of his state are sound upon these questions. He openly says that he deals in sugar certificates at the same time that his vote as senator is helping to raise or de-

press the price; but the people he claims to represent are too honest to sanction that transaction. He is a thoroughbred political rascal. Yet if his office were vacant and a senator were to be chosen tomorrow from Pennsylvania, he would get the place. This is because the free will of the people is completely throttled by the system known as the spoils system. The faithful henchmen for whom he secures a living out of the public treasury control and largely compose the party machine and Quay may, if he chooses, defy law and sound judgment and honesty; they will see to it that the people do not get at him. They call this performing the duties of citizenship; they have not, they say, ceased to be citizens because they have become office-holders. Gorman and Murphy and their followers in their respective states are like examples. It is the boss system in its perfection, and while it exists no other important question can proceed toward solution without danger of being ham-strung as buccaneers in the senate are now ham-stringing the sugar question in order to give millions to a trust.

THE government printing-office in Washington continues to be a national disgrace. The office apparently has need of 2,000 to 2,500 hands. After Mr. Cleveland's last inauguration, Superintendent Palmer, the republican hold-over, seems to have allowed democratic congressmen to quarter their followers upon the office, for whom he had neither room nor work, until he had 3,600 employes. Then the new democratic superintendent, Benedict, came in and it was found that the public interest required a large reduction in force, and 700 have been discharged. The 700 are not selected from among the least efficient and the least experienced, but from republicans. This wasteful and corrupt management of the public business could be terminated instantly by the President, by transferring this office to the classified service. To bring in 700 henchmen of congressmen and deprive 700 men of this settled and steady means of supporting themselves, and their families, is no different from the descent of 700 Goths and Vandals upon Southern Europe, and driving 700 families off from their farms.

The devilish inhumanity of this plundering system is well illustrated by the following Washington dispatch:

A great many of the discharged employes, partic-

ularly the women, are very poor, have no homes to go to, and have no other means of support. They are haunting the halls of congress from morning until night, and beseeching representatives who are supposed to have influence, to assist them in getting their places back.

CHARLES F. STONE has been nominated to be naval officer at the Boston custom-house. Stone says:

As a democrat, all other things being equal, I believe the offices belong to democrats, but it will not be my purpose to impair the efficiency of the service by creating vacancies simply to give positions to those of my own party faith, irrespective of qualifications. However, I am frank to say that in my opinion, so far as the same can be done consistently, the plums should go to democrats.

Any private employer would at once get rid of a superintendent who declared such unbusiness-like and vicious sentiments. Yet, of the multitude of shallow, prating appointees who have slapped President Cleveland's face with his own reform literature, he has been cowed, seemingly, by every one, and there is no reason to expect a different result now. But how refreshing it would be if even one such upstart politician were told that his principles are not such as must prevail in the civil service, and that he may seek some other field.

THE civil service law provides that no person shall, in any room or building occupied in the discharge of his duties by any government employe, "solicit in any manner whatever," money for political purposes. Attorney-General Olney has given an opinion that the solicitation may be by letter without violating the law. A campaign committee may not blackmail by word of mouth, but may blackmail in writing. This opinion fits in well with general course of this administration in relation to the civil service. It is not the judgment of a court, but its effect will be that the district attorneys, who, almost to a man, are in favor of assessments, will find it a welcome excuse for laxity in the matter of offenses against the civil service law. If there had been no Josiah Quincy we should have wondered how Massachusetts could have produced a man like Olney.

SOME three months ago the highly efficient postmaster of Indianapolis, after having been in the post-office nineteen years in various positions, was turned out because he had been up to the Minneapolis convention and had worked for General Harrison's renomination.

On June 6th, however, a Sullivan dispatch to the Indianapolis *Sentinel* said:

The democrats of the county held a very enthusiastic convention here to-day. The convention was called to order by United States Marshal W. H. Hawkins.

We do not wish to be "querulous" nor

"impertinent," but we venture to ask whether turning out the republican participator and keeping in the democratic participator is hypocrisy?

On June 18th, is the following dispatch from Greensburgh, Ind.:

Saturday afternoon the democrats of Washington township met at the mayor's office. Delegates were chosen to the state and congressional conventions, Holman's friends getting their men according to programme and contrary to the expectations of a number opposed to the veteran. Mendenhall is Holman's clerk of the committee on Indian affairs, and has been here for several weeks laying the pipes to secure a solid Holman delegation from Decatur county. The better class of democrats are growing tired of his bossism. He occupied a prominent position in the convention and dictated what should be done.

POSTMASTER GENERAL BISSELL is circulating among the postmasters President Cleveland's famous order of 1886, forbidding office-holders to interfere in politics. Probably Mr. Cleveland never made a more conspicuous failure than he did in enforcing that order. The order is known by heart to every democrat in the country, and what it now needs is not circulation but enforcement. In all the years of its existence we do not recall an example made of a democrat. Thousands of republicans have been removed for being active partisans, while thousands of democrats, although active partisans in exactly the same manner, are unmolested. If Mr. Bissell wants to show the country that he is sincere, he can do so by dealing with the postmasters in Congressman Bretz's district—beginning with Royal E. Purcell, postmaster at Vincennes and editor of the *Vincennes Sun*. It was by the efforts of these postmasters that Bretz secured his renomination. The same may also be said of Congressman Cooper and his postmasters.

June 16 the democrats of Huntington, West Virginia, undertook to hold a primary election. Mr. Cleveland's United States marshal, Vinson, though not living in the county, and a gang of deputy marshals appeared and began to work for candidates who favored the reelection of Senator Camden. This led to fights and bloodshed, a deputy marshal being prevented from shooting Ex-Congressman Gibson only by the interference of the police. The chairman of the primary at last sent the following telegram to Washington:

Attorney-General Olney, Washington—United States Marshal Vinson, of Wayne county, with a platoon of deputies, is here at work as partisans in the democratic primary for legislative candidates. Is it not unlawful? Please advise him at once. Answer.

EVERY body must remember the recent history of the Murphy machine, printed in the *CHRONICLE*, closing with the murder of a citizen of high standing by Senator Murphy's henchmen, the uprising of the citizens of Troy, and their fruitless attempt to get

Governor Flower to have the trial of the murderer taken from the influence of this machine. A large body of eminent and distinguished citizens of Troy believe that Senator Murphy is responsible for the murder of a man who was doing what every honest man should do in the protest against fraudulent voting. These same citizens have declared that the Murphy machine is so fortified by patronage that it is well-nigh impregnable. And yet two weeks ago the President appointed Murphy's man, Michael F. Sheary to be postmaster at Troy. The senate confirmed him the same day. His bond reached the post-office department on Sunday night; was approved Monday morning, went the same evening to the President, and in short, in one week Murphy's man was nominated, confirmed and commissioned. "This record," says the newspaper report, "is unprecedented." The *Springfield Republican* says:

The administration has evidently brought Senator Murphy to its support, so far as tariff legislation is concerned, by the only means which would influence the "collars and cuffs" statesman from Troy. He has been permitted to name the new postmaster in that city. Statements are now frequent in the newspapers, that Murphy will not support Hill in his policy of obstruction to the administration, and certainly he has not been voting with him of late.

Up to the time I differed with Mr. Cleveland on the silver question, he had done me the honor to consult me freely and often as to Missouri appointments, and I had honestly endeavored to advise him, as was my duty. When he suddenly departed from this custom, and appointed to the most important office in Kansas City a gentleman who had supported almost the entire republican ticket in 1892, I considered his action a declaration that my opinions were no longer needed, and that the President intended to emphasize that fact in the most public manner.—From the letter of Senator Vest to the *New York Evening Post*, June 8, 1894.

Senator Vest evidently believes that patronage was withheld from him as a punishment for his stand upon silver legislation. Looking at congressmen, for instance, Voorhees of Indiana, whose opinions had been the same as Senator Vest's but whose vote was with the administration and whose rivulets of patronage swelled into rivers, there is hardly a chance to doubt the correctness of Senator Vest's diagnosis of his case. We can not do better than to quote from Mr. Storey:

"The moment it is understood that legislation is for sale, that moment the seeds of revolution have been sown, and the revolution in time is sure to come. If the populist, the anarchist, the socialist, succeed in turning out the men who are in power and appointing men of their own caliber, their own party, in their places, they will apply the same rule; they will use the offices to buy votes for their pernicious measures."

Mr. Vest's experience also illustrates why Mr. Cleveland has felt as he has the tremendous pressure against reform in his own party. Whenever his reform friends have ventured to suggest any criticism of his course, he has turned with the demand

for sympathy because of the dreadful difficulties of his position. He has made these difficulties. How can one expect Vest or Hill to respect a stand on the spoils system that is one thing for one senator and another thing for him? We hear a great deal about practical and practicable reform. A steady, consistent plan of reform, even the most drastic and far-reaching plan would never have resulted in the venom and in the onslaught that have come from the President's isolated efforts to assert for personal reasons the supremacy of the executive.

It would seem that the Indianapolis district had carried an incubus in the shape of Congressman Bynum long enough. He was too cowardly to have his vote recorded in favor of breaking down the merit system, yet he is and has always been one of the most vicious enemies of that system. This action illustrates his whole character. He has no political principles by which he will stand in a personal emergency. He is devoid of reliable political opinions. His notion of politics is to work spoil for all it is worth. From the first day he became a congressman he has debauched the public service to his utmost. The effect of his whole course as a congressman has been, not to elevate, but to degrade politics. The only way to do with such a man is to beat him at the polls.

MAJOR HANDBURY AGAIN.

SOME one sent a long dispatch from Washington to the *New York Times*, June 11th, in which the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is charged with not stating the facts last month as to Major Handbury, who was transferred by the war department from Louisville to St. Augustine. We note some things in this rebuke with much satisfaction. We note that while Major Handbury is an excellent engineer, "he is not a person of tact." We honor the lack of tact which will not allow an officer to stand silent while political bosses load up the service with heelers and rounders. Again, Major Handbury refused to heed a recommendation of Congressman Caruth, who wanted a "friend" quartered upon the public treasury, and then did not refrain from "discussing, with unconcealed satisfaction, in more or less public places, the decision he had shown in jumping on a politician." Thus "he had needlessly and undiplomatically provoked Mr. Caruth's dislike." If there is in the whole United States one officer who is brave enough to openly denounce a congressman engaged in preying upon the public service, a ray of light has certainly appeared. The fact that heads of

divisions, heads of departments, cabinet officers and the President stand in such cringing fear of congressmen that they dare not refuse them spoil is the most disgraceful fact connected with our government. The army officer who denounced Caruth set them a lesson in manliness which ought to make them ashamed.

Again, the *Times's* dispatch asserts that Secretary Lamont made a minor appointment under Major Handbury, and that the latter notified the appointee in writing that he might not find the place comfortable, and thereupon the appointee declined it. Why are facts kept concealed? Who was this man? It has always been said that Presidents and cabinet officers could not personally know men for subordinate places, but must rely upon recommendations. Who recommended this man? In the face of this studied concealment fair-minded men will conclude that the man was a leech, a heeler, recommended by Caruth, and that Major Handbury knew the character of the man, and very properly warned him off, and thereby again showed himself a faithful and efficient officer. Upon the evidence of his accusers the more this matter is sifted the more it appears that Major Handbury has been made the victim of an ignoble spite and sacrificed to a desire upon the part of the administration to mollify Caruth whom he had angered. The fact that Caruth did not know when the transfer was made only makes the matter worse. For Secretary Lamont or the President to attempt to give Caruth an agreeable surprise of this kind is only the more abject.

It is rather late in the day for followers of the administration to begin to be sensitive about the purchase of congressmen's votes with patronage. Such a sensitiveness might have been useful months ago, but the fact is now so branded upon the administration that the mark can never be removed. As to the "impertinence," the "overzealousness," and the "querulousness" of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, it is proud of the acts which have caused it to be thus charged, and in the same manner it intends to be more impertinent, more overzealous and more querulous as the time goes on.

THE JACKSONIAN DOCTRINE IN ITS FINAL DEVELOPMENT.

Since the publication of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE began it has given much space to the political organization known as Tammany Hall of New York City. This, with Gorman's organization in Maryland, Quay's in Pennsylvania, and others of greater or less note, it has regarded as the perfection of the spoils system and as being upon the margin between a government by the people and oligarchy and

imperialism. We have from time to time given facts to prove this position. Nevertheless Tammany and the other organizations have not only been tolerated but have been nursed and petted by their respective parties. Members of Tammany Hall have been distinguished by appointments to great offices like the postmastership at New York, and in many other places throughout the country, notably in Indianapolis, this organization has been the envy of party leaders. But Tammany Hall is uncovered, and an amount of degradation, of thieving, of multitudes of officials accumulating vast sums by preying upon that great under world which lives without the pale of the law, has been revealed to an extent infinitely beyond the faintest suspicion of the people of this country. The thousands of executive officers of the city of New York hold their places at the will of Tammany and they are not in any sense the trustees of the people, but an organized band of ghouls feeding upon the vices of the criminal and the weak. This is the last stage of the spoils system. This is giving the offices to the party in power in order that subordinates may be in touch with the party policy. To be more explicit: Captains of the police are from time to time shifted. Upon the advent of a new captain each disorderly house in his district pays him an "initiation fee" of \$500. After that the fee for keeping the house without molestation by the police is \$50 a month, with a Christmas present to the captain and something for the "ward man," the captain's factotum; \$25 a month are paid by saloons for the privilege of running without a license. In addition all must be ready to take five or ten tickets to chowder parties or picnics at \$5 a ticket. There is an attorney system by which favorite attorneys take fees from \$100 upward from arrested law-breakers and secure for them by a word or by a name written on a slip of paper immunity from prosecution. One such attorney, named Roesch, after a profitable career of this kind has become a police justice himself. To get a position as patrolman the applicant must pay \$300, while a captaincy costs \$10,000. In this perfect instance of the working of the spoils system we have exhibited the most degraded and conscienceless official and private character and the most infamous system of official blackmail now existing anywhere in the world.

SPOIL WITH ONE HAND AND MERIT WITH THE OTHER.

On June 1, Mr. Warfield, of whom excellent things are reported, became postmaster at Baltimore. In a short speech to the employees he said:

I desire to say to the carriers and clerks that I propose to run the office on strictly business principles and as laid down in the rules by the department at Washington. I believe in civil service reform, and in the classified service democrats and republicans alike shall receive the same treatment. Just so long as they perform the duties required of them their places are secure, but I shall hold each man to a strict performance of his duties.

We note that he believes in civil service re-

form, and in the *classified* service democrats and republicans shall receive the same treatment.

On May 14, in response to an inquiry of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Washington Hessing, postmaster at Chicago, wrote:

The clipping you sent me from the New York *Evening Post* is correct. Those remarks were made to a number of eligibles who were about to be put on the substitute list as clerks in this department. In excepted places I have of course given preference to personal and political friends, but whenever I have considered the efficiency of the department was best served by a republican, I have retained such a man in office. All other things being equal, of course I would put on men of my own political faith. I believe in civil service, and no governmental appointee will be more strict and earnest in carrying out civil service laws than I. I believe if every employe, federal, state and local, could be under civil service rules, millions of dollars would be saved to the people themselves, the service much more satisfactory, and even the office-seekers, to say nothing of the office-holders, better pleased.

Mr. Hessing is even more explicit than Mr. Warfield. He says that if every employe, federal, state and local, could be under civil service rules, millions of dollars would be saved to the people, the service would be more satisfactory, and even the office seekers would be better pleased, and yet Mr. Hessing turned the unclassified service over to personal and political friends. When, by his own admission, he could have taken such a reform step, why did he not himself put these places under a competitive test? The civil service commission has for years plead with whoever was President over the absurdity of the "excepted places." It puts, in almost every case, over employes who have got into the service by competition, a man who is the enemy to competition because his place came through favoritism. These are the leaders in all the bullying and trickery against the classified service, and yet the moderate amount of backbone required for this moderate step forward does not seem to be at hand.

DILETTANTE REFORMERS.

The trying part of fighting the spoils system is not in the kicks of the spoilsmen, but the needle-thrusts of the great body of dilettante sympathizers who assure you that they approve of your object, but your methods are tiresome. The golden mean of interesting these people in reform, but not of arousing any consciousness of obligation to arise and put on their own armor, is an acrobatic position extremely hard upon the fighter. He knows perfectly well that victory will end the struggle, that the fight is thoroughly interesting, that it is being conducted scientifically and practically; but these dilettanti, who call themselves conservative reformers, warn him against pessimism, against boring people with unpleasant facts and overzealousness, and at the last, superciliously class him as a man of one idea and a theorist.

To continue his work in spite of such criticisms of the friends of good government re-

quired more courage and persistence in Dr. Parkhurst than all the open barriers Tammany could raise. In fact these people were more or less the instruments of Tammany Hall. It knew how to arouse the party bigotry, the dislike to the disagreeable work of citizenship of this class of the community, and it recognized the imperative necessity of furnishing an anesthetic for the rigorous American conscience, and so Dr. Parkhurst was reproved for sensationalism, for contaminating the young and for employing spies to track out infamous things. He persisted and now he is vindicated.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.*

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: No human government, however cunningly devised, however skillful its system of checks and balances, can succeed unless it is administered by men of ability and integrity. In every form of government, brains and character are required for public office. As Mr. Schurz put it the other day, speaking of municipal government, "If Gabriel draws your charter, and Lucifer administers it, your government will be bad. If Lucifer draws your charter, and Gabriel is called upon to administer it, your government will be good." Most of all men, we, who are working out the great experiment of self-government for the world, who are called upon to deal, not only with the delicate questions of taxation, of finance, of the relation between labor and capital, of the business of sixty-five millions of people, which other governments to a certain extent are called upon to deal with also, but who are required to consider and settle these questions under difficulties of our own, difficulties arising from the presence in this country of four millions of people who were lately slaves, difficulties arising from the constant immigration of men who bring here no acquaintance with our questions, no familiarity with our traditions and our methods, and frequently no understanding of our language. We, certainly, with municipal questions, as well as national questions before us, require brains and character.

Let me remind you, briefly, if you will permit me, of a tendency which has lately developed in this country toward the methods of Mexico. I will not allude to the newer communities, nor even to a state like Kansas, where last year we found the governor of the state ordering a colonel of the militia to take possession of the house of representatives, and the colonel refusing to obey his orders, and the democrats and republicans engaged almost in a fisticuff fight for the possession of the hall. That is comparatively a new community. But here in New England, in the most orderly and best conducted part of this country, where the traditions of self-government are the strongest, only a few years ago in

Maine, under the administration of Governor Garcelon, the worst frauds were perpetrated, violence, and deceit of every kind, for the purpose of defeating the will of the people. Two years ago, in New Hampshire, we found a republican assistant clerk—the clerk himself having resigned because he was unwilling to do the work—organizing the legislature in the interest of the republican party, by refusing to recognize certain persons who had been elected by the people, in defiance of the opinion of the best republican lawyers. In Connecticut, only two years ago, the whole legislative power of the state was paralyzed for two years. In New York the legislature was made democratic because the attorney-general of the state stole a return and prevented the proper canvassing. And in New Jersey to-day we have one republican and one democratic senate, each claiming to be the true senate.

This is in the very best part of America. We certainly need brains and character if republican institutions are to succeed. And yet we have a skilfully devised system, aptly called "the spoils system," which keeps both out of the public service, whose tendency is inevitable, and steadily operating, and its results are before you.

We have, in this country, two hundred thousand offices, dealing only with those offices which come under the federal government. If you add those which belong to the state and municipal systems, the number would be something like five hundred thousand. The amount paid in salaries to the federal office-holders alone is one hundred millions a year, and that great sum of money is treated, by those of the public servants who are charged with the duty of appointing others to office, as a fund which belongs to them, and which they have the right to spend, not for the purposes for which it was created, but for the purpose of helping themselves—helping their own political fortunes—helping their party in order that they may keep in office; and at times, and times which become more frequent every year, for the purpose of supporting their friends and their relations. That is going on about you every day. Our money, placed in their hands in trust for a certain purpose, is being, in effect, stolen and applied to an entirely distinct purpose. Raised for the public use, it is being put in private pockets, and used for private gain.

Now, what is the effect of that on the public service? Let us deal, first, with its effect on the office-holder. How does a man get office? Leaving out of view, for the present, that portion of the federal offices which has been rescued from the operation of the spoils system by the civil service law, a man gets office, first, by establishing claims on his party. The doctrine is very well expressed by two office-holders under the last administration. One of them was the man who was appointed collector of internal revenue for the Indianapolis district, and who said that to secure an appointment from him a man must show

*Address of Moorfield Storey delivered before the students of Harvard College, at Sanders Theater, Cambridge, February 20, 1894.

"that he is an unwavering, active republican." The mere fact that a man may always have voted the ticket is not nearly enough. He must have been an active party worker." And General Coulter, of Ohio, the sixth auditor of the treasury, having dismissed the deputy and chief clerk and nine of the chiefs of divisions for no reason except that they were democrats, remarked: "That is what we are here for, and it is about time that the men who did the horn-blowing during the last campaign should have something to show for their labor." [Laughter.] There is the doctrine, from high official sources.

After a man has worked at party caucuses, after he has attended conventions, after he has attached himself to the fortunes of some successful political chief, he has established claims, claims which must be recognized. And what is the next step? The next step is to get indorsements. To get them, he himself or his friends must carry around a paper, must get the signatures of all the prominent men of the same political way of thinking that he can find, must get the signatures of prominent citizens who are independent, but who are believed to have some influence with the appointing power. And then, with these credentials, he goes to his member of congress. He there meets various other people with like claims, and very likely with the same indorsements, for this business of indorsements has been reduced very nearly to a science. An officer high in the federal government told me not long ago that one member of congress said to him: "Whenever you see my name written in full on an indorsement, you will understand that it counts for nothing. Whenever you see it written with my initials, that means business." [Laughter.]

So the unhappy candidate, provided with indorsements which either do not count or do, enters into a struggle with other men similarly equipped, and by and by he gets, perhaps, an appointment. And what does he get? Not a place where he may be sure that fidelity and efficiency will count, not a place which holds out to him a career. No matter how faithful his service, no matter how long his experience, if his party is defeated, if that wing of the party to which he attached himself loses its control, if his particular patron goes out of power, or, even worse, if his patron finds some other henchman whose services he thinks are more likely to be useful, out he goes. The best of records is ignored. He may have spent twenty years of his life in office, he may have fitted himself to discharge the duties of that office singularly well, he may be absolutely unfitted for any other employment, as a man is likely to be who spends his life in a bureau, he may have a large family dependent on him for support; and when he pleads these claims, the answer of the appointing power is, "Other men have families. You have had it twenty years. Other men want salaries. Out you go." No one thinks of the public service. It is simply a question between two claimants. The public service is sacrificed.

Now, is that a system which is likely to attract men of brains and character? A man who occupies official position is bound, not merely to think as his party thinks—any lack of political orthodoxy is fatal—but he is bound to think as his wing of his party thinks, as his patron thinks. And his melancholy position is perhaps illustrated by a story I used to hear of a man who was postmaster at Concord when that town was strongly anti-slavery, and he held office under a democratic administration. He was an apothecary, and wanted to keep his customers. He was a postmaster, and he wanted to keep his office. Consequently he was singularly non-committal, and it was very hard for his fellow-citizens to find out where he stood on any of the burning questions of the day. And he did not mean that they should. By and by there came an election, and they set a trap for him. A committee was appointed to watch him and see how he voted. He went up to the polls, and it happened to be the first year when the law took effect which allowed a voter to ask for an envelope and inclose his ballot. He asked for an envelope and went through the form apparently of inclosing his ballot, and they thought they had lost him. But when the votes came to be counted it was found there was only one envelope, and they thought they had got him. But when they opened the envelope they found there was no ballot in it. [Loud laughter.]

Consider what the miserable position of a man must be who does not even dare to tell himself what he thinks on politics [laughter], who does not even dare to vote in secret. That system, gentlemen, does not attract men of brains and character. And what is the result? Take, for example, the census, which is a very important business. It is very important that the statistics of this country should be taken accurately once in ten years, and a great deal of money is spent in order to secure accuracy. The civil service reformers urged the President, and urged the commissioner of the census, to put that office under the civil service rules before the last census was taken, but he declined to do it, and the census went on. The first thing that was discovered, by a recount in New York, was a difference of 200,000 inhabitants in that city—a pretty large percentage. And the question was asked the superintendent of the census, "How do you explain this?" "Well," said he, "I do not know that I can fairly say whether it is due to carelessness in the original enumeration, or whether it is due to fraudulent counting the second time." Now, certainly, if his census was of the least value, he ought to have known; if his enumerators were to be trusted at all, he ought to have known. Perhaps, again, a story of personal experience which happened in a family with which I am very familiar, in Brookline, may throw some light on the cause of that discrepancy. The enumerator came into the house, and, being informed that the oldest daughter was in Europe, declined to enumerate her on the ground

that she would be counted there. [Laughter.] He was finally driven from that position and consented to count her. He then asked the birthplaces of different members of the family, and the mother said, "I was born in Washington, D. C." "Delaware county?" "No, D. C., District of Columbia." "Well, in what state is it?" "It is not in any state, it is the District of Columbia." "But it must be in some state." And again a club was used, and he finally surrendered, saying "Well, I will put it so, but they won't know where it is." [Laughter.] He then insisted on classifying the oldest daughter as a housemaid without pay [loud laughter], as being the only blank which the census offered, there being no other possible heading under which she could be enumerated. Now, gentlemen and ladies, this did not take place in any remote part of this country, but it took place in Brookline, under the shadow of Harvard College [laughter], in sight of the gilded dome, and in perhaps the most intelligent community about here. Only the spoils system could find such an enumerator in Brookline. If it happened there, what do you suppose must have happened in the Tammany districts of New York, and what happened all over this country? That is the legitimate business result of the spoils system as applied to the census.

Now, take the Indian question. I do not know how many Indians you suppose we have in this country. We naturally imagine they are very numerous. I believe there are 250,000. And it has been stated that we spend enough in taking care of them to board each one at the best hotel in New York. [Laughter.] Why? Because we have neither brains nor character in the Indian service. If by accident either of those qualities appear, it is promptly extirpated. [Laughter.] Under the last administration, or under the last administration but one, my recollection is that out of fifty-eight Indian agents, fifty-six were removed. Under the last administration fifty-seven of the fifty-eight were removed. Against the protest of every body who was familiar with the subject, the experienced and competent men were turned out. And what was the result? The result was the death of a great many people in the northwest. The result was that Pine Ridge outbreak, directly traceable to replacing a competent man, in whom the Indians had confidence, with a miserable politician, who was appointed at the behest of one of the senators from Dakota, on the ground that the home-rule doctrine must be applied, and that the spoils of that particular state belonged to the senators from that state. The result was an outbreak. Farmers were obliged to abandon their property, farms were laid waste, a whole section was thrown into confusion; and the final result was, that men, women and children were surrounded and shot down by men who wore the uniform of the government. That is the result of the spoils system in another form.

Now, take the consular service. Here is a great country which desires to preserve inti-

mate commercial relations with its neighbors. An excellent consul in any part of the world is a missionary, a missionary of commerce, a man who can lay before the merchants of this country important facts for their guidance. And what do we have? The longer a consul remains in place the more familiar he becomes with the people, the more familiar he becomes with the business, the more useful he is to those of his fellow-citizens who happen to find themselves there, the more useful he is to his country. But our system is, once in four years, to turn them all out and fill their places, not with men who are selected because they are fitter, not with men who know anything about even the language of the place to which they are accredited, but men who have successfully packed some caucus, perhaps in Indiana, and who have claims and indorsements. Some years ago we had a minister in Chili under General Grant, a man whose character and whose conduct was such that the Chilian government requested his recall. General Grant looked into the case and recalled him. Shortly afterward another republican president was elected, and this man, who had been making campaign speeches in one of the states, desired an appointment, and they sent him back to Chili. They slapped the most powerful government in South America in the face, they paralyzed our influence there for a great many years, they injured our commerce, merely that that man might have perhaps \$12,000 a year, which he did not earn and to which he was not in the least degree entitled. That is the way the spoils system works in our foreign relations. You have got a system which drives the men of character and the men of brains out of your service, for such men will not pay the price which is now charged for a public office. Men will not pay any price unless they get something in return. And an office which leads nowhere, an office where character and capacity count for nothing, is not a place which a man of either character or brains is likely to take. The result is you have bad workmen, and where you have bad workmen you are sure to have bad and expensive work.

Now, there is another effect. People sometimes say that a class of office-holders is to be avoided. Well, gentlemen, a class of office-holders is not to be named in the same day with a class of office-seekers. [Laughter.] For one office-holder there are twenty men who are demoralized by the hope that they may be able to get their living without work; that they may get an office, which to them seems a sinecure. Those men may be said to live on faith, hope, and ultimately on charity. [Laughter.] They fill the departments at Washington, they beset congressmen and the President, they grow more and more demoralized, and finally they degenerate into deadbeats. If you will go with me to Washington and walk up and down Pennsylvania avenue, I can show you shoals of them, aimless, hopeless, useless men, who have been ruined by the spoils system—men who might have been useful citizens, who might have filled some prominent place in the

body politic, but who are now mere driftwood on the surface of the stream.

Now, what next? How is it with the legislature? How does the present system act with men of character and ability there? I could occupy all my time, and more time than you would feel disposed to listen, by reading you testimony from the first statesmen of the country as to the effect which it produced on them. One man, for example, said, after spending two or three years in congress, that there ought to be one man to attend to the business for which congressmen were elected, and another man elected from the same district to take care of the offices; one man could not do both. Now, as a matter of fact, a man who goes to congress soon finds himself beset by these people with influence and with claims. It is a very hard business to decide between them. He is pretty certain, if he recommends A, to offend B and a large variety of other letters of the alphabet. After he has made his selection with pains and thought, he has got to go and beset the President, beset the secretary of state, infest the offices of various members of the cabinet, and struggle with representatives from other states. His time and his thought, which ought to be devoted to considering the very delicate questions of legislation which come before congress, are in fact largely occupied, and in some cases entirely occupied, with this miserable business of trying to minister to the selfish wants of certain office-seekers. No thought of the public service enters here. These men do not go to the President and secretary of state and say: "You have got in that place a wholly incompetent person, and I offer you here a man whose training, whose ability, whose experience, singularly fit him to fill the place." Nothing of that sort occurs. They are very apt to go and say: "Here I have a constituent who wants a consulship, and his salary ought to be about \$2,000. Let us look over the list of consuls." So he runs them down. "That place I have promised to So-and-So, of Arkansas; he can not have that. But here is a consulship with a salary of \$2,000 that will suit him." "Who is in it?" "A. B." "Oh, kick him out and appoint my man." Nobody stops to inquire whether the man who is there is a good consul, nobody thinks of asking primarily whether the man that seeks the place is the man best fitted for it. He has claims, and he has influence, and the public service suffers.

Now, that work is not work which men of brains and character like to do. It is not pleasant when you are elected to congress to find your waking and your sleeping hours occupied by office seekers; to be continually weighing in the balance their respective demands, and offending other people to gratify them. But the member of congress who neglects that work, in many sections of the country, soon finds that what he calls his "fences" are down, and he has to go home and look after them or lose his place. The result is, that the men who are in congress, the men who ought to be able to give their whole time and

thought to the legislative work which they are elected to do, have not the time for it, and they are continually distracted from their work by these petty considerations. And, on the other hand, constantly worse men are elected, because the man who makes the most promises to the would-be candidates for office, the man who establishes the closest relations with the men who manage the caucus and the machine, is the man who is likely to go to congress; while the man who should stand up at the beginning of his campaign and say before the nominating convention met, "If I am elected I do not propose to recommend a single person for any office," would be pretty reasonably certain of not securing even a nomination. In that way, the character of your legislative bodies is steadily deteriorating. Do you want evidence of it? Ask yourselves who are the senators to-day from the great republican state of Pennsylvania and the great democratic state of New York? Quay and Cameron; Hill and Murphyl [Laughter.] How happen these men to be there? What is their record as statesmen? What contribution have they ever made to the great questions which this country is called upon to decide? Were they selected on account of their eminent public services, on account of conspicuous ability, or because they are leaders of public opinion? I doubt if there is any strong partisan of either party in this audience who would stand up and answer that question in the affirmative. Those men are there because they knew how to wield the patronage successfully, because they were good managers of the machine. And what is the result? Last summer the business of this country was paralyzed, disaster to many of us seemed imminent, great industries were stopped, workmen were out of work, and the prospect on every side seemed desperate. The country made up its mind that the cause was the law which required the purchase of so much silver every month, and congress was called together to repeal it. Certainly there were no states in this Union more strongly in favor of that repeal than Pennsylvania and New York. And yet Senator Cameron stood up and made a speech in opposition to it. And when the senate tried to force a vote by remaining in continuous session, and failed, Senator Hill walked out of the chamber and remarked, "Well, it wasn't a very good Cleveland day, was it?" All those men thought of was their petty political contest. The interests of the country received no attention at their hands. Those four senators are the legitimate fruit of the spoils system, in the highest legislature of the country. If you are mortified that the largest and richest states in the country are so represented, the remedy is to abolish the system which puts them there.

Now, let us come to the President. How is he affected? I might remind you of the first President Harrison, who was killed in a month by office-seekers, a man who had served in various wars, but who could not bear that contest. I might remind you of President

Garfield, whose assassination was generally recognized as being the direct result of an unseemly contest over spoils, which occurred during the first six months of his term. But I do not care to take such comparatively recent illustrations. Let me carry you back to the time of the civil war—a time certainly when every patriotic citizen in this country recognized that his first duty was to his country, when men were willing to sacrifice their lives and their property, and every thing that they valued, in order that the rebellion might be put down. Every sane man recognized that at that time the future of the country, the future of a race, in large part depended on President Lincoln, upon his wise determination of the many embarrassing questions which he was called upon to decide. In that supreme moment we find him writing: "I wish I had time to attend to the southern question, but these office-seekers demand all my time. I am like a man so busy letting rooms at one end of my house that I have not time to put out the fire which is burning in the other." Now, if that was the experience of President Lincoln at that time, what think you must be the experience of President Cleveland now, with a united country to bear its fruit of office-seekers, with a population enormously increased, with a system solidified by long continuance, when the offices are more than twice as numerous as they were then, and the office-seekers of course numerous in much larger proportion? How is it possible for a single human being to meet this flood of applications? How is it possible to find time to consider the important questions that come before the President of the United States, when every waking and sleeping moment is occupied by this demand? I remember, even in that time, President Lincoln was asked how he passed his day. And he had in mind a certain senator from New York, whom he called Ira. "Well," said he, "I come down to breakfast in the morning, and I find Ira there, and he stays and talks to me about the New York offices while I eat my egg, and remains about an hour afterward. Then I have time to look over my letters, and am getting ready for lunch, when Ira is ushered in, and he stays another hour—stays with me to lunch, and very likely goes out to drive with me. Then I have my dinner, and I meet a few people in the evening. Then I go to my room, and look under the bed and see if Ira is there, and if he is not I go to sleep." [Laughter.]

And this is not the worst of it. It is not merely that the system interferes with the operations of your government. The theory on which our whole institutions rest is, that whenever we are dissatisfied with a public officer we have only to say so, and turn him out. At the next popular election the people rise in their might, and the officer is removed. That beautiful theory has disappeared in practice under the spoils system. Suppose you go to Baltimore. You will find there the scene of the hardest political battle that has been fought in this country for years. You will find

there perhaps the worst city government in the world, a government administered by blackmail. And if you ask the prominent citizens of that place why it is that, with all their efforts, they have been unable to displace their corrupt rulers, the answer will be, "Why, Senator Gorman has organized the office-holders of this state into such an efficient army, so thoroughly disciplined, that our efforts are useless. We can not break the line." When Mr. Cowan was making his speech there he said to his fellow-citizens, "Why is it that murder, pure, simple murder, has got to be regarded in Baltimore as a qualification for office? How is it that at this moment there are seven murderers holding office under our city government, through the favor of Mr. Gorman and his associates?" That is the fact, and if you want the names of the murderers I can give them here. But they are only features of the general situation. The truth is that the man who stands at the head of the machine buys, with the money which we contribute to carry on the public business, a certain number of mercenaries, forms them into a disciplined cohort; and men who are less disciplined, who take a few hours from their business once a year for political work, which is what we mean by "the public rising in their might," find it almost impossible to displace them. Take an illustration a little nearer home. Two years ago the people of the United States, certainly those who belonged to the democratic party, had made up their minds that Mr. Cleveland should be the candidate of that party at the next election. He seemed to be the person who had the strongest hold upon this country. It was perfectly clear that a majority of the democratic voters of New York wanted him. Senator Hill desired, himself, to be the nominee. He knew perfectly well that a fairly-called convention would be certain to send Cleveland representatives. He had the entire control of the office-holders of the state, and he called what was known as the "snap convention," before the usual time and without due notice, and it returned a unanimous Hill delegation to Chicago. That is what it was to have the command of a band of mercenaries, paid for by the public money. What was the result? The people of New York were not satisfied, and, with infinite trouble, obtaining signatures all over the state, with a copious enrollment, at a great sacrifice of time, they succeeded in demonstrating practically to every man in the country that a majority of the democrats of New York were not satisfied with the delegates elected at that convention and were determined to be represented by delegates who were for Mr. Cleveland. And yet when they went to the convention their delegation was not admitted. Every one knew it was the true delegation, but this organized band of office-holders were determined to stand between the people and the bosses, and nothing but the strong force of public opinion outside the organization, clamoring at the outside wall, finally persuaded the men inside to nominate Mr. Cleveland. Now, suppose they had not done that—and they came very near failing to nominate Mr. Cleveland—suppose Mr. Hill had been the candidate of the democratic party, as under many circumstances he would have been against a candidate less strong than Mr. Cleveland, the result undoubtedly might have been a republican victory. The result might have been that the verdict on the tariff would have been reversed, and the whole economic policy of this country for a series of years might have been changed, simply because this senator from New York, through his control of the mercenary office-holders, was able to misrepresent the people of that state. This is the way in which the

spoils system deprives the people of their right to change their rulers at their pleasure, and that is an evil which it is impossible to exaggerate.

Nor is this all. Last year almost every good citizen in the country recognized the importance of repealing the silver bill. They felt the pressure of impending disaster, they felt the misery which was hanging over a great many innocent people, workingmen, operatives, the community generally. They went so far as to say that they thought the President of the United States ought to buy votes for the repeal of the silver law by giving offices to senators; in other words, that the President of the United States ought to bribe congress to do that which the people demanded. No more dangerous doctrine than that was ever preached in a free government, and it is amazing to find that honorable men for a moment entertained the possibility of such a course. And yet there are many who believe that that thing was done. And what does this mean? The American people are perfectly disciplined to yield when the majority is against them. We are always willing to obey the will of the majority. But on this silver question there were a great many of our fellow-citizens, as honest as ourselves, who really believed in the existing law, who really believed in free silver, scattered throughout the south, scattered throughout the west, some of them here in New England. Now, if these people were satisfied that the majority of the congress of the United States, after careful debate, in the use of their unbiased judgment, had reached the conclusion that the silver law ought to be repealed, as good American citizens they would have submitted. But suppose they are left with the impression that the real belief of the majority was in favor of the law and that its repeal was brought about by bribery, you have sown the seeds of revolution. The moment it is understood that legislation is for sale, that moment the seeds of revolution have been sown, and the revolution in time is sure to come. If the populist, the anarchist, the socialist succeed in turning out the men who are in power and appointing men of their own caliber, their own party, in their places, they will apply the same rule; they will use the offices to buy votes for their pernicious measures. A bad example, once set, is certain to be followed; and instead of having a government of reason, we shall have a government simply of bribery, and no government can long endure where that prevails.

Mr. Emerson said, at the breaking out of the war, we had been trying to do without justice. It was a pithy sentence. It summed up in a few words the whole cause of that struggle. Now, if we try to do without honesty, the revolution is just as certain to follow as the rebellion was to follow slavery. The moral laws of the universe are just as inexorable as the law of gravitation. You can not avoid them. There is no truer word than the text, "Be sure thy sins shall find thee out." You may push the pendulum as far as you will one way. The farther you push it, the surer and the stronger is the recoil.

Now, we have another result. If the President interferes with the legislature, if he undertakes to control their action by bribery, the legislature, on the other hand, undertakes to deprive him of his undoubted prerogative. The senators say, "The patronage of our state is so important to us that we will exercise it, and not allow it to be exercised under the constitution by the President." There has grown up, in consequence, what is called senatorial courtesy, a corrupt combination between senators from different states, by which they agree that in case a man is nominated to office from one state he shall be defeated if the senators

from that state disapprove of the nomination; and if the senators happen to be of different political parties, if the senator who is of the same political faith with the appointing power disapproves of it. It was openly avowed the other day by Senator Cullom, when the question came up of confirming Mr. Hornblower, "Why, we must stand by Mr. Hill. We shall want his assistance some day. We can't afford to defeat him." And what is the result; what is the result that you have just seen? Two years ago the attorney-general of New York took a return when it was on its way to the returning-board or the registering officer, at a time when the legislature of New York hung in the balance. The bar of New York proceeded to investigate the case. The bar association, through its committee, denounced the act, and branded the man who did it as a criminal. Senator Hill undertook to defy the public sentiment of New York by nominating that man for the court of appeals through an office holding convention which he absolutely controlled, and the people of New York set their foot upon the fraud by an enormous majority. Prominent in that fight to keep the bench of New York pure were Mr. Hornblower and Mr. Peckham. One is the president of the New York Bar Association; both are men whom their fellow-members of the bar of both parties cordially indorse as fit for the bench; and they have both been defeated, not because they were unfit, but simply because Senator Hill intended to punish those men for daring to try to keep the bench of New York State pure. The thief tried to drive the judge who helped to convict him from the bench. And the whole senate of the United States, or a large part of it, joined hands with the thief—joined hands with a man whom they despised, and helped him to carry out that malicious purpose. That is the present conspicuous result of the spoils system as it appears in the senate of the United States.

Now, gentlemen, what is the remedy? It is perfectly simple. It is the civil service reform law; that is to say, it is a system which invites every citizen of this country, who desires to serve the United States, who desires to take public office, who has the honorable ambition of serving his country, to come forward and present himself as a candidate. Let him show his fitness, and the man who proves his competency is chosen.

I need not say to you, familiar as you all are with the examination, that men are not examined for letter-carriers on the differential calculus; that it is possible, in human ingenuity, to devise an examination which shall test the fitness of a candidate for the particular office for which he presents himself. And whenever you hear a man talk of ridiculous questions being asked of this kind and that kind, you may set that man down either as ill informed or as a liar. The men who have framed these examination papers are sensible men, and their purpose is to get fit men; and the examinations are so framed as to test the fitness of a man for the particular place he is to fill. There is no hanging around the ante-chambers of congressmen, there is no beseeching fellow-citizens for indorsement, there is no working in caucuses and conventions to establish claims. Fitness, and fitness alone, is the qualification for a place. And the fittest man gets it. That is the way in which you get men of brains and men of character.

That law to-day applies to a certain portion of the service. It is capable of very great extension; but there are certain offices to which it can not be applied, certain places, for example, like the fourth-class postmasters, where the salary is so small, where so much depends upon locality, that is difficult, by competitive examination, to select a candidate. But there are other schemes by which all

these offices can be taken out of politics and placed purely upon a business basis, and some of those measures are pending in congress now.

And now the question comes before you, young gentlemen, upon whose shoulders is soon to devolve your share in the government of this country, what can you do to end this abuse, what can you do to bring to an end the spoils system, and to bring about civil service reform? And remember that each one of you is just as responsible as every other.

In the first place, you can declare yourselves the friends of the reform. You can make its friends your friends, and its enemies your enemies. You can let it be understood that you vote as you think. This is not a partisan question. This is not a case where the reform is to be carried through by adhesion to either of the great political parties. It would be difficult to find a hole in the armor of either that is not paralleled by another of just about the same size in the armor of the other. Certainly since 1876 both parties have zealously devoted themselves, when they have met together to frame a platform, to declaring their undying adhesion to the principles of civil service reform. They promised that if they were only trusted with office, the principles of civil service reform should be applied in their entirety. And we have trusted them, first one and then the other, during these twenty years, and we have not got civil service reform from either.

Now, the man who undertakes to be first a republican and then a civil service reformer, does not help. A man who undertakes to be first a democrat and then a civil service reformer, does not help. The moment you put yourself in the position of attacking the sins of your political enemies, and disguising the sins of your friends of exactly the same quality, you put yourself in a false position. You can not attack one man for doing that which, in your friend, you pardon or excuse. And let it be understood that the man who always votes his party ticket, does not count. Put yourselves, if you will, in the position of a boss who is making his calculations. "There in the eleventh ward are a thousand respectable republican voters, or a thousand respectable democratic voters, as the case may be. If I appoint Smith to the post-office, they will be very angry. If I do not appoint Smith to the post-office, those fellows in South Boston, will be very angry. The fellows in the eleventh ward, what will they do about it? Oh, they will grumble, and they will write articles to the newspapers, but how will they vote? They will vote the republican ticket on election day all right. But how is it with those fellows in South Boston? Well, they will knife the ticket just as certain as I do not appoint that man to the post-office." Now, which set of voters influences that particular boss? Certainly not the man who always votes the ticket, whose vote he can rely upon, and whom he can not drive out of the political fold by any appointment he makes. The man whom you can not drive away is a voter whom you can count upon anyway, and you need not shape your course to suit him in the least.

Now, the next remedy is public opinion. And you have got to reach, let me explain to you, not men who think as you think, but men who do not. The trouble, for example, with our institutions in New York, is the presence there of a very large number of citizens who are apparently under the absolute dominion of Tammany—Italians, Germans, Irishmen, Americans, ignorant men. You may start with this postulate, that the majority of the people of this country or any other country want good government. They desire just what you desire. They only do not know how. Now,

if you have a meeting in a hall and invite none but civil service reformers who think as you do, you do not reach these men. If, once a year, just before election, you go down and talk to them, even if you give them some money when they are unemployed, you do not reach them. They say, "What they want is our votes." Call yourselves, if you please, the leaven, and then the lump. The leaven never affected the lump in the least while it was in a cup on one side of the room, and the lump was on the other; it has got to permeate the whole lump. You have got to get down side by side and interest yourselves in the daily lives of these people, stand with them, understand their problems, work with them in January, February, March and April as well as in November, before you have any real influence.

That is the work which is required of you, and you may think it is disagreeable. Well, I admit it is thoroughly disagreeable, thankless, unpleasant work. But there is nothing in this world worth having that is not won in that way. It is not pleasant for Howard to go through all the prisons of Europe and see the vice and disease that he saw, for the purpose of exposing the system. It was not agreeable to freeze and starve at Valley Forge. It was not agreeable, like Garrison, to be imprisoned in Baltimore, and to be pursued by a mob in Boston, and to be threatened with death because he was opposed to slavery. There was nothing agreeable in Sumner's position when he was beaten on the floor of the senate, and his colleagues, unmindful of any courtesy of the senate, stood around and held their hands. The trenches before Petersburg, the swamps of Vicksburg, Libby Prison, Andersonville, were not attractive, but the men who went before you were willing to bear those hardships for the sake of their country. Are you not made of as good stuff?

You have all of you, as boys, read the story of the choice of Hercules, and I have no doubt that every one of you, when he read it as a child, said to himself: "Why, of course, between the life of ease and luxury and wealth, and the task of killing the Nemean lion and cleansing the Augean stables, and doing all the laborious and difficult and dangerous things that Hercules did, any gentleman would have chosen the latter." I do not suppose a boy ever read the story who thought it possible for a moment that he would actually have chosen the life of ease and luxury and wealth, when he could have killed the Nemean lion. Why, gentleman, there is no Nemean lion more dangerous than the spoils system, no Augean stable which requires cleansing any more than Tammany in New York. When you were children the choice was easy. Now that you are men, are you going to shrink from it? Be sure of this, that if you once enlist in that work, once get thoroughly interested in it, it makes very little difference whether you succeed or fail. The struggle, the fight, the work for something which you know is worth working for, makes your life full of interest, and worth living. You will learn the truth so well expressed by Lowell:

"'Tis not the grapes of Canaan that repay,
But the high faith that failed not by the way."

But if, by chance, like Sumner and Garrison, you live to see slavery abolished; if even at the moment of death, like Wolfe, you hear that the foe are fleeing, you may rest perfectly well assured that life has nothing in store for you that can be compared for a moment with the joy of such a triumph. No luxury, no ease, no wealth, nothing that fortune can give, is more than dust in the balance when weighed against a life spent in such a struggle, even if it is not crowned with such a victory.

Messieurs Hercules, the choice is before you. [Loud applause.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 17.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

AS WAS in another form stated, the address delivered by Mr. Godkin on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial bust of Henry G. Pearson, for having ably and conscientiously performed his duty, and his whole duty, as a public officer, is a humiliating illumination of the great body of the civil service of which he was a member. Mr. Godkin's address was a calm and judicial statement of the principles and practices which are in combat in the spoils and anti-spoils struggle. The argument leads on to the crushing conclusion that free government and spoils can not permanently remain side by side. The manner in which the exigencies of business are fighting the battle of civil service reform is given by analogy a powerful illustration. Speaking of modern industrial machines, Mr. Godkin says: "The touch of a drunkard's hand sets them wild. *

* * The anger of a mismanaged machine is so serious in its consequences that no employer can afford to overlook even a single case of intemperance." So the growth of business and the consequent increasing impatience of the public with bungling are helping to drive out the public officer who undertakes to run primaries and conventions, and at the same time write letters and collect revenue. The address has no favorites. Few more leveling things have been said of Mr. Cleveland than that, in his first term, he appointed Pearson postmaster of New York, not because he was the fittest man in the world for the place, but to gratify the mugwumps. We could have wished that more of the history of that term had been given. We believe the facts will sooner or later show that there was a most dastardly and continuous attempt to break down an officer who had no thought for anything but a complete performance of his duties, solely because he refused to have any other thought, or, in other words, refused to mix politics with his duties, and that the wear, the indignity and the injustice of the attempt shortened Pearson's life. We believe also that the facts will fasten this attempt upon William F. Vilas and Don M. Dickinson, each respectively post-

master-general, and that Mr. Cleveland will have to bear a share of the responsibility.

Tammany's park commission could find no place for this memorial although it was offered to them, and Tammany's postmaster, Dayton, could not attend the unveiling in the postoffice building. It would have been a hopeful sign if from some part of the administration at Washington there had appeared an expression showing some realization of the fact that Pearson was a pioneer, amid enormous difficulties, of a higher civil service civilization which ought to and must spread over the country.

A WASHINGTON dispatch of July 7 to the *Indianapolis News* says that Voorhees is not feeling in very good temper over the report that Governor Matthews is a candidate for the senate. It further says:

It looks now as if the Indiana senator was preparing to contest every inch of the ground with any and all comers. He has been holding conferences with representatives in the house recently, and strengthening his relations, which were severely strained in a number of instances by the distribution of federal patronage in the Hoosier state. His health has not been very good for the last three months, and he has been conserving his energies and transferring the burden of the tariff fight in the senate to other shoulders in order to keep himself in trim for an energetic canvass of Indiana this fall.

We always felt that after Voorhees got well loaded with spoil he would become ill or afflicted with lassitude before he had completed his tariff work. It is a coarse suggestion, but the only safe way in this matter of the exchange of patronage for legislation is to follow exactly the methods devised after profound reflection and bitter experience with floaters. If the President had intimated to Voorhees, "After the tariff bill—offices," how spry and single-hearted we should see our distinguished senator now.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has received a second rebuke in a Washington dispatch to the *New York Times* regarding Major Handbury, but this like the one referred to last month is in vague and general terms. There is still a studied concealment of the facts. If Secretary Lamont, who is undoubtedly talking through this dispatcher, is not ready to give the facts, he would better drop the matter. Talking about an "inadvisable champion of civil service reform" is not

meeting the charge that he was a party to an ignoble revenge reaped upon Major Handbury. Who was the man whom the secretary expected to give a certain report and whom Major Handbury did not want and what was the report to be about? There is no pretense of denial that he was Caruth's heeler. There is no pretense of denial that Major Handbury's strained relations with Caruth was one of the reasons for his transfer to St. Augustine. If those who are smarting under the general condemnation of this business will give out the names and data, we will verify their statements. In the meantime we repeat that Major Handbury was an officer of the highest efficiency; that he fought steadily and in case after case the attempts of political bosses to quarter their followers upon the public service; that in doing this he was carrying out the democratic platform; that his course brought upon him the enmity of Congressman Caruth and to the abject practice of placating congressmen Major Handbury was sacrificed. Of course Major Handbury's mouth is closed. There are worse posts than St. Augustine.

It is painful to admit the fact, but it really begins to look as if we were to have merely democratic protection as a substitute for republican protection.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, July 17.*

There is no failure of his administration that will cause President Cleveland such humiliation and disappointment as a failure to enact a real tariff reform law. The cause of this failure is again indicated in the passages elsewhere, showing the process of using patronage to make a great boss. Gorman's subsidized press, McPherson's successful demand upon the President to withdraw a nomination, and the evident desire not to antagonize Tammany in spite of the shocking disclosures of its apparently never-ending corruption, disclose powers made by patronage given by the President. The recipients are defiant of the President, their party and public opinion, and they are the chief personages in the shameful tariff dickers and deals. This is the way to undertake a reform and to fail through timidity and compromises. Last week the President met an assault upon the government of the United States with boldness and decision, and he has gained the hearty approval of all citizens, regardless of party. The American people love a brave man. The President has not

been brave in his part of tariff reform. What is worse, it has had through the methods employed, a deadly blow, for who can urge further agitation and business peril to again make the reform the foot-ball of patronage?

WHILE the best citizens of Troy were holding Senator Murphy responsible for the murder of Robert Ross, and were trying to fix the execution of the crime upon a Murphy heeler, another follower of Senator Murphy was given the postmastership by the administration. But in spite of this strange mark of power or favor, and of the hostility or indifference of the Governor of New York, Murphy's man has been convicted of the murder. It is the old story of an American community so long and so helplessly in the grip of a boss, that it seems to the outsider to have lost all courage, all patriotism and all moral sense, suddenly rising in wrath and smiting the boss.

ACCORDING to the published reports, Pension Agent Spencer, of this city, although but a short time in office, has dismissed twenty-four of the twenty-eight men under him to make room for democrats, and the remaining four are to go after the August payment. Not a fault is found with the dismissed men. Spencer has never denied in any manner his published interviews, in which he stated that in order to get this office he had to bargain away these clerkships to Voorhees and Turpie. Time was when it was inconceivable that President Cleveland would allow such a fraudulent misuse of a public trust. We wish some of his apologists would take space in the CHRONICLE to explain this transaction.

THE administration has appointed a successor to Mr. Milchrist, United States district attorney at Chicago. Attorney-General Olney is stated to have explained the change as having been made

"Only because Mr. Milchrist's term of office expired on the 2d of August next, and it was desirable to have his successor ready to qualify at that time, whether congress was or was not then in session. So far as he had had opportunity to observe, Mr. Milchrist had always been a loyal and efficient officer."

"A loyal and efficient officer" is displaced to make a place for a democrat. How grossly improper this is. A district attorney of the United States, as an upright officer, must know no class, no religion, no color, no politics, and yet one officer is displaced and his successor is appointed solely because of politics.

SECRETARY of the Treasury Carlisle asked for the resignation of Supervising-Inspector McMaster at Buffalo, and is reported to have said:

"There are no charges against Mr. McMaster that I know of, but he has now served about nine months more than his four-year term, and I want to fill his place with a democrat. I will do this as soon as possible. I suppose I can find some one who is competent and willing to take it. Postmaster-General Bissell or Mr. Lockwood will probably recommend Mr. McMaster's successor."

This dismissal is, compared with others, one of the secretary's minor offenses, but let any one reflect upon what would naturally be the view of a man fit to be the secretary of the treasury of a great country like the United States, and the pettiness and flippancy of the man who occupies the post are painful. When an ordinary politician is placed in one of these great offices and runs it on the grade of ward politics, with more than suggestions of trickery and false witness and conduct generally unbecoming a gentleman, with how much dignity and respect is he to be treated because of his office? And when we throw over the common politician the mantle of his responsible and dignified office to belittle such political acts as the indignity put upon Major Handbury by Secretary of War Lamont, and the indignity put upon Professor Mendenhall by Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle, is our respect for the great office itself thereby impaired?

"HAVING been called by the National Assembly to the position of first magistrate of the country, I am not the man of any party, but belong to France and the republic."—From the inaugural message of Casimir-Perier, July 3, 1894.

"The need of this country is lofty, disinterested patriotism, which forgets all minor allegiances in the presence of the general welfare and has the courage to make all sacrifices which may be needed to uphold this welfare."—From the interview of Archbishop Ireland, July 15, 1894.

Does President Cleveland also consider himself the man, not of any party, but of the republic? What he has done that he ought not to have done for spoils, and what he has failed to do that he ought to have done, have been pardoned by many on the ground that any other plan would break up his party. So we see reform blocked, because a president is the man of a party, instead of belonging only to the republic. The obstacle now looming up in the effort to purge New York of Tammany is the want of "lofty, disinterested patriotism, which forgets all minor allegiances." The partisan reformer is being played upon by cunning Tammany and Platt players, and it looks as if the players would get a response. Mr. Herbert Welsh finds the greatest obstacle to municipal reform the party bigotry of the good citizens. A late illustration from Indianapolis is the following:

If the army of tramps should come into the city after being forbidden by the mayor, every one of them will be arrested as vagrants and sent to the workhouse. The workhouse is now crowded, but this will not be permitted to interfere with the determination to prevent the citizens from being imposed upon by another aggregation of tramps.

The mayor was asked if the men would be put to

work upon the Fall creek dike, which the city has been endeavoring to build for some time. He said the city had no authority to put the men at this work without the consent of the county commissioners, which it was impossible for the city to obtain. The commissioners have full and absolute control of the workhouse, and the city can not work its prisoners confined there upon public works without the consent of the commissioners. This the commissioners will not give for political reasons. The city administration being republican and the county democratic, the commissioners use their offices for political purposes, and will not permit the working of workhouse prisoners upon public works that will not otherwise be constructed for lack of funds.

How can we diminish this blind, deaf and dumb and violent party spirit, so that a president will consider his duty to the whole people, and not to his party? And how can the party bigotry of respectable citizens be eradicated? For only when this has been accomplished will Tammany have met its death blow, and all municipal government of the United States have ceased to be a lesson in corruption. It is in the hope of doing something in this direction that the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE prints Mr. Julian's interesting paper upon independence in politics.

CARRIER WELLS has just completed twenty five years of service in the Indianapolis postoffice, and during that time has distributed mail in a single district. He is a quiet, modest citizen and excellent carrier, but this length of service puts him in the "office-holding aristocracy," and makes him a menace to a republican form of government. Poor Mr. Wells.

CONGRESSMAN JASON BROWN has failed to secure renomination, and at the convention made an address in which he is reported to have "skinned alive" those who accomplished his defeat. We quote what he says of civil service reform, because we think it is the first instance of a congressman openly regretting that there is not "an office to every applicant." The climate of Indiana is at present unsuited to the mathematical computation of the size of a civil service in which every congressman should have an office for every applicant. It is fitting that Congressman Brown is about to retire to private life after the following:

A word about civil service reform. If I could have given an office to every applicant Stockslager would not have been in it. He would now be hanging on to the coupling pole. The people I did appoint were honest democrats and none of them were my relatives. I have tried to get appointments on, but had this bill stuck under my nose. I hate and dispise the civil service law. It should have been passed by the A. P. A. It was passed in 1883, and I have been its common enemy ever since. You are opposed to this civil service rot, and yet you put me out and put in Stockslager who voted for it.

THE monthly report, for June, of the secretary of the New York Civil Service Reform Association contains many inter-

esting items. The association has secured the enactment of a law forbidding comptrollers or other disbursing officers of any city to authorize payment of salaries to officers or employees appointed in violation of the civil service law and rules. This is one of the most effective safeguards that could have been raised up. The party machines of seven cities which have ignored the law will now have to swallow an unpalatable dose of reform, and the bosses in many other cities where the law has been tricked can now be dealt with on even terms. An application to the excellent courts of that state to enjoin the payment of an incumbent's salary will bring forward for review the whole process by which he got his place. Party heelers will be slow to take places by tricks when they may after all fail to receive any pay. The present state comptroller applies a similar rule in the state service. The board of electrical control of New York city ignored the law in the appointment of thirteen inspectors. The present comptroller found them in office and refused to pay them. The bosses then had twelve of them pass a non-competitive examination, but the comptroller was still immovable. If any of them get upon the public pay-roll it be after an open competitive examination duly advertised.

THE thirteenth annual meeting and the first annual dinner of the Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association were held June 18. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, spoke upon municipal reform, and is reported as follows:

The questions he submitted were: Can American institutions permanently succeed with dishonest management? Is public office under our American institutions to be used as a position for private gain or is it to be a great stewardship for the public? He held that these questions were as fundamental and vital as was the slavery question.

Political partisanship is more than any other thing the bane of good city government, for it presents a wholly false issue and divides citizens who really desire the well-being of the municipality into two hostile armies perpetually at war with one another. Doubtless the machine boss grins in secret and is tempted to exclaim "What fools these mortals be," when he sees that a transparent device will lead the community by the nose to its own great loss. For it is the pocket of the voter which must meet the heavy costs of official stealings and the wasteful extravagance which, in a hundred ways, is the outcome of partisan boss rule.

The stronghold of corruption in Philadelphia to-day is that alliance which we are forced to believe exists between machine leaders and the majority of the city council on the one side, and corporate wealth unscrupulously used on the other. The machine influence is systematically built up and maintained by corporate interests for purely business reasons. The maintenance of extreme partisanship is the first object of the machine, for the political partisan will sacrifice every moral consideration to his party prejudices.

We wish Mr. Welsh would give as detailed and as specific a history of the republican machine in Philadelphia as has been given of Tammany. He would not

be supported, however, as the fighters of Tammany have been, by a free and untrammelled press, backing the investigation and distributing the facts.

At the dinner the new democratic postmaster, Howard H. Baker, "expressed his hearty sympathy with civil service reform and with the law which now relieved postmasters from many embarrassing situations, where formerly patronage had to be doled out to ward politicians and caucus manipulators, who are ever anxious to serve the people—"for revenue only." He rejoiced at the dawn of a new and better era." And yet ten days later Postmaster Baker is reported by the Buffalo *Express* as follows:

"He intended to make changes in all the positions not covered by the civil service regulations, and he believed that there were about 20 of these places. The heads of all the departments, such as the stamp, the registered letter, the money order, the superintendent of letter carriers, the superintendents of sub-stations, would be changed, but he could not tell just how soon he would appoint men to succeed those now in office. He had received any number of applications from very good men, and he realized that it would be a difficult task to make the selections."

Since the above was written there are indications that Mr. Baker is doing better than he thought he should. He is not pleasing the local machine. Mr. Baker is reported as follows:

"I am running this office and intend to get the best service I can. In many cases I didn't know the politics of the men I appointed and promoted. Take, for instance, the appointments I made to-day. I appointed Charles A. Watson first clerk in the inquiry division and Nelson S. Fairbush second clerk. Mr. Watson is a man who has been here under several administrations and his appointment was made strictly in accordance with civil service reform ideas and politics didn't figure at all."

WE have received the eleventh report of the New York State Civil Service Commission, covering the year 1893, which completed the first ten years of the civil service law of that state. The first year there were appointed from the eligible lists 18; the second, 22; the third, 57; the fourth, 58; the fifth, 29; the sixth, 47; the seventh, 62; the eighth, 71; the ninth, 101; the tenth, 129, making a total of 626 appointments from the eligible lists formed by competitive examinations in ten years. The state has 4,846 employees. The commissioner makes various explanatory statements, such as that the rules adopted by the first commission were "very elaborate, so elaborate and complex, in fact, that they have never been fully followed." The commission says "the law was new and untried, and met with little favor from many heads of departments, and was either misunderstood or not comprehended by them." Transfers from the competitive to the non-competitive classes have cut an interesting, and to

the average civil service reformer, an astounding figure. The commission has much to say about this, and cites the commission of 1886 as holding that all requests by heads of departments for such transfers should be granted; but this commission says it has always required proof of confidential relation or financial trust before permitting such transfers. Turning to some instances they give, we find the superintendent of public buildings asked to have his "confidential messenger" transferred. The labor statistics man asked to have three statisticians and one private secretary transferred. The state commissioner of lunacy asked to have two transfer agents, one estimate clerk and two medical internes at each state hospital for the insane, transferred. The railroad commission asked to have its marshal and its inspector transferred. The forest commission asked to have its special agents, performing duties as foresters, transferred. The state entomologist had appointed a woman as assistant, and was much worried until he got her placed beyond the reach of competition. The factory inspector urged that his examiners were "confidential." The commissioners of statutory revision urged that their law clerks held confidential positions. These requests and others were all granted, and in a number of instances the appointments had already been made. Since, in ten years, there have been only 626 appointments to places by competition, allowing for deaths, resignations and removals, there would not seem to be 300 such places in the 4,846 places in the state service. The commission does not give the number. Forty-six places would be a liberal allowance for political places in this service, leaving 4,800 places to be filled by competition or by labor-service requirements, which entirely eliminate politics. According to the showing made by this report the manipulation of the civil service law in New York appears like a colossal triumph of Hillism.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

John Quincy Adams.

Among the great and heroic men of our Republic John Quincy Adams will always hold an undisputed place. In politics he was a federalist, and he was such by education, by family inheritance, and by conviction. He was honored by the friendship and confidence of Washington, and quite naturally allied himself with the great men whose shaping hand and inspiring genius gave us a nation, and not a mere confederacy of states. After the federal party, however, had completely fulfilled its mission and suffered itself to become an organized obstacle to progress, Mr. Adams declined to follow its fortunes. In

1807 the strife between the federalists and republicans over Mr. Jefferson's embargo was nearing its climax. Mr. Adams then held a seat in the United States senate from Massachusetts. Unlike his federal associates, he did not sympathize with England. He did not sympathize with France. He was eminently, nay, pre-eminently, an American, being then, as always, unhesitatingly on the side of his country and against his enemies. The hostility of the federalists towards the embargo was remorseless. They lavished upon Jefferson their sincerest and most heartfelt curses, but they proposed no policy of their own. In facing English insolence and aggression they were nerveless and servile. Mr. Adams did his best to breathe into them his own spirit of courage and independence in facing the crisis which then so fearfully menaced the honor of the country. But his labors were vain. The embargo, it is true, was a debatable measure, but it gave some promise of relief, and was a vigorous protest against English domination at a time when strong measures had become absolutely necessary; and Mr. Adams could not control himself with the purely fault-finding attitude of his party, which left Mr. Jefferson utterly without support. He therefore deserted the camp of federalism, and took his place in the ranks of the republicans. It was an act evincing the highest courage and self-renunciation. He could not have been ignorant of the consequences to himself which were to follow. He was called a traitor and an apostate. He was branded as a renegade, who had run away from a failing cause and sold himself to the enemy for the honors and emoluments of his treachery. They would doubtless have called him a mugwump; but that frightful epithet was then waiting to be born. The federalists pursued him "like a hive of enraged hornets," and opened upon him all the sluice-gates of abuse and defamation. Their warfare was as furious as it was relentless, and it had not fully died away at his death in 1848, while its echoes still linger in some parts of his native state. But he never flinched. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, in speaking of his friend Dr. Palfrey, said he was "a man who would have defied all the powers of earth and hell in pursuit of what he deemed right, and who never failed to have heaven on his side." The language is perfectly applicable to John Quincy Adams. To him the word fear had no meaning. His courage was as flawless as his integrity, and both were perfect. In order to degrade and humiliate him the legislature of Massachusetts proceeded to choose his successor in the Senate several months before the customary time for such elections. He indignantly resigned his seat and offered his enemies his defiance. It was sufficient for him to know that he was in the right, and he lived to see his action vindicated by the judgment of history. By his change of sides in politics he did not make himself an apostate, but simply revealed the apostasy of the party he left. "It is easy to see," says his biographer, "as one looks backward upon

history, that every great and successful party has its mission, that it wins its success through the substantial righteousness of that mission, and that it owes its downfall to assuming an erroneous attitude towards some subsequent matter which becomes in turn of predominating importance." Mr. Adams saw this clearly, and he had the courage of his convictions; and his example has been extensively and savingly followed in later times. He was, in fact, the father of the mugwumps, and our first great apostle of political independence.

But, although the federal party perished, and Mr. Adams regained his lost estate and finally became president, his troubles were by no means ended. Other and still severer trials of his political courage awaited him. On the 4th day of March, 1829, Andrew Jackson entered upon the first term of his presidency. Mr. L. Marcy, of New York, a man of great ability and a member of the famous "Albany Regency," fathered the political motto that "*To the victors belong the spoils.*" President Jackson adopted it and devoted himself unsparingly to its practical illustration; and for the past fifty odd years the government has been like a city alternately sacked and retaken by two contending armies. In a speech in the Senate in 1837, reviewing Jackson's career, Henry Clay declared that his administration had "swept over the country like a tropical tornado," and that "every department of the government exhibited the ravages of the storm." So far as the spoils system was concerned, this was true, and, of course, no member of the Adams family could have any party affiliations with this new phase of republicanism. But Mr. Adams had to deal with a still more formidable question. The Democrats of the northern states had now formed their alliance with the slave-holders of the south. It was an unholy alliance, and it paved the way for that frightful southern domination which at last ripened into civil war. What did Mr. Adams do in facing these new dangers? He had left the federal party in 1807 and joined the followers of Jefferson, and he now again severed his party relations and identified himself with the new organization which became known as the whig party. But, although he was nominally a whig during the remainder of his life, he always defied party discipline and asserted his independence. He used to call the democrats "the consistent Swiss guards of southern slavery," while he spoke of the whigs as "the languid, compromising, non-resistants of the north, who were afraid to answer a fool according to his folly." Both parties feared and disliked him, and his attitude made it perfectly clear that he had completely put away ambition and was ready to taste political death in following the truth. Two years later, on taking his seat as a representative in Congress from Massachusetts, he entered upon his memorable fight for the right of petition and the freedom of debate, and after a struggle of nine years the 21st rule, known as

the "Gag," was abrogated. He opposed the annexation of Texas as unauthorized by the constitution. He denounced the war with Mexico as a war of invasion, wantonly begun by the president, and he was opposed to voting supplies to carry it on and to thanking General Taylor for his military services. His term of sixteen years in the house of representatives eclipsed all the glory he had previously earned in his long and honorable public career; but it exposed him to more personal abuse and popular obloquy than had ever before fallen to the lot of any public man since the formation of the government. On his celebrated trial in the house of representatives in 1842 Mr. Wise called him a "white-haired hypocrite" who had forsaken the friends of his father and trampled on the ashes of the dead. He characterized him as one who, in the fury of his apostate zeal, could prey upon the dead like a vampire, and pronounced him "dead as Burr, dead as Arnold." The *Albany Argus* called him the "Massachusetts madman." The *Charleston Mercury* referred to him as "that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams." At a public dinner in Virginia the company drank as a toast, "John Quincy Adams, once a man, twice a child, and now a demon." In South Carolina this toast was drunk: "May we never want a hangman to prepare a halter for John Quincy Adams." Letters poured in upon him threatening his life, and southern members refused to sit with him on the same committee. For successive years he was undoubtedly the most thoroughly hated man in the United States. But it did not check in the slightest degree the perfect independence of his political action or the absolute freedom of his speech. In a letter replying to an invitation to address an anti-slavery meeting, he said he rejoiced that the defense of human freedom was falling into younger and more vigorous hands. They "are buckling on their armor," said he, "and the scourging overseer, and the lynching lawyer, and the servile sophist, and the faithless scribe, and the priestly parasite, will vanish before them like Satan touched with the spear of Ithuriel." Above all other public men, he was the Abdiel of the anti-slavery conflict, and one can not read the story of his heroic life and magnificent courage without applying the words of Milton:

"Servant of God, well done! Well hast thou fought

The bitter fight; who, single, hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms,
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all they care—
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse."

But let it not be forgotten that when he was stricken down at his post of duty in the house of representatives, and the stormy life of the old hero was at last closed, he was honored by the whole nation as no man had been honored since Washington. The heroism of his life was attested by popular acclamation.

Even South Carolina and Virginia relented, and joined in the general shout of praise which went up from every section of the Union. Let the young men of our country ponder the lesson and remember that singleness of purpose and heroic endeavor are the only sure passport to renown. The people love courage. They believe on the man who will take the responsibility, and when they find him ready to forget himself in the service of a great cause they will always take him to their hearts.

Charles Sumner.

But let me illustrate my subject by another example. Charles Sumner graduated at Harvard at the age of nineteen. After completing his legal studies at the Harvard Law School and editing important legal publications, he gave three years to foreign travel, which he undertook at the age of twenty-six, receiving such a welcome from the famous scholars, jurists and statesmen of the Old World as had never before been given to a man of his years. In 1845, before he embarked in public life, he had delivered some of the masterly orations which rival the best efforts of Chatham and Burke, and will be read as long as the English language shall be spoken. He then stood at the sunrise of his magnificent career, while his heart palpitated with an ambition as pure as ever inspired the soul of a hero. But it was not political ambition. To him the thought of public life was repellant. What he coveted was the service of literature, and the moral uplifting of humanity; but events overruled his earnest wishes. In politics Mr. Sumner was a whig, but at this time the whigs of Massachusetts were divided into two hostile camps on the question of Texas annexation. On the one side were the "Conscience Whigs," with whom he mustered, who were utterly opposed to annexation, and in favor of making moral principles the basis of political action. On the other side were the "Cotton Whigs," who mainly represented the commercial and manufacturing interests of the state, and were interested in southern trade and a conservative policy. The hostility of these parties was intense and unquenchable, and the root of it was slavery. The annexation of an extensive slave-holding foreign territory to the Union was not only unauthorized by the constitution, and very offensive to the free states, but it threatened to involve the country in a war with Mexico. It was morally impossible for Mr. Sumner, with his inborn hatred of slavery, to stand aloof from such a controversy. His talents, his scholarship, his impassioned eloquence, and the unquestioned purity of his life, all singled him out for leadership, but the price of this leadership was his social outlawry by the aristocracy of Boston, with whom he had at all times held the most pleasant relations. Driving down Beacon street one day with a friend, he said: "There was a time when I was welcome at almost every house within two miles of us, but now

hardly one is open to me." Of course, this social pressure fell heavily upon him. Mr. Adams, with his family lineage, his established fame, and his combative disposition, could defy such methods of warfare; but Sumner felt it. He had been a favorite in the circle from which he was now banished, and had greatly enjoyed the taste and refinement which had so warmly greeted him. It was not easy for him to understand such treatment. His nature was tender and feminine. He was a great lover, and no man ever more perfectly enjoyed the luxury of being loved in return; but never for a single moment did he allow his social relations to hold him back from the complete discharge of his public duties. It was this perfect and never failing moral courage which has given him his place in history, while the men who have faltered have been lost.

But Texas was annexed, and the predicted war with Mexico followed. The whigs denounced it as a war of conquest wantonly and unconstitutionally begun by the president, and Mr. Sumner and his friends urged them to refuse to vote supplies of men and money for its prosecution. It was Mr. Sumner who, in defending this policy, first cited the example of Burke, Chatham and other British statesmen in refusing to vote supplies for the prosecution of the war against the colonies during our revolutionary struggle or to vote thanks to the British generals for their services, on the ground that the war was one of rapine and murder. In dealing with the new territories which the war brought us Mr. Sumner continued his anti-slavery leadership, and every step he took indicated its wisdom. He had now gone too far in his political career to call a halt, and naturally took his place as a leader of the free soil revolt of 1848, and the most formidable opponent in New England of the compromise of 1850. In 1851 he yielded reluctantly and with sincere regret to the powerful pressure of his friends and allowed himself to be elected to the senate of the United States by the independent voters of Massachusetts. Here his great work began. In 1852 he spoke for three hours and three quarters on the fugitive slave law, marshalling "law, logic, history, facts, literature, morals, and religion against slavery." It was an epoch-making speech. Nothing like it had ever before been heard in congress, and it was scattered in pamphlet editions by hundreds of thousands throughout the country, reaching multitudes who had hitherto been indifferent on the question, and giving a tremendous impulse to the anti-slavery cause. In 1856 he delivered his historic speech in the senate on "The Crime Against Kansas," which was circulated by the million, and doubtless did more to create an anti-slavery public opinion in the free states than any speech ever delivered in congress. It had been made absolutely necessary by the growing and unbearable audacity of slavery, and it provoked the murderous assault of Preston S. Brooks, which exiled him from the country for nearly four years and en-

tailed untold suffering. In 1860, he made his great speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery," which took rank with the two preceding ones in eloquence and power. Mr. Sumner, beyond all the public men of his time, was the creator and mold of opinion. Without the three great speeches referred to it is safe to say the people of the northern states could never have been successfully rallied in the war for the union in 1861. Mr. Sumner did not make his policy the foot-ball of events, but he made events the foot ball of his policy. He did not study the drifts and currents of opinion as the guide and limit of his action, but like Bright and Cobden he trusted the people, and believed that through argument and agitation they would be able to see the truth and follow it. He did not speak as a politician merely, but as the servant of truth, whose unselfish patriotism and purity of life were never questioned. His speeches embodied the best thoughts of the statesman and the moralist, and it was the work of his public life to inspire in the people his own lofty spirit. He said in 1856: "I seek nothing but the triumph of truth. To this I offer my best efforts, careless of office or honor. Show me that I am wrong, and I stop at once, but in the complete conviction of right I shall persevere against all temptations, against all odds, against all perils, against all threats, knowing well that whatever be my fate the right will surely prevail. Terrestrial place is determined by celestial observation. Only by watching the stars can the mariner safely pursue his course, and it is only by obeying those lofty principles which are above men and human passion that we can make our way safely through the duties of life."

But after the war was over and the work of reconstruction had been accomplished, the severest trial of Mr. Sumner's life awaited him. The republican party had played its grand part in crushing the rebellion and giving freedom to the slave, and he had prophesied in 1860 that after the accomplishment of its immediate work it would be "filled with higher life" and "lifted to yet other efforts," which would make its continued existence necessary. He loved the party as a father loves his child. He was as devoted to its fortunes as was Louis Kossuth to Hungarian independence. In the ardor of his feelings he did not reckon with the fact that a very great war is followed by an afterpiece of political huckstering and organized greed. The well-earned renown of General Grant as a commander did not prevent him from carrying into his civil administration the ideas and habits of camp life. The civil service of the government was prostituted to the base uses of selfishness and plunder. Carpet-bag thieves from the north made common cause with scalawags in the south in debauching the public service and making political morality a jest. Our national politics became so debased that the *New York Tribune* said the country was obliged to "hang its head and hold its nose and wait for the administration

to pass." The disappointment and sorrow of Mr. Sumner can better be imagined than described. But he did not despair. He raised the cry of reform. The men who surrounded the president, however, told him that those who demanded reform were worse than the rogues they were seeking to expel; that the attempt to reform the party would divide it and open the way for the return of the rebels to power; and that the party was greater than any man in it, while it was the duty of malcontents to submit to its discipline. But Mr. Sumner could not be silenced. "The slave of principle," said he, "I call no party master." When the president set his heart upon the annexation of San Domingo, and undertook to accomplish it by methods unauthorized by the constitution and condemned by the law of the nations, he entered into the fight against the whole power of the administration and its camp followers. Conkling of New York, Carpenter of Wisconsin, Chandler of Michigan, and others who composed the "senatorial group" of party bosses at that time, were bent upon his humiliation. Week after week and month after month through this prolonged and painful struggle Mr. Sumner held them at bay, always preserving the decorum of a senator while meeting the ribald gibes and sneers of his assailants, whose darling scheme of annexation he finally demolished. With health rapidly giving way and his life nearing its close under the unequal burden of his work, he never appeared more grandly or triumphantly in the senate than in his heroic fight for the honor of his country. But, although his assailants were defeated and were obliged to abandon their project, the preciousness of revenge was theirs. They degraded him from his chairmanship of the committee on foreign relations, which he had so long honored, and gave it to Simon Cameron, while Sumner himself was located at the tail of the committee on education and labor, with Flanagan of Texas at its head! More cruel even than the bludgeon of Brooks was this pitiless warfare of republican leaders against the man who had done more to create and inspire the republican party than any man in the nation, living or dead, and who, in opposing this mad project, was grandly in the right, as the country then decided and nobody disputes to-day. But Mr. Sumner bowed to the inevitable without the slightest hesitation or fear. He had a genius for rectitude? He knew that the duties of life are more than life. He was what Prof. Von Holst calls him, "a man with a conscience"; and when he walked out of his party and turned his back upon its recreant leaders, he towered above them all as the Alps among mountains.

"Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal,
Nor number nor example with him wrought
To sever from truth or change his constant mind."

Our Own Day.

So much for two notable illustrations of my text, and I cite them because history is philos-

ophy teaching by example. But the duty of political independence is likewise enforced by the general course of our politics. Indeed, political reform is impossible without political independence. Parties do not reform themselves, but constantly gravitate in the opposite direction. The leaven must come in untrammelled action from without, and this makes independent voters exceedingly unpopular with party bosses. The smallness of their numbers and the potency of their efforts make them both feared and hated. They hold the balance of power, and have repeatedly determined the result of both state and national elections. Senator Conkling used to call them "guerrillas," "tramps," "jay-hawkers," "kickers" and "impracticables who vote in the air." But epithets sometimes become honorable. Sixty odd years ago, when Mr. Garrison started his little newspaper in a small, dingy room in Boston, assisted by a negro boy, both sleeping on the floor and living on bread and water, "abolitionism" was almost universally despised and denounced. The south set a price upon his head, and the wealth and respectability of Boston turned itself into a howling mob in the effort to suppress him. But the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, finally spread over the whole heavens, and the slave was made free. What multitudes to-day, some of whom hurled brickbats and unmerchanted eggs at the anti-slavery pioneers, would now gladly accept the epithet and wear its honors! And, in fact, how many of them were always abolitionists, but in some mysterious way found themselves belated in the work of making it known to the world! Let me refer to the men who gave only seven thousand votes for their candidate for the presidency in 1840. They were Mr. Conkling's "jay-hawkers" and "tramps," who became disgusted with the strife of the old parties over the spoils while the underlying and real question of the canvass was utterly ignored or treated with contempt. They were the sappers and miners who prepared the way for the armies that were to follow, and are now honorably remembered as the founders of the liberty party. The free soil party of 1848 was likewise the outcome of political independence. It was composed of "impracticables" who bolted from the old whig and democratic parties, and "voted in the air;" but they laid the foundation of the larger movement which nominated Lincoln in 1860, and shared in the imperishable glory of suppressing the rebellion and establishing liberty throughout the land. But the republican party itself was a *bolt*. It was a combination of "kickers." Some of my old republican friends seem to believe their party is of divine appointment and necessary to salvation; but it never would have existed but for the "guerrillas" and "tramps" who turned their backs upon the old parties and made a new one out of their fragments. If every man in those old organizations had been a straight-laced partisan, who believed in all that his party had

done in the past or might do in the future, the old republican ship would never have been launched, and the slave would still be clanking his chains. And if the Democrats in the free States could have raised a healthy crop of mugwumps in due season the power of slavery over the national government would never have reached its bad eminence, and the curse might have been eliminated without the frightful surgery of civil war. The bane of our politics is not too much party independence, but too little. As to the need of parties in a free government, there is no controversy. Men who think alike on important questions naturally find each other out and stand together. The end is good government, and the party the means; but whenever the end is lost sight of in our zeal for the party machine, honest men shall ditch it, and thus open the way for reform. Our politicians have often told us that an army in which each soldier goes out to fight on his own hook must prove a dismal failure, and that parties also must conform to fixed regulations. But a party is not an army. It is an aggregation of men who are supposed to have opinions, and to be capable of acting upon them. The discipline of the camp is foreign to their work, and the reference to it by the party bosses shows the clumsiness of their thinking.

In dealing with this subject I have referred to the facts of the past. Is there anything in the present state of our politics to tempt any one to tie himself to the chariot-wheel of any party? Compare the record of the last administration on the question of civil service reform with that of the present up to date, and tell me what there is in either to awaken party enthusiasm. Party loyalty finds as little to inspire it in the action of the present congress in dealing with the question of finance. As to tariff reform, members of the United States senate who call themselves democrats completely block its way in defiance of the repeated and thundering demand of the people by overwhelming majorities. These Tammanyized stipendiaries of monopolies and trusts have also been able to prevent confirmation of the most perfectly faultless and admirable nominations made by the President during his present term of office; and such is political morality in the senate that these rebels against political decency, for value received or promised, have been welcomed to the sweet dalliance of the most scholarly, distinguished and self-respecting republicans in that body. This compact between political buccaneers and moral invertebrates touches the dead line in practical politics, and measures the awful descent of a legislative body which was the pride of the republic in its better days. "To this complexion have we come at last." If we had a few such men there to-day as John Quincy Adams and Charles Sumner the work of regeneration would begin, and the people would rejoice. But there is not one. Heaven save us from the senate of the United States as now constituted and inspired, and help us to work and

pray for a new one, chosen by the direct vote of the people, and obedient to their will. But the work of reform, whether in the senate or out of it, does not wait on party machinery, but political independence, and that eternal vigilance of the people which is the price of their liberty. The remedy for all curable political ills is in their hands, and if they fail to apply it the blame must lie at their own doors.

A LATE INSTANCE OF SECRETARY CARLISLE'S LOOT.

For many mouths the Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* has been sending out warnings of the various assaults being made by Mr. Carlisle, secretary of the treasury, aided by various congressmen, to force out Prof. Mendenhall, the distinguished superintendent of the coast survey. It is not worth while to place the moral responsibility for this upon Logan Carlisle. Such dirty political business has always been handed over to dirty political tools—generally not to one's own son. But it can not be denied that Logan Carlisle has shown himself to be admirably fitted for his work. The processes of "forcing a resignation" and the sufferings of the victim, in this case one of the highly-equipped scientific men of this country, are partially indicated by the following excerpts covering a small portion of the time given by the treasury department to this business.

* * *

The politicians who have been trying so long to drive Prof. Mendenhall out of the superintendency of the coast survey are now industriously circulating a newspaper paragraph in which it is being represented that Prof. Mendenhall was given his place by President Harrison as a political sop, and in defiance of the spirit of civil service reform.

During President Cleveland's first administration an effort was made to procure an eminent man of science for the head of the survey. Secretary Manning wrote to Prof. Alexander Agassiz offering him the place, but the offer was declined. A treasury officer named Thorne was presently appointed *ad interim*, to straighten out the finances of the bureau, which had fallen into some disrepair. It was perfectly understood on the part of Mr. Thorne, as well as of the president, that this appointment was intended to be only temporary, and that when the right scientific man could be found—one who had executive ability as well as learning—he would be placed in command. It must have been towards the close of the Cleveland administration that the American Association for the Advancement of Science adopted resolutions urging upon the president the appointment of a scientist to head of the survey, and he made another effort to find one. He sought advice from the association, but as that body had no special candidate in mind, it could give him no assistance officially. Personally, the advice of several of its members was sought, and

unless the present writer errs in memory, Prof. Mendenhall himself was one of these. The inquiry resulted in the naming of several men to the president, but for some reason none of them was appointed.

At the next meeting of the American association, similar resolutions were adopted, and Prof. Mendenhall, being at that time in Indiana, was deputized to present them to Mr. Harrison, who expressed a good deal of interest in the survey, and again suggested that some men of science be named, from among whom he could safely make his choice of a superintendent. Prof. Mendenhall discussed with him a few names which had occurred to both, including that of Henry Mitchell, with whom Mr. Harrison was personally acquainted. It was understood at the time that Mitchell received an offer of the place but declined it. Soon afterwards Prof. Mendenhall was summoned to Washington by a message from the president, and to his great surprise was offered the superintendency of the coast survey himself. His engagement at the time was such as to cause him considerable doubt whether or not to accept, but Mr. Harrison advised him to think it over, and gave him time to do so. The next day Prof. Mendenhall made up his mind to take the place, stipulating only that it should be treated absolutely as a scientific, and not at all as a political office. All these facts were known to Secretary Windom, who, in speaking of them afterward to a friend, mentioned with some surprise that President Harrison had never made the slightest inquiry or conceived any idea of what Prof. Mendenhall's politics were. The attempt to discredit him and his appointee is founded on a lie, and is as contemptible as anything in the history of Washington spoils politics.—*Washington dispatch to New York Evening Post*, June 20.

* * *

Every one in Washington familiar with the management of the treasury department knows that Logan Carlisle, the son of the secretary, and his chief clerk, long ago fixed his eye upon the coast survey, and resolved to drive Prof. Mendenhall out of it. He has found an ally in congress in the person of one Enloe, a Tennessee democrat, who has made assault after assault upon the professor, for no better reason than that the latter preferred to run his survey on scientific instead of political lines. Every time Enloe has struck at Prof. Mendenhall, Mr. Outhwaite, of Ohio, and other intelligent democrats, have come to his defence and routed the attacking party, but it has been possible for the Carlises to loot the survey piecemeal, and it is understood that the hopelessness of keeping up a resistance to such aggression has worn out the superintendent's patience.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post*, June 23.

* * *

Prof. Mendenhall, in charge of the coast and geodetic survey, has tendered his resignation to the president on the ground, it is said, that the secretary of the treasury has interfered with the working of the bureau by the

retirement of experts and the substitution of inefficient men. Logan Carlisle, the secretary's son, who is chief clerk of the treasury department, declared some time ago that he would have Prof. Mendenhall's official scalp in a very few weeks. The office was wanted for John C. Underwood, of Chicago, an ex-Kentuckian and friend of the secretary of the treasury. If Secretary Carlisle's counsel prevails with the president, General Underwood will be appointed.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News*, June 23.

* * *

If Prof. Mendenhall has been forced to resign his place as head of the coast survey by the greed of Logan Carlisle for spoils it is full time that the president interfered and sent young Carlisle back to Kentucky, or at least forbade any more political fagling with the coast survey. The coast survey is an institution of which the country has every reason to be proud. Its work is of the highest value, and is so regarded throughout the world. It has reached its present state of high efficiency by being managed on scientific principles, regardless of politics. Since Logan Carlisle has been chief clerk of the treasury department under his father, he has distinguished himself by looting every office he could lay his hands on, and of late has been driving experts and scientific men out of the coast survey in order to put democrats in their places, no matter whether they were efficient or not, and regardless of the effect on the work of the survey. Prof. Mendenhall is said to have borne this substitution as long as he could, and finally to have resigned rather submit to a constant overruling of his protests.—*Springfield Republican*, June 29.

* * *

If President Cleveland wants to prove the sincerity of what he has said and written in favor of reform in the civil service he has a good chance now. For several months, in fact ever since the present administration came into power, there has been a continual attack by politicians upon the coast survey because Prof. Mendenhall, the superintendent, has declined to allow political considerations to interfere with the management of the bureau. It is true that he is a republican and was appointed by a republican president, but he is not a politician, has never taken any active part in political affairs, and could not with any justice be rated as an offensive partisan. Prof. Mendenhall is one of the most famous and eminent scientists in the United States, and his reputation is universal. His ability and learning are recognized by every school of science in the world, and he is considered one of the foremost authorities in several branches of scientific investigation.

Since he has been superintendent of the coast survey he has declined to make discharges or appointments for political reasons, and has thereby offended several prominent

democratic politicians, particularly Mr. Enloe, of Tennessee, who has since been persecuting him in every possible manner. Strange to say, Secretary Carlisle's sympathies appear to have been with Mr. Enloe, and, regardless of the protests of Professor Mendenhall, the secretary has made removals and appointments in the coast survey without so much as consulting the superintendent. Some of the men he has removed are experienced and valuable scientists who have no political connections whatever and have performed their duties with an ability and fidelity that were beyond criticism. The men who have been appointed in nearly every instance have been politicians without scientific attainments or any knowledge or experience to fit them for the work to which they were assigned.

Professor Mendenhall has protested to the secretary of the treasury and to the president against this kind of interference with his subordinates, but it has done no good, and now the announcement is made that he has tendered his resignation because the secretary of the treasury persists in appointing to his bureau incompetent men and making him responsible for their work. This matter has been brought to the attention of President Cleveland several times, and he has promised to talk with Secretary Carlisle about it, but if the president has given him instructions on the subject the secretary disregards them, which is very improbable.—*Washington dispatch, Chicago Record.*

* * *

The Worcester polytechnic institute is to be congratulated on securing as its next president Dr. Thomas C. Mendenhall, the efficient superintendent of the United States coast survey, who has been driven out of office by the folly of Logan Carlisle, the bumptious son of the secretary of the treasury. But the loss of the United States is the gain of Worcester and Massachusetts. Dr. Mendenhall has accepted his unanimous election, and will spend the next three months in visiting the principal scientific schools in Europe, returning to take up his new duties October 1. Dr. Mendenhall holds high rank in scientific circles and as a practical educator. He was called from his professorship of physics and mathematics in Ohio university to help found one or more scientific schools in Tokio, Japan, returned to his old chair in 1882, two years later entered the United States signal service, and in 1886 accepted the presidency of Rose polytechnic institute at Terre Haute, Ind. He was next appointed by President Harrison superintendent of the United States coast and geodetic survey, succeeding the late Prof. Pierce of Harvard. This place he resigned July 1, though President Cleveland has not yet accepted his resignation. Dr. Mendenhall received the degree of Ph. D. from Ohio University in 1878, and of LL. D. from the University of Michigan in 1887. Within the last few years he has delivered two courses of lectures before the Lowell institute in Boston.—*Springfield Republican, July 13.*

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

A POWERLESS EXECUTIVE AND REIGNING CHIEFS.

Senator McPherson to-day asked the President to withdraw the nomination of Captain James Parker to be United States Attorney for the District of New Jersey, which was made last Tuesday. Speaking of his action, Mr. McPherson said:

"I had not asked for the appointment of Captain James Parker. I have recently repeatedly stated to Captain Parker that I could not consent to his appointment to that office, because I was otherwise committed. Finding, however, that the nomination had been made under some misapprehension in regard to my wishes in the matter, I have asked the President to withdraw the nomination, for I can not consent to be placed in a false position in respect to it."—*Washington dispatch, July 12.*

The withdrawal by the President of the nomination of James Parker as United States district attorney for New Jersey has caused considerable discussion here, owing to the peculiar attitude in which it has placed the two New Jersey senators. The facts in the matter are slowly coming out, and appear to be as follows:

Senator McPherson had an informal understanding with Senator Smith that the appointment should "belong" to him (McPherson), and on that understanding promised the award of the appointment to Miles Ross, the New Brunswick politician, who controls votes that will be valuable to Senator McPherson in his contest for re-election to the Senate next fall. Ross delayed in urging the appointment, and Mr. Parker solicited the two New Jersey senators for support in his application for the office, without conference with Ross. Senator McPherson wrote a letter to the President, of which the following is a copy:

SENATE CHAMBER, }
WASHINGTON, April 7, 1894. }

To the President:

SIR—I am informed that the bearer, Capt. James Parker, of Perth Amboy, N. J., is desirous of obtaining some position under your administration. Capt. Parker is a lawyer of good abilities and much experience, and will fill the office of United States district attorney for New Jersey, or any other office whose duties are of a legal character that he will undertake to fill, with great credit. I indorse and commend Capt. Parker in every way, and ask for him such consideration as may be possible to give. Yours, etc.

J. R. MCPHERSON.

Senator Smith's reply was that he had indorsed some other application and could not therefore help Mr. Parker. It appears that in spite of this fact Mr. Parker filed the letters from both senators together with others from Frederick R. Condit, ex-Governors Ludlow, Green, Abbett and Bedle, and Messrs. William R. Grace, Everett P. Wheeler and others, and got the nomination.

When the announcement was made Mr. McPherson expressed himself as displeased, and declared that his letter was not intended

as an indorsement of Mr. Parker, a statement which he reiterated with some emphasis when protests came from Senator Smith and all the New Jersey delegation in congress except Messrs. Geissenhainer and English, and finally one from Miles Ross. *He at once hastened to the White House and secured the promise of a withdrawal of the nomination, which has since been made.*

The whole matter has caused a great deal of severe criticism of Senator McPherson, the more so as there has been a continual squabble over all federal appointments between the two New Jersey senators to an extent which had practically "held up" all the appointments. The fight is particularly emphasized because Senator McPherson is using every effort to employ federal patronage to secure his re-election next fall.

At the White House no information is vouchsafed regarding the case.—*Washington dispatch New York Evening Post, July 16.*

* * *

All the nominations of New Yorkers before the judiciary committee, except Bennett in Kings county, are to be reported favorably to the senate in executive session. The most recent nominations are considered by the "machine" as made in the interest of conciliation, and have reconciled Senator Hill and his backers to the idea of letting the rest of the names go through.—*Washington dispatch New York Evening Post, July 16.*

BOSS GORMAN AND HIS SUBSIDIZED PRESS.

HOW A SUBSIDIZED PAPER WORKS FOR ITS BOSS.

"The Port Tobacco Times, the Laurel Democrat, the Rockville Advocate, the Ellicott City Times, the Towson Journal, and other county journals have been throwing hot shot at the Baltimore Sun for its course on the tariff and its malice toward certain democratic leaders and for its general attempt to rule or ruin the democratic party. The criticisms have been richly merited and very forcibly applied."—*Westminster Advocate.*

"The editor of the Port Tobacco Times, we believe, is the clerk of the committee on printing, of which Senator Gorman is chairman. The editor of the Laurel Democrat, we believe, has recently been appointed to a good office in Washington. The editor of the Ellicott City Times, we believe, is a candidate for the position of postmaster at Ellicott City. The editor of the Towson Journal, we believe, is commissioner of immigration at a salary of \$1,800 a year."—*Centerville Observer.*

"Editor Busted, of the Centerville Observer, errs slightly. He has not brought out the full relation of the editors named to Senator Gorman and the ring. Francis M. Cox, of the Port Tobacco Times, is clerk to the senate printing committee; Ernest P. Baldwin was editor of the Laurel Democrat when President Cleveland appointed him first auditor of the treasury, and the paper is now run by his brother, and is owned principally by Senator Gorman and Naval Officer Barnes Compton; J. Emory Hill, of the Ellicott City Times, holds a lucrative Howard county office by the grace of Mr. Gorman's following, and his associate, J. B. Morrow, was a candidate for the Ellicott City post-office, Col. William H. Ruby, of the Towson Journal, holds the place named by Editor Busted. The editor of the Rockville Advocate, Albert J. Almon, is postmaster of that town, and Editor William H. Vanderford, of the Westminster Advocate, wants to hold the same office in Westminster.—*Baltimore Evening News.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 18.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE editor of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has sent the following request to the post-masters of Indiana whose offices come under the civil service rules:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., June 22, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR—I shall be gratified if you will kindly inform me for publication in the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE:

1. The number of employes in the post-office when you took charge.
2. The number now in the classified service.
3. The number now in the unclassified service.
4. How many of the employes in the office when you took charge are there now? How many of these were in the classified service? How many in the unclassified service?
5. How many appointments have been made under your administration to the classified service? How many to the unclassified service?
6. Do you know whether the appointees under the civil service law have included democrats and republicans?
7. Will republicans under your administration have in the classified service the same treatment as the democrats?

A prompt reply will greatly oblige me.

WE regret that the commemorative address upon George William Curtis by Park Godwin, before the Century Association, was received too late for such extended excerpts as we should like to make. The address is adequate to the subject, which is saying a great deal. Every college library should have it. All teachers of American history and literature in our high schools, should read this memorial of a great citizen. It may be had for ten cents by addressing the secretary of the Civil Service Reform Association, 54 William street, New York.

How like our own Bynum was the shifty performance of substituting the Houk bill providing for the reinstatement of discharged railway postal clerks for his own, and when questioned as to whether the two bills were the same casually replying that they were, in order to get the change without objection. Bynum's bill instructed the civil service commission to place the names of discharged employes on the eligible list. Houk's bill provided that the postmaster-general should, as fast as vacancies occur, fill them from the list of discharged employes. Bynum's bill made no provision for determining what names

should go at the head and what at the foot of the eligible list, as it expressly provided for no examinations and thus was an impracticable measure which Bynum was shrewd enough to discover would have to be vetoed by the President on technical grounds alone; but Houk's bill offers a golden opportunity for the ex-postal clerks to battle and scramble for reinstatement on their political pulls. So far as the bill itself is concerned we need not worry. It will never become a law.

THE clerical force of the civil service commission has been for the most part made up of details from different departments. The departments naturally did not always send their best men. The clerks did not like to be removed from the line of promotion and the commission had no power to protect, as in the Eugene Gad-dis case, its own efficient employes from the vengeance of a Logan Carlisle. The House, in its recent onslaught on the commission and the law, struck out the amendment to remedy this unsatisfactory condition of things. But in the senate a clause was inserted granting the commission a force of thirty-six clerks of its own, duly classified, providing also that the commission might transfer to its own rolls any of the detailed department clerks who had proved useful as examiners and giving an appropriation of \$52,000 for the pay of these clerks. This is a gain in many ways. It dignifies the civil service commission. It lessens the power of such fellows as young Carlisle to harry and irritate the commission and to cripple their work.

Since the above was written, the CHRONICLE has received the following from a well-informed correspondent:

Repeatedly in its annual reports, and in other ways, the commission has urged upon congress the importance of amending the law so that the men upon whom it relies to do its work shall be subject to its control. Until this session the spoilsmen have always been successful in their efforts to maintain this handicap upon the effectiveness of the commission. Sometimes they persuaded the house committee on appropriations to refuse the commission's request. Sometimes, when the committee included the appropriation desired by the commission in the bill as reported to the house, the enemies of the merit system raised a point of order in the house that as the effect of the amendment was to change an existing provision of law without thereby

reducing expenditure, it was inadmissible under the house rules. Such was the method to which they successfully resorted in the house this year. In the senate, where no such rule prevails, Senator Lodge re-introduced the amendment in an improved and more practically useful form. With the assistance of Senator Cockerell, chairman of the appropriation committee of the senate, Mr. Lodge steered it successfully through all its stages in that body. In the senate, indeed, there was no opposition to the change, and no debate upon it except that Senator Platt, of Connecticut, asked a few questions to satisfy himself and the senate as to the precise purpose and effect of the amendment, and to make certain that there was nothing in it which could by possibility, interfere with the effective working of the commission. The amendment was not yet, however, out of the woods. Once before it had passed the senate only to be stricken out in the conference committee. This year it had better fortune. The house conference agreed to accept it. The report of the conference committee was adopted in the house without, so far as this amendment is concerned, any debate or question.

Good Government, familiar as it is with the practical workings of the law, declared that the change is the "most important piece of legislation in furtherance of civil service reform since the enactment of the civil service law itself eleven years ago."

The thanks of all friends of decent government are due to Senators Lodge and Cockerell who contributed more than any one else to the successful result. Senator Cockerell's course in the matter was particularly noteworthy, because in the past he has not professed to be a special friend of the reform, and, perhaps, is not now. While the merit system is part of the law of the land, however, he frankly and fully recognized his responsibility as chairman of the appropriations committee of the senate to see to it that the commissioners charged by statute with the discharge of important duties should be given power to perform them efficiently.

THE excellent and belated order of the postmaster-general, printed below, must be taken along with Mr. Cleveland's putting the railway mail service under the merit system and Mr. Harrison's taking the post-offices having the carrier service out of spoils as encouraging indications of the inevitable progress of civil service reform. All, however, were done after such pointed delays and after such conspicuous frisking in spoils that about the most one can do is to give a perfunctory sort of praise. Upon the appointment of the successors of the present postmasters who have been actively employed in what is known as "beating the law," we shall again hear the old cry: "Postmaster-General Bissell delayed his order until he knew that his postmasters had practically made a

clean sweep of republicans, and now in all justice we must be allowed to equalize the service." These belated reforms, like most timid measures, are alike a severe strain upon reform and upon spoilsmen.

The following is the recent order :

To Postmasters Free Delivery Offices.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1894.

Order No. 235.

For the purpose of avoiding unjust removals of clerks and carriers in the classified service, and to avoid embarrassment and annoyance to the department and postmasters with reference thereto, postmasters in free delivery offices are hereby notified that the following policy prevails in the post-office department, and will be enforced :

All removals and new employments of clerks and changes in rosters, must be reported to, the first assistant postmaster-general as soon as made.

No carrier shall be removed except for cause, and upon written charges filed with the post-office department, and of which the carrier shall have full notice, and an opportunity to make defense.

No resignation requested by the postmaster, or by any one for him, will be accepted by the department.

W. S. BISSELL,
Postmaster-General.

IN 1891, at the annual meeting of the Buffalo association, its president, Sherman S. Rogers, spoke of the "anomaly existing in the federal building" in Buffalo. In the postoffice the civil service law was in full operation, but upstairs in the collector's office, the collector, "in full war paint and feathers," by having less than 50 employes, was able to defy the law. The custom house remained under the spoils system. This was the condition of things all over the United States, and Mr. Rogers called on President Harrison to extend the law so as to remedy the evil. "Such action would be like the march of a victorious army into the enemy's camp, and would prove the claim that Gen. Harrison is a reformer." And the association adopted a resolution asking for such extension. At the dinner in 1894, when Postmaster Baker rejoiced "at the dawn of a new and better era," Toastmaster Rogers followed with: "We hope that era will extend higher than the first story of the government building. We want it to take in the custom house." At the call of the president for a rising vote on the part of all who favored the doing away with the anomalous state of things that had too long disfigured the custom house, everybody rose, and President Rogers desired the secretary to make a minute of this fact, to be forwarded to President Cleveland.

The Buffalo Express says:

What Mr. Rogers charges is very true—and very notorious. It has been true under republican collectors and democratic collectors alike. It is claimed that there are usually more than fifty persons employed in collecting customs revenue in the district of Buffalo Creek. But all above forty-

seven or so are on the pay-roll as "temporary" or "extra" employes.

We have not had this little extension because Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cleveland feared their respective party machines. We shall not get this extension or the order putting the unclassified places in the post-offices under the rules until civil service reformers clamor, make themselves disagreeable, conscientiously refrain from "sympathy" and make threats exactly as the party machine does. If a president's own party organization acts the part of a tyrant and lashes him through his administration for selfish ends, he should not complain if others follow the example for unselfish ends.

THE CHRONICLE was evidently premature in its supposition from an interview with Postmaster Baker, of Buffalo, that he would not treat his unclassified service as spoil. His collapse has begun, according to the Buffalo Express. He asked for the resignation of the superintendent of a branch office and is reported as follows:

Mr. Baker told Mr. Miller that the resignation was demanded on purely political grounds. Mr. Miller was a republican and Mr. Warner was a democrat. Mr. Miller was told that he might send in his resignation if he wished. Mr. Miller's resignation was worded something like this: "In compliance with your request I herewith tender my resignation," and so on.

Mr. Baker is also reported as stating that Mr. Miller "was a first-class man and knew his business thoroughly."

An administration that professes to believe in the merit system but puts over the rank and file, whose places were secured by competition, heads of departments whose places were doled out as spoil, is like a farmer who piously protects his sheep by the use of wolves as shepherds. The putting of these excepted places under the rules would for an entire week make all the local spoilsmen seethe and boil, but we suppose Washington officialism has the President so thoroughly in hand that he believes, if he should correct this absurd and incongruous state of things, he would disrupt his party, which seems to be an idle fear, in view of the present harmonious condition of his party, which is largely the result of his subservience to the spoils gang.

How shall we characterize the man who loses his character and thereby furthers a great reform? It really looks as if Josiah Quincy had, unintentionally, we suppose, by sacrificing his reputation given the necessary impetus to consular reform. On every hand in the daily papers, in the important magazines, are springing up witnesses qualified to judge, who show what a disgrace our consular service treated as spoil has become, and who claim more-

over that reform through merit and competition is entirely practicable. We doubt if another administration in the face of the aroused public opinion would have the bravado to again treat this service as spoil. And all this public interest is due to Mr. Quincy. It was his unmistakable use of the consular service to reward party hacks, to pay party and private debts, the brutal, the reckless and callous sweeping out of decent officers, the unblushing delight in the power of patronage to influence legislation expressed by Mr. Quincy, the reformer in politics, that aroused the patriotism of many people as no ordinary spoils-mongering of an ordinary spoils-monger could have done. It is a matter of some delicacy just how to express proper gratitude to Mr. Quincy.

SECRETARY GEORGE MCANENY, of the New York Civil Service Reform Association, recently appeared before the special senate committee investigating the administration of the civil service laws. He gave the history of the efforts of the association to get the law enforced by the commission and by Governor Flower. Their method of correcting the violations of the law is unique. The report of the evidence states:

On January 16 the commission made sixteen more corrections of existing violations. Of this number six were corrected in conformity to the law. Two of the other places were transferred from the competitive to the non-competitive class at the request of Governor Flower. The correction of two of these other violations was afflicted by a change of the title of their positions and in the cases of the remaining four violations new examinations were held.

A long tabulation was put in evidence by Secretary McAneny, showing the number of violations of the law which the commission had undertaken to correct since the promulgation by Comptroller Roberts of his intention not to pay salaries to officials appointed in violation of the civil service law. The positions affected numbered over 100. Most of the corrections were accomplished by transferring the positions from the competitive to the non-competitive class.

THE Galveston News ought to have had some influence with this administration. It is an important democratic paper, printed in a section supposed to believe that a party can not survive the loss of patronage. Last May it said:

Some of the very men to whom Mr. Cleveland has given the most are the men who are telling their constituents that he is an enemy of the South. Nothing has done more to demoralize the democratic party in the South and elsewhere than the dependence of its leaders upon patronage and their great and incurable expectations and demands for spoils.

And later:

Mr. Cleveland has not succeeded in satisfying the demands of a single chronic spoilsman. The more he has given to them the more have they demanded. The greed of a party spoilsman is a most dangerous disease.

And now it might add that those who

received the most from the President show not even the grace of loyalty to him.

PENSION AGENT SPENCER.

Pension Agent Spencer is reported as having reduced salaries enough to get five additional employes. This necessity for an increased force is a natural consequence of dismissing men who had learned the work and of training new men. He also is about to complete his clean sweep by the dismissal of four remaining republicans and one hold-over democrat. It is also reported that "the new force have been together for several months and have become well acquainted with each other. Acquaintance has ripened into friendship of true worth."

This "friendship of true worth" was emphasized by the recent presentation of "two handsome alabaster ink-stands and bottles" to Mr. Spencer and his chief clerk, and by the reciprocal attention of "a large box of fragrant cigars" to the male employes and "a large box of elegant candies" to the female employes. We trust that these amenities mark an end of the unpleasant decapitations that have been going on, and which no doubt have had a tendency to lower the spirits of the working force.

Mr. Spencer's suspended animation as a civil service reformer seems also to have happily ended and he is again a true-blue reformer, with certain reservations. The *Indianapolis News*, August 10, reports him as follows:

"Competitive examinations should be held for the various clerkships in government offices. In this way the most competent man will always secure the place. When the republicans are in power, examinations should be held for republicans only. When the democrats succeed to office, democrats alone should be allowed to pass the examinations. We can not have a spirit of patriotism unless we reward men for political and patriotic service. Under my plan, while each party would secure the results of its victory, only the best men would get office."

If the railway mail service, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company or the Atlas Engine Works should dismiss their employes once in four years and then hold examinations to which the old men were not eligible, in order to get hold of the best new material to train for another four years, we have Mr. Spencer's plan, and the obvious break-down of any business so conducted. But we wish to call attention to the statement that "we can not have a spirit of patriotism unless we reward men for political and patriotic service." Mr. Spencer's view is that to get him to continue to love his country, to perform his duties as a citizen, and as a party man to propagate his party views and to vote for them at the polls, he had to be paid with an office. No doubt he is qualified to speak for

himself, but the people generally have not yet fallen so low. At present there are many who do not feel that they are in duty bound to undertake the political work that brings them into the unequal personal contest with the hirelings of a political machine. They are, we believe, justified in declining such political work so long as a congressman is allowed to subsidize editors, reward his henchmen with public offices and marshal them to throttle all free expression of public opinion; but when this tyranny of patronage is removed, the political vacuum made by the withdrawal of Mr. Spencer and all others who withdraw unless they can be paid, will be speedily filled by men who want no other reward than the pleasure of making a fight for the opinions in which they believe.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE TARIFF.

No one regrets so much as we do our frequent censure of President Cleveland, for it he, and only he, must bear the blame. We shall be delighted to let him alone if he will make Carlisle and Hoke Smith, Voorhees and Turpie, and all their many fellows, here and elsewhere, of high and low degree, let the public service alone. Whenever he shall justly earn his large salary by faithfully doing the work for which it pays; doing the whole of this work, and not a half or a hundredth part of it; doing it consistently and impartially, and not by fits and starts, now here, now there, on no intelligible principle of action or inaction, no one will recognize more gladly than we, not, indeed, that he is necessarily a saint, or a hero, or a patriot sage, but that he is an honest, conscientious man.

Whatever we may think of him, however, we shall always deal with him, and with every other public servant, as having a right, not to indulgence, but to fair treatment from his masters, and we therefore say now, what we believe every reasonably intelligent and well-informed person in the country thinks (although a few democratic attorneys for trusts and a few hide-bound republican partisans pretend to think otherwise), that his recent intervention in legislation regarding the tariff was simply the fitting discharge of his evident duty. We know that some very worthy people who have been and, we hope, are still good friends of the *CHRONICLE*, are grieved to see us apparently so skeptical, critical and, on the whole, indifferent as to the evils of the tariff and the attempts made to remedy them by the party in power. We must even plead guilty in some degree to the offense thus imputed to us, and confess to a lack of enthusiastic interest in the outcome of those tedious

"conferences" which are dragging their slow length along while we write, although it may be hoped that ere this issue reaches our readers they will know whether the "Wilson bill" and the "Gorman-Brice" bill have followed the example, to share the fate of the Kilkenny cats, or, by a happy union, have presented the country with a hybrid measure of multiple paternity. It may be that after all these months of talk and tinker, of waiting and wrangling, bargaining and log-rolling, the tariff will remain as it was when Harrison left the White House. It may be that their Gracious Majesties, the Trusts, will be persuaded by arguments closely analogous to those found effective to the same end with the Plantagenets, to generously remit, say a tithe, of the benevolences they levy on rich and poor alike; in neither event shall we be thrilled with patriotic pride by the statesmanship of our dominant party, or enraptured at the golden future unveiled to the nation.

But, while we think and feel thus, we can readily understand that the President may, and ought to, think and feel far otherwise. He is the successful candidate of a party which, abandoning for once in its public utterances the use of Platformese, pledged itself in the plainest English, to recast our entire system of import duties upon principles of revision so radical and far-reaching that their thoroughgoing and practical application would have worked little less than an economical revolution. He was nominated as the exponent and avowed champion of tariff reform, and ere this has doubtless persuaded himself, in perfect good faith, that he was elected because the people agreed with him; and not because they were nauseated with General Harrison and all his surroundings, with transparent hypocrisy and Wanamaker, with brazen corruption and Raun; nor yet because four years of spoils-mongering had then honey-combed the republican party with disaffection; just as a like course of political debauchery is now, before his eyes and with his connivance, fast undermining all discipline and spirit in his own party. Believing that his party was given by the people, not only full control of both branches of the national legislature and of the executive, but an explicit "mandate" as to its use of this power, he would be a far worse man than we think him, if he heard without indignation a half-dozen senators, with Gorman of Maryland as their worthy spokesman, calmly announce that either the tariff would be changed to suit the little groups of very rich men, who almost undisguisedly own them, or it would not be changed at all. Repudiation of platform promises after election is no new feature in American politics; indeed, it requires no little

ingenuity (more, certainly, than we pretend to possess) to discover in the structure of the Wilson bill many splinters of the tariff plank adopted at Chicago; but, after all, a little effort towards seeming consistency, a little show of public motives, some affectation of regard for the general interest, has usually cloaked with a faint semblance of decency even the clearest breach of trust. In this case the offenders were, at least at first, cynically shameless, one could almost—

"Like the bearded Switzer, hear them say:

"That cause is sacred which gives certain pay."

They seemed anxious only to merit their own respective admissions on the ground-floor of the several Trusts they served; until the President's letter was read by Mr. Wilson, they were as though blind and deaf to the plain signs of popular anger and disgust gathering all about them. The silly outcry sought to be raised at the President's attempt to "influence legislation" by his letter, although it has fallen too flat to need serious notice for itself, curiously illustrates the slovenly habits of thought tolerated and even cultivated by so many of those who speak or write regarding public affairs. Mr. Cleveland is none the less an American citizen because he happens to be President of the United States; who is it that questions the right of an American citizen, however humble, or however prominent, to "influence legislation" by fair argument, admonition, or remonstrance, addressed to congressmen paid from the taxes he helps, directly or indirectly, to pay? He is the first politician of his party; must he alone be mute as to matters of political life or death to that party? If any one says he must, let us be plainly told why. Finally, if his action had been official instead of personal, is there any constitutional duty more clearly imposed on the President than to give congress information, in his own discretion as to time or exigency, regarding the state of the Union? and could there be any season more opportune for discharging this duty than the present?

The mustard-seed of truth hidden in the bulk of this absurd and hollow clamor is the fact that Mr. Cleveland *has* sought ever since his inauguration to "influence legislation," not as in this instance, by the legitimate means contemplated and prescribed by the constitution, but, to speak plainly, by a system of wholesale bribery. The spectacle of Senator Gorman standing forth as the champion of "the Senate's honor," or, indeed, of anything more commendable than lobbying or election frauds, is so strongly suggestive of opera *bouffe* that one can scarcely treat it seriously, but when he urged his colleagues to resist firmly attempted dictation by one who disposed of

300,000 offices, he would have discharged a patriotic duty had he meant dictation through the disposal of those offices. To "dictation" thus enforced, or, in other words, to the barter of places for votes, however, such confessors as he of legislative independence, are very charitable; if they withstand it as to the tariff, this is only because, though, for them, patronage is sweet, "sugar," or its equivalent, is sweeter. The form of dictation which they heartily hate and abjectly fear appeals for its sanction to an aroused and outraged public opinion; from that these worthies shrink as in the old southern days, a shirking, pilfering "nigger" squirmed at the crack of the overseer's whip, and for very similar reasons.

Precisely because they thus regard it through it, and not otherwise, can any President accomplish any worthy end with congress. It seems strange that Mr. Cleveland should still need to be told this; even *a priori* the proposition would seem, as the French say, to "leap into the eyes." No doubt it is a "consideration" for Senator Gorman to have his shiftless brother "Cal" supported at public expense, or to secure berths for "useful pensioners" like 'Gene Higgins and Morris Thomas; but this may be outweighed by even cruder arguments on the part of the Sugar Trust, by the prospect of diminished dividends from those coal or railroad companies of Western Maryland and West Virginia for which the senator entertains a concern so notoriously "altruistic," by a regard for the welfare of some one among those many enterprises soliciting legislative recognition in which, of course, *he* "has no interest," but "certain of his friends" occasionally may have some. In short, if President Cleveland chooses to enter the auction mart for this human merchandise with white skins but black souls, he ought to understand that when he competes with wealthy and powerful interests he may well be outbidden. But, if he does not see this possibility, surely he can not be blind to the facts that all his efforts to guide the action of congress through "conciliation" and "recognition" and the various other euphemisms for this form of bribery have been simply dismal failures. Stewart and Allen might be talking against time yet for all the good it did to "placate" Voorhees and his like; that the silver bill became a law was due to no thimble-rigging with offices, but because the President at last spoke out like a man. The "placing" of post-offices and giving a free rein to Logan Carlisle has not saved him from the income tax, or a thousand incongruities in his tariff bill; if he rescues enough of this last to be willing to count it of kin, he will owe this to another

belated spurt of manliness. Public opinion is certainly very kind to him; the people so long to see him prove worthy of his place and his fortune that they are ready to cheer him to the echo at the smallest excuse; unfortunately he gives them that excuse very, very seldom.

THE REASON FOR THE GREAT DEFEAT.

How are those who were the advocates or the apologists of the purchase of votes for tariff reform with offices pleased with the result of their bargain? Gorman and his fellow democratic corruptionists in the Senate have their henchmen in office, but what has become of tariff reform? The very men whom Mr. Cleveland appointed or allowed his subordinates to appoint at Mr. Gorman's demand, are now supporting the latter in his thus far successful fight against the administration. The Maryland tariff reform journals say that the only democratic newspapers in that state which have not declared themselves on the President's side are those owned and edited by federal office-holders. Could feudal analogies go farther? The office-seekers for whom Senator Gorman secured places are his men; to him they owe suit, service, homage and allegiance. Upon their unquestioning support he and they both feel he has the right to rely even in a contest with their official superior; precisely as Henry the Lion or William of Normandy could count on the assistance of their vassals in their campaigns against the nominal sovereigns. Has Mr. Cleveland any right to complain of the position in which he now finds himself and of the humiliations to which he has been exposed? Had he in 1885 listened to the remonstrances of the Maryland reformers; had he removed Higgins twenty-four hours after that worthy's real character had been made known to him; had he thenceforward refused to make a single appointment at Mr. Gorman's demand, the latter would not have been able to crush the formidable opposition which then endeavored to make his re-election impossible. Mr. Cleveland, whether he likes it or not, must divide with the Maryland democrats the discredit of having made Mr. Gorman's present position and influence possible. Warned against him by the experience of his first term, well aware of the part Gorman played prior to and at the Chicago convention of 1892, there was no excuse for Mr. Cleveland's failure to cut loose from him altogether; cut loose from him, however, the President did not. Again, with the hope of preserving "harmony" in the party, and of advancing the cause of a sound currency and a reformed tariff he surren-

dered to Gorman all the federal patronage in Maryland, except the postmaster at Baltimore and the district attorney. Mr. Gorman promptly had his friends confirmed, and has now for months kept the nomination of the district attorney hung up in the senate. Disgraceful as has been the history of the Gorman bill, reeking with corruption as has been every stage of its progress, we can not pretend to feel any regret that the attempt to buy Gorman and his pals with offices, and to keep them bought long enough to count them, has come to naught. Long usage has so blinded politicians and the people alike to the real character of the office-mongering deals, which have for the last sixty-five years been going on over the entire land, that men who would scorn to buy a vote with their own money, will, without hesitation, trade public offices for political support. In the transactions themselves there is no difference.

The Sugar Trust is believed to have bought with money votes for the sugar schedule it wanted. Mr. Cleveland, his friends admit bought, or supposed he had bought with offices votes for the repeal of the Sherman act and the enactment of a tariff reform bill. The Sugar Trust used its own money. Mr. Cleveland used offices, which belong not to him, but to the American people; free coinage advocates as well as monometallists, protectionists, as well as tariff reformers, Mr. Cleveland trusted his "floaters" with the usual result. From the outcome it is probable that the Trust took no chances and made certain of the delivery of the goods before it paid the price. In no other respects do the bargains differ in essentials. One is every whit as bad as the other, whatever difference there may be in the character of the men concerned in them.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

Office-holders are the agents of the people, not their masters. * * * They have no right, as office-holders, to dictate the political action of their party associates or to throttle freedom of action within party lines by methods and practices which prevent every useful and justifiable purpose of party organization. The influence of the federal office-holders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings and nominating conventions.—*From President Cleveland's order, July 14, 1886. Approved by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, April 25, 1890. Approved by Postmaster-General Bissell, July, 1894.*

"I will protect you. The President can do nothing."—*Gorman.*

THE Vermont and Michigan post-masters attended recent democratic state conventions,

despite Postmaster-General Bissell's order against offensive partisanship.

* * *

There were present at the meeting of the New York state democracy at the Cooper Institute three federal officeholders—Maurice J. Power, salary, \$5,000; Deputy Collector Henry DeForrest Baldwin, salary, \$3,500, and Chief Inspector of Immigration John J. Quinlan, who receives \$8 per day.

* * *

The "Interstate Democratic Association" is made up to a considerable extent of officeholders, among them Josephus Daniels, chief clerk of the interior department, D. J. Murphy, deputy commissioner of pensions, and is taking on the familiar airs of the bread-and-butter brigade. A few evenings ago it made an assault upon the civil service commission, and incidentally upon the merit system as opposed to the spoils scramble. Its latest performance was to appoint a committee to wait upon Senators Brice, McPherson, Voorhees, Vest and Morgan, and inquire whether it is true, as reported, that they have been recommending the restoration of certain republicans dismissed from the government employment.

* * *

Congressman Whiting, of Michigan, who is a candidate for the democratic nomination for governor, and is making war on the Don M. Dickinson faction of the Michigan democracy, called on Mr. Roosevelt Tuesday. He called the latter's attention to the fact that the democratic postmaster of the suburb of Detroit, in which Mr. Dickinson lives, and who owes his appointment to the latter, had been elected a delegate to the democratic county convention. Mr. Whiting says that that there are a large number of Mr. Dickinson's proteges among the postmasters in Michigan who are making an active part in the campaign, and whose names appear in the lists of delegates.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, June 21.*

* * *

One Shelley, an ex-member of congress from Alabama, took a room in this city a few weeks ago and began sending out political assessment circulars to Alabamians wherever they could be found in the departments. He reminded them that all their interests lay with the success of Col. Oates and against Kolb. One negro clerk in the war department who neglected to pay his assessment was removed soon afterwards, and insisted that the removal was for no other cause than his unwillingness to put money into the democratic campaign chest. The department sent out a prompt disclaimer, asserting that the clerk had been duly notified of the reasons for his dismissal, and that politics had nothing to do with them.

Some months ago the President, against the most vigorous protests of the best people of the District of Columbia, imported a black professional politician from Kansas and made him recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. The popular protest was based

upon the fact that the recordership is a local office, and that the democratic national convention which named Mr. Cleveland for the presidency had declared itself for home rule in the territories and District of Columbia, and inferentially bound its candidate to that policy. The effort to prevent the nomination of Taylor failed, and the senate, after a long wait, confirmed it; most of the republicans who knew Taylor voted for confirmation on the ground that his appointment would be a serious blow to the party which made it. The District people might have made better headway with their protest if they had dropped the home rule plea; with which the President evidently felt little sympathy, and looked up Taylor's record. They should have set about collecting testimony to show that Taylor was a common office beggar—what is known in the political vocabulary as a "bummer"—who had no claims to his place on any pretense of being a recognized representative of his race, and whose appointment would be sure, on personal grounds, if on no other, to bring discredit upon the administration.

This choice exotic from Kansas hardly gets rooted in his new place before he lays his plans for paying off to the democratic party obligation under which the party's leader has laid him. He accordingly heads a non-descript committee with the resonant title of "Advisory Board of the Afro American Bureau of Organization of the Democratic Congressional Committees" and joins in issuing a letter of which every negro who could be reached in any of the departments—clerk, messenger, or laborer—received a copy, and which invited them to a meeting. Among other things said: "It has been suggested that campaign committees be organized in the several divisions of the different departments which will act as a nucleus (sic) to the main organization." This call was not responded to and after a month Taylor and his associates sent another letter as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 28, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR—We sent you a letter some time ago from which we have had no reply. The congressional committee needs the immediate assistance of all its friends. You will therefore please call and see us immediately, either at the above address until 5:30 P. M., at the committee rooms, Wormley's Hotel, from 7 to 8 P. M., or at the headquarters of the national negro democratic league, No. 338 Indiana avenue, from 8 to 10 P. M.

Respectfully yours,

R. G. STILL, Chief.

Now here is as plain a "stand-and-deliver" threat as was ever put forth. It frightened many of the negroes to whom it came, and they have been inquiring of their friends what they can do. If they go where they are told to, and contribute their money, they have no assurance that the money will ever reach the real party managers. Among the respectable colored society of Washington Mr. Taylor is not held in high esteem, and a widely circulated story of his attempt to negotiate a note at a local bank managed by men of his race is not calculated to impress the dunned clerks and messengers with confidence.—*Washington dispatch, New York Post, Aug. 6.*

Seven members of the Maryland democratic state central committee are now in federal offices, and are holding their positions on the committee in practical defiance of President Cleveland's well-known policy, if not in express defiance of his orders. Among the number are Barnes Compton, chairman of the committee, naval officer; Buchanan Schley, surveyor of the port, and Dr. Frank T. Shaw, collector of customs. President Cleveland told Dr. Shaw some time ago that he had better resign from the committee.

It is known that Senator Gorman desires to continue his control of the committee and hopes to keep Barnes Compton at its helm. Should he resign, Col. Buchanan Schley, who is not a follower of Gorman, would have the appointment of Mr. Compton's successor in the chairmanship. The near approach of the time when the executive work of the fall campaign must begin has brought affairs to a crisis. It was stated to-day that Mr. Gorman had advised Mr. Compton not to resign, but to defy the President's well known wishes. The same advice was sent to other federal officials who happen to be members of the committee. Mr. Gorman is quoted as saying:

"You are now in office, you can't be removed except for good cause, and it is not good cause for removal that you are members of the committee; so hold on and I will protect you. The President can do nothing."—*Baltimore dispatch, New York Times, August 9.*

* * *

L. E. Lange, of Laurens, has bolted the endorsement of L. C. Baker, populist nominee for congress by democrats, and announces himself as a candidate. Lange is postmaster and publisher of a paper. As Baker's nomination was made regular by the democratic convention, of which Lange was chairman, and as Lange could have had the nomination by asking for it, democrats look upon his action as a decided case of offensive partisanship, and say they will "make it warm" for him if he shall persist in remaining a candidate.—*Fort Dodge dispatch, New York Times, August 12.*

* * *

The fight for the nomination of auditor still lies between Joseph T. Fanning and Joseph Reilly. Mr. Fanning has been the avowed candidate since Auditor Henderson announced that he would not make the race again. He is the chief deputy of the auditor of state at present and is without doubt one of the best qualified men in the state. Mr. Reilly is the chief clerk under Pension Agent Spencer and is the secretary of the state central committee.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, August 14.*

* * *

The Hon. S. E. Morss, the editor of the *Sentinel and consul-general to Paris*, has been drafted to write the platform for the democratic state convention.—*Indianapolis Journal, August 14.*

* * *

Down in the thirteenth ward John L. Shiltges, of the revenue service; Jacob Fox, a government inspector at Kingan's, and John L. F. Steeg, of the post-office, all of whose appointments are due to Bynum, went to capture the delegation for their patron. The manner in which they stole the delegation would have put the old twenty-

fifth ward methods to shame. They had twenty men with them, but the antis had over sixty. The primary was held in a little tin shop in the north end of the ward, which is fifteen blocks long. The antis claim the Bynum men tried to steal the primary by holding it so far away from the homes of the democrats in the ward. Shiltges called the meeting to order. The Bynumites named P. J. Kelly for chairman and the opposition selected John H. Mahoney. The antis asked that a ballot be taken. Shiltges insisted on having a viva voce vote despite the protests.

"All that are in favor of Mr. Kelley," he shouted, "say aye."

There were about twenty voices in response.

"Mr. Kelley is elected," again shouted Shiltges, without even calling for a vote on the other candidate.

There was a loud and lusty howl at this almost unheard-of procedure, but Shiltges went right ahead dispatching business. He rushed through his slate and adjourned. Sixty-five of the democrats present signed a resolution denouncing the affair. They will carry their grievance before the convention to-day and if their delegation is not seated there will be sixty-five votes against the democratic candidate for congress in that ward on the next election day.—*Indianapolis Journal, Aug. 14.*

* * *

The national negro democratic league convention met to-day at 12 o'clock, in Masonic Hall, and was called to order by the president, C. H. J. Taylor, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. There were twenty-six delegates in attendance.—*Indianapolis News, August 14, 1895.*

* * *

Voorhees's internal revenue collector, Joshua Jump, from Terre Haute, is looking after the senator's interests in the state democratic convention, now assembled at Indianapolis.

CONGRESSIONAL PATRONAGE IS THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO EVERY REFORM.

The *New York Post*, of August 1st, has an interesting letter from its Washington correspondent, giving in detail the plan by which Assistant Commissioner Bowers, of the general land-office wanted to reform the public land service:

As it is now, a petition from the settlers on unsurveyed land goes first to the local surveyor-general. By him, when he has got around to it, it is approved and forwarded to the general land-office at Washington. Here, again, it goes to the bottom of the docket; but when it is reached it is passed upon, and, if approved, is sent back with the requisite orders to the surveyor-general, who then puts the work out by contract to the deputy surveyors. The survey occupies a short or a long time, according to the character of the country, the skill or the conscientiousness of the contractors, who, when it is finished, forward their plat to the sur-

veyor-general, who sends it to Washington, where it is turned over to the special examiners of surveys in the land-office. If there seems to be any demand for it, one of these officers, or some other employe designated to assist them, visits the spot and examines the survey to test its accuracy. This examination necessarily costs a good deal. It may be as expensive as the original survey; for, although with the lines of a fair survey already run, the retracing of them is somewhat easier than the original work of laying them, yet all the same ground has to be gone over. If a dispute arises between the surveyor and the examiner, more time is consumed; and sometimes a case is carried into court, and tedious and costly litigation ensues, where the government has withheld the pay of a contractor, and he thinks he sees a chance to get it by a resort to legal process. These are only a part of the red-tape details, but they suffice to explain why, if the petitioners have good luck, they may obtain their perfected surveys in two years, but if not the matter may drag along three years or more. And the time and money wasted are only a part of the harm done by the present system, for the practice of contracting has so many hazardous ins and outs that the best class of surveyors do not go into it, and the government pays full prices for second and third-class work. The maps are imperfect, and they are so hastily got up that the features of the topographical descriptions are only guessed at. Nor are the subsequent examinations always an improvement; for in cases where the land-office is much pressed, a part of the work of examining has to be turned over to the surveyors-general, who hire for the purpose practical surveyors living in the neighborhood. As the same man who is a deputy surveyor this year is liable to be an examiner next year, or vice versa, a practice of log-rolling has sprung up among the second-class surveyors in the public-land states so that a survey made by one of the local contractors is rarely or never condemned by an examiner chosen from among the same set, and the government comes out of the job badly bitten on both sides.

Mr. Bowers's plan is to have all the work done by employes of the government attached to the geological survey, or under their direction, instead of by contractors. As a result, the settlers would be in possession of their survey within a year of the approval of the petition, thus saving from one to two years' delay and much uneasiness and suspense. On the other hand, the cost of the entire line survey and topographical survey together would not, according to the best estimates, be nearly so great as the cost of the present contract survey and examination, and the government would have two maps to show for its money instead of one.

But, as will be seen, one effect of the proposed new system would be to do away with the surveyor-general's offices, which are now, with their power of dispensing contracts, great

strongholds of party patronage. And here was where the hitch came when Secretary Smith tried to induce congress to try the Bowers plan. The senate committee on public lands consists of Messrs. Berry, of Arkansas; Pasco, of Florida; Vilas, of Wisconsin; Martin, of Kansas, and McLaurin, of Mississippi, democrats; Allen, of Nebraska, populist, and Dolph, of Oregon; Pettigrew, of South Dakota; Carey, of Wyoming; Power, of Montana, and Dubois, of Idaho, republicans. The five republicans were induced to attend the committee meetings and Pasco and Martin on the democratic side; the rest felt no particular interest in the matter and staid away while the scheme for the new survey system was under discussion.

At the first suggestion of the amendment, Messrs. Dolph, Pettigrew, Carey and Power cried out in dismay that it must not be allowed to go upon the bill. "Why," they argued, "the contractors who have been in the habit of getting jobs from our surveyors-general would make an issue of it and fight our re-election!" So a little oil was poured upon the waters of their alarm by a further proviso:

That such additional employes as may be necessary for the execution of the public land surveys for the geological survey shall be residents of the state or territory wherein said surveys are executed.

Still they refused to be satisfied. It was one thing to let the surveyor general, a politician, pick the extra employes, but it would be quite another thing to let the director of the geological survey, a man of science, select them. The director would presumptively select bright, intelligent, educated men, making fitness for their work the only test, instead of using the "places" as political rewards or stimulents. No, they would have nothing of it.

It was urged upon them in argument that the land office was willing to take \$75,000 for the coming year under the proposed new system, and make it do the work of \$100,000 under the old system, with the probabilities favoring a surplus at the end of the year even then; it was pointed out that, at most, the arrangement proposed would be only experimental for the first year, and that, if they were not well pleased with the result, they could go back to the old system the next year.

No, they were too old birds to take any chances like that. They were evidently afraid that the new plan would work so well as to make a return to the old one impossible.

Ex-Postmaster J. M. Ickes, of Newark, O., was indicted and fined recently \$400 for withholding campaign assessments from the salaries of clerks and carriers during the last Cleveland-Harrison campaign.

* * *

Arrangements are being made in the Agricultural Department for the approaching examinations of persons who want to be put on the register as eligibles for appointments as inspectors under the meat-inspection law. These places have been but recently put within the scope of the civil service law, and sixty inspectors now holding positions under the law will be compelled to pass an examination, showing their fitness for the positions they occupy.

Upon invitation of the Rev. Henry Ward, pastor of the East Presbyterian Church, the Buffalo letter-carriers and the clerks in the post-office attended in a body the services at that church to listen to a discourse on a subject near their hearts, "Civil Service Reform." A special programme, elaborate in character, had been prepared for the service, which proved exceptionally interesting to the large congregation that filled the church.

* * *

Between 80 and 90 per cent. of the better class of positions in the consular service has been changed.

* * *

Secretary Carlisle has made public the following order: "The authority to nominate persons for appointment as keepers and assistant keepers of lights in the lighthouse service was taken from collectors of customs on June 6, 1894, by order of the secretary, and transferred to the Inspectors of the several lighthouse districts." Capt. Evans, naval secretary of the lighthouse board, says that this action takes the lighthouse service out of politics. All lighthouse inspectors are naval officers, and they will recommend only fit and proper persons for keepers and assistant keepers, regardless of political pressure.

WANTON REMOVALS.

George T. Buckingham, for four years a special agent of the United States treasury department connected with the New England agency and stationed at Boston, was removed by the treasury department to-day. His removal caused considerable surprise among the treasury officials in Boston, as he was considered one of the most efficient special agents in the service, having worked on about all the principal smuggling cases which have been prosecuted by the department in New England. His latest and most important case was that against Nelson J. Q. Ratte, who was arrested a short time ago on the charge of smuggling furs into the United States. The case is now pending in the United States District Court at Albany.—*Boston dispatch, New York Times, June 25.*

There promises to be some commotion here over the recent removal of Assistant Appraiser Cyrus A. Stevens at the port of New York, apparently to make room for Henry W. Hart. Mr. Stevens has been in the custom house some twenty years, and is represented by art connoisseurs as an expert in the department of jewelry, precious stones, books, bric-a-brac, tapestries, ceramics, and the fine arts generally, whom it would be difficult, if not impossible to replace on short notice. This department of the appraiser's office is one where a great deal of trickery is possible unless the assistant appraiser in charge understands his business thoroughly. Protests signed by leading importers, artists and art-dealers are understood to have been presented to Secretary Carlisle with a view to inducing him to reinstate Mr. Stevens.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, April 19.*

"ASK SENATOR VORHEES."

There will be a shaking up at an early date among Indiana people who hold appointments in the government printing-office. There are

ninety-five persons on the rolls credited to the state. About one-half of these were indorsed by Senator Voorhees.

The Indiana delegation in the house has not secured much patronage from Public-Printer Benedict. About a week ago they made a visit to the public printer, to ascertain why their requisitions for offices had not been honored. Congressmen Conn, Brown and Bretz recalled that they had not received a single appointment. Their call on Mr. Benedict resulted in their learning that Indiana had secured her full share of patronage. The natural inquiry was, "Where had the offices gone?" The answer came back, "Ask Senator Voorhees." The result was that the public printer prepared a list, showing the name of every Indiana appointment and his indorser, and sent it to each member of the delegation. The fact was brought out that Senator Voorhees had secured nearly every new appointment made by the present administration. It was found that a number of republicans also had been indorsed by him for retention. Naturally the democratic congressmen from Indiana showed some resentment at the showing, and called on Senator Voorhees at his committee-room, and demanded an accounting. One point they insisted upon was, the dismissal of Will M. Edmunds, who was recently appointed foreman of the second division, on Voorhees's recommendation. Edmunds claims Terre Haute as his home, but it is asserted that he is not only a republican, but has never voted in Indiana. He is a relative of ex Senator Edmunds, of Vermont. Senator Voorhees declined to consent to Edmunds's removal. It seems the latter's father was an old-time friend of the Indiana Senator, and at one time edited a democratic newspaper in Indiana. Senator Voorhees consented to the dismissal of a large number of others now holding office by his indorsement, and their exit will speedily follow.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, June 27.*

THE MERIT SYSTEM UNDER TAMMANY.

FROM THE RECENT INVESTIGATION.

Morris Jacobs, the tailor applicant for appointment on the police force, whose testimony made a sensation on Friday, was recalled and repeated some of his testimony implicating Sergeant Ryan. He added that he was informed that a policeman named Keating had also been impersonated by "Dave" Brant before the civil service commissioners. John J. Ryan, Jacobs said, was a deputy street cleaning commissioner, and his principal business was "to get people out of trouble." Jacobs said he was not told that anybody would impersonate him before the civil service commissioners; all he was told was that his percentage would be got for him. Jacobs then told how after he failed to "get his percentage," an officer called at his store and requested him to go to police headquarters and

see Supt. Byrnes. He did so, and the superintendent asked him why he did not go up before the civil service commissioners himself. Jacobs told him that it was because he had been informed by Hasbrouck and Dwyer that it would be no good to do so because if he passed the examination the clerks would give his percentage to some one else; that he could have passed the examination readily. Jacobs had a second interview with Supt. Byrnes and signed a statement containing the particulars. The superintendent told him that he wanted to get these scoundrels who had robbed him, Hasbrouck and Dwyer, dismissed. Before he went to see Supt. Byrnes "Danny" Ryan called at his (witness's) store, and told him he would be summoned to police headquarters; that Supt. Byrnes knew all about the matter and he had better tell the whole truth. Young Ryan admitted to him at the same time that Brant had also impersonated him before the civil service commissioners. Jacobs added that Supt. Byrnes knew of Sergt. Ryan's connection with the transaction. All the facts in the case were also laid before the police commissioners, but no one was prosecuted; all that was done was that Dwyer was dismissed and Hasbrouck resigned. "Danny" Ryan was subsequently appointed on the police force. The witness made a new application for appointment and went up himself before the civil service commissioners, obtaining a percentage of 87.50; that was a year after young Ryan was appointed, but although he was informed at the time he was before the commissioners that if he allowed the matter to rest for a while his previous experience would not be allowed to operate against him, he was not appointed.

Later he saw a Mr. Stapleton, who told him that John J. Ryan would get him appointed, but that it would cost him \$300. He got a certified check for \$300, and then saw P. J. Ryan, a brother of John J. Ryan, who told him that the way for him to do was to subscribe the money to certain of the party's clubs. Ryan told him of a meeting of a certain club one night and directed him to subscribe \$50 to it that night, and \$50 to another club. He went to the meeting of the first club and put down his certified check for \$300 and received \$250 in bills in change from John J. Ryan. The next day P. J. Ryan brought the check to him and said that his brother, John J. Ryan, wanted bills for it. He gave him bills for the check. He contributed to various clubs in this way, under John J. and P. J. Ryan's directions, and had given money in sums of \$20 and \$25 each to J. J. Ryan until he had paid out altogether between \$1,400 and \$1,500. When he complained to friends of not getting his appointment, Ryan said that he told him he should not go about complaining that Ryan had "turned him down"; that the reason he had not been appointed was that he had not been included in the first batch of eligibles; but that as soon as his name was sent before the police commissioners he (Ryan) would have him appointed.

An amusing part of the witness's testimony in this connection was an alleged statement that some men had been appointed by mistake of the clerks giving them the percentage obtained by other applicants. When the mistake was discovered the men who passed were ap-

pointed. Jacobs told Ryan he wished he would find a similar mistake in his case.

Jacobs said he saw Commissioner Sheehan recently, and Sheehan told him that the reason some men who had low percentages were appointed was that they were interceded for in time by some one having influence. Ryan, who was present at that interview, told Sheehan that he thought it would not do to appoint Jacobs then, because of the senate investigating committee, or otherwise he would have spoken to him (Sheehan) in his behalf. Sheehan said that if the lists had all been completed he would have been willing to appoint Jacobs. This interview took place in a private office, No. 156 Broadway, through the intervention of John J. Ryan. After telling about that interview, Jacobs said that last night Duffy, of boodle-alderman fame (called "Boodle Alderman Duffy" by the witness), sent for him, but he did not go.

The cross-examination of Jacobs was undertaken by Mr. Ransom, Mr. Nicoll aiding him; or attempting to do so, by laughing loudly at intervals at the witness's statements. Mr. Ransom attempted to break down Jacobs's testimony by making fun of him, by asking him questions and then interrupting him in the middle of his replies and demanding of him if he was telling the truth, or intended to do so, when those replies were fair answers to the questions. The chairman had no need, however, to protect the witness, as he proved abundantly able to do so himself. The contest between him and Mr. Ransom was most amusing, and the only difficulty the chairman had was in preserving order in the court room. Jacobs insisted on telling all the facts, and could not be diverted. The cross examination merely strengthened the evidence given on the direct examination.—*New York Evening Post, June 12.*

* * *

Charles W. Miller, a salesman for an electric house, said he had been an applicant for appointment on the force, and had made his application therefor through Police Commissioner McClave. He passed the civil service examination, obtaining a percentage of 81.40.

Mr. Goff—Did you pay any money for an appointment?

The witness—Yes, sir; \$350.

Mr. Goff—To whom?

The witness—To the late Capt. Warts.

Continuing his evidence, after an objection by Mr. Nicoll that Warts was dead had been overruled, the witness said that Capt. Warts told him that it was necessary for any one who wished to get on the force to pay \$350. Three weeks afterwards he paid that sum to Capt. Warts in bills, borrowing part of the money for that purpose from an uncle, Benjamin Pine, of East Williston, L. I. Capt. Warts declined to take a check. When he gave the money to Capt. Warts the captain told him that he would hold the money until he (the witness) got his shield, and then he would see that it went to the right party.

Mr. Miller said he had also seen George Richards, secretary for Police Commissioner McClave, at the time he got his application paper. Richards also told him that it would be necessary to put up \$350 in order to get appointed on the force. In further conversation Richards told the witness that a man with only one lung could pass provided he put up the \$350. Richards also explained to the wit-

ness the disposition of the \$350. He said that \$25 was retained by the man to whom the money was first paid, and also by the second man through whose hands it passed, \$300 finally reaching the commissioners.

In further examination it appeared that the witness passed the necessary examination twice. The first time he did not put up any money, and his name did not reach the commissioner. Mr. Grant, who was Mr. McClave's private or principal secretary, told him that it would not be necessary to put up any money, as he had known Mr. McClave so long. Subsequently he learned from a man who said he came from police headquarters, and also Richards, that it would be necessary to make a new application and put up \$350. This he did a year after passing the examination the first time. After passing the second time he received a notice from Lee Phillips, secretary of the civil service board, to go to police headquarters for an appointment. He went there and saw Commissioner McClave. The commissioner told him that he was sorry he could not appoint him as he had already appointed all his share, and had had to leave off about thirty of his friends. "Besides," said Mr. McClave, "you are a civil service man." The witness demurred at this and explained that he had applied to the civil service commission as directed to do so by Mr. Grant. Mr. McClave said that was all right, but he regretted that he could not appoint him, and the witness said he then left the room. As he left the office, however, an officer in uniform followed him out from the general suite of rooms in which Mr. McClave's room was situated and said to him:

"Do you want that appointment very bad?"

The witness said that he did, or he would not had taken the trouble he had to get it.

"Have you got \$150 in your clothes?" asked the officer. The witness said that he had not.

"Can you get it to-day?" asked the officer.

"I don't know that I can," replied Miller, "and, besides, I do not care to pay \$500 for it."

With that the witness said he left. The officer did not express any surprise at the witness's remark about \$500, or his intimation that he had already put up \$350.

Mr. Goff—Did you get any of your \$350 back?

The Witness—Yes, sir; all of it. I got it back from Capt. Warts.

Mr. Goff—I am glad of that. Did the captain say anything to you when he gave back your money?

"Yes, sir."

"What was it?"

"That it was a damned shame that an American could not be appointed on the force when cripples and such like were appointed."—*New York Evening Post, June 28.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

WE print the following extract from a letter of a Philadelphia reader of the CHRONICLE:

"I read the CHRONICLE with much interest, and am glad that it takes so high and patriotic a stand in regard to the civil service of the government. I was especially pleased with the address upon 'Independence in Politics,' printed in the last number (July). I gave my copy to a friend. Will you please send me another, and if you can spare several, I should like to distribute them. * * I especially enjoyed Mr. Dewhurst's sermon in a previous number."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 19.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in Chicago, Wednesday and Thursday, October 17 and 18. The annual address will be delivered by Carl Schurz, at the Central Music Hall, corner of State and Randolph streets, Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. The headquarters of the League will be at the rooms of the Commerce Club in the Auditorium Building during the two days; a luncheon will be served there each day. A joint meeting of the general and executive committees will be held Wednesday at 10:30 A. M. At 2:30 P. M. on Wednesday and Thursday meetings will be held in the Auditorium Recital Hall, where papers will be read by Charles J. Bonaparte, C. W. Walbridge, Charles B. Wilby, Herbert Welsh and Joseph Medill. At 7 P. M. Thursday there will be a dinner at the Union League Club. The Wednesday evening and both afternoon meetings will be open to the public.

This is the first time that the national organization has ever held a meeting in the west. It has been a favorite saying that this reform has no foothold here, and it is to be hoped that the number of representatives from this section present at the coming meeting will prove the falsity of that assertion. There are plenty of reformers in Indiana, for instance, who have made very little sacrifice for the cause. It is their duty now to go to the expense and trouble of attending this meeting. They will be so pleased with it that they will never miss another meeting. Every man who comes will be received and enrolled as a representative of his own community.

Since the above was in print, we have received notice from the secretary of the National League that the time of the meeting has been changed to the middle of November. The new date has not yet been determined upon.

WE have refrained from commenting upon the civil service rules adopted by the present Indianapolis city government for the reason that certain seeming loopholes were left in them when adopted, and we preferred to see what actual trial would

bring forth. The rules provided for the appointment of a board to supervise their enforcement, and this board has been active and efficient in its duties. The scheme aroused the bitter enmity of a gang of party hangers-on, who are frenzied at the proposal to give out public employment by competition and merit, instead of by favoritism. In the interest of these a suit was brought to have the civil service board declared illegal. The city attorney, John E. Scott, defended the rules stoutly and the circuit court, Judge Edgar A. Brown, presiding, has decided that the civil service scheme set up by the city government is in all respects legal. The hungry spoils-men will try an appeal to the supreme court; but there is no reason to expect that they will fare any better there.

MR. JOHN H. HOLLIDAY, late editor and chief proprietor of the Indianapolis *News*, was, without his knowledge, nominated by the democratic convention of this county as a candidate for the legislature. In declining Mr. Holliday said:

"I am not a democrat nor am I a republican, but an independent voter, free to act with any party in support of any measure I favor. It is true that on the question of tariff reform I have acted with the democrats, and I have approved thoroughly of much of their state legislation, such as the election, tax and school-book laws, but I owe no allegiance to that party any more than I do to the republicans, and should it follow certain tendencies—one, for example, in support of what I consider unsound money—I should feel at perfect liberty to vote against it.

"I am a free-lance in politics—have been for over twenty years—and see no reason why I should not remain such as long as no supreme issue, such as the war involved, exists. It would be incongruous then for me to don a party badge."

This is the ground to be taken, as to party allegiance, by every man who wants to see better government in this country. Party organizations are not patriotic institutions. They are at present men banded together for the purpose of some kind of personal profit. If they put a good principle into a platform it is because they think it will help carry an election. They would, and do without hesitation, for the same object, put in bad principles. They are to be treated at arm's length. No voter should let them get a mortgage on him. They are to be used simply as instruments and to be given the victory according as it seems, for the time being, to promise most for the advancement of good government.

This will have to continue until all spoil is taken away, and no man can hope for any personal profit after election for work done before election. Multitudes of voters are more and more taking this position toward parties. Witness the Indianapolis city elections. Witness the elections of 1892, and witness also what will happen at the coming elections.

THE Methodist preachers in the La-Fayette conference met recently, and if reported correctly are in need of zealous ministrations of missionaries to keep them from relapsing into barbarism. One declared that the greatest political sin was to vote for a democrat and the next to that to vote the prohibition ticket; and another that the democratic party should be blown to hell with dynamite. Such partisanship from people claiming to be on the side of morality and decent government, makes them really more dangerous than the thugs of Gorman and Murphy. They are the stool-pigeons for any party machine, or any party act, and are oblivious of any and all corruption. Whenever Tammanyism or Quayism is in a life and death struggle with the forces that have never yet abandoned the hope and determination for a free government, these ministers, or their partisan likes, with the ample cloak of their respectable lives to cover all the foulness, begin to shout as they are bid, the false cries to distract public attention.

Such are now busy throwing up fortifications for Tammany. Mr. Parkhurst knows them. He recently said:

"It is to me an incessant burden and a galling, burning aggravation, the way in which men with intelligence, with a seeming appreciation of the meaning of personal liberty and free institutions, will allow themselves to be led about and tricked, coaxed, and brow-beaten by self-constituted managers, whose only qualifications for control are their shrewdness and their impudent audacity, and their only motives of action the promotion of their own ends.

The greatest political sin to-day is party partisanship, and we wish some one might devise a plan of convincing these Methodist brethren that they are really more to be dreaded than Tammany. But how can it be done? They will not read anything except of their kind; and deaf and blind, they bawl down any one disposed to enlighten them by oral argument.

EVERY few days we hear the assertion from some local or national spoilsman that party work must be paid for with offices, that party government would die out without patronage, that patronage is essential to maintain patriotism, that the merit system produces a life office-holding class, careless and inefficient, that the merit system produces bureaucracy, backward and full of officialism. Now Postmaster Dayton of New York, a Tammany democrat of the better type who has used his unclassified service for political purposes, may certainly be relied upon as not a prejudiced observer for the merit system. He has spent several weeks in a thorough examination of the postal service of London. To show how utterly divorced that service is from politics we quote as follows:

"It is hard for an American to realize how completely the notion of partisanship, offensive or defensive, has been eradicated from the civil service here. The postmaster-general is, of course, a politician, who retires with a change of administration. When he is an important public and party man, like Mr. Morley, he has a seat in the cabinet. But think of it! *Out of the 125,000 men in the postal service of Great Britain, not to mention 16,000 women, he is positively the only individual whose tenure of place can be affected by any political change.*

"I have devoted some time to investigating this particular question. I haven't found a case in which any of the others seem to have any sharp political opinions at all. *Of course, they are perfectly free to hold party views, and I find some of my friends among them belonging to political clubs, equivalent to the Manhattan or Union League at home, but of aggressive partisanship I can't discover a trace.* It isn't that they dissemble it; they simply don't feel it—don't know what it is."

Now everyone knows that nowhere on the face of the globe exists more vigorous party government than in England to-day, but if the Tammany postmaster is to be believed, it exists without patronage.

Again he says:

"They have here a much larger proportion of trained public servants in the executive and administrative sections of the imperial postal service who thoroughly know their business than we have."

And so employees who hold a position as long as they can do the work satisfactorily are better trained than under our spoils system.

Again he says:

"The officials were an earnest, accomplished, hard-working body of gentlemen *without a sign of pretense or red-tape officialism about them.* They were glad to give information, but they were just as eager to learn wherein our ways of doing things differed from theirs. Candidly I had not been prepared for either their excessive kindness to me personally, or the fine grasp of their work and its importance to all civilization, which they manifested."

And so the merit system is not a Chinese system after all!

THE political progress of Postmaster Dayton again calls to mind the question how much longer the country must pay for this kind of education. Here was a man who had been a lawyer and a mem-

ber of Tammany Hall. This was the sum of him. He was ignorant of public administration, and yet he was put at the head of the greatest post-office in this country, and one of the greatest in the world. He sets out with a declared purpose of "taking care" of Tammany Hall. After a year and a half he goes abroad and comes home announcing the discovery that public business and party politics have no legitimate connection. That principle was in the platform upon which Dayton's party went into power, and made it possible for him to become postmaster of New York. And yet here he is just announcing his conversion to it. Thousands of men in the public service on the day he was appointed believed in that principle, and many of them had to boot a comparatively vast amount of technical knowledge and experience, and any of them would have made, the first day, a better postmaster than Dayton will make in four years.

SEVENTY-FIVE federal office-holders went from Washington to the Ashland district to help Congressman Breckinridge get a re-nomination. This fact brings to the front again in the most offensive manner the corrupt use of the public treasury by congressmen for their private ends which so generally prevails. In addition to the seventy-five from Washington practically all federal officers living in the Ashland district, amounting to hundreds, were for weeks working for this same Breckinridge. The majority of the people of his district did not want Breckinridge, to say nothing of the majority of his party. Yet a regiment of office-holders, paid by the country, have worked day and night to force him upon his district. They have to a man left their places of official duty to do this. In view of the removal of Postmaster Thompson, of this city, for having gone to a republican convention, it is pertinent to ask how many office-holders will President Cleveland remove for a like offense in the Ashland district? Not one. He could have stopped the activity of these hundreds of paid heelers by a word. How many words did he speak to stop it? Not one. Is it hypocrisy or is it not to remove an officer for "whooping up" a republican nomination and to stand dumb while a multitude of officers in plain sight are "whooping up" a democratic nomination? It is announced that about the middle of October the Indiana democratic office-holders in Washington will come home and "take off their coats" for the party. Let them come. For every vote made in this way ten will be lost. The bitter lessons of past years do not seem to have been sufficient. They will go on until those

who live politically by preying upon the public service either die or are driven out of public life.

THE President's letter to Congressman Catchings is the last act of a struggle for a change in the tariff—a struggle in which he has been very much interested. We do not find fault because he was interested in that struggle. It was in line with the platform upon which he was elected and it was proper for him to further the declaration of the platform in every constitutional way, keeping in mind also the business interests of the country. But there was another promise of the platform which was just as explicit, which was just as binding upon him, which was of vastly greater importance, which it was in his power to keep, which depended upon him for its fulfillment, and which, the subject-matter being absolutely under his control, it was his first and highest duty to advance with all of his will, energy and power. This was the promise of civil service reform. He has not kept this promise nor has he displayed any interest in keeping it. Except where the law stood in his way he has allowed the federal service to be looted by congressmen. He has refused to profit by the bitterest experience. He has blindly pursued the same course and been bullied by the same buccaneer bosses that brought ruin to him and his party eight years ago, and that will bring ruin to him and his party now. When protest was made he impudently insulted the protestants in a public document. He now, in Catchings's letter, defines his position as follows:

"I love the principles of true democracy because they are founded in patriotism and upon justice and fairness toward all interests. I am proud of my party organization because it is conservatively sturdy and persistent in the enforcement of its principles."

Some of the renegade reformers who have sacrificed their principles for office or for social comfort and who have the ear of the President should advise him not to publish such statements. Judged by ordinary standards, his party organization is a great collection of political rascals. For years Tammany Hall has been in the main its ideal. For years it has caused the breakdown of the party promise to reform the civil service; it has been at the head of every movement to loot that service when its party was in power. If it had been "conservatively sturdy and persistent" in saying to Mr. Cleveland that the party's promises must be kept and that no offices must be turned over to congressmen the President's excusers would not now be urging that "he can not resist his party." Nothing is plainer than that if the democratic party is ever again to have and retain the confidence of the country it must have a party organization that is held together by

something else than the hope and enjoyment of spoil. It must get rid not only of its Gormans and Brices but also of its Whitneys, Hoke Smiths and Carlises.

WITH reference to the coming appointment of a postmaster at Albany (N. Y.), Congressman Charles F. Tracy, of that district, says:

"Shortly after the President was first approached about the appointment, he told me that he would consult Senator Hill's wishes, as he believed that the senator should have a voice in the matter; therefore, I believe that Senator Hill will be perfectly satisfied with the selection that the President makes."

This may not be true. Nevertheless things as strange as that happen even with Cleveland. His administration has fostered the preying of congressmen upon the public service as much as any administration ever did; and no congressman is too mean or too corrupt to get his share. The only ones shut out are those who will not act as the President desires.

THE RECKONING.

Some voters, especially in Indiana, will be apt to take a very critical view of the democratic request for their votes this year. That party has been nearly two years in making its bed, and now, of course, it must lie upon it. Of its effort upon the tariff it is sufficient to say that the President would not sign its bill. Looking up from a reading of the sweeping promise of the party platform for civil service reform, there comes in view a looted service except where the law has acted as a drag. For a year, the President and his cabinet and the party congressmen were busy day and night dividing spoil. The Gormans and the Voorheeses of the party were given seats at the table far above the salt, although their Tammany political morals were well known. Congressmen have been allowed to divide fourth-class postmasterships among their watch-dogs at the rate of 30,000 a year. The consular service was turned over as spoil under circumstances of the basest treachery, and the President participated while the secretary of state looked calmly on. Patronage has been given to influence votes in congress, and this makes the blackest spot that has ever appeared on any administration. A great contribution to a campaign fund has been recognized as proper to be rewarded with office. The Indian service has been put under the control of spoilsmen. The Carlises, father and son, have fought civil service reform with rare and reckless impudence and bad faith; and the father, the secretary of the treasury, with his sugar-trust connection added to this, is still retained by President Cleveland, while the son

still pursues his work of driving the best employes out of their places, "no matter what the mugwumps say." Indiana also, as eight years ago, has been completely turned over to the Voorhees element, although that element is known everywhere to represent the lowest political level. It made a distillery attorney collector of internal revenue, and gave us the Donham post-office case in Terre Haute and the Rockhill case in Fort Wayne. Not a single Indiana democratic congressman has attempted to stem the carnival of spoil, but to a man they have helped it on in every possible way. Some of them tried to cripple the law which is the only bulwark against them.

Voters here and throughout the country are likely to be influenced by these matters, and are likely to make their votes weigh accordingly. Extensive changes will occur; among others the people of this district seem about to rid themselves of a thorough demagogue in Congressman Bynum.

HUMBUG PENSION REFORM.

At the beginning of the present administration the THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE did what it could to secure a just and business-like treatment of the pension question. It maintained that the fraudulent condition of the pension list was due to the corrupt influence of congressmen over the pension examining boards and other pension officers "named" by them; that there would be no pension reform unless all influence of congressmen over these boards and officers was absolutely destroyed; that the only business way to find out frauds in the pension list was to begin a system of re-examinations before boards as independent as boards of army and navy officers are, and that the justice and propriety of such a system the ex-soldiers would be the first to recognize and applaud. These matters were in other ways very particularly brought to the personal attention of President Cleveland. However little might be done, this was the true course to follow.

No greater unfitness for government was ever shown than has been shown by this administration in its course actually pursued in the pension bureau. The former pension boards were swept out and congressmen filled up the places with their heelers who are now quartered upon the country to the tune of \$1,700,000 a year. The same influence of the congressmen remains. These boards have the confidence of nobody; they are viewed with contempt. Along with this sweep of the boards the administration began sending notices to pensioners that their pensions were stopped. Even a rascally pensioner is en-

titled to a hearing. But many names thus dropped were restored again, thus showing that either the corrupt influence of congressmen was getting in its work or else the administration had made inexcusable blunders and had unnecessarily caused many families the greatest pain and anxiety; probably both were true.

In this manner was produced an impression of insolent arbitrariness, unfairness and favoritism which led to an exasperation beyond anything which has been seen before in connection with pensions. Frightened congressmen, true to their cowardly instincts, attempted to set the matter right—not by advising a business course of dealing, but by declaring a pension a vested right. And now the attempt is being made by the administration, not to show how much reform has been accomplished, but how little. It is given out with a great flourish that the pension agent at Indianapolis, upon demand from the pension bureau at Washington, has sent forward the report that only 82 names have been dropped from the Indiana pension roll, while 3,902 names have been added. Meanwhile the "old soldier" is not placated but is waiting for election day, with a grimness never witnessed before. Humbug pension reformers are likely to reap their reward. The administration can not expect to be regarded as sincere when it deliberately divides \$1,700,000 worth of annual spoil among congressmen and thus shuts the door to any possible reform and then under the guise of reform flounders about like a bull in a china shop, reckless of right or wrong, and with a result which commands nobody's confidence, and which it is now attempting to hide.

A WANTON REMOVAL.

The *New York Tribune* says: The Hon. David A. Wells has an opportunity before him to attest the sincerity of his professions of devotion to civil service reform and at the same time render his neighbors and townsmen a useful service. The term of office of the postmaster of Norwich, Conn., where Mr. Wells resides, has expired, and no appointment has yet been made. There are two democratic applicants for the office, neither of whom has the slightest claim except that of party service, nor any knowledge of the duties except what could be gained by looking through the window at the sorting of mails. *The present postmaster has held the position for four years, receiving it by promotion, having been a clerk for many years and assistant postmaster during Mr. Cleveland's former administration, serving under a democrat who was appointed upon Mr. Wells's recommendation.* Through all the years of his service Mr. Caruthers, the present incumbent, has discharged the duties of the several positions he has filled to the entire satisfaction of the community, and under his administration during the last four years the office has attained the distinction of being among the two or three having the highest record for efficiency. There is no word of complaint against him, nor is

there any desire for a change except for political reasons.

Mr. Wells is, as is well known, a distinguished advocate of what is called revenue reform. He has made a specialty of the study of economic questions for many years, and is looked up to as possibly the highest authority in this country on the subject of the tariff by the theorists who are now in power and endeavoring to put their theories into practical operation. But he has, also, like most of the revenue reformers who left the republican party because of differences on the tariff question, professed equal devotion to the reform of the civil service, and especially to that feature of the reform which is in opposition to the prostitution of public office to partisan purposes.

It is generally understood and no doubt true, that he has the appointment now, as he had eight years ago, absolutely within his gift. He can demonstrate the sincerity of his professions or he can show the hollowness of the pretense that public office is a public trust.

Postmaster Caruthers has, if any other than his successful official record is needed, a most creditable record as a soldier, having served through the war and bearing now the scars of honorable wounds received in the service. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Wells can long hesitate as to his duty, but the last reports from the post-office department were to the effect that the appointment awaited his action and he had not yet made his choice.

The whole story of the final removal of Mr. Caruthers is an ugly one, and discouraging in more ways than the part played in it by David A. Wells. When such things were done under the Harrison administration they were recited from one end of the country to another by all the independent civil service reform papers, and there was no glozing over in the relation of the contemptible part played by any pseudo reformer. But this case received no exposure from the independent reform press that we are aware of, and it has been a matter of difficulty to get details of the facts. It is only another of the many moral sacrifices made by certain reformers in the hope of tariff reform.

It is a matter of open notoriety in Washington that David A. Wells, of Norwich, Conn., a defeated candidate for congress, had control of the patronage of his district, and that with one exception he was more persistent in his demands for patronage than any other man in or out of congress, and that "he has handled the post-offices in his district in a way that would have delighted the hearts of Senators Murphy and Hill." Why has Mr. Wells, a professor of reform, been allowed to conduct himself as a common spoilsman, and not paid the penalty of public exposure and criticism? Have we forgotten how we pilloried the hypocrisy of Mr. Wanamaker?

It was understood by the friends of Mr. Caruthers, the postmaster at Norwich, that his fate depended upon Mr. Wells, and the appeal was made to him to consider the

services of an efficient man, an old soldier, and the public interests of the city, and the wish of the people irrespective of party, and retain this employe. It was the understanding given by Mr. Wells that the postmaster would not be disturbed and it is now the impression of his townspeople that Mr. Wells played fast and loose with them, and indorsed the appointment of the present incumbent, and that the files of the department will show this to be a fact. Mr. Wells insists that he had nothing to do with the appointment. If it is true that Mr. Wells has played the rôle of duplicity and lying usual to congressmen who distribute patronage, it is doubtless one of the necessary compromises from his point of view exacted of him in his struggle for tariff reform; and, of course, while it must be an odious and disagreeable rôle, it is no worse, morally, than selling or exchanging patronage for legislation.

Of Mr. Caruthers we quote from a private letter:

We thus lose the services of the best postmaster Norwich has had in thirty years, in my judgment, and an absolutely green hand put in.

Looked at from more than one point of view, it is one of the saddest cases that I have known of flagrant violation of the spirit of civil service reform. I have known its history but it would make too long a letter. Mr. Caruthers, who, since he was eighteen years old, has given nearly all his life to the service of his country, who was wounded four times defending its flag, who rose by sheer merit from an humble position in the post-office to the postmastership, now finds himself adrift with a large family dependent on him, poor, and almost broken-hearted.

In the effort of the CHRONICLE to get further details of this wanton removal and which, we freely admit, were much more desired after reading that the son of Mr. Wells had received an important consular appointment, one correspondent declined, saying: "If any good could be done by going into details at this time, the case would be somewhat different, but as the deed is done beyond recall, the only thing to do is to try to be patient and work for better things." This view stands most in the way of stopping such things. Mr. Wells has done certain acts contrary to good morals, humanity, good government and his professions. He should taste the bitter fruit of publicity. We must not flinch because he has been our friend and co-worker, because he has had an honorable past and an unsullied reputation. Publicity will not give Mr. Caruthers his place again but the recital of his case will serve to keep some other worthy employe from being mercilessly turned adrift in the manipulation of patronage, and will put David A. Wells where he clearly belongs—in the same category with the Carlises, Quincy, Voorhees and the rest.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE LARGEST CITY IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1894.

A would-be Tammany mediator was sadly deceived to-day in the Yorkville Police Court and roundly scored by Justice Taintor. An insignificant discussion was in progress between Helen Daniels and Ellen Smith, each of whom accused the other of kidnaping a child, and neither of whom would be satisfied unless the other were locked up. At this juncture, just as Justice Taintor was about to dismiss the case, a stout man came rushing into the court-room, and up the bridge, *unaware, evidently, that he was about to address a republican official.*

"About this case, judge," he puffed, as he tried to lean over the desk in the customary confidential manner, "one of those women wants to be held and punished. I'm a Tammany man, name's John J. Ward, belong to the Tammany organization in the seventeenth assembly district. I was sent over here to tell you the true in'ards of this case. I'm one of the boys, you know!"

"Young man," shouted Justice Taintor, as he glared at the red-faced Tammany man angrily, "you get right straight down off this bridge, and out of court! I don't care where you're from or who you are. You get out, and get out quickly!"

Then the judge ordered one of the court officers to see that the member of the "organization of the seventeenth assembly district" did not loiter by the way, and quietly dismissed the case before him.—*New York Evening Post August 13.*

One of the wretched victims of last night's police raid in the Five Points district, a woman, was arraigned in the Tombs Police Court to-day before Justice Bernard F. Martin. She had been taken from her own room in a crowded tenement-house, and was arraigned on a charge of disorderly conduct by Perkins, a sixth precinct ward man, who said that he found the woman lying in bed in her own room.

"Didn't she have a right to do so in her own room, where she had been living with her husband for six years?" demanded the police-court lawyer who had "taken up" her case.

"Oh, but she was only partly dressed," explained the ward-man, "and I could see her when the door was open."

"People have no right to run about in houses without their clothes on," remarked Justice Martin, as he bent over his slips of commitment blanks pen in hand. The ward-man cast a triumphant glance at the woman, who leaned up against the bar wringing her hands.

"It ain't true, judge," she said, "and if you would only bring my husband ——" But his honor was not listening to her. His colleague, Justice Joseph Koch, had entered and amiably slapped him on the back, receiving the cordial greeting, "Hello, judge!" in reply. "Now what do you want?" added Justice Martin

jovially, as with the poised pen still in his hand, he turned away from the prisoner. The lively conversation that followed, interspersed as it was with many smiles and ejaculations of good humor, was for the most part inaudible. Finally, the justice on the bench summoned one of his clerks and said: "Where did I sit on Wednesday, anyhow?" When the required information was given, Justice Martin said: "Now, I want that to be clearly understood," and Judge Koch, rising, answered, "All right. I am glad to know how that stands. Much obliged, judge." With that he departed. Turning round once more, Justice Martin beheld with mild astonishment his prisoner still wringing her hands before him.

"How about this, judge, er sergeant, er officer—oh, no—Counsellor Reilly?" he stammered. The lawyer repeated what he had said, that to lie abed at home was not disorderly conduct.

"Why, certainly not," said the justice, now thoroughly good-humored, and beaming upon the ward-man he added: "Really Officer Perkins, we are all apt to lie about in our rooms without many clothes on, sometimes."

Instead of a commitment paper a discharge blank was then hastily filled out, and the half-fainting woman prisoner was released.—*New York Evening Post*, August 27th.

POLITICAL OBJECT LESSONS.

"The republican clean sweep at the Vermont election is a fine object lesson of the powerlessness of party spoils of office to affect election results even to the slightest degree. There has been little scruple in giving the old democratic Green Mountain war-horses every available scrap of patronage there to build up their forlorn-hope battalion of voters. But it is proved in this election that, with a democratic administration to help the Vermont democracy by turning out all the republican office-holders who can be turned out, Vermont is more republican than almost ever before."—*Boston Transcript*.

One element in the overwhelming democratic defeat in Maine ought not to be overlooked. This is the dissatisfaction and even disgust in the party caused by the distribution of the spoils since Mr. Cleveland began handing over the offices a year and a half ago. The business of apportioning the spoils has been in the hands of a ring known as "the Plum Trust," and the *Lewiston Journal*, Congressman Dingley's newspaper, says that it has "no doubt that the dispensation of the Plum Trust lost several thousand votes for the Maine democracy."—*New York Evening Post*, September 14.

The large number of recent changes in the war department has afforded an opportunity to compare the work of the men appointed under the merit system with that of those appointed without examination. Of the 6,600 employees in the departments in Washington subject to examination, 4,000 entered under the merit system; but for purposes of compar-

ison it may be allowed that the employees in the war department are evenly divided between the merit and patronage system. It is found in the record and pension office that, taken at random, out of 56 promotions 52 were of the new men and only 4 of the old men. Sixty of the men removed were appointed under the civil service rules and 91 without examination. In the other bureaus 19 removals were of men under the new system and 75 under the old. Four of the new men were reduced and 75 of the old. Of the two classes, those appointed through competitive examination solely with regard to their merit were likely to have the least influence or inclination to press upon the department their promotion or retention in service.

In the railway mail service the showing in the falling off in changes, due to the satisfactory character of the men appointed under the civil service rules, is worthy of note. This service affords the surest test of the workings of the merit system. In the last twelve of the fourteen months ending June 30, 1890, there were 1,400 appointments, whereas in the year last past there were only 718 appointments, and this notwithstanding the fact that the service has grown 20 per cent. since 1890. This diminution has been gradual year by year. In the force of 600 substitutes last year there were only twenty removals.—*Washington dispatch*, *New York Times*, August 26.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

"Base service was to plough the lord's land, to make his hedge or carry out his dung."—*Blackstone*.

Many of the clerks in the United States pension office attended the democratic convention, as Pension Agent Spencer issued a general leave of absence to all who cared to attend.—*Indianapolis News*, Aug. 15.

Wonder if Postmaster Brodie will be reported to Washington for attending the democratic state convention, by the same parties who reported Postmaster Moroney, of Chesterton, for attending the Hammond convention and voting for Zimmerman. *Chesterton Tribune*.

Adam S. Ebert, postmaster of Hammond, was elected vice-president from the tenth district at the recent democratic state convention, and he accepted.—*Winamac [Ind.], Democrat-Journal*, August 25.

When you say Cooper is the choice of a convention you talk about something of which you are ignorant. I was here and know how the delegate from the state farm was chosen. So do the rest of the Plainfield democrats. Holton, the postmaster here, sent invitations out on the sly and called the meeting at his house. One farmer, knowing I was district committeeman, brought an invitation he had received to me to know what it meant, and at Holton's home, on the sly, the state farm gang appointed one of themselves as a delegate to nominate Cooper, and Holton, the postmaster, attended that same convention.

Possibly you have heard how the convention that nominated Cooper was run; possibly you read some of the democratic newspaper comments on it—well, I did.

Postmaster Thompson, of Indianapolis, was removed from office for attending the Minneapolis convention.—*From Thomas S. Pollard's letter to Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 21.

* * *

John Hennessy, who is generally sergeant-at-arms at democratic conventions here, is somewhat confused as to the manner in which civil service rules are made to apply in some cases, and the manner in which they do not apply in other cases. "Some time before the state convention came on," said Mr. Hennessy, "I looked around to find men to act as ushers. There was no money in it and I thought it would be no more than right that men holding government positions, to whom loss of time would cost nothing, could serve. Among others I called on Austin H. Brown, in the office of collector of customs, and asked if there were not two or three men there who could be spared. What did Mr. Brown do but draw a printed list of civil service rules showing it could not be done. I went away satisfied, but what was my astonishment when the congressional convention came along to see Mr. Brown himself pop up in that convention as chairman of the committee on resolutions. It's queer, don't you see, how these rules fail to operate in some cases."—*Indianapolis News*, August 22.

* * *

Sanford Grayson, Holman's postmaster at West Point, and others were appointed to prepare resolutions. * * The Holman concern is a close corporation. Men of the rank and file who have grown gray voting for Holman will be expected to continue their disinterested services in the future for the office-holding class in the party that has been nurtured and educated into a power that defies the ordinary kicker.

The solemn protest of thousands of democrats weary of the Holman oligarchy against the renomination of the old objector was treated with the same contempt in the convention that it got among the clique in private. Is it indeed true, we ask, if free-born American citizens can or do by long subserviency to party aims and objects absolutely lose all power of individual thought and action and become putty in the hands of bosses, to be molded and used as plastic stuff for base and selfish ends?—*Brookville American*, August 30.

* * *

He (Congressman McNagney) has dealt dishonestly with the party in nearly every locality, and in a number of cases has squarely lied to and insulted the best men in the party. Why he did these things in this way is difficult to tell. But a man who deals thus falsely with those who have honored him can not be retired too soon.—*Auburn Courier*.

[Editor Barns, of Auburn, has been keeping up a fire on McNagney on account of the outcome of the post-office fight at Auburn.]

Ex-Governor Wilson, democratic candidate for the United States senate to succeed Camden, spoke here last evening. After Wilson had finished *United States Marshal Vinson*, who is a strong Camden man, attempted to address the crowd. There was hooting and yelling, and one of Vinson's deputies fired a revolver. The firing then became general, three of the deputies joining in it, and it is charged, but denied, that Vinson fired several shots. Vinson and his men jumped on their horses and fled. William Frygel, one of the Wilson supporters, was shot dead. Three other men were seriously wounded. There is intense indignation over the matter. It is alleged that United States Marshal Vinson himself fired the shot that killed Frygel. A posse is after Vinson and all his deputies, with warrants charging them with murder. Vinson's friends claim that he is insane.—*Wayne, W. Va., dispatch New York Times, September 5.*

* * *

The democratic convention of Mahoning county, O., on Saturday adopted the following resolution, *in spite of the fact that the Brice delegates, among whom were several federal office-holders, fought hard to shelve it.*

[The resolution denounces Brice for his betrayal of a public trust.]

—*New York Evening Post, Sept. 17.*

In the state convention Mr. Brice's henchmen were successful.

* * *

The Albany Journal, whose faction has been beaten in the county fight, is sore because the delegates from Albany county are Roberts men. It charges that the patronage of the comptroller's office was used to bring about the result. The Journal, however, has no rebuke for John Palmer, the secretary of state, who fought by his side in the Albany primaries and against his colleague, Comptroller Roberts.—*Buffalo Express, Sept. 3.*

* * *

Pursuant to the request of President Cleveland, Dr. Frank T. Shaw, collector of customs at this port, will on Monday hand in his resignation as chairman of the Carroll county democratic committee, and Deputy Collector Diffenbaugh will also resign as secretary of the same committee. These resignations will be made in accordance with the wishes of President Cleveland, who is opposed to federal officials holding posts in partisan committees and taking active part in the management of political affairs. It was in consequence of this policy of the President that Naval Officer Barnes Compton resigned as chairman of the democratic state committee several days ago. Other federal officials will resign from the various political organizations to which they belong at the first meeting of the respective bodies.—*Baltimore dispatch New York Times, August 30.*

* * *

Mr. Gorman gets a certain number of his tools into federal office through the weakness or good nature of the President, and at the

first opportunity, in spite of the President's explicit orders to the contrary, and notwithstanding that they have been forced to resign their official places on the working committees of the machine, these office-holders work party conventions in the selfish interest of Senator Gorman, their patron.—*Baltimore News.*

* * *

Gorman and his lieutenant, Rasin, who recently made a profession of throwing off the Gorman yoke, understand each other perfectly, and are working together in managing the congressional conventions that are being held in Maryland. One of the best informed politicians in the state tells the News: "The people are getting the resolutions, the politicians are getting the nominees, and the old game is going on with its pristine strength and vigor. When the election is over, Gorman and Rasin will have the substantial end of the business in their control, because they boss the fellows who hold down the offices. The people will have the rope of sand in the shape of a lot of empty resolutions."—*Baltimore News, about September 9.*

* * *

The Madison county democrats held their county convention at Morrisville to-day. Yesterday there was one of the bitterest fights ever made to secure control of the delegates from the town of Lenox, the fight for the state organization being led by ex-sheriff Charles E. Remick and that for the administration by Richard M. Baker, recently appointed postmaster there. It was won by the Hill people, and Postmaster-elect Baker led a bolt from the town convention. At the county convention to-day he was present and attempted to get delegates favorable to the federal administration, but was defeated, and a strong Hill delegation was chosen.

The real contest was on the county committee and county organization. Luke McHenry, Hill's right-hand man in this county, was a candidate for re-election as chairman, but was defeated by P. J. Kennedy, of Oneida. Kennedy was made county committeeman yesterday on the strength of his pledge to support McHenry for chairman. Postmaster-elect Baker succeeded in getting him to enter as a candidate for that position, rallied the post-office strength to his support, and after several ballots he was named. Kennedy has always heretofore been a strong Hill democrat, but in the fight yesterday he was with those who left the town convention. What his attitude toward the state machine will be is rendered doubtful. It is a bitter disappointment to the Hill followers, who have lost control of the county organization.—*Oneida, N. Y., dispatch, New York Times, September 19.*

SUBSIDIZING THE PRESS.

Harry Hall, of the Recorder, postmaster at Catskill, N. Y.

Edward P. Howe, editor of the Sun, postmaster at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

John Macklin, of the Leader, postmaster at Stapleton, N. Y.

J. G. P. Holden, editor of the Gazette, postmaster at Yonkers, N. Y.

John B. Kessler, editor of the Herald, postmaster at Ottawa, Kan.

Richard M. Baker, of the Democratic Union, postmaster at Oneida, N. Y.

Joseph F. Hall, of the Spirit of the Times, postmaster at Batavia, N. Y.

Charles DeKay, on the staff of the New York Times, consul general to Berlin.

Thomas Chalfant, of the Intelligencer, postmaster at Danville, Pa.

John C. Neltner, editor of the Democrat, postmaster at Turner, Ill.

W. F. Hutton, editor of the Advance, postmaster at Holstein, Ia.

Mrs. S. T. Lynch, of the Standard, postmaster at Leavenworth, Kan.

S. W. Poe, editor of the Leader, postmaster at Grafton, W. Va.

Barney O'Neill, of the Democrat, postmaster at Howard, S. Dak.

Alfred L. Holman, editor of the Springville News, assistant cashier in the Buffalo (N. Y.) post-office.

John P. Sweeney, of the Journal, postmaster at Lawrence, Mass.

David L. Sollenberger, of the Dispatch, postmaster at Shamokin, Pa.

T. D. Studebaker, of the Times, postmaster at McGregor, Ia.

Alfred L. Holman, the editor and publisher of the Springville Local News has been appointed assistant cashier in the Buffalo post-office by Postmaster Baker. During the last campaign he was a strong advocate of home rule and was a delegate to the anti-snap convention at Syracuse.—*Springville dispatch, Buffalo Express, August 17.*

PUNISHMENT FOR SERVICE REFUSED.

Another upon whom the administration has declared war is Brice, of Ohio, and the nomination of Robert B. Palmer to be postmaster at Washington Court-House, which was made on Thursday, is regarded as the first gun of the administration in the contest. Palmer was the stenographer of ex-Governor Campbell and was urged by the latter for this appointment. Senator Brice indorsed the application of Michael Haggerty, and, in consequence, a deadlock ensued. Senator Brice gave notice that if Palmer was appointed that he should not be confirmed, and for this reason it is believed the President delayed making this appointment until after congress adjourned in order that the appointee might take hold of the office at once. Senator Brice will undoubtedly pool issues with the other anti-administration senators to secure the rejection of Palmer.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, September 3.*

* * *

Before leaving this morning, the President made some appointments which are especially significant in that they reveal beyond dispute that from now he will dispose of the patronage at his disposal in rewarding his friends, and punishing those who will not bow the knee to his mandates. All the New York postmasters and the collector of internal revenue for the first New York district, whom Senator Hill would not permit to be confirmed, were given recess appointments and will now take charge.

But one of the most significant appointments to-day was that of Milton Welsh to be collector at Kansas City. About a year ago the Missouri delegates in both houses,

with the exception of Mr. Cobb, of St. Louis, resolutely refused to favor the bill for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. As punishment the President shortly afterward filled all the federal offices in Missouri, and Mr. Cobb was the only one recognized. For surveyor at Kansas City, Senators Cockrell and Vest and Representative Tarsney were ignored, and the place given to Scott Harrison, the democratic brother of ex-President Harrison. At the instance of the two Senators, Mr. Harrison was rejected by the senate, and the fight was reopened. The senators reindorsed their candidate but Mr. Tarsney became a cuckoo and was one of the two house democrats to denounce in the house the senate tariff bill. Having thus earned his reward, Mr. Tarsney was chaperoned to the White House by William L. Wilson, and the reconciliation was effected. To-day Mr. Tarsney's candidate, Mr. Welsh, was appointed, and the senators again ignored.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, Aug. 29.*

* * *

Public Printer Benedict discharged about three hundred employes from the government printing office to-day who had been appointed on the recommendation of Senator Gorman. These men were let out, it is said, on an order from the White House, and it is an incident of the war waging between the President and Senator Gorman, growing out of the tariff fight. Gorman, as chairman of the senate printing committee, has been dominating the public printing office. He was only a minority member of the committee under the Harrison administration, but controlled nearly two hundred appointments even then. As chairman of the committee under the democratic senate he has been an autocrat. He refused to allow Benedict's nominations to be confirmed until the latter had made him certain promises about patronage. President Cleveland has given orders to the public printer recently to cut off some of Gorman's unlimited privileges.—Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, Sept. 4.

* * *

Senator Gibson, of Maryland, has received a decided setback. President Cleveland has appointed J. W. W. Woodford postmaster of Centerville, Md., and he will to-morrow receive notification of his appointment. Centerville is Senator Gibson's native town. He has a brother now living there. His father owned a fine estate on its suburbs. Mr. Gibson recommended for the place John R. Emory, his brother-in-law, who, during President Cleveland's former term, held a position in the Baltimore custom-house, and who is now a clerk in the District building in this city. The junior senator from Maryland was deaf to all appeals from his friends in Queen Anne's county not to recommend Mr. Emory for the position. He insisted, however, that he should have it and left no stone unturned to carry out his determination. He frankly informed a delegation from Centerville, which recently called upon him at the senate in the interest of Mr.

Woodford, that his brother-in-law should have the appointment if he could secure it for him. He paid several visits to the post-office department and urged upon Postmaster-General Bissell the immediate appointment of Mr. Emory. All papers bearing on the case were sent to President Cleveland a month ago, and at one time it seemed as though Mr. Emory's appointment was a foregone conclusion. The papers, however, were returned to the post-office department, and there they rested until yesterday, when President Cleveland selected Mr. Woodford.—*Baltimore Sun, Aug. 30.*

THE KING AND THE BARONS.

Edward Grosse, appointed by the President on March 9 to be collector of internal revenue for the third district and who has been held up by Senators Murphy and Hill until now, was permitted to occupy the office for which he was selected. There does not appear to have been any good reason why he should not have been confirmed before. From all that can be learned, it was the presumptuous opinion of the senators from the Empire State that the men who secured his appointment were not really anxious to have him confirmed. Joseph R. Jewell nominated June 12 to be Indian agent, New York agency, was also confirmed. In this case, too, there was no real objection to the man except that he had not been nominated at the suggestion of either of the senators. A third confirmation was that of John D. Brennan to be postmaster at Medina. He was nominated December 7, 1893. There is reason enough, in the estimation of the senior senator, for delaying this confirmation. Brennan, it seems, is a resident of the town in which James Hanlon, who is an active democrat, but not quite satisfactory to the Hill men, happens to live. Brennan is employed by Hanlon, and that seems to have been the extent of his offending.—Washington dispatch New York Times August 24.

* * *

The *New York Sun* remarks that the appointment by President Cleveland of John H. McCarty to be United States marshal for the southern district of New York is, in its significant relation to municipal politics, the most important act of the present national administration. Closely following the appointment and confirmation of John A. Sullivan as internal revenue collector in the second district, and coupled with the nomination of J. C. McGuire, an organization man, as surveyor, says the *Sun*, it clinches the conviction in the mind of every New York politician that the influence of the administration, through patronage, will be cast with, and not against, Tammany Hall's municipal ticket at this year's election.—*Buffalo Express July 12.*

* * *

James F. Connelly, the candidate of Senator Smith for the collectorship of internal revenue for the northern district of New Jersey, the office of which is at Newark, filed his formal application for appointment at the treasury

department to-day. This is another move in the Smith-McPherson fight for the New Jersey federal patronage. Major Klotz, of Newark, Senator McPherson's trusted political henchman, is the candidate of the senior senator. The delay in the filing of Mr. Connelly's application, which is elaborately indorsed, is believed to be due to a scheme of the Smith contingent to get the appointment during Senator McPherson's absence in Europe.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, September 6.*

* * *

In the July CHRONICLE were the details of the appointment by the President of Col. Parker as district attorney on the supposition that Senator McPherson's letter of indorsement was a senatorial command and the President's subsequent withdrawal of Col. Parker's name upon a further senatorial command. He has since appointed Boss Miles Ross's man. Senator McPherson needs the support of Ross in his contest for re-election and so farms out his patronage. We quote from the *New York Evening Post* of July 30 concerning the man to whom the President gave the office:

"Mr. Beekman's standing as a lawyer is not high, and his manner in court is not dignified. He was a member of the assembly for two years, in 1892 and 1893, but made no marks there, and when the notorious race-track bill of 1893 was put through, his name was found among the list of the five who are marked 'Absent and not voting.'"

* * *

It will be remembered that the President reserved the places of postmaster and district attorney and gave Gorman the rest. Of the President's appointment to the district attorneyship, the *Baltimore American* (Rep.) says:

"Mr. Marbury is able and he is capable. He stands well in the community, and he is full of wit and substance. The people will admire him and the law-breakers will fear him."

We do not think it was greediness for all the patronage that impelled Gorman to "hang up" Mr. Marbury's appointment; but Senator Gorman's machine has a large element of the criminal class, and the senator's past history shows how very inconvenient he will find a prosecuting attorney of Mr. Marbury's stamp. In justice to his henchmen he could not consent to the appointment. But the President seems firm and has reappointed Mr. Marbury.

* * *

The Gorman democrats of this city and state are far from happy. Their attachment to the senior senator has consisted very largely in their confidence in his power to command patronage. The faithful have depended upon it, and the party generally has looked to it for strength. Senator Gorman's opposition to the President has not only apparently closed the door upon future favors in all the departments, but Maryland congressmen who are attached to Gorman have found that their ability to get places is constantly growing weaker, and they are viewing the prospect with considerable alarm.

On the top of it comes the action of the independent democrat whom President Cleveland made postmaster of this city—S. Davies Warfield. The patronage of the post office is the most important of all the federal offices,

and the regulars have made extraordinary efforts to get Postmaster Warfield into line. Their failure amounts to a catastrophe. Not only has the new postmaster selected independent democrats and men of capacity and fitness rather than of political experience, but he gave the crushing blow by refusing to manipulate the civil service list and by appointing ten republican letter carriers because there were ten vacancies and the republican names headed the list. It is the first time that such a thing has ever been done in Baltimore. Postmaster Warfield says he will obey the letter as well as the spirit of the civil service law. Mr. Warfield is making a model postmaster.—*Baltimore dispatch, New York Times, September 19.*

* * *

Senator Gorman delivered a characteristic threat against the civil service commission this morning. In introducing a resolution for the printing of the civil service commission's report he intimated that the commission was responsible for "scandalous and libelous" statements in the press that the committee had unduly and intentionally delayed the printing of the report.

After declaring the falsity of that report Mr. Gorman said: "I can only say that hereafter it would be wise for the commission to see to it that they make their requests in respectful language, and that they keep out of the public press with their complaints as much as is possible."

As Mr. Gorman is practically the sole arbiter of what shall and shall not be printed, runs the government printing office as a private patronage establishment, and has it in his power to prevent or delay publications which the civil service commission may desire to have issued, this timely warning is interesting and suggestive.—*Washington dispatch New York Evening Post, August 16.*

* * *

Another engagement in Senator Gorman's family is that of his daughter Miss Madie to her cousin, Stephen Gambrell, Jr. Mr. Gambrell is the son of Stephen Gambrell, of Laurel, who married Senator Gorman's sister. Both the Gambrells, father and son, have positions in the departments at Washington.—*Baltimore dispatch, August 20.*

* * *

"I wish to acknowledge, in the most public manner, my gratitude to the President for having relieved me from all responsibility in regard to appointments in Missouri. If there is anything in my public life which has afforded me any pleasure, real and substantial, it has been the fact that the President, in the exercise of his constitutional right, of which I do not complain, informed me that he no longer desired my advice in regard to Missouri patronage. Not again during his administration will I stand in a crowded ante-room looking into the anxious and haggard faces of expectant office-holders. Not again will I be admitted in the august presence, nor will I watch the shadows—possibly produced by

indigestion—that flit across the executive brow, and feel my heart sink as each shadow comes and goes. Not again will I be damned at country post-offices, upon village corners, as an ingrate who has given no offices to his friends."

Now that he has been released from all the troubles and complications involved in dispensing the spoils, Mr. Vest says that he can "fight for my principle, my party, my country."

THE MACHINE OF MURPHY, SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES.

Eugene E. McClure was sentenced to-day to five years in the state prison—the extreme penalty of the law—for receiving stolen goods. The property was stolen by Bat Shea, who is now supposedly awaiting electrocution for the murder of Robert Ross and his pal, John McGough, who is serving a sentence of 19 years for shooting William Ross, at the election here last March. McClure had acted as a fence for the gang for years. He is 45 years old.—*Troy dispatch Buffalo Express, September 11.*

* * *

In the court of sessions in this city, this morning, with County Judge Griffith presiding, Michael Pillion, convicted of repeating at the polls in several wards in this city at the election last spring, was sentenced to the Albany penitentiary for one year, and to pay a fine of \$500, in default of which fine the prisoner is to be detained at the penitentiary for 500 days. Pillion's conviction is the first in twenty years, that a jury in Rensselaer county has found in a case of election fraud.

Immediately after the sentence of Pillion, District Attorney Kelly stated that he had nothing more with which to occupy the attention of the court, whereupon Frank S. Black, counsel for the Troy committee of public safety, addressed the court, and read a list of indicted persons charged with election offenses who had not been brought to trial, and who had not been arrested. Mr. Black stated that the district attorney's officers had not used proper diligence in endeavoring to apprehend indicted persons, many of whom, he said, were in Troy at the present time. He also referred to the indictment against Officer William J. Butcher, of the Troy police force, who is charged with interfering with voters in the ward in which Robert Ross was shot last spring. He said that the evidence against Butcher was in the possession of the district attorney, and that trial could be moved at once, if the district attorney saw fit.

Mr. Black declared that the district attorney should be "made to move or be removed." The district attorney, in reply, said he did not have charge of the grand jury that found the indictments included in the list read by Mr. Black, as it was well known that the governor had directed that he should not be connected with the election cases. He said Butcher was the principal witness against four persons now in jail, and that he did not intend to place the officer on trial until the cases of those offenders had been disposed of.

The court issued an order directing that all persons under indictment, and who have not given bail, be arrested on bench warrants, and the trial will occur at the October term of the court of sessions.—*Troy dispatch New York Times, September 13.*

CARLISLEANA.

Secretary Carlisle to-day dropped every republican in the office of the supervising architect. Those dismissed were Chiefs Lowe, of the draughting division; Garretson, of the

accounts division, and Millikin, of the records division. All three were eminently qualified for their positions and have been in the service many years.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, September 5.*

* * *

The places of the dismissed men will be filled by putting in chiefs of divisions in the controller's office, appointed by Secretary Carlisle, who have been legislated out of office by the Dockery treasury reorganization act, which will take effect October 1.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 5.*

* * *

M. W. Wines was, until a few days ago, chief of a division in the coast and geodetic survey. There was a reorganization of the force under the direction of Secretary Carlisle, and Mr. Wines, who has held office nearly a score of years, was dropped from the rolls. He had been drawing a salary of \$2,200 a year. Something like twenty-two years ago he resided in Ft. Wayne. He is said to have been a democrat at that time. He was appointed from Cincinnati, however, and on republican influence.

Monday he called on Congressman McNagny with a letter from Senators Turpie and Voorhees. The senators demanded almost peremptorily that Congressman McNagny go to Secretary Carlisle and secure the reinstatement of Mr. Wines. But Mr. McNagny did not go. He suggested that Mr. Wines had lost his identity as a resident of Ft. Wayne, so much, in fact, that he had not seen fit to call on a representative from that district until there came an emergency in his affairs which demanded a political "pull." The twelfth district representative spoke rather sharply to Wines and sent him away very much crestfallen. Some of the Indiana democrats here claim that Mr. Wines has been wavering in his political affections and unable to keep his mind fixed on any one political party for any long period of time.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, August 29.*

* * *

William H. Pugh, of Cincinnati, whose office of commissioner of customs was abolished a few days ago, has been appointed acting chief of the coast and geodetic survey. This position requires a scientific man of the highest attainments. Pugh is a lawyer without any pretensions to being a scientific man. His present appointment is said to be only temporary.—*Indianapolis Journal, July 16.* [Our July issue contained the full account of the methods employed by the Carlisle family to drive out Professor Mendenhall.]

* * *

There was a wholesale discharge of employes in the government printing office on Monday, over five hundred being let out. Several Indiana men were on the list, among them A. G. Defrees, of Indianapolis, son of ex-Public Printer John D. Defrees. He was one of the oldest employes in the office.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis News, Aug. 30.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 20.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in Chicago, December 12th and 13th.

IN another part of this paper are the particulars of the wide-spread assessments of office holders, and the statement of Mr. Roosevelt as to their unusual frequency. The explanation is easy. Attorney-General Olney construed the law, if honestly, ridiculously, and President Cleveland who could stop what Mr. Roosevelt fitly calls this foul blackmail, by a word, is silent, and by his silence really acquiesces. Subordinates have correctly interpreted the situation.

IT is doubtful if there were many reformers in the country who did not live in anxiety until it was certain that Hill had accepted the nomination for the governorship of New York. It seemed impossible that he would not get a respectable figure-head to take his place, but he did not, and at last Hill and Hillism are where they can be got at. A few days later their twin brothers, Tammany and Tammanyism, were surrounded by the reform German club, the committee of seventy organization, the good government clubs, and the republicans who together are grinding them as the gods grind. This is a very surfeit of good things, and every true citizen regrets that this year he does not live in New York. The result is not doubtful. Righteousness is going to have a great triumph. Hill and Tammany are going to be overthrown.

OF course there are some good men who can not bring themselves more than half-way in this matter. There always are. William R. Grace and Frederick R. Couderd, at the head of what is known as the Cleveland, or state democracy, are such. Tammany, the wholesale blackmailer, robber, oppressor, and criminal, is to be stamped under foot; but Dave Hill, the devilish enemy of Cleveland and Clevelandism, the receiver of thousands of dollars from a thieving contract, the brazen bluffer and the real principal in the May-

nard crime, the chosen friend, the up-builder and the fellow of Tammany, is to be voted for. It is hard to find words to fitly characterize the stupidity or the selfishness of men who can say that Tammany should be defeated and Hill elected.

It is well known that Hill is the most dangerous character in New York politics since Aaron Burr. His nomination has called forth expressions which indicate the widespread degradation of politics. The following are instances:

Chicago Times: "New York could have no better executive."

St. Louis Republic: "The magnificent compliment paid to him Wednesday was a tribute to his superb mastery of New York politics."

Atlanta Constitution: "If any man can defeat the republican candidate in New York state this year, that man is David B. Hill."

Evansville Courier: "Thus the great democracy of New York comes together under the banner of Hill."

New York Herald: "Senator Hill is a veteran and a matchless campaigner. The issue is plain. The result is with the people."

Association of Southern Democrats in New York: "That we have witnessed with admiration the independent political career of Senator David B. Hill, and regard him as the truthful exponent of the highest order of democratic principles, and personally far beyond the control of influences which have been known to cause statesmen to swerve from their line of duty and patriotism, and we endorse his course in the United States senate."

IN giving his reasons for abandoning the state democracy and returning to Hill and Tammany, E. Ellery Anderson beatifically says:

The evils which afflict us are part of the infirmities of our human nature. The battle for their suppression is a melodrama in many acts. The curtain was raised on the performance of this singular play many ages ago, and it will not fall until the light of the eternal stars shall have burned to the last flicker as they die in their sockets. There is no short cut to the millennium. If there were, the occupation of the Almighty would be gone. He has assigned mankind to the performance of this endless play for His own good purposes.

While Mr. Anderson returns to his vomit and abandons himself to fate, in Everett P. Wheeler is offered the best candidate for governor of New York that has appeared in many a day. His view of the purposes of the Almighty is radically and vigorously different from that of Mr. Anderson.

WHEN Mayor Denny, of this city, was elected, it was one of the puzzles how he

proposed to have a reform administration and have Pres. Trusler as comptroller. When the civil service rules were under consideration that part prohibiting assessments upon office-holders was on Trusler's motion struck out and was one of the suspicious loopholes we mentioned last month. The result has now come. The republican campaign committee "appointed" Comptroller Trusler to collect assessments from members of the city administration. He says: "I was ordered to collect two per cent. on all salaries over \$1,000 and one per cent. on \$1,000 and under." He further says: "All appointive offices are political offices and the people who get them should pay for them." He proceeded to make the assessment, and says: "The members of the police and fire departments have come in here and paid their political assessments to me." When asked as to the report that those who did not pay would lose their places, he says:

No threats have been made, nor has any one been told that if he does not pay his assessment that he will lose his job. So far as I am concerned I could not cause any one to lose his position if I wanted to. I am only one of the members of the city government.

We have here in the baldest shape a brazen and impudent levy upon the salaries of public officers to make up a fund for a party campaign. This is one of the most corrupt and dangerous evils in American government. It was money raised in this way that ultimately taught 20,000 or 30,000 voters in Indiana to sell their votes. Next to blackmailing private citizens it is the most corrupt form of Tammanyism. In the form of the disclaimer of a threat there is a threat. So great is this evil and so universal is the recognition of it that it is forbidden by the federal law. This matter has had great publicity, the Indianapolis *News* having repeatedly given the facts. The *Journal*, the party organ, is silent. Mayor Denny is silent. He should kick this comptroller out of office. This is a matter which pertains to Mayor Denny and to this city, and in due time it will come home to him and to the party which so stupidly stultifies its professions of reform.

AMONG other desirable things which seem probable in the coming election is the defeat of Congressman Bynum of this

district. From the time when in the first Cleveland administration he ran into and kept in the public service such characters as Jim Dowling he has been simply a manipulator of spoil. He has been the steady and malignant enemy of the civil service law and of civil service reform. The brassy hypocrisy of his character is shown in his introduction of a bill to restore to the service the railway mail clerks turned out by Wanamaker just before the civil service rules were allowed to take effect, while utterly ignoring the men turned out in post-offices throughout the country by the present administration under exactly the same circumstances. On the top of this pious solicitation for the merit system he tried to prevent an appropriation for the civil service commission. The bullying and possessory nature of his view of public office is shown by the Irvington post-office matter. The great body of the people of that place wanted to keep their postmaster, and Mr. Julian, with great earnestness, urged the people's wishes, and a democrat was sent to Washington so that the post-office department might surely be informed. Bynum contemptuously brushed all this aside because he wanted to fix a henchman, and he fixed him. That he regards public office as a private snap is shown by his appointment of his son to be a cadet in the naval academy. A man who will do that in this age instead of throwing the place open to competition among the young men of the district, deserves the contempt of all honorable men. The only excuse made for Bynum is that he is a free-trader or a tariff reformer. Perhaps he is, but there is a limit to the shiftiness which a voter can pass, even if he thinks free trade ought to be the first qualification of a congressman.

At the Lake Mohonk conference Mr. Hailman, superintendent of the Indian schools, is reported by the correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* as follows:

He was told by the secretary of the interior, upon assuming the office, that it was the secretary's earnest wish to divorce the educational service from party politics. He found that his duties were wholly advisory. Later his duties were defined. He was warned, however, by subordinates in the department, that if he should try to exercise the authority given to him to the full extent, his place would be made so warm for him that he would be out of it before the 1st of July. He had not been forced out, however, but the limit of his authority had been restricted so that his power of selection and assignment of unclassified employes had been taken away. He believed that it would be best for the control of the superintendent of Indian schools to be transferred from the Indian bureau to the commission of education.

We fear that Secretary Hoke Smith will think that Mr. Hailman's candor shows a want of fitness almost disqualifying him for his position. Does not Mr. Hailman know that though it was the secretary's

earnest wish to take the Indian service out of politics theoretically, yet the government could not be run except as he portioned out Indian spoil among congressmen? The secretary doubtless wrings his hands in private over this state of things, and might naturally have expected that Mr. Hailman would have appeared before the conference dwelling on Secretary Hoke Smith's keen suffering over the evil of the Indian service, in its unclassified portion, treated as spoil and insisting that the conference withhold criticism and thank the secretary for not having yielded as much as the wicked congressmen claimed.

JOSIAH QUINCY must get very tired reading the opinions of experts upon the necessity and practicability of a reform in our consular service. Admiral Erben has a long and instructive interview in the *New York Evening Post* of September 29th. He has had forty-six years' experience of active service in our navy, and in President Arthur's administration made a special investigation of the consular service, and he says:

"To my mind, one of the first great reforms we need is a reformation of our consular service. We need it in the interest of trade, if for no other reason. There should be established a regular permanent service, with promotions from place to place according to the fitness of the men. Let young men work themselves along in the service. Have absolutely no politics in the matter at all. In that way we should soon have excellent consuls. At present the consulships are practically rewards for political service. Many of our consuls, as I have said, go abroad because they have sick wives, or because they want to see the world."

A FEW people realize the necessity of intelligent management of the remaining forest area of this country. Attempts are made to awaken interest in this vital matter. At the recent session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Prof. B. E. Fernow read a valuable paper on "The Battle of the Forest," which ought to awaken us before it is too late. It is lamentable enough to stand by and watch the wanton destruction of forests by timber kings, but it is more lamentable to see a state like New York attempt to preserve some of the noble Adirondack forest lands by acquisition, and fail, because its governor uses its state forest commission as the reward for henchmen. Comptroller Roberts has been making an investigation, and finds that

The timber on state lands not only has been ruthlessly cut, but that the undergrowth has been destroyed, thus leaving the lands sterile wastes. In addition to this, he has obtained evidence, he says, that certain state foresters have received from timber thieves and lumber men anywhere from 35 cents up for every tree that has been cut down.

THE department of agriculture is also a part of the New York state machine, and

its patronage is managed on the Hill and Murphy plan:

The *Rural New Yorker* alleges that in Oswego county "a saloon-keeper has been appointed to this responsible position of tree inspector, and this, too, in one of the most important fruit districts of the state, where there are a large number of intelligent and practical men who have made a study of fruit-tree diseases and their remedies. Moreover, this is said to be only an aggravated illustration of what has come to be much the rule."

It is strange that since people think it well worth while to live even amidst unwholesome and unlovely conditions made by a spoils government—dust laden air breathed, foul water drunk, adulterated food eaten, bad roads, nasty streets, no parks, or Tammany parks, denuded forests, Carlisle O'Rourke architecture and much more—if the struggle for existence is worth while with all these evils, what would it be under conditions absolutely free from the contamination of spoil? Let us consider such an improved phase of life and determine whether any party insisting that spoils is necessary to its existence had not better die at once.

INDEPENDENTS AS DEMOCRATS.

After the elections of 1884 the independent voters, especially in Massachusetts, had a distinct cleavage as to the best course to be followed in the future. There were those who argued that patronage and the effort to obtain it had debauched the organizations of both political parties, and that the most selfish, greedy and corrupt elements in both parties had complete control of the respective machines. Therefore, the quickest way to reform and the method by which to exert the greatest influence was to remain outside all party organizations, to be an uncertain voter, and to avoid all the silken chains of party fealty and thereby the dangers of apologizing for acts that should be judged justly but severely.

There were other independents who maintained that Mr. Cleveland must be helped by accepting office "to carry out his ideas," and that the way to quicken the aspirations of the new democratic party was to join it and gain the supremacy by wise counsels and disinterested work.

Time enough has passed to judge fairly of the results of the two methods. Whatever may have been the case in the past or whatever may be the case in the future, we believe that at the present time when any man abandons his party organization because he believes it has no principles or not his principles, he weakens his capacity for reform by allying himself with any other party organization. The case of Dr. Everett is a case in point. He announced himself with enthusiasm to be a democrat, and his advice to other independents was

to join the party and strengthen Mr. Cleveland. We think it was the unconscious bias of this attitude that made a conscientious and patriotic man like Dr. Everett apparently impervious to facts that deserved severe censure under Mr. Cleveland's first administration and so fertile and subtle in apologies for the shortcomings of that administration.

In accordance with these views, Dr. Everett was sent to congress as a democrat. He has tried being a congressman, and has recently withdrawn his name for renomination. He says that his congressional career has convinced him that he can not act according to his convictions and satisfy his constituents at the same time. He opposed the income tax, but accepted it because he saw no chance of passing the Wilson bill without it. When the bill came back in its unrecognizable shape from the senate, however, he refused to vote for it, because it was in no sense a fulfillment of democratic pledges. He also found that, in violation of his notions of right, he was expected to use his position for the purpose of securing patronage for his constituents. He says regarding this:

It is generally held to be the duty of a member of congress to solicit from a friendly administration positions in the government service for his political supporters. I believe this congressional patronage to be a source of endless harm, with no counterbalancing good. I have tried to withdraw from it altogether. In a very few cases, where it seemed absolutely unavoidable for me to act as a medium between my district and the departments, I have confined my services strictly to bringing before the appointing power such facts as I knew, and let the people speak for themselves, remembering, always, that I was not the representative of a party organization merely, but of an integral district, every citizen of which had an equal claim to have his needs brought before the department which selects official servants.

In conclusion Dr. Everett says:

A representative in the congress of the United States by the free choice of a free people holds assuredly a great position; but, if that freedom does not extend to his own judgment, his own conscience, his own honor, he holds it by a base tenure, unworthy of his ancient birthright of American liberty.

In other words he felt himself so hampered and fettered, not, we think, as he politely states, by his constituents, but by his party machine, that he realized that all his efforts were in vain. This failure of well meant efforts is not all. The influence of whatever criticism Dr. Everett may in the future offer will be artfully belittled by the party managers as the "pessimism of a disappointed man who has been piqued by his own failure." Nor have such reform acquisitions to the democratic party as Dr. Everett had any apparent influence in strengthening the President. Too often their rôle has been simply too listen to the President's reasons for yielding to the spoilsmen of his party and then to pass out to dull the edge of just criticisms.

A CASE OF POETIC JUSTICE.

An occasional object lesson after the manner of Old Testament vengeance is beneficial to us even in these modern days, and while it is all right for the mills of the gods to grind slowly, it is excellent to be able occasionally to see them grind.

The readers of the CHRONICLE may remember that the war department of the United States servilely attempted to placate a Kentucky congressman by the name of Caruth by punishing Major Handbury, of the United States army because he had not been plastic enough about spoil. In its May number the CHRONICLE said:

Congressman Caruth is engaged in erushing a rebellion in his district in Kentucky. The rebels, like those of Gorman's, "are the very cream of the population politically, socially, and in a business way." Mr. Cleveland has popularly been supposed to represent this class of people, and these citizens of Kentucky spent money and time in the successful effort to crush the machinations against Mr. Cleveland, of men like Mr. Caruth. It does not seem that it would be too much to expect that under these circumstances Caruth and his rebels should be left by this administration to wind up their war with no outside interference. This is not the case. The treasury department, the post-office department, and the war department, have been called upon by Caruth, and they have responded. The crowning ignominy was recently made known by the Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*. Major Handbury, of the United States engineers, was assigned to Louisville to take charge of the engineering work of the Ohio Falls canal. First Caruth secured the removal of Mr. Shaw, who has been assistant engineer for fifteen years; then he designated the brother of his law partner for the place. Major Handbury thought if his competent assistant had to go, he would try to get along without anybody in his place. Mr. Caruth kept getting men dismissed, but Major Handbury kept on conducting his office on scientific and business principles. Secretary Lamont and the chief of engineers were the tools to execute Caruth's orders. At the war department, says the *Post*, the only information given out about the matter is that the major had made himself very obnoxious to Mr. Caruth and some other citizens of Louisville by his persistent habit of "turning down" all their requests and suggestions. The climax of this odious work was that Major Handbury was transferred to Florida and was ordered to turn over his unfinished work to a subordinate officer and to leave at once.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* rebuked the CHRONICLE for "overzealousness," and "querulousness," and proceeded to condone the removal of an army officer of high standing from his unfinished work, because "he is not a person of tact;" because, after refusing to heed a recommendation of Congressman Caruth to quarter a henchman upon the treasury, he had not refrained from "discussing with unconcealed satisfaction, in more or less public places, the decision he had shown in jumping on a politician," and thus "he had needlessly and undiplomati-

cally provoked Mr. Caruth's dislike." The CHRONICLE further said in its June issue:

Again, the *Times's* dispatch asserts that Secretary Lamont made a minor appointment under Major Handbury, and that the latter notified the appointee, in writing, that he might not find the place comfortable, and thereupon the appointee declined it. Why are facts kept concealed? Who was this man? It has always been said that presidents and cabinet officers could not personally know men for subordinate places, but must rely upon recommendations. Who recommended this man? In the face of this studied concealment, fair-minded men will conclude that the man was a leech, a heeler, recommended by Caruth, and that Major Handbury knew the character of the man, and very properly warned him off, and thereby again showed himself a faithful and efficient officer. Upon the evidence, of his accusers the more this matter is sifted the more it appears that Major Handbury has been made the victim of an ignoble spite and sacrificed to a desire upon the part of the administration to mollify Caruth whom he had angered. The fact that Caruth did not know when the transfer was made only makes the matter worse. For Secretary Lamont or the President to attempt to give Caruth an agreeable surprise of this kind is only the more abject.

The administration thus lent its aid to Caruth by sending Major Handbury to St. Augustine and by showers of federal patronage to crush a rebellion against Caruth led by rebels who were "the very cream of the population politically, socially and in a business way." The New York *Evening Post* of September 27 says:

In the Louisville district Edward J. McDermott, a young lawyer of high standing, excellent character, and proved capacity for public affairs, was nominated over Congressman Caruth and one other candidate by a plurality of nearly 2,500 votes. Mr. McDermott made his campaign for the nomination without the aid of a single daily newspaper and without the aid, also, of either spoils or friendship for the spoils doctrine, for he had a conspicuous record as a civil service reformer. The defeat of Mr. Caruth was most significant in this respect, for almost his last act in the closing days of the late session was a bitter attack upon the civil service commission. The vote polled at the primaries, which in Kentucky are conducted exactly like an election, was about seventy-five per cent. of the total registered democratic vote. Under the registry law every voter gives his politics when he registers his name, and is so designated on the list. As the democratic majority in the Louisville district is from 5,000 to 7,000, there is no doubt of Mr. McDermott's election.

We rejoice that the mills of the gods have ground very thoroughly and rather more speedily than usual. Caruth's rebels have given the war department an admirable moral object-lesson. Such a chastisement ought to humiliate the administration into an understanding of the practical value of following good morals in dealing with its employes as well as with boss-ridden communities. Since the war department has failed to receive the approval of the people, it can do no less than restore Major Handbury to the post from which it so unjustly removed him.

DAVID A. WELLS AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

NORWICH, CONN., Oct. 2, 1894.

To the Editor Civil Service Chronicle:

SIR—If the large amount of personal abuse *i. e.*, accusations of corruption by British gold, hostility to American industries and workingmen, falsification of economic data and the like—which, now for many years it has been my fortune to experience, had not hardened my mental epidermis, I should feel a very large measure of indignation at your charging me, in the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for September, with having done certain acts in connection with the removal of Mr. Caruthers from the post-office in Norwich, Conn., “contrary to good morals, good government and his [my] professions.” As it is, I will try and content myself with saying that there is not the first scintilla of truth in your statements and accusations in this matter.

You commence your criticisms by quoting from the New York Tribune of some months past, that the appointment of the postmaster at Norwich “was absolutely within his [my] gift.” This statement—one of the loose kind which the Tribune is characteristically ready to make respecting those who politically differ with it—was absolutely untrue. I fancy the smile that would have passed over the face of Postmaster-General Bissell; of Hon. Carlos French of Connecticut, or of Mr. Clinton Davis, chairman of the democratic committee of that state, if their attention was ever directed to this assertion. My opinion was never asked by the appointing power at Washington respecting the office in question; none was ever volunteered by me, and I have had abundant reason to believe that if I ever had expressed a wish or opinion as to its disposition, it would not have been regarded.

At the commencement of President Cleveland's second term I mentally resolved that I would have nothing whatever to do with the distribution of federal patronage, either in Connecticut or elsewhere. I must confess to have yielded in a very few instances to the importunities of personal friends and to have made recommendations for the appointment of persons to offices for which I believed them to be well qualified and entitled to seek. But my measure of success in this line may be inferred from the circumstance, that the only person whom I did specially recommend, in common with many good and leading citizens and democrats, who ever obtained anything, was a graduate of Yale, a gentleman of education and fine ability, who, seeking in the first instance the consulship at Liverpool, was finally appointed to a petty post in the West Indies, where any lengthened residence for an unacclimated individual was sure to be terminated by an attack of yellow fever.

In respect to the post-office at Norwich, furthermore, I never signed the petition of any applicant for it, or made any recommendation to the post-office department, with a view of influencing its appointing policy in this

particular. You assert that the files of this department will sustain your statements. If the rules of the departments at Washington will permit, you have my full consent to hunt out, read, and publish, any, or all, of the correspondence I have ever had with them on the subject of patronage.

You attempt to bolster up your case by stating that my son has recently received an important consular appointment; and that this fact had made you especially desirous to obtain “further details of the wanton removal,” which you attribute to me; thus suggesting that there was some mystery disparaging to myself and hurtful to the cause of civil service reform, that might be revealed. I shall be only too happy to furnish you with any details with which I may be conversant.

My son has not recently received “an important consular appointment.” The President, however, did nominate him to be second secretary of the embassy of the United States at London, and the senate confirmed the nomination. The post is one which has little or no attraction for the ordinary office-seeker, for the reason that the expense attendant on filling this office creditably is two or three times in excess of the salary pertaining to it. I will further add that this appointment was made without any solicitation on my part; and that I never exchanged a word with the President on this subject, except to write him a note after the appointment was made, acknowledging the compliment.

I have been, from its first inception in this country, an advocate of civil service reform. I believe its recognition and adoption in the United States essential to the purity and efficiency of its governments—federal, state, and municipal. I have never concealed my sentiments on this matter. I have contributed to the expenses of the present civil service organization. I have distributed its publications; and never intentionally antagonized its principles. The question involved in the advocacy of civil service is in a high degree a moral question. And if such is the case what claim can THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE have on the confidence of its readers or the public, when its editor, without any evidence, or reason, makes the untrue and brutal personal attack that has found a place in its columns.

In conclusion I would ask attention to some interesting points in connection with the recent Norwich post-office history that seem to have never been brought to the notice of THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, or, if known by its managers, have been suppressed. Under President Cleveland's first administration the Norwich postmaster, an honorable and efficient official, but an active republican partizan, was allowed to retain his office until the expiration of the term for which he was commissioned, a period of over two years. A democrat, a representative of the working men, who commenced life as a fireman and engineer on the Long Island Sound steamers, and educated himself up to a good degree of business effi-

ciency, was then appointed, Mr. Caruthers being retained in his former place as deputy. Under the republican postmaster no democrat was ever allowed to have a place in the office, either as clerk or letter carrier. Under the democratic postmaster the patronage of the office was equitably divided. Within sixty days after President Harrison was inaugurated the democratic postmaster was summarily removed, without any charge of incapacity or malfeasance, and more than two years before the expiration of his commission. Mr. Caruthers was appointed in his place, and within a very brief period thereafter every democratic clerk or letter carrier, with a single exception, was removed and republicans appointed in their places again. When Mr. Caruthers retired during the present year, on the expiration of his commission, out of nineteen employes in his office—clerks and letter carriers—there was but one democrat. There is a legal maxim “that he who asks equity must be prepared to show that he has done equity.” The pertinancy of its application to Mr. Caruthers's case does not seem to require demonstration. It also is not to be wondered at that the democrats of Norwich, as a rule, do not have much faith in civil service reform. I am yours, DAVID A. WELLS.

Mr. Wells accompanied the above letter with another to the editor, in which he makes certain threats in case the foregoing were not published; and he has written to others to the same effect. Mr. Wells's letter is published, not in fear of his threats, but notwithstanding them, and in accordance with the uniform practice of the CHRONICLE. Mr. Caruthers is not asking equity or anything else that we know of, but there is an old pleading in equity applicable to Mr. Wells's letter, that it is very “uncertain, evasive, and insufficient.” He says there is not “the first scintilla of truth,” in the CHRONICLE's statements and then gives facts which go far to sustain the CHRONICLE's position, and do sustain it in the particular charge he complains of. On his own showing, he, a professed civil service reformer, was not only in sympathy with the removal of Caruthers, but he has under the two Cleveland administrations been engaged in and helping on the division of spoil and has received some of it in his own family. He is apparently discontented at his lack of success in the nefarious business of dividing offices as spoil for the gratification of personal friends. His “abundant reason to believe” that his wishes would not be regarded by the administration, must arise from a feeling of abundance of disappointment in securing favors asked not only “specially” but generally. He has been helping along the clean sweep which this administration has been making where not hampered by law, and which is the worst enemy to the progress of civil service reform. That is the end of

the matter. Civil service reform is, as he says, a moral question. His course, as stated by himself, is exactly opposed to professions of civil service reform and to good government, and therefore, to good morals. Degree of offense cuts no figure. Garrison would not have been heard to say that he only bought and sold a few slaves, and that his ventures failed.

With regard to the Norwich post-office, Mr. Wells says that his opinion was never asked "by the appointing power at Washington," and that none was volunteered by him. Mr. Wells may take it for granted that the CHRONICLE knows how those things are done. The "appointing power" is the President, who usually registers the decree of some boss, and he may or may not know who in a particular instance has influenced the boss. The question is, what did Mr. Wells do, in any manner, to help or prevent the continuance of Mr. Caruthers as postmaster at Norwich?

He further says: "In respect to the post-office at Norwich, furthermore, I never signed the petition of any applicant for it, or made any recommendation to the post-office department, *with a view of influencing its appointing policy in this particular.*" The italics are ours. This language may not mean what it seems to mean. If it means that he has signed applications, or made recommendations, but not with a view of having them weigh anything, no comment is necessary. If it means that he has signed no applications, and has made no recommendations "to the post-office department"—the question, what did he do, is still evaded.

It is idle to refer the CHRONICLE to the files of the post-office department. Mr. Wells knows what he has written to help along the division of spoil. He may take it for granted also that the CHRONICLE knows that most spoil is divided without a word being written by the actual "influence."

For some reason Mr. Wells thinks it is his duty to make out a bad case against Mr. Caruthers. Why does he not add to his statement the fact that the postmaster appointed under Mr. Cleveland's first administration to succeed, as Mr. Wells says, an efficient official, kept a meat shop and was a working politician without fitness for the office and that his appointment was pure and unadulterated spoil? We have been told that Mr. Wells helped him in. The "equitable" division of the patronage, of which Mr. Wells speaks, consisted in the dismissal of four out of five clerks, and six out of eight carriers. The dismissed men were experienced and in general very efficient. Their places were given to inexperienced men who were party workers. The result was to demoralize

the work of the office. These "interesting points" are "suppressed" by Mr. Wells. Apparently even then the democrats of Norwich had little faith in civil service reform.

Mr. Wells says that Mr. Caruthers was retained as deputy. Would it not have been more candid to state that Mr. Caruthers was retained for a time [presumably to keep the office from being swamped], but was later dismissed [presumably as soon as the new postmaster felt he could stagger along without him]. We are reliably informed that charges of incapacity were made against this postmaster when he was removed.

When Mr. Caruthers was made postmaster there is no question but that he was the fittest man in Norwich for that position, and took the place of a man who ought never to have been appointed, and that he immediately improved the service. Mr. Wells does not state what is the fact, that Postmaster Caruthers reinstated, with a single exception, the dismissed employes, and instead of one democrat, as Mr. Wells states, he retained three, and when he was removed there were four in the office. Mr. Wells would do well to compare this division with the "equitable" division under the first Cleveland postmaster, which then satisfied his ideas of civil service reform.

It is not denied that Mr. Caruthers was exceptionally fitted for the place. But Mr. Wells evidently takes the ground that he should have been turned out for displacing democrats with republicans. This has been the excuse of every spoilsman who has found the principles of civil service reform standing in his way. Wherever revenge and retaliation hold sway civil service reform is halted. Nothing is further from civil service reform than such a stand. The democrats of Norwich who "do not have much faith in civil service reform," would have more reason to have faith in it if Mr. Wells had been in fact, instead of in theory, a civil service reformer. Taking the removal and appointment of postmasters in Norwich since Mr. Cleveland's first election, it is clear from Mr. Wells's letter, that he is only shocked by republican partisanship. We feel bound to say further, that if Mr. Wells treats economic data after the manner of the above letter, there is ground for criticism of him as an economist.

Political vs. Domestic Economy.—Friend—"How is it yeh ain't got that position yet?" "Lost yer pull?" Mr. Ward Heeler—"Oh, I've got the pull, plenty of pull. My application is signed by all ther political leaders in th' party." "Then wot's ther matter?" "Can't get any of 'em to go on me bond."—*Life*.

THE PROCESS OF BECOMING A BOSS.

Mr. Norman E. Mack, editor of the *Buffalo Times*, is a member of the democratic state committee and a park commissioner of the city of Buffalo.

Mr. Isaac H. Taggart, father-in-law to the aforesaid, is sheriff of the county of Erie.

Captain S. E. Nichols, late editorial writer for the *Times*, is pension agent at Buffalo.

Mr. James C. Stark, recently city editor of the *Times*, is clerk to the superintendent of police.

THE CORRUPTING POWER OF PATRONAGE.

Up to 1890 the democratic party of Wisconsin was in the minority, and, having no patronage to corrupt it, was reasonably honest. In that year it obtained power. Its first act was to set up a boss, and that boss, according to the democratic *Chicago Times*, has made a fortune of \$200,000 while drawing a salary of but \$3,000 a year.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Maxwell has started in to contribute the usual amount of campaign aid expected of his office at critical moments by a savage attack on the republican hold over fourth-class postmasters in Kansas. The Kansas democrats are having a hot fight between the populists and republicans, and it was finally decided that the situation was sufficiently urgent to ask Mr. Maxwell to start the machinery of the post-office department at work as an effective campaign bureau. About twenty postmasters were dismissed yesterday, and twenty-three followed to-day. If removals continue at this rate for a few days longer, it is clear that the department will be able to render some very "practical" aid in the fall contest.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, September 28*.

Internal Revenue Collector Sullivan, having held the office long enough to measure the capacity of the present force, and finding it not indispensable, has decided upon a reorganization. With few exceptions, the thirty-five men now employed will be removed, and their places will be filled by a force calculated to improve the efficiency of the service. Changes were announced yesterday, when the following new appointments were announced:

Other nominations have been sent to Washington. It is expected that they will be confirmed within a few days. *All the new appointments are democrats.*—*New York Times, October 7*.

Inspector Leadley found the civil service laws being ignored in the Madison, Ind., post-office, and put them in force again. The appointment of a man as mailing clerk who had not taken the required examination will be reported to Washington.

THE PLEDGE.

"Public office is a public trust. We re-affirm the declaration of the democratic national convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, [Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the government business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor, assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition] and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent republican convention by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the states, and we pledge the democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government."—*National Democratic Platform, 1892.*

BLACKMAILING EMPLOYEES.

From present indications the civil service commission will be busy with the investigation of cases of assessments for political purposes for some time to come. Speaking of the prevalence of these charges, Commissioner Roosevelt said:

"We have had more trouble on account of these cases this year than in any other year during which a presidential campaign occurred. I am glad to have a chance to say something about the matter now, as I always have before presidential campaigns. Under the decision of the attorney-general we can not proceed against those persons who solicit by letter. However, we shall publish broadcast what is being done and guarantee the employees that they need not pay one cent. If in any way molested we shall try to have criminally prosecuted those who molest those employees. We shall present the matter to congress and urge as strenuously as possible that legislation be had to punish solicitation by letter as well as in person. During the past month we have had two decisions favorable to our position—one in Ohio and the other in Kentucky—and both of the offenders have been heavily fined. If we can get at the offenders we will have them punished as rigorously as possible. I want to say that no man in office, whether democrat or republican, is under any obligation to contribute to a campaign fund and can not be molested in any way by his superior officers for refusing. This assessment business is mere foul blackmail and we intend to make war on it in every way possible. We intend to conduct a complete investigation of these cases."—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, October 10.*

The San Francisco *Chronicle* says that all federal employees in San Francisco have received a circular letter from the democratic campaign committee, stating that as office-holders they are presumed to desire the perpetuation of the present administration, and that the democratic ticket may be successful, each office-holder is requested to contribute 2 per cent. of his yearly salary to the funds of the party.—*October 4.*

The civil service commission is awaiting a reply from the *Philadelphia Press* to a letter sent asking information regarding charges of

assessment of government employees in the Philadelphia mint for political purposes, made in a recent editorial.—*Washington dispatch, October 10.*

* * *

And this is not all. Government employees are being assessed heavily to help on in the good work, notwithstanding the civil service regulations. The assessments, as a rule, range from 10 to 25 per cent. It is known that in some instances the employees have been compelled to devote one month's salary.—*Washington dispatch, to Buffalo Express, September 26.*

* * *

The civil service commission has unearthed a number of flagrant violations of the law in Pittsburg, and Examiner Leadley is there making a thorough investigation. Under Postmaster O'Donnell there have been collusions in the examinations for appointment. Appointments have been made for janitors and watchmen who then were detailed as clerks. The employees have been assessed 2 per cent. of their salaries by the democratic committee, and one republican at \$50 a month was dismissed because he stated he would not pay it. This discipline caused the other republicans to decide to pay it last week Monday, but fortunately Examiner Leadley arrived there on Friday, and on his promise that the commission would protect them, the republicans reconsidered and did not walk up to the captain's office.

The most outrageous assessment and flagrant violation was in the office of Collector Kearns, of the internal revenue district, comprising the 24 counties in Western Pennsylvania. In 1892, owing to republican dissensions and the Homestead strike, the 24th congress district of Pennsylvania, with 4,000 republican majority, elected William A. Sipe, democrat, to congress. Upon the advent of the Cleveland administration, Mr. Sipe managed to gather in this collectorship for one of his henchmen, Mr. Kearns, and therefore filled up the subordinate positions with his friends. Mr. Sipe's record in congress was not satisfactory to his constituents; but he tried to be re-elected to congress. As the anti-Sipe democrats controlled the committee of Allegheny county, and also the state, Mr. Sipe therefore could not expect any substantial aid from them. Therefore, the employees under Collector Kearns were assessed one month's salary, to be paid in two installments, and they were told that dismissal would follow a refusal to pay. They all paid, and Mr. Sipe's campaign manager raked in about \$12,000. There are 130 employees in the district, and the assessment averaged nearly \$100 a man. Examiner Leadley is working on this violation, and it is possible that he may implicate Mr. Sipe, as the civil service law explicitly prohibits representatives from being concerned in any manner in assessments, subscriptions, or political

contributions.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, October 17.*

BUSY HENCHMEN.

District Attorney Frank Burke, of Indianapolis, addressed the democracy of Shelby county, speaking in the evening at Shelbyville.—*Indianapolis News, September 24.*

* * *

United States District Attorney Frank B. Burke, of Indianapolis, delivered one of the most argumentative democratic speeches at the court house in this city last night ever heard in central Indiana.—*Noblesville dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 17.*

* * *

The Hon. Frank B. Burke, of Indianapolis, addressed a large audience at the opera house to-night. He devoted his speech to the national issues. The people appreciated the address, and applauded it quite often.—*Bluffton dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 19.*

* * *

Romeo DePuy [federal employee] will return to-morrow to Indianapolis to enter the campaign for awhile.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, October 12.*

* * *

Meanwhile Senator Hill was very busy at his hotel, and it was evident that the local situation was being carefully considered. Postmaster Charles W. Dayton was one of the gentlemen who spent some time with the senator.—*New York Times, October 4.*

* * *

It is said that Oswald Ottendorfer, Charles S. Fairchild and Frederick R. Coudert are opposed to nominating an independent ticket. It is said, too, that Collector Kilbreth and most of the other federal office-holders take the same view.—*New York Evening Post, October 1.*

* * *

At all events Mr. Cleveland has practically given his approval in the support tendered to us by officials under him.—*John Boyd Thatcher, Hill lieutenant, New York Evening Post, October 15.*

* * *

One of the democratic contests that is likely to be the topic of much discussion at the coming state convention is that in Yates county. Though in many counties of Western New York, an effort was made by both the friends of the administration and the state machine to insure harmony, the representatives of the factions in Yates appear to regard their differences as irreconcilable.

The Hill faction, which is led by Calvin S

Huson, formerly deputy controller and Thomas Carmody, chief examiner of the state civil service commission, held its convention on September 8th, and elected a delegation headed by Joel Lewis. This convention nominated a county ticket, on which for member of assembly appears the name of Darius A. Ogden, an old democratic war-horse, who in his long public career of half a century has served as consul to Hawaii, canal appraiser, member of assembly, and as the last canal commissioner elected in the state previous to the abolition of that office.

The administration element is led by M. A. Leary, a Penn Yan lawyer, who for the past dozen years has been chairman of the county committee. At the Saratoga convention of last year, the Leary delegation was placed upon the preliminary roll, but the Huson men were admitted on the recommendation of the committee on contested seats. This gave the Huson organization in Yates the stamp of regularity, but the old county committee of Yates county has never accepted the result, and under its call a convention was held last Saturday, at which a second delegation was elected, headed by Ernest R. Bordwell. Another county ticket was also placed in the field, with Evan J. Potter as a candidate for the assembly. Since last year's contest, Mr. Leary has become postmaster of Penn Yan, having assumed that office December 1st last. His name was among the list of those unconfirmed at the recent adjournment of congress, but a new commission was immediately issued to him by the President, at the same time when the other New York postmasters who remained unconfirmed were appointed.—*Penn Yan dispatch, New York Times, September 2.*

SALE OF PATRONAGE FOR LEGISLATION.

The Nebraska correspondent of the New York Evening Post gives in the issue of October 16 particulars of the consequences of President Cleveland's use of the patronage of that state to coerce legislation. Congressman Bryan is fighting for the senatorship. The democratic party since last year has changed front on the currency question, declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present ratio. Men are supporting Bryan who do not believe in his principles. The Post's correspondent says:

But, undoubtedly, the very strongest cause of his success has been the attitude of the federal administration towards him. From the first it was learned that, because of Bryan's position on silver, he would not be permitted to distribute any of the patronage. He was not recognized as a democrat, although the only democratic congressman from this state. This action was wholly unwise. It assisted Bryan's cause very much. In the first place, of course, the applicants for office deserted Bryan and fawned upon Secretary Morton. It is claimed by the Bryanites that the democratic state convention last year was composed of these office-seekers and their friends. It was, indeed, proven that all candidates for office were given to understand that they must attend that convention, if possible, and support the administration's silver policy. Accord-

ingly, many democrats who had been loud free-silver advocates voted against it for the sake of office at hand or expected. Of course this sort of enlightened opinion and expression could not last long. The offices did not "go around" to all these seekers. The patronage brokers could not extend this sort of deal another year, and the result was that nearly all the disappointed ones were anti-Cleveland and pro silver men after their disappointment. Even the chairman of last year's convention, who made unjust rulings against Bryan's friends and was a candidate for postmaster, became this year a leading free coinage democrat and attended a free-silver democrat conference in this city, and later was a prominent delegate to the state convention last month. He did not get the post office he sought. The bulk of the democrats were disgusted at this patronage deal at the state convention last year, and were inclined to take sides with the "under dog" on that occasion. They shared the general disgust with the acts of the President and congress, and thought best to rebuke him and congress by espousing the cause of the men most repugnant to them, especially as Mr. Bryan is known and esteemed in this state so very much more highly than the men who have obtained the federal offices.

But, to assist Bryan's silver schemes, the federal office-holders seemed to have labored fiercely in the primaries leading to the recent state convention. These federal office holders began from the start a campaign against Bryan. They were offensively in evidence on all occasions, deserting their offices to attend caucuses, primaries and meetings to defeat Bryan's tickets. That they had received instructions of this sort from their masters is not proven, but their acts disgusted thousands of honest-money democrats all over the state. In this city these office-holders did things which were dishonorable, such as forging Bryan's signature to a primary ticket which was against Bryan and free silver. The result was that the Bryan silver ticket carried this county by a majority of five to one. To illustrate how such things operate: a rector of an Episcopal parish, one of the most intellectual and loved men in Omaha, and an able opponent of free coinage, walked two miles to attend a democrat primary for the purpose of voting for the free-silver ticket. He had never before attended a primary, but his vote was a rebuke to the dishonorable actions against Bryan and a testimony to his belief in Mr. Bryan's honesty. He could not see, he said, why office-holders considered it a part of the duties of their offices to interfere in politics, and become offensive and conspicuous in attempting to defeat any candidate, especially by unfair means. This illustration explains why this county, which last year sent a solid delegation to the democratic state convention in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law, sent this year a solid delegation for free coinage.

It is semi-officially stated here to-night that President Cleveland has appointed Samuel Klotz collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of New Jersey. Mr. Klotz held the office before, and is Senator McPherson's candidate. His appointment means a big victory for the senior senator over Senator Smith, who has tried hard to get the place for ex-Mayor Haynes or James F. Connolly, or any one to defeat McPherson's candidate. Coming immediately after the removal of Supervisor O'Rourke, who was Senator Smith's protégé, it is taken to indicate that Senator Smith, by his attitude on the tariff question, has lost favor with the administration.—*Newark dispatch, New York Times, September 20.*

SALE OF PATRONAGE FOR MONEY.

There seems to be no doubt that such buying and selling of places in the civil service has been going on in Iowa ever since the Cleveland administration began distributing the spoils. Specific charges of the disposal of particular offices for certain sums are made by a prominent German newspaper, the *Iowa Staats Anzeiger*, whose editor was an applicant for the Des Moines post office. He says in so many words that he would have got the place if he had felt disposed to offer \$500 a piece to "a certain congressman," "a certain prominent official in Washington," and two Iowa democratic politicians, whom he names, and he quotes his successful rival as saying that "it cost him \$5,000 to secure the office." He affirms that he "saw a dispatch that an offer of \$500 was made to a man in Washington for an office, and another dispatch wherein that offer was accepted;" and he mentions reports that the Marshalltown post-office cost the successful applicant from \$600 to \$1,000, the Ottumwa office not less than \$600, while in "fifty other cases" the delay about changes in the post-offices was not due to the settlement of difficulties, but appointments were held back by the members of the ring for some one of the various candidates to make them a bid for their indorsement and support.—*New York Evening Post, October 5.*

The treasury presented an appearance of mingled gloom and festivity this morning. The forty two clerks who received notice of dismissal two weeks ago are bidding farewell to their friends, and leaving the building amid tearful expressions of regret. Red eyes were visible and voices were choked on every side in quarters where the reductions of force had been made. These upheavals are so disturbing to the steady progress of business that the chiefs of division in the reorganized bureaus are already looking forward with dread to the exhaustion of the thirty thousand-dollar appropriation for temporary service, when the rest of the doomed clerks will be dismissed.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, October 1.*

PLATFORMS AND REPORTS.

The constitutional convention of New York has adopted the following amendment for submission to the people, 40 out of 54 democrats and 57 out of 97 republicans voting for it:

"Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state and of cities shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as possible, by examinations, which shall be competitive. Honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors who are not otherwise disqualified for such appointment or promotion shall be exempt from the provisions of this section. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section."

According to the Springfield Republican we

are indebted to George Fred Williams for the straightforward and explicit statement of the Massachusetts state democratic convention upon civil service reform. It also says that the declaration was not read by Josiah Quincy, and that he was not chairman of the committee on resolutions, and in fact appeared as a lonely figure in the proceedings he so lately has been wont to engineer. The resolution is as follows:

The scope of the national civil service system should be extended as fast as the civil service commission deems practicable, to the end that all federal position to which the merit system of appointment is applicable may be placed by law upon a strictly non-political basis. The administration should now formulate and recommend some plan by which the post-offices may be brought within the merit system, and the continued tenure of faithful officials be secured.

The anti-Tammany and anti Hill democracy which has nominated Everett P. Wheeler for governor says in its platform:

The public service should be manned throughout by honest men, selected for merit, fairly paid, giving the government a dollar's worth of work for a dollar's worth of pay, and, in places not political, secure tenure during good service. We demand an efficient enforcement of the civil service laws and an extension of the classified service in state and nation.

We favor home rule in cities, separate municipal elections, the suppression of bosses and rings, and the business administration of municipalities.

The annual report of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association has been received. It says of the two papers published solely for the furtherance of civil service reform:

During the past year the committee has continued its support of *Good Government* by subscribing in behalf of every one of our active members. The value of *Good Government* can hardly be overestimated. The vigor and ability with which it is edited have, if possible, increased from the start.

The committee have also subscribed to ten copies of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, to be distributed among various reading rooms, etc., in Cambridge. It is to be desired that more of our members should take the CHRONICLE, which supplements *Good Government* admirably, covering a comparatively limited field with a directness of speech and a wealth of concrete instances which are impossible for the national organ. A better object lesson than its columns can not be found.

Of the administration it says:

Mr. Cleveland has as yet made no extension of the rules. He has strengthened the civil service commission by a removal and an appointment, both of which were admirable. He has apparently not interfered with the members of his cabinet, but has allowed each one to adopt whatever attitude toward appointments he deemed best. The President has himself, on several occasions, administered to the office-seekers rebukes more direct than they have received from any of his recent predecessors. Except for special reasons which seemed to him sufficient, and except in the consular service, changes have not been made with quite the same rapidity as heretofore. Where they have been made, the same principle seems to have been followed as in his former administration: namely, to appoint civil service reformers in places where, as in Boston, there was a developed public sentiment in favor of the reform, and spoilsmen in states like Indiana.

In two cases where the public interest, and perhaps even the public safety, seemed to him to demand imperatively the passage by congress of certain measures (the repeal of the Sherman act and the change in the tariff), it is hardly open to doubt that he has used appointments to office, irrespective of the fitness of the appointees, in order to secure votes in favor of the legislation he deemed necessary. He has also done the same in the unsuccessful effort to secure the confirmation by the senate of two of his nominees to office—Messrs. Hornblower and Peckham.

The report advocates a campaign of education such as the believers in a low tariff carried on in the years from 1888 to 1892:

This should be by constant agitation of the subject whenever an opportunity occurs; by the use of the newspaper press, multiplied as this use may be by the collection and reproduction of clippings; by the constant search for extreme cases of the abuse of the spoils system, and their exposure; by the circulation of pamphlets and leaflets; and by public addresses wherever possible. It is needless to say that no such widespread propaganda of civil service reform has ever been possible; the work done has been almost wholly done irregularly and by volunteers, because the funds have never been forthcoming with which the National League could maintain a permanent bureau and an adequate clerical force. Such work *must* be done, however, if the present halting progress of the reform is to be quickened. The National League is the body to take charge of the work, and is ready to do so if the money is provided.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

I see you quote with approval Postmaster Dayton's opinion that English post-office officials had "not a sign of pretense or post-office officialism about them." This is a natural expression of opinion for Mr. Dayton, who, having got into office under the spoils system, wishes to stay in under the merit system. But is it true? Doubtless the higher officials were courteous to Mr. Dayton. He came accredited and they regarded him as their social equal. I have repeatedly heard exactly the reverse of English officials. Over and over again, as a Washington correspondent, I have taken English travelers over the departments at Washington, and they have spoken with amazement of the complete absence, in the men whose offices we visited, of the sense of ownership and proprietorship which pervades English offices like an atmosphere. I did not meet the higher English post-office officials, but in a very short stay in England, four weeks of which were passed in a small country town twenty miles from London, and I longed for the readiness, the sense, the personal interest in the public I would have found in a like American office. The clerks were in for life, the public opinion of their work was of no consequence, and I was treated with an official insolence which still makes me tingle. Take our consular service. It has its evils. I know them all; but if I were in trouble I would tenfold rather go to the American consul, who may not speak the language, but who does not look on his office as his personal property and a vested life interest than to the English consul, with his in-born sense of social superiority, and his con-

sciousness that he is safe from all but serious criticism, can wholly disregard the poor man's cry. Ten to twelve years ago, Mr. Mundella warned an American that we would inevitably find a permanent tenure bred a disregard of public opinion, such as in the English educational department made reform difficult, and allied the office-holding class, as a whole, with Conservatism. I understand perfectly why my reforming friends with wealth, with social position and with acquaintance, find English officials in England and out, all they can ask. I know something of the poor, the friendless and the unknown, and the permanent official gives them a treatment which would modify many a reformer's views. The oldest permanent civil force in this country is the New York police. Close to 40 years ago, its members were made removable only for cause. Look at the result!

I have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,
TALCOTT WILLIAMS.

Thees hackneyed objections to civil service reform are given place only that both sides may be heard. The merit system proposes no life or permanent tenure. Instant dismissal is, except under boss rule, and always will, and ought to be, the penalty of official insolence. There is no way in which the merit system can be twisted to give any one reason to suppose that he has an ownership of an office. The American people do not and never will brook official insolence. The oldest employes of the government are not tinctured with it. They are the most attentive, the most courteous, and the best liked by the people. The only officials who are insolent in this country are the heelers who get and hold their places through bosses and not through merit and efficiency; to these the rule of instant dismissal can not, on account of boss influence, be made to apply. To the citation of the Tammany police in New York as an instance of the merit system, we can only cite an answer to a man who last year calmly advocated the benefits of slavery, made by Mr. Julian whom it reminded of a mule that said it always tired him to kick at nothing. The observations of the service of foreign countries made by a man who soberly tells you that the condition of the Tammany police is the result of a rule of removal for cause only, made forty years ago, are unreliable and valueless, whether from prejudice or lack of discernment.

A few soreheads, who failed to get the appointments they desired, have been fighting Taylor all through his term of office, and have constantly failed to give him credit for what he has done. *He turned out all the republican postmasters and had in democrats almost before any other congressman had begun the good work.—Evansville dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, September 22.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 21.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has received some complaints that the paper is not regularly received. Especially this seems to be the case with libraries and its exchange list. The request is made that all such cases be promptly reported.

THE annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League will be held in Chicago on December 12 and 13. The civil service reformers of the west should remember that there is a general impression abroad that not much interest is taken in the objects of the League in this part of the country and that this time there will be no excuse for a sparse attendance. All who expect to be at these meetings should notify William Potts, 54 William street, New York City.

READERS of the CHRONICLE in Indiana may wish to be reminded of the fund to be raised in memory of George William Curtis and that the committee will welcome the interest evidenced by the smallest contributions. It is proposed to use a small part of the fund for the bust of Mr. Curtis, but most of it will be used to establish a lectureship for the purpose of disseminating ideas of good government. Remittances should be made to William L. Trenholm, Treasurer, 160 Broadway, New York City.

AS THE CHRONICLE predicted the people of this district finished with Congressman Bynum on election day. His opponent, Charles L. Henry, beat him by the great majority of 4,443 votes. There is on every hand a feeling of relief that we are rid of Bynum. He had few merits and many demerits. From the beginning of his career he has been on the side of the buccaneers in politics, openly and defiantly. Such a man can no longer hold the respect of this district, and we are very glad to be able to say so. Eight years ago his Barney Conroys and Jim Dowlings were notorious throughout the country, and he is now engaged in a characteristic escapade with ex-office seekers as is shown on another page, and in which he sets out

how he withstood offers of bribery. Ordinarily offers of wholesale bribery by prominent citizens are denounced at once, but Mr. Bynum waited a year and until he was overwhelmingly defeated. If the people had known the full measure of his uprightness, it might have made some difference with the votes.

BRIBERY and offers to bribe are the natural results of dividing offices as spoil. If a man can get an office for setting up a primary for a congressman, there is to his mind no reason why he should not have an office by paying his congressman money. If a boss is in payment for services allowed to control certain appointments, he can see no reason why he should not receive cash for the places. This was Justice Paddy Divver's view when he offered in return for services a place, a gold watch and a banner. These are his reputed words:

As the leader of this district, I will give the captain of the election district that polls the most votes for the democratic ticket a \$1,500 place. He can take the place himself or give it to one of his friends. [Most enthusiastic cheering.] To the captain of the district that polls the second largest number of votes I will give a gold watch and chain, and to the third largest I will give this silk banner.

In Divver's domain there were some election districts in which the returns under the above incentive did not show a single republican vote. We published last month an account of the sale of offices under the present administration in Iowa, and not many years back a regular system of sales came to light in Missouri. All this goes to show that Tammanyism exists not only in New York but all over the country, and that Tammanyism and the spoils system are one.

At the election in Cincinnati November 6, the republicans carried the city by more than 20,000 majority. November 13, just one week later, at a special election for judge of the insolvency court, the republican candidate was beaten by 3,000 majority. He was put forward by the Cox machine on the principle that the republican machine could do anything and still carry elections. The machine in Indiana had better take warning in time, before it gives way to its desire to loot the penal and benevolent institutions of the state. All the talk now going on about bi-partisan boards

has no meaning in the mouths of the men who make it except to put in boards who can turn out democrats to make places for republicans. If it did not have this meaning, these men would not object to a system which would take these institutions absolutely out of politics. We repeat that there is no way to set this question at rest except by the introduction of the merit and the labor service systems.

THE order of the President, which extends the classified service to custom houses having twenty employes and to many excepted places in the custom houses, in the departments in Washington and in the post-offices can hardly be sufficiently praised. The stroke is one of the heaviest and most sweeping that has ever been delivered for the merit system. It is not in the great number of places, about 3,000 in all, but it is in their importance and in the number of gaps stopped, and more than all in the fact that the scandal of going upon the street and picking up politicians, and placing them as heads of divisions over men a thousand times better fitted than themselves, is, let us hope, forever ended. In the Indianapolis post-office, the only spoil left is the assistant postmaster and two janitors. The rank and file in the service will now have a chance to compete for something higher and the service will be benefited beyond measure. It is proper to speak also of the civil service commission. The law could not be more fortunate in having a commission impartial, qualified, determined and fearless. It is a pleasure to know that Mr. Proctor has largely added to the commission in these respects.

The order was received throughout the country either with praise or as a matter of course. There is nowhere that we have seen an objection or a criticism. This is a convincing proof that the reform has at last met general acceptance. We are not disposed to throw it up that the President ought to have done this sooner. He has shown that he knows how to do it and can do it when he gets ready, and we are promised more in the near future. We are convinced that he missed a great opportunity in not refusing to divide the fourth-class postmasterships and the pension examiners among congressmen and in not forcing congress to legislate these places

out of politics or leave them in the hands of republicans. But with the rest of the service his opportunity is not gone. He has more than two years yet and by transfers to the classified service and by making and enforcing labor service rules he can so nearly destroy the spoils system as to make for the country and for himself more valuable history than in all the rest of his public service together.

THE civil service reform movement has often been hindered and made ashamed by actions of men nominally in its own ranks. It has had enrolled a considerable number of persons of local or national reputation, who have gone glibly through all the forms of profession, but who in practice have not been different from the ordinary spoilsmen. Gorman himself could not have been more thorough than Quincy was with the consulships. They have kept up a steady chorus of excuse for the failures of the respective administrations which they happened to favor; and their excuses have been the more unctuous according as they have had the ear or the notice of any particular administration. Some of them are open and above board in their recreancy and some attempt to be very secret about it. Some enter openly into the distribution of patronage; others din the departments or the President in person, while all the time looking in every direction to make sure that no one sees them. These work by a secret word or hint to a political boss, or a direct or roundabout word to the appointing power. We want it understood that THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE makes war upon all these men. The only excuse which can be offered for President Cleveland is that they have misled him. No man who is claiming to help break up the spoils system can have anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the distribution of spoils. Such men have been a curse to the reform movement. When found out, they and their followers set up a cry of "capititious criticism." No greater service to the reform can be rendered than to let the public know who they are and what they are doing.

WE desire the heelers, the ward bummers, the rounders, the wheel horses and the bosses, high and low, who for years have been glibly declaring that if the people once got a chance at the merit system, they would make short work of it, to take note that an election was held in the State of New York, November 6, at which the following amendment to the constitution was adopted by a great majority:

"Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be

made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive; provided, however, that honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the army and navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this state, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion, without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section."

This is the end of the claim that the people are not in favor of this reform. As THE CHRONICLE has always maintained, the only persons opposed to it are those who, without regard to merit, desire to quarter themselves or their friends upon the public treasury.

THE natural result of Carlisleism in the treasury department has appeared in the bureau of engraving and printing. Two democratic congressmen asked to have one Smith given a job, and Carlisle promptly gave it, and just as promptly Smith began to steal postage stamps. Again, the smart chief of the bureau thought that, with the political mendicants under him, he could make postage stamps and save the government money over private contracts. He has now lost \$1,000 by theft, and the country is "stuck" with many thousand dollars worth of stickless stamps, which must be recalled and destroyed.

THERE were 69,809 post-offices in the United States, June 30, 1894. Of these, 66,677 were fourth-class, and 3,428 were presidential. The total number of appointments during the year was 23,166, and there were 8,966 classed as removals. In the railway mail service, during the year ending June 30, 1893, there was one error to 7,144 pieces of mail matter handled. In the year ending June 30 last, the proportion was one error to 7,832 pieces handled. In the classified service like the railway mail service, the people can find out by the records kept what they are getting for their money. Here again is also shown the value and the steady progress which is due to the competitive system. Outside of the classified service, there is nothing by which to measure the services of the host of new appointees, their own self-sufficient declarations not being worthy of weight. It is impossible that any business which takes on 23,166 green hands in a single year can be run on principles of business and economy. Above all is this true of the presidential post-offices, where the practice of going out upon the street and picking up a local politician and putting him at the head of a great business institution, with the workings of which he is not in the least familiar, is no longer short of the ridiculous.

A GOOD illustration is the recent appointment of James P. Willett postmaster at Washington. The President has perhaps done unusually well in this case under the system which he follows. Yet when we collate the facts as to fitness it is claimed that Mr. Willett is fifty years old, has been a steadfast friend of Mr. Cleveland, is secretary and treasurer of the Woodmont rod and gun club, is a Knight Templar, has manifested public spirit on many occasions, has been one of the leaders of the district democracy and is a leading hatter. There is not a single word about his knowledge of the postal business which no man without years of experience can acquire so as to fitly fill a place like the headship of the Washington post-office. This system would wreck any business which did not have the people to tax to make up for losses arising from mistakes or from forced idleness while subordinates do the work of which the postmasters are ignorant. This becomes vivid by the exact parallel of supposing the appointment as cashier of the largest Washington bank or as superintendent of a division of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, running out of Washington, of a man fifty years old, a leading hatter, a prominent democrat, a steady supporter of the president of the corporation, a Knight Templar, a secretary of a gun club, and so on, but without any experience in banking or railroad business. This whole system must go. Postmasters must disappear as local politicians. They must be officers in a division of the postal service who in the higher post-offices get their places in the line of promotion and who are subject to transfer as officers and employes of the railway mail service now are.

WHAT DID IT?

Explanations of the recent defeat go briskly on. The *Indianapolis Journal* has collated the following from democratic sources:

Democratic explanations of how it happened are nearly all in, and they run about this way:

It was the administration's attitude on the silver question—and the offices.

It was the Wilson bill—and the offices.

It was the hard times—and the offices.

It was Blount and the flag—and the offices.

It was the sending of troops to Chicago—and the offices.

It was the distribution of the offices.

The notable feature of our elections is the tendency of great numbers of voters to overthrow the powers that be. Mr. Bynum says, "that these sudden and overwhelming changes are evidences of a demoralized, if not a diseased public mind."

The *Indianapolis Sentinel* thinks that the causes are not upon the surface but are down deep, meaning thereby, we suppose, class oppression. It does not seem to THE

CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE that it is necessary to go far for causes which have of late years produced election revolutions. We regard these changes, and the will and ability of the American people to make them, as exceedingly healthy. They come from the fact that nearly all the really able and at the same time honorable men in this country, are driven out of political life. The men we choose do not know how to bring about good government. As we have often said, they are largely of the ward politician type, who think that ward politics as they know it is the only essential to government. Witness Secretary Carlisle and Mr. Morton's coachman. The only lasting impression which our present democratic senators and representatives have made is in heading squads through the streets of Washington to the White House, running down spoil. For a year after the last election of President Cleveland, the majority in congress almost literally did nothing but divide offices. The people are not fools. That this clamoring crowd could have no capacity or desire for good government was plain to the plainest. It is preposterous to suppose that a country can not be governed without being racked as this has been for a year. The present set are not the first set, nor the second, whom the people have found out. It is not within the province of this journal to discuss general measures, but it can declare the one essential first step. Election revolutions will go on so long as primaries, conventions and party machines are controlled by patronage, because the product will be officials who live by patronage. The first step is to break up completely the patronage system. A congressman shall not have even a laborer's place to give away. Men who will make statesmen must be called into public life and when there, their sole business must be to master the principles of government and put them into operation. So long as we are ruled by bosses and henchmen, the "evidences of a demoralized, if not a diseased public mind," will continue.

THE INDIANA PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The republicans in this state are stunned by their victory. They have carried the state by about 45,000. Such an enormous change, after being disastrously defeated in 1892, is proof too overwhelming that party ties have gone to pieces, and that at the next election the republican machine may be overthrown. At last the republican managers realize that their hold upon the people will be according to their works. It is with them to decide whether they will destroy their great majority before

the election of 1896. Already here and there appears an itching to spoil the benevolent and penal institutions. It is covered with careful phrases, but there is a noticeable avoidance of advocacy of the only measure that will take these institutions once for all out of the domain of party politics. The party can wreck itself upon this question in the sixty days during which the next general assembly will be in session. The *Indianapolis Journal* warns the party that there must be "no ignoring of the reforms which republicans have been advocating for years past." This is the true stand to take. The first truth to be recognized is that merely making up boards from members of different parties is of itself valueless as a reform measure. Tammany Hall, in New York, nearly always had bi-partisan boards, and its police board now consists of two republicans and two democrats. It simply amounts to dividing the spoil between two sets of partisans. The suggestion that members of the boards should serve without pay is of great value. The governor should have the appointment of these boards, with full power of removal upon cause stated.

But, however carefully the upper frame work of the administration of these institutions may be arranged, they will be a source of political corruption, of public and private wrong, and of great party danger so long as there is any opportunity left for the exercise of favoritism in choosing employees. The sum of it is, that the merit-system of open competition, without regard to race, religion or politics, should be introduced for all the higher places, and what is known as the Boston labor system for the lower places. The first of these is found in its highest efficiency in the railway mail service, and the second is found in the city of Boston and in the navy-yards. These two systems are now so firmly rooted that it is recognized on every hand that they will soon revolutionize the conditions of public employment in this country. Why should Indiana be behind?

Since 1884 the republicans in this state have in conventions repeatedly declared for the merit system as it now exists in the federal service, and in the general assembly they have repeatedly voted unanimously for bills designed to introduce that system into the state service. The last of those bills was the Magee bill in 1891, which received the vote of every republican senator. There is absolutely no other way of finally settling the benevolent and penal institution question in this state. The republicans should stand by their reiterated professions in this matter. Now that they have the power, they can not dodge or adopt a subterfuge.

INDEPENDENT VOTING IN BALTIMORE.

The defeat of Charles G. Kerr, the "regular" candidate for associate judge of the supreme bench of Baltimore, shows that even in that ring-ridden city it is possible to beat a bad candidate if the people really want to do it. The bosses in Baltimore had no question of their ability to elect their man. Time and again they had re-elected him as states attorney in the face of the repeated censures of his administration by numerous grand juries. In his several campaigns for re-election he had beaten, by many thousands of votes, some of the ablest, best known and most respected lawyers at the Baltimore bar. Whether a republican or an independent democrat was opposed to him, apparently made little difference. Every time he came before the people his majorities became larger, although every year added more and more convincing demonstration of his utter unfitness for his place, and of the dangers to public morality which resulted therefrom.

This year a judge was to be elected. "Sonny" Mahon, who represents the gambling and whisky-selling elements of the dominant party, insisted on Mr. Kerr being nominated for the place. The other leaders preferred some one else. Many of the "regular" democrats prominent at the bar or in the business community, privately protested against the nomination, but the "pull" of the criminal and semi-criminal classes prevailed, and Mr. Kerr was nominated for judge unanimously, without a single other name being as much as mentioned in the convention. There was no organized independent movement in opposition to him, as there so often had been in the past. The republican candidate, although a well-trained lawyer of excellent character, who had been, as a member of the executive committee of the civil service reform association and a member of the reform league, an earnest but not conspicuous worker in the cause of good government, was not very widely known.

The prohibitionists moreover divided the moral forces which it might have been supposed would have been united in their support of Mr. Dobler, the republican candidate, by placing a nominee of their own in the field. Mr. Wallis, the clearest minded and most single purposed of all the Maryland independents, was dead. Mr. Cowen, their most vigorous fighter, had accepted the regular democratic nomination for congress, and was nightly speaking at meetings held in support of Cowen and Kerr, although it is believed that Mr. Cowen himself was careful to say nothing upon the judgeship.

Every newspaper in town predicted Mr. Kerr's election. The republican party organ made only a perfunctory opposition to him. Only the *News*, an independent democratic evening paper, vigorously urged his unfitness for the bench. Even it, however, did not expect to defeat him. The Baltimore reform league published in all the newspapers and

circulated throughout the city its protest against his election, and the reasons upon which their protests were based. The good citizenship committee of the union of Christian Endeavor societies actively but quietly exerted themselves to compass his defeat. Still at four o'clock on election afternoon, the *News*, which had done such good service against him, conceded his election by a majority of thousands, expressing the opinion that he was running ahead of his ticket. When the ballots were counted, it was found that he had been beaten by a plurality of more than 3,500 votes.

NEWLY CLASSIFIED INDIANA POST-OFFICES.

An investigation of the newly classified post-offices in Indiana has been made with a view to determining what the postmasters have been doing with the places under them. The following is a summary of information, which shows in general the acts of the present Indiana postmasters under this administration up to July 31, 1894. We have treated all separations from the service, except by death, as removals. There are undoubtedly a very few genuine resignations, but we know from experience the great bulk of those so reported are forced and are, in effect, removals. The dates indicate the time when the present postmaster took charge, or when the office was classified.

Anderson—D. J. Crittenberger, postmaster, dem. May 6, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 13 competitive places. Made 6 competitive removals.

Columbus—Thomas A. Rush, postmaster, dem. August, 1893. Had 1 spoil and 8 competitive places. Made 1 spoil removal and 5 competitive.

Connersville—John M. Higgs, postmaster, dem. April 17, 1894. Had 1 spoil and 6 competitive places. Made no removals.

Crawfordsville—Ed Voris, postmaster, dem. September 28, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 6 competitive places. Made 2 spoil and 4 competitive removals.

Elkhart—E. A. Carpenter, postmaster, dem. February 16, 1894. Had 2 spoil and 11 competitive places. Made 2 spoil and 2 competitive removals.

Evansville—John J. Nolan, postmaster, dem. June 17, 1893. Had 16 spoil and 35 competitive places. Made 7 spoil and 24 competitive removals.

Fort Wayne—W. W. Rockhill, postmaster, dem. July 20, 1893. Had 7 spoil and 29 competitive places. Made 8 spoil and 19 competitive removals.

Frankfort—T. J. Smith, postmaster, dem. May 9, 1894. Had 1 spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 1 competitive removal.

Goshen—J. A. Beane, postmaster, dem. December 11, 1893. Had 1 spoil and 8 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 6 competitive removals.

Huntington—J. F. Fulton, postmaster, dem. November 20, 1893. Had 1 spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 4 competitive removals.

Jeffersonville—Patrick C. Donovan, postmaster, dem. December 11, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 3 competitive removals.

Kokomo—C. H. Leach, postmaster, dem. November 20, 1893. Had 1 spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 7 competitive removals.

Lafayette—Michael H. Kennedy, postmaster, dem. September 28, 1893. Had 13 spoil and 19 competitive places. Made 4 spoil and 6 competitive removals.

A REMOVAL FOR "CAUSE."

John McGrath, mail-carrier at Lafayette, set his heavily-filled mail pouch on the steps leading to the residence of John F. McHugh, while he delivered a letter to Mrs. McHugh. The walk was very slippery and the footing insecure. A young man named Will Evans [whose brother, we are informed, is an applicant for position of carrier—*ED. CHRONICLE*] captured the pouch and threw it into his sleigh, and although several citizens attempted to head him off, he drove rapidly to the post-office, where he preferred a charge against McGrath of abandoning his mail and exhibited the pouch in proof. The postmaster promptly suspended McGrath, whose politics are off-color.—*Indianapolis News*, Feb. 21, 1894.

La Porte—S. E. Grover, postmaster, dem. September 28, 1893. Had 1 spoil and 8 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 5 competitive removals.

Logansport—V. C. Hunawalt, postmaster, dem. January 31, 1894. Had 2 spoil and 14 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 12 competitive removals.

Madison—E. G. Niklaus, postmaster, dem. March 21, 1894. Had 2 spoil and 9 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 2 competitive removals.

Marion—C. M. Hawkins, postmaster, dem. May 6, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 13 competitive places. Made 9 competitive removals.

Michigan City—H. R. Harris, postmaster, dem. March 20, 1894. Had three spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil removal.

Muncie—Frank Ellis, postmaster, rep. May 6, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 11 competitive places. Made one spoil and one competitive removal.

New Albany—C. W. Schindler, postmaster, dem. September 28, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 15 competitive places. Made 2 spoil and 8 competitive removals.

Peru—John M. Jackson, postmaster, dem. December 19, 1893. Had one spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil removal.

Richmond—John G. Schwegman, postmaster, dem. January 18, 1894. Had 3 spoil and 15 competitive places. Made 3 spoil and 3 competitive removals.

Shelbyville—E. A. Major, postmaster, dem. February 16, 1894. Had 1 spoil and 6 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 1 competitive removal.

South Bend—Walter Harrigan, postmaster,

dem. March 9, 1894. Had 5 spoil and 17 competitive places. Made 5 spoil removals and 1 competitive.

Terre Haute—A. H. Donham, postmaster, dem. May 13, 1893. Had 7 spoil and 25 competitive places. Made 8 spoil and 13 competitive removals.

Valparaiso—John Brodie, postmaster, dem. March 20, 1894. Had 1 spoil and 5 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 2 competitive removals.

Vincennes—Royal E. Purcell, postmaster, dem. May 27, 1893. Had 2 spoil and 7 competitive places. Made 1 spoil and 6 competitive removals.

AMERICAN FEUDALISM.

A spoils episode, showing how the chief fools his henchmen, and their retaliation, and illustrating the treachery and moral degradation that go along with public offices farmed out to congressmen and by them to their henchmen.

BEFORE THE ELECTION.

A bogie that is haunting Congressman Bynum is the office of collector of customs in this city. The charge has been made for months that in appointing a man to the position, he violated a number of promises, which, like chickens, have now come home to roost.

One of the staunchest of his friends was the late John A. Reaume, who stood by him during the time of the bolt, when Leon Bailey wanted to go to Congress. The friends of Reaume say that on several occasions Bynum assured them that at any time he could be of service to them he could be counted on. One day, the story goes, he stopped into Reaume's store and told him that he felt as if he would like to do something for him. He suggested that Reaume apply for the position of collector of customs at this port. So Mr. Reaume made the application when the proper time came, and went on to Washington to see Bynum. His friends say that he had a solemn promise of the place, and, until another man got the office, he was confident that he would be appointed.

While Reaume and his friends were so confident, there were others who felt just as sure. Among them was Maurice Donnelly. The friends of Donnelly say that they were assured that he should be appointed. Two of them were ready to make affidavit that they were given to understand that there was no question but he should have the place. Donnelly did a good deal of "hustling," and felt reasonably certain that he was to be the happy man. But there were other forces at work. It was asserted that what one faction of the local democracy called the "court-house crowd," had a candidate for the place in John Rail, of the fifteenth ward, who has been with the water company for many years.

It is claimed that on a Sunday before Mr. Bynum started for Washington, there was a meeting at the Spencer House. At that conference there were present Bynum, Thomas Taggart, Sterling R. Holt, John R. Wilson and James L. Kcach. It was the latter who

was the sponsor of Rail. At that meeting the doom of Donnelly was sealed, and a promise given that Rail should be appointed. *Bynum suggested that it would be a good idea to have three or four letters sent him by the friends of Donnelly, to the effect that as there was no show for Donnelly's appointment, and Rail would give satisfaction to Donnelly's friends. Each undertook to get the letters. He showed Rail's application in Bynum's handwriting to several of Donnelly's friends, but they did not fall over each other to write the asked-for letters. On the contrary, several missives in any thing but complimentary terms concerning Rail were sent to Bynum. But Rail's friends were confident, and it is told that he was requested to go to the custom-house to become acquainted with the duties that he would soon be called upon to perform. Rail waited. Meantime other candidates entered the field. Thomas Madden was told that he stood a first-class show, and he went to Washington to see about it. On his return his friends were jubilant. "Captain Tom" had positive assurance that he was the man who would eat the plum. Then it was claimed that Daniel Burton had been made the man by the machinations of John E. Sullivan. There was not a happier man in town than Burton. And while he was enjoying his new-found happiness, Charles Bridges was not going around with a heavy heart. The collectorship, he thought, was within his grasp. In all there were some fifteen or sixteen persons who thought they had a promise of the place. But none of them got it. The prize went to George Tanner, an "unknown" in the race.*

In this connection the friends of Rail are telling an anti-convention story. Charles Polster has always been a strong Bynum man. Tanner has always been against anything that Polster and his crowd favored. Polster and Tanner live in the same ward. When the convention met in that ward to select delegates to the congressional convention, there was an agreement, it is said, that, when Polster called the meeting to order, he was to recognize no one but Tanner on the calls for permanent chairman. Tanner was to nominate Thomas Taggart and Polster would see that the election of Taggart was assured. This arrangement was carried out. Tanner nominated Taggart for chairman; he was elected without opposition and named the Bynum delegates to the congressional convention. The friend of Rail says that the meeting was not held, as reported, at the No. 1 engine-house, but in the oyster-house attached to Polster's saloon.

Sterling R. Holt was asked concerning the meeting at the Spencer House.

"I heard that Bynum was at the Spencer House, but I did not see him there. I never had any direct communication with any one who was at that meeting.

"What do you know about Mr. Bynum's promise to Rail?"

"I only know that he promised the place to Rail if he could get it for him."

Thomas Taggart was more inclined to furnish information on the subject.

"I was present at that meeting, and Mr. Bynum did promise Mr. Rail that he would recommend him for the place on the strength of the recommendations that had been furnished Mr. Bynum. The reason that Mr. Rail was not appointed was because certain persons here sent to the President protesting against the appointment on the grounds of Mr. Rail's illiteracy, and with the protests they sent some resolutions introduced in the board of aldermen by Mr. Rail to show that his education was not such as fitted him for the position. Mr. Bynum was loyal to Mr. Rail until the President informed him that he could not appoint Mr. Rail to the place."—*Indianapolis News*.

* * *

AFTER THE ELECTION.

Congressman Bynum's charge that three of the candidates for the office of surveyor of customs offered him bribes for the appointment is beginning to bring out expressions from some of the applicants. One of them is dead. Several others express themselves.

Thomas Madden writes the following open letter to Mr. Bynum:

"*The Hon. W. D. Bynum:*

"DEAR SIR—Your published interview in the *Indianapolis News* of the 7th inst. charges applicants for the office of surveyor of customs in this city with attempts to bribe you in sums of 20 per cent. of the receipts of the office to \$5,000 cash in hand. As my name was mentioned at one time in connection with that office, I think it but just and fair to all that you name the would-be bribers. And you are at liberty to publish any correspondence that we have had. Very respectfully,

"THOMAS MADDEN."

Maurice Donnelly, whose name was mentioned among the applicants, says to *The News*:

"In your issue of Wednesday, in an interview with Mr. Bynum, he was quoted as applying some very ungentlemanly epithets to the applicants for surveyor of customs of this port. He thought fit to give the parting kick to the many men who made personal sacrifices in order that he might be launched into prominence. If Mr. Bynum is sincere in what he states about the considerations offered him, why should he not publish the names of the persons who made him the offers, and not cast odium upon all who went to Washington to attend the inauguration of Grover Cleveland.

"I can confidently state that I was too poor to take \$5,000 along to give Mr. Bynum for the position of collector. I felt satisfied from what I heard from several sources that such a position could only be obtained by such means as he now feels disposed to condemn." * * *

—*Indianapolis News, November 10.*

* * *

Mr. Madden says:

"Practically the surveyorship was offered me by Mr. Bynum. It came about in this way: One evening in August, 1893, Austin H. Brown, one of my particular friends, came

to my house and told me that I had better see Bynum. 'Mr. Bynum wants to see you. He is at the Grand Hotel, and I think you had better go down to-night,' were the exact words used by Mr. Brown. I clearly understood that Mr. Bynum wanted to see me about the office of surveyor of customs, but the hour was late and I decided to wait until morning before going to the hotel. Monday morning I called at the Grand Hotel, and was told that Mr. Bynum had left the night before for Washington. Two days later I took the advice of my friends and started to Washington. I was there just two hours and a half, and saw no one but Congressman Bynum. I found him at his house and abruptly told him I had understood he wanted to see me about the collectorship. 'Yes, that is true,' he said. We talked for an hour about the matter. At the outset I said:

"'Mr. Bynum, I have understood that Maurice Donnelly and John Rail are both applicants for this place. I want to know about this, and will not permit my name to be used until this is made clear. I also want to be sure about my appointment before my name is presented to the President.'

"'You may understand, Mr. Madden,' said the congressman, 'that the President will never entertain the applications of Messrs. Donnelly and Rail. If President Cleveland was in the city at this time your name would be gazetted before you return to Indianapolis.'

"This concluded the conversation between Mr. Bynum and myself," continued Mr. Madden, "and I returned home at once with the understanding that as soon as I forwarded my list of letters, my name would at once be placed before the President. I have since learned that my name at no time came before the President, and I am positive that the names of Maurice Donnelly and John Rail shared the same fate. Within a few weeks after my return to Indianapolis I secured a number of letters from well-known gentlemen, one of which was given me by Mr. Tanner, the present surveyor of customs. I forwarded them all to Mr. Bynum, and received an acknowledgment from him. That was the last I heard of my appointment until November, when I received a letter from Mr. Bynum. He wrote at length and said a great many things. One of his statements was 'that there was a time' when he could have done certain things for me. I understood by his letter that I would not receive the appointment. I wrote a reply, in which I said that the democratic party would not lose a single vote on account of the turn affairs had taken. Before posting the letter I was told that some charges had been made against my character in Washington. I did not understand this, and instead of sending the reply I had written, I went to Washington. I saw Mr. Bynum and went to the theater with him. There he denied that my character had been assailed, but used this expression: 'It is said in Indianapolis, Mr. Madden, that there has been a bargain and sale between you and me.' I resented

this, of course, and told Mr. Bynum that it was untrue; that I was above corruption in the matter, and had never entertained such an idea. * * * On my first visit to Washington, Mr. Bynum asked me what I thought his chances would be in the next congressional race. I told him plainly that it would not be possible to elect any democrat to congress from this district. Although I was friendly to him then, I told him that Mr. Henry would be the republican nominee, and that he would be elected. I further said to Mr. Bynum that it would cost him (Bynum) \$20,000 to make the race; that it would require that much to fix the 'heelers.' * *

Maurice Donnelly said last night that he was anxious for Congressman Bynum to produce the names of the alleged bribers. He had seen the Washington interview with Mr. Bynum, in which the latter had said he would reply to the Dounelly-Madden card as soon as he had seen it.

"Until he does this," said Mr. Donnelly, "I haven't much to say. I don't like this thing of having 'bribery' flaunted in my face. It stings. I never made any such overtures to Mr. Bynum. I only applied for the position of surveyor of customs, because it was the understanding that the positions were to be given out to representative men of the different nationalities. The post-office was to go to a German and the surveyorship of customs to an Irishman. I did not get the office for reasons which I could not talk of intelligently at this time. It looked, however, as if the office was to go to the highest bidder."

"Do you mean to impute corruption or bribery to Mr. Tanner?" was asked.

"No; I haven't anything to say about Mr. Tanner. I know nothing of his relations with Mr. Bynum."—*Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 12.

* * *

CONGRESSMAN BYNUM'S LETTER.

Mr. Thomas Madden, Indianapolis, Ind.:

DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of a copy of the *Indianapolis News* of Saturday last containing an open letter addressed to me by you. In answer to the same I wish to say the original interview with me, of which you complain, as it appeared in the *News*, was not correctly reported.

I was reported to have said "that a party had drawn out of bank \$5,000 and had come to Washington and offered the same to me if I would secure his appointment as surveyor of the port of Indianapolis." What I did say was that I had been informed by a credible person that a party had drawn out of bank a large sum and stated that he was going to Washington to secure the appointment; that the only person who came here and personally sought my indorsement never received it.

Whether the party who was said to have drawn the money and intimated his intention of trying to purchase the office was yourself I do not pretend to say, as no name was given to me. All I know is that you came to Washington and personally sought the position;

that during our conversation you spoke of your successful business during the previous year, that the compensation of the office was not an important matter with you, and that if you should secure the same you could and would make very generous contributions for campaign purposes. I replied to you that my recommendation carried no such obligations, that the only assurance I desired was that whoever should be appointed should faithfully and honestly discharge the duties. I am frank to say to you that at the time I did not think you intended to make an immoral proposition, but only to give assurance that in case of your appointment you would not be inclined to shirk a legitimate party obligation. It was not until I returned home for the campaign and was advised of your infamous and false insinuations that I had intimated to you that you could have my indorsement for a consideration, and of the further facts that some one had come to Washington with the avowed intention of trying to secure the position by improper methods, that I viewed with suspicion your proposition for liberal contributions for campaign purposes and became impressed with the belief that it was only made as a "feeler" and that you were ready to make a much bolder one upon the slightest encouragement. So far as your letters, written to me after your visit, there is nothing in them but the most honorable statements, especially of yourself, and expressions of the appreciation of the courteous treatment you had received from myself.

I desire to add that after the President had expressed a disinclination to appoint Mr. Rail, the contest between his and Mr. Donnelly's friends became so bitter that I deemed it best to recommend some one not seriously involved in the controversy. I practically made up my mind to recommend your appointment. I had the highest opinion of your abilities and character, and expressed myself to two of your friends as willing to overlook your opposition in 1886, when you did everything in your power to defeat me. I so informed you when you came to Washington, but at the same time cautioned you that you could not succeed by becoming an avowed applicant; that so long as there was the least hope for Mr. Rail's appointment I intended to stand by him. Instead of pursuing the course I indicated and returning and remaining perfectly passive, you at once openly became an applicant by securing indorsements and publishing the fact in the *News*. This, as I told you at Indianapolis when there attending the city election, gave your opponents an opportunity to attack your party fealty, which they did in such a vigorous manner that I felt I could not stem the opposition. After this generous action upon my part you can imagine my surprise to learn, when I returned home, that one in whom I had placed so much confidence, and of whom I entertained such high opinions, was not only opposing my election by caucusing almost nightly with others to aid in my defeat, but was endeavoring, by the most willful, malicious and false insinuations,

to injure me in the estimation of those who had so often honored me.

While I may have done injustice to some of the honorable gentlemen who desired the place by going entirely outside for a candidate, I congratulate myself that I escaped the odium of recommending one whose character was so fully impregnated with ingratitude, treachery and perfidy. As you are interested only in so far as my interview cast a reflection upon yourself, I deem this all the information to which you are entitled.

W. D. BYNUM.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 12.

* * *

It was Wednesday afternoon of last week at the Grand Hotel that Congressman Bynum, within a short time of his leaving for Washington, voluntarily made a remark that led to his statement given in *The News* of that afternoon concerning offers of money having come to him if he would recommend certain men for appointment as collector of customs of this port. The initiatory remark to *The News* reporter was: "If any one says I made him a promise or promised to recommend any one for office and did not fulfill it, he is a d—d liar." Mr. Bynum then denounced the men—without naming them—who had sought his favor for appointment to office, and not receiving it had opposed his reelection. He used the word rascal several times, and his profanity was somewhat robust.

"One man," he continued, "offered me, and I have it in writing, 20 per cent. of the proceeds of the office of collector of customs if I would recommend him for appointment to that office."

Chairman Taggart, of the democratic state central committee, and Attorney-General-elect Ketcham then joined the congressman and reporters. The congressman repeated the remark quoted, and, continuing, said: "Another man offered me \$5,000 cash and another drew \$5,000 from bank and went to Washington to see me."

"Can I use that?" asked the reporter.

"Yes," said Mr. Bynum, "but leave out the cuss words."

That there should be no mistake about the matter, the reporter asked Mr. Bynum as to the material points of his voluntary statement, and in less than fifteen minutes had the interview written as it was repeated.

Mr. Bynum's statement that "another drew \$5,000 from bank" was direct. It was not qualified by "his having learned it" since he had been here, but was given as a transaction of which he and the applicant alone had knowledge. "I became so disgusted with the rascals," said he, "that I wrote to Mr. Tanner, asking him for permission to use his name, in recommending an appointment for the office. Before that I had no communication of any kind with Mr. Tanner. I had not thought of him in that connection. His appointment occurred to me as the shortest and best way out of the disreputable and disgusting struggle. The letter I wrote him and his reply were all

that passed between us in regard to the appointment."

"Will you let me have the letter containing the 20 per cent. offer for the office?" the reporter asked Mr. Bynum, when he and the reporter were again alone.

"I would rather not give that out for publication. It would serve no good purpose. The writer is dead."

"As to the two other offers?"

"I do not care to name them." It will be time enough for that, if they think proper to say anything. I am ready for them."

A man from out of town then approached Mr. Bynum, and, talking with him a few minutes, left with no satisfactory replies from the congressman. "It has been my experience," said Mr. Bynum, turning again to the reporter, "that when you have an office to fill and there are thirteen applicants, you make twelve enemies and one ingrate."—*Indianapolis News*, November 13.

* * *

Maurice Donnelly this morning received a letter from Congressman Bynum. The letter came by registered mail, and in it Mr. Bynum said that as to the charges he made of an attempt to purchase federal appointment, he wished to exonerate Mr. Donnelly and his friends from any corrupt implication. He added that if Mr. Donnelly had said that he understood that such methods would procure the office, basing his remarks on anything that Mr. Bynum had said or done, it was a malicious falsehood.

In regard to the letter, Mr. Donnelly said: "I shall reply to Mr. Bynum and let him make the reply public if he wants to. I did not say I understood that such methods would procure the office, and he equivocates when he says this. I did say that it was common talk among members of his own party in this congressional district that such means would procure the appointment."—*Indianapolis News*, November 15.

DEFIANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ORDER.

Joseph C. Nichols, chief law clerk of the auditor's office of the treasury department, will leave to-morrow for Indiana, where he will plunge into the campaign. *Washington dispatch Indianapolis Sentinel*, October 24.

* * *

Judge Lewis Jordan, chief of the miscellaneous bureau of the treasury department at Washington, has returned home to spend his annual vacation. While here he will take an active part in the state campaign.—*Indianapolis Sentinel*, October 22.

[Jordan spoke at Camden, Cynthiana, New Harmony, Spencer, Boonville.]

* * *

Sam Myer of Rockport, document clerk of the government printing office, and Capt. Ben Johnson and James Compton of Indianapolis, left for home this afternoon to take part in the campaign.—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis Sentinel*, November 1.

* * *

Deputies in the state offices for several days have been addressing envelopes for the democratic state committee. To the complaint

that state employes should not be allowed to do work for the political parties, the explanation was made that it is customary. Some of the deputies are required to go to the committee-rooms at night to address envelopes.—*Indianapolis News*, October 22.

* * *

Complaint is made that Joseph L. Reiley chief clerk in the local pension office, violates President Cleveland's rule governing the political activity of federal office-holders in acting as secretary of the state democratic committee.

Mr. Reiley was found to-day in the democratic committee rooms. When asked about the charge that he has violated the federal rules, he said:

"I have never read Mr. Cleveland's rule and it cuts no figure in my case, I think. The President's letter is not necessarily binding. Work in the pension office is light at this time; and my committee duties are not interfering with my supervision of the pension clerks."

Pension Agent Spencer said: "Mr. Reiley is not occupied in the committee work but a part of his time. His work in the office is done first. I do not think he is violating the President's rule. My aim in this office is to obey the law, and for this reason I have not made speeches in the present campaign."—*Indianapolis News*, October 26.

[October 26, District-Attorney Burke spoke at Patriot.]

* * *

Walter H. Bunn, who is United States appraiser, was hard at work at headquarters last night. James H. Grier, Corresponding Secretary of the Granite Cutters' National Union of New York City, sent a letter to Senator Hill yesterday, informing him that the local branch of the order had unanimously indorsed him on account of his attitude toward organized labor.—*New York Times*, October 31.

* * *

Senator Hill had a busy day. Beside seeing ex-Mayor William R. Grace, Francis M. Scott, Mayor Gilroy, James J. Martin, and Senator Faulkner on the congressional business, he also saw many democrats of prominence from up the state. One of these was William A. Poucher, of Oswego, United States district attorney for the northern district of New York. Speaking of the canvass, Mr. Poucher said:

"The democratic outlook in Oswego county, and the northern tier of counties, was never better."—*New York Times*, Oct. 24.

* * *

Internal Revenue Collector Edward Grosse may have charges preferred against him for "pernicious activity" during the late political campaign.

The offense that he is alleged to have committed was in assailing Senator Hill at public meetings, and in refusing to allow public speakers to address meetings under his management until they had promised not to mention Senator Hill's name.—*New York Times*, Nov. 11.

* * *

Adam Bode, United States marshal of Minnesota, resigned because he wanted to pitch

into campaign work. Attorney-general Olney says in his letter of reply:

"I have just been obliged to call for the resignation of a United States marshal who, beginning a political campaign with speech-making, ended by shooting, and is now under indictment for murder. From the tone and temper of your letter, it would not be surprising to find you in the like predicament, should you undertake to be a political worker and United States marshal at the same time. Undue excitement and recklessness are almost inevitable when to ordinary political partisanship is added the personal interest inseparable from office-holding."

TRUE TO THEIR KIND.

A Washington paper says: "Secretary Carlisle regrets as much as any one that he was compelled by public business to decline invitations to speak in New York this week. He is thoroughly in sympathy with the democrats in the Empire State, and it is his earnest wish that the party meet with success on election day."

"The secretary said yesterday that he earnestly desired to see not only Senator Hill, but the entire democratic ticket, elected. He said that democrats in New York especially should sink their personal feelings, and give loyal support to the democratic ticket, as the election in New York would have an important bearing on the presidential election in 1896."

"He believed that, if every democrat did his duty, and voted the straight ticket, there would be no question as to the result next Tuesday."

"As Senator Hill has always been successful heretofore, the secretary believed that victory would again perch on the Senator's banner this year."—*Washington dispatch New York Times*, October 31.

* * *

Assistant Secretary of the Navy McAdoo left Washington to-night to help Senator Hill in New York. He will speak to-morrow night at Cohoes and Friday night at Peekskill. He expects to talk at Wilmington, Del., Saturday night, and on Monday he will make several speeches in Hoboken and Jersey City.—*Washington dispatch New York Times*, Oct. 31.

* * *

Public Printer Benedict is very hopeful of democratic success in New York. He is in very close touch with the democracy of the state, and is in constant correspondence with the leaders. His letters assure him that the party is united and enthusiastic, and as soon as possible he will start for home to assist in securing the victory which he expects. He says the Wheeler ticket has no strength outside of Kings, New York, and Erie counties.—*Washington dispatch New York Times*, October 31.

He only is the despicable one

Who lightly sells his honor as a shield
For fawning knaves to hide them from the sun.

Too nice for crime, yet, coward, he doth yield
For crime a shelter—swift to Paradise,
The contrite thief, not Judas with his price.

Richard Watson Gilder.

THE RECENT BLACKMAILING.

October 24, Postmaster-General Bissell addressed a circular letter to all free delivery offices, citing the law, and saying:

It also must be clearly understood that no clerk, carrier or other employe of your office will be jeopardized in his position for a refusal to comply with a request for a political contribution. Upon receipt of this letter you will prepare a number of copies thereof and post same conspicuously in each division of your office.

* * *

In the August number of this paper were the details of the "stand and deliver" assessment of Taylor, Recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, and the Shelley circular to the Alabamians in the departments. Mr. Roosevelt, in a recent interview, says:

The commission recently had before it the case of the Recorder of deeds, Taylor, and during the investigation it was proved that wherever the civil service law did not obtain in Washington a condition of actual terror existed in the public service, and that janitors, porters and all other employes were forced to pay politicians for places and pay to retain them. Anything more degrading, more servile, more vicious can not be imagined.

* * *

In the October number were mentioned the reports of the blackmailing of federal employes at San Francisco, the Philadelphia mint, and at Pittsburgh. We give the following regarding the San Francisco assessments:

It appears that the campaign assessor in San Francisco is one Lee D. Craig. The form of his letter to the federal employes in that city recalls the familiar Jay Hubbell circular of 1881, in the frankness with which it names even the amounts which the clerk is expected to put up. It reads:

SIR: Feeling that as an office-holder, you are desirous of seeing the present administration perpetuated, and to that end are anxious that the democratic ticket be successful at the coming election, you are advised that it has been decided to ask of you a subscription towards defraying the expenses of the coming campaign. It is suggested that an amount equal to two (2) per cent. of your yearly salary would be about the sum you should subscribe, and it is trusted that your patriotic sentiments and sound democracy will prompt you to respond without delay. Please call on Mr. Lee D. Craig, notary public, at No. 316 Montgomery street, who is authorized to receive this subscription and give receipts for same. Respectfully,

LEE D. CRAIG.

If this man were strictly an "outsider," and contrived to keep within the terms of Attorney-General Olney's curious interpretation of the law, by addressing his victims only by letter, he might not come within so easy reach of the secretary's hand. But it seems that he is a notary public, and, by grace of a permit from Mr. Carlisle, is given the privilege of keeping his desk in the custom-house. He has a large sign hung prominently in the building, advertising his business, and the employes who have to swear to vouchers for services, do so before him, paying him twenty-five cents every time he signs his name to a jurat.—*Washington dispatch New York Evening Post, October 29.*

* * *

The civil service commission investigated the Pittsburgh assessments, and found as reported in the *New York Evening Post*, of October 25:

Postmaster O'Donnell has levied no assessments himself and has neither advised nor directed the political action of any clerk or carrier, so far as can be learned. But on the other hand he was aware that assessments

were being levied right and left, and does not appear to have done anything to prevent it. The treasurer of the local democratic committee, a man named Fleming, has come down upon every clerk and carrier in the post-office for a campaign contribution. His mode of procedure was the customary one—first, a letter sent to the victim, requesting him to call at a certain address; when the victim responded, a stand-and-deliver demand. The amount called for was about 2 per cent. of the employe's salary. Mr. Fleming sheltered himself behind the opinion recently given by Attorney-General Olney, that solicitation within a government building is not solicitation, so long as it is made by letter and not orally. The success which attended this scheme stamps it as political blackmail pure and simple, since the republicans in the force were frightened at the prospect of losing their places if they did not hand over their money. Some of them did so at once, and the others were about to do so when the commission stepped in and interfered.

In the internal revenue office matters are in a still more offensive condition, though the law has not been violated. The internal revenue district embraces several congressional districts, including those of Representatives Sipe and Sibley. Mr. Sipe, being in favor with the administration, has enjoyed by far the largest amount of patronage of any one in the district. It was at his instance that the collector, Mr. Kearns, was appointed, and Kearns returns the compliment by giving Sipe pretty nearly anything he wants in the collector's office. Sibley, with his heterodox views on silver and the tariff, has been frowned on in Washington, and has got very few appointments, even of those properly pertaining to the district, the majority being made on the recommendation of the local party bosses. The effect of this arrangement is, of course, to fill up the collector's office with active ward workers, the sort of fellows who manage things at the primaries and the polls. They have not been blackmailed, for the very simple reason that it is not necessary to blackmail them. Educated by their experience in practical politics to recognize in an appointment to office nothing but a purchase and sale, they have been honest in carrying out their share of the transaction, and, for value received, have handed over to the treasurer of the campaign fund various sums, ranging all the way from \$35 to \$150 apiece, or making an aggregate of some six or seven thousand dollars.

Kearns, as the readers of the *Evening Post* may remember, was the spoilsman who made the most consistent record of any of equal authority in the country in the year 1893. Secretary Carlisle made him custodian of the public building at Pittsburgh, and the first thing he did after taking charge was to call for the pay-roll. He found there twenty-one employes of both sexes. He discharged every one of them on twelve days' notice, and proceeded to fill their places without more ado. The women were cleaners, getting three hundred dollars a year, and Kearns frankly admitted that they earned it all; the men were engineers and stokers, elevator conductors, hallmen, doorkeepers, watchmen, and the like. Most of them were democrats, appointed during the former Cleveland administration, who had been retained by the republicans because they gave satisfactory service. When a democrat ventured to inquire why he included men of his own party in his sweep, Kearns answered:

"These employes received their notice of dismissal last November. It is a mistake to say that there are any good democrats among them. Every one of them held office under a republican administration, and that wipes out all the democracy they ever possessed. Why,

if I had found my own brother here when I came, and he had been drawing a salary under a republican administration for one day, I would have fired him at once. That's the kind of democrat I am! The people demanded a change last November—not only a change in the heads of the government and departments, but a change clear down to the charwomen, and that is the kind of a change it is my sacred duty to give them, as far as is in my power. Some of the discharged employes are good people, I know, but they are not good democrats."

* * *

The civil service commission has received from a postmaster in Washington state a copy of a circular from the democratic committee levying an assessment of \$5 on each postmaster. It has the heading of the committee and is signed by Charles De France, secretary. It states that "The committee having had under consideration the necessity and ways and means of raising funds for the campaign, has concluded that those who are enjoying the benefits of democratic success in the past should contribute to the expenses of the present campaign. The committee has, therefore, assessed you \$5."

* * *

The commission discovered, early in the campaign, that in certain Indiana towns the democratic county committees were soliciting campaign contributions from officeholders. The commission accordingly issued a circular explaining to officeholders that they need not contribute anywhere, and this was hung up in public buildings wherever practicable. An attempt to collect assessments was made in Boston, but was checked by the action of the collector of customs himself. There were efforts to collect assessments also in Illinois and Kansas. All the persons implicated were careful to shield themselves behind the attorney-general's opinion, and the commission could do nothing save give publicity to what was going on and explain to the persons from whom money was sought that they need not pay a cent. Mr. Olney's interpretation of the law appears to have given the blackmailing crowd more solid comfort than anything that has happened since Jay Hubbell was pitched out of public life.—*Good Government for November.*

CURRENT SPOIL.

President Cleveland to-day nominated James W. Burgess as postmaster at Dunkirk. *It was made on the recommendation of Congressman Martin, who sought to have the appointment made before congress adjourned, and asked for the removal of the republican incumbent.*—*Washington dispatch Indianapolis News, October 27.*

* * *

An illustration of the Tammany tactics was given the other day when Mike Lawler, formerly chief of police, now keeping a grocery with saloon attachment, asked John E. Lamb for a position in the revenue office. Lamb asked him where he bought whisky and beer for his saloon. Lawler said he bought whisky from Indianapolis and his beer from the Indianapolis Brewing Company. Lamb retorted: "If you would buy your whisky of Hulman & Beggs and your beer of the Terre Haute brewery there might be a chance of your getting a place."—*Indianapolis Journal, November 4.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 22.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1894.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE,
Indianapolis, Ind.

The advantages to the public service of an adherence to the principles of civil service reform are constantly more apparent, and nothing is so encouraging to those in official life who honestly desire good government as the increasing appreciation by our people of these advantages. A vast majority of the voters of the land are ready to insist that the time and attention of those they select to perform for them important public duties should not be distracted by doling out minor offices, and they are growing to be unanimous in regarding party organization as something that should be used in establishing party principles instead of dictating the distribution of public places as rewards for partisan activity.—*From the President's Message.*

THE meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, in Chicago, December 12 and 13, was the most vigorous held by the league for years. The effect of the rapid spread of the reform was shown in the appearance of new men from all directions. The address of Mr. Schurz was of the highest order and was the equal of anything he has ever written. The signs indicate that there is to be almost a race on every hand in states and cities to establish the merit and the labor service systems; Illinois for instance, is almost certain to do so this winter, and bills are all ready for many legislatures. Open opposition to the reform has for the present at least ceased. The fellow who fears the Chinese system, or an aristocracy of office-holders, is still here, but the people are no longer interested in him. The reform has become popular. The original, "way-back" civil service reformer is rising up everywhere and he is welcome; no one will dispute any claim he may make if he has now got ready to stand up and lay about him and help get laws through his legislature.

Referring again to the league meeting, the speech of Mr. Schurz is published in full in the New York *Evening Post*, of December 13, and the full proceedings of the meetings will be published in the organ of the league, *Good Government*, for December.

THE National Letter Carriers' Association sent delegates to the league meeting,

and they asked the meeting to indorse a bill of their association which provides that carriers and other large classes of federal employes shall not be dismissed, unless indicted for crime, until charges have been filed against them, under rules fixed by the head of the department, and they have had a chance to be heard. The sentiment of the league seemed nearly unanimous in favor of their bill, but the matter was referred to the executive committee with discretionary power to act. It is a question of the greatest importance and both sides should be well considered. Would such a law legislate reform into a rut? There is no question but that there has all along been an enormous abuse of the power of dismissal and that wrong without limit has been committed by it. There is also no doubt but that such a law would bring a quicker remedy than will otherwise be reached and that it would afford a decided present reform. On the other side is to be considered whether the same end will not within a reasonable time be reached by executive order and public opinion. We think this has already been attained in the railway mail service and with letter carriers by an order of Postmaster-General Bissell. The matter goes to the question of discipline and efficiency, and whether the same words in a law of congress will not tend to make the subordinate less careful of his duty than if they are embodied in an executive order or in effect in a public sentiment which makes it odious for any officer to abuse the power of dismissal.

DON'T let us have any mistake about "bi-partisan" boards, if we do have them, and try to saddle them off on the state of Indiana as reform. Let there be no theories about each stern Roman on his bi-partisan board watching the other party to see that his colleague is doing full duty to the tax-payers; each bi-partisan has an eye single to getting an equitable division of spoil. Should it come to any attack on the spoil itself the bi-partisan board ceases to know any party distinctions. The way these boards work in practice is illustrated by the following from the New York *Evening Post* of April 25, regarding the New Haven Board of Public Works and street patronage:

"The scheme has created general dissatisfaction,

for I am looking out for the republicans, and they have not received a fair share of the distribution of the work," said Commissioner Johnson. "If Commissioner Brown does not care for the patronage, it should go to Commissioner Bishop and myself, the two other republicans of this board."

"You ought to be thankful to get as much as you do," retorted Commissioner McGann amid a general laugh.

The mayor then asked Commissioner Johnson if he would like to put an A. P. A. man at work on the streets.

"I do not know whether my men are A. P. A.'s or not, but I can not sit here without protesting against the unequal division of the work," said Commissioner Johnson in reply to this serious inquiry. *The democrats have ten teams on the streets, while we have only four.* This matter can be adjusted outside this meeting, and the subject dropped."

SINCE the last issue of the CHRONICLE the President has put under the classified service the employes of the geological survey, numbering about 150 places. This was done at the request of Secretary Smith. He has also put the internal revenue service under the law, some 2,471 employes. The dispatches say this was done after a consultation with Secretary Carlisle and it perhaps explains why the appointees for the collection of the income tax are not included as they certainly should have been. There has been no greater scandal than the internal revenue service engaged for weeks in setting up pins for the renomination of their congressmen; and after it got them nominated engaging in a violent struggle to get them elected. In many parts of the country it was an unpleasant realization of being ruled by an office-holding class.

IN the CHRONICLE for June, 1893, was given an account of how Bynum and Turpie had determined that none but "good sound democrats," male or female, could be trusted to inspect meat for export, and had made a clean sweep in that department at Indianapolis. In November following was given an account of how Bynum had set up another bureau to inspect meat for home consumption and had filled the places also with "good sound democrats." He appointed as meat inspectors Fox, the shoemaker, Wampner, the carpenter, and Peggs, the teamster, and for taggers he named Quinn, Clegg and Kilian. Months passed and the recent election came and went. Now the head of the bureau, Dr. E. H. Pritchard, begins to find the persons foisted upon him wholly incompetent, and a few days ago he dis-

charged Quinn, Clegg and Killian for that reason. But Congressman Bynum, although overwhelmingly discredited in his own district and knowing nothing of the fitness of the men, seems yet to have a pull with Secretary Morton, and two of the men have been reinstated. Dr. Pritchard says in the *Indianapolis Journal*, "There is little for me to say further than that two of my men have been reinstated through the influence of Mr. Bynum, after I had reported them unfit for the positions." There is reason to believe that Bynum's pull will not last; at least Secretary Morton should understand that the people of this district have had enough of Tammanyism.

THE Voorhees crowd in Indiana are true blue to the last. Their openly-avowed plan of clearing out the Terre Haute post-office in order to cheat the civil service law and the trouble it made are matters of history. Now, again the day before the rules are to take effect in the internal revenue service, Collector Joshua Jump, of the Terre Haute district, assisted, it is said, by Lamb and Voorhees at Washington, worked ten henchmen into places. Probably we must expect such expiring kicks from men who are upheld solely by the spoils system; but this picayune treachery to the reform professions of the administration should not be sanctioned by Jump's superiors, and every one of these appointments should be revoked.

THE *Indianapolis News* has celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, and it is entitled to the gratitude of every citizen who cares for the character of the state of Indiana. This state has a low political reputation; in fact it is higher than Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, or even New York. Its dubious name continues because Indiana was bigoted, hide-bound, moss-backed and chained to the party fetish. To the unswerving independence of the *Indianapolis News*, and its influence in favor of honest men, honest politics and honest government, for its hostility to spoils and spoilsmen, is largely due the fact that Indiana has outgrown its former condition. A great deal of this feeling for reform is yet inarticulate in the state. It votes but it does not talk. Its clergy, its school teachers, its colleges are still reticent and timid. The CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is sent to the reading rooms of many Christian associations. It is doubtful whether it is yet put within the reach of readers in one-half of these. There is a leading college in the state which prints in its annual catalogue a list of the periodicals donated and purchased for its reading-room. The CHRONICLE has been sent for years, but its name is never mentioned. This is

old Indiana, fearful of independent speaking. But a new Indiana is moving forward quietly and irresistibly.

IN the new life of Whittier, by Samuel J. Pickard, facts are candidly given which explain why we never saw a sympathetic word from the quaker abolitionist for the reform stand taken by Lowell and George William Curtis, fellow-abolitionists, upon the spoils system. We understand too why before every important election Whittier yielded to some sinister influence, and wrote a letter that in fact acted as a decoy for the respectable partisans whose consciences had been a little troubled by party deeds but who were always quick to go back into the party fold upon such appeals of good men. Whittier was an abolitionist, but he was a partisan and politician, and a "valiant henchman of Caleb Cushing." A reviewer says:

"Nor do these pages afford any evidence that he ever repented of his early doctrine of the claim of the political victors on the spoils. If there is a hint of his devotion to or interest in civil service reform, it has escaped our scrutiny."

AN example of painful and positive moral debasement is the aged Frederick Douglass. Brave men of such lofty and unselfish patriotism have sacrificed themselves in behalf of him and his race that his stand seems shameful and indefensible. Hear him as reported by the *Springfield Republican*:

Frederick Douglass has come out as a defender of the negro politician Astwood, who has flopped back into the republican party because the democrats would not give him an office. Douglass says that Astwood has done rightly and that the grounds for his action are approved. Then he goes on to say that the only place for a negro who wants an office is in the republican party, and cites several instances to prove his assertion. George T. Downing is one; he left the republican party some years ago, "but he has gotten nothing." "T. Thomas Fortune left us also, but he was shrewd enough to see how things were going and he jumped back." Douglass goes on at some length, in the interview from which these quotations are taken, to the same effect, the whole tendency of his talk going to show that the average negro politician—himself included—is a mercenary whose only idea of party is a machine for distributing offices, and whose only principles are those of the spoilsman.

ANOTHER historic example ought to be studied by the earnest citizens of to-day. Who shall be the guide, Garrison, Quincy, Lowell, Sumner and Giddings or the late Robert C. Winthrop? The first, so burned with the wickedness of slavery that they were forced to plain and disagreeable speech, and no political party could ever bind their acts or their principles. Mr. Winthrop was of singularly lofty character, but first of all he was a whig. He recognized the evils of slavery, but as a whig and as a gentleman his conscience only drove him to such protest as was always

seemly. His was a noble type of American, but so noble that it was almost a blot not to have been nobler. The abolition of spoils involves every sentiment involved in the abolition of slavery except the bodily stripes; it is as cruel, as spiritually debasing as slavery, and it has been the cause of the moral deterioration of more men who started with worthy aspirations than ever slavery was. The great movement of our day should be studied by the candid examination of these leaders in the other great movement, and we believe every one must feel that the radical group was in closer touch with the great truths of reform and personal duty than was Mr. Winthrop.

THE REFORMER.

Before the monstrosity wrong he sets him down—
One man against a stone-walled city of sin.
For centuries those walls have been a-building;
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass
The flying storm and wheeling sun. No chink,
No crevice lets the thinnest arrow in.
He fights alone, and from the cloudy ramparts
A thousand evil faces jibe and jeer him.
Let him lie down and die; what is the right,
And where is justice in a world like this?
But by and by, earth shakes herself, impatient;
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watch-tower and citadel and battlements.
When the red dust has cleared, the lonely soldier
Stands with strange thoughts beneath the friendly
stars.

—E. R. Sill, 1887.

THE CHRONICLE has been so crowded that no notice has been given to the admirable address of Mr. A. T. Anderson, postmaster at Cleveland, O., before the fifth annual convention of the national association of letter carriers in that city, September 18. He is what all civil service reformers have claimed that a postmaster should be—the friend of this reform. Besides this, his address bears all signs of one whose knowledge of the merit system is well matured. He says:

We now have civil service laws to get into the service, and your efforts should be in the direction of equally stringent laws to get you out of the service. There is no doubt that ninety per cent. of our citizens are in favor of the principles embodied in what is known as the civil service law. The other ten per cent. are probably enthusiastic spoilsmen beating their tom-toms in the congress of the United States, and upon the curb-stones of our large cities. * * *

In 1871 a law was passed providing for the appointment of three commissioners to determine the fitness of persons entering the service, and in January, 1883, the present law was approved. At that time the law was considered nearly perfect, as entrance into the service seemed to be well guarded, and it was supposed that faithful service gave security of tenure. But laws are slow to satisfy the fellow on the outside, with cold feet and his eyes on your job. In some places an effort was made to establish the principle that a letter-carrier could not properly deliver mail if he belonged to a political party with which the postmaster did not affiliate. This principle carried to its logical conclusion would mean the removal of a carrier if the color of his hair did not please

the esthetic tastes of some small individual clothed with brief authority. The men who declaim loudest against the merit system are the most inconsistent. They never employ a shoemaker to build a house, or a blacksmith to tune a piano. They always employ the best and most skillful tradesmen in the particular line of work they want done, thereby recognizing the merit system; and we say, if it is a good system in private affairs, it is equally good in public affairs.

You should give to the civil service commission the moral support of your great organization, for it is beneath their shield your safety is found.

Some congressmen complain about the great expense of the civil service commission. Why! This commission costs the people about \$44,000 a year, and protects about forty-four thousand employes, and would take in more if the same congressmen would pass the necessary laws. Think of it! The enormous tax of one dollar per capita, that the government employe may be fairly treated. No, it is not the expense that is the contention, but the opportunity to go into the political market places and auction off the forty-four thousand places for seats in congress.

It is impossible to understand how even partisan assurance can attempt to palm off upon the people of Indiana bi-partisan boards as a reform in our public institutions. Such a board has never been and never will be a reform. In this case it is meant to form them of republicans and democrats, ignoring every other party. When they take charge of the public institutions, if the majority give all of the appointments to their own party, it will not be different from the ordinary spoils favoritism. If one-half or one-third are given to the minority, the places will be filled in part by republican favoritism and in part by democratic favoritism. This is not reform. Reform is to exclude favoritism and can only be done by adopting the reform methods of appointment which are now spreading over the country. A bi-partisan board must work upon the plan of favors, concessions, deals, combinations and tricks. In a short time no member is in shape to attack his colleague. They are in the same boat and they work together. Examine the recent appointments of Mayor Gilroy, of republicans, Jake Hess and Kearney, appointed sub-way commissioners. A good authority says:

"They are now expected to show gratitude for their appointments by working at Albany to save the democratic sub-way commissioner, Amos J. Cummings. Deuel is also expected to do all in his power to save the Tammany police justices by preventing the abolition of the board of police justices."

Platt understands the value of bi-partisan boards as a reform measure. Tammany gave him two places on the police board. Tammany was about to be investigated and Platt's legislature was in danger of responding to popular clamor. Platt limited the inquiry to the police department and put a harmless Rochester lawyer in charge. But even Platt has occasionally to bend before a storm and Goff took

the investigation in hand with what results we know.

The New York *Evening Post* says:

"While the committee is thus adding to its absolute demonstration of the boundless evil of bi-partisan control of the police force, Mr. Platt and his allies are working with might and main to prevent the abolition of such control. They are determined that the present system shall be maintained, and they will maintain it unless the public arouses itself to an irresistible demand for its abolition."

Of course bi-partisan boards in Indiana are not likely to produce such startling corruption as a Tammany-Platt board but the difference is simply of degree.

WE have received a letter from an enraged reader who wants nothing more to do with us because we condemned President Cleveland and in the same column denounced Hill, and therefore we mean "republicanism." We can not say that this will not occur again. President Cleveland has frequently done things to which the CHRONICLE is diametrically opposed, and we do not yet regard him as wholly converted. Admonition in that direction may, therefore, continue to be a duty, and it is certainly the duty of everybody in the world to denounce Hill. We doubt if the "republicanism" of the CHRONICLE would pass much of a muster. It long ago became used to deep dissatisfaction when the other ox was goled.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL BISSELL'S REPORT.

It is refreshing to read the report of an officer which is written with an eye single to the business of his department. In such a report, Postmaster-General Bissell has set forth the postal affairs of the country. In all matters with which the CHRONICLE is particularly concerned, no such straightforward and even fearless report has been before written by any postmaster-general. Mr. Bissell says with evident pride that "the civil service law is being strictly and successfully enforced throughout the free delivery service." He issued an order, June 28, 1894, that letter carriers, before removal should have a hearing upon written charges, with opportunity to make defense, and points out that this cuts off frivolous charges by postmasters and also recognizes a new right. Some check in favor of other employes would be equally just. His recommendation that postmasters should with the approval of the postmaster-general be allowed to suspend employes for short periods in the way of minor punishment, calls for a measure which is much needed. The country has had to pay, or will have to pay, several hundred thousand dollars, on account of "over-time" claimed by letter carriers. We have always regarded this as little

short of a wrong. Mr. Bissell dealt with the matter by simply issuing an order, directing carriers to perform their duties within legal hours, and they are doing it. When the railway mail service in 1889 came under the protection of the civil service law, its errors were as 1 to 2,834. Its efficiency has risen, until in 1894 its errors are as 1 to 7,831. Mr. Bissell attacks the spoils system with great vigor and denounces it as the one hindrance which keeps the postmaster-general tied down a larger part of his time to controversies about appointments, to the exclusion of all other business, and he calls upon congress to do something to relieve the department of the incubus. Referring to the bill providing for the appointment of fourth-class postmasters by means of civil service inspectors, instead of by congressmen, Mr. Bissell says.

I trust that congress, using the bill which is now before it as a basis, or substituting one which it is satisfied is better, will lose as little time as possible in coming to the relief of the department.

This official declaration from the head of the department states what has been for many years a most glaring violation of the constitution—the coercion of the appointing power by congressmen, and the corrupt use by the latter of the fourth-class post-offices. The days of this among other evil things are numbered. Whether the present congress will break up this greatest single spoils practice or will pass it over in doltish ignorance of the spirit of the times remains to be seen. It is the greatest single reform of the civil service yet to be accomplished, and the results can hardly be estimated. The removal of these and a comparatively few other offices from the clutches of congressmen will lead to a great change in the character of the latter. They will have to stand on their merits, and can not be helped out, and the new men will not want to be helped out by a watch-dog office-holder at every cross-roads.

"SPURIOUS" REFORM.

There is a good deal of agitation in certain circles over "spurious" civil service reform. The complaint now is regarding the recent classification of chiefs of divisions. Before, it was over President Harrison's classification of the employes of free delivery post-offices and before that, over Mr. Cleveland's putting the railway mail service under the merit system. The practice has been first to use the places so far as possible for political rewards, and then to cover them with the protection of the law. Civil service reformers used to worry a great deal about the necessity of first getting an ideal state of equity in the division of spoils

then covering the places with the merit system, but experience has taught them that all this is comparatively a minor matter. A large proportion of spoils appointees under the incentive of the merit system, for the sake of permanent employment really become efficient, conscientious employes, and a sturdy manhood asserts itself and they fall off as henchmen when they find a more manly way of supporting their families. Besides this, if any employe under the merit system is not a good man and an efficient employe, or if he is so persistent a partisan as to unfit him to properly do the work of the public, civil service reform sanctions a prompt dismissal. It does not sanction a sneaking dismissal, under secret and lying charges, nor a dismissal because of his political opinions. Civil service reformers will cheerfully accept every extension of the merit system, whether spurious or not, and they will see to it also that spoilsmen like Bynum do not succeed in correcting the spurious features which so lacerate their fine moral senses.

THE "ISSUE" OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Before the recent election the Indianapolis *Sentinel* addressed the following to the Indianapolis *News*:

But, says the *News*, Mr. Bynum is a "spoilsman." Possibly. But he is no more a "spoilsman" than he has always been while the *News* was supporting him. And certainly the *News* will not pretend to say that there is any issue of civil service reform before the country, or that there is likely to be any very soon.

We wish to call attention to that part of the paragraph which stated that no issue of civil service reform was before the country or was going to be very soon. It is quite true both party machines, in making up their platforms, avoided the subject whenever they dared, and when they did not dare, with some notable exceptions—as the Massachusetts democratic state platform—spoke in as vague and meaningless a manner as possible. Quite true also that political speakers, as a rule, did not consider it an "issue." Yet, after the election, not only the people in this country who mean to crush the spoils system were agreed that an opportunity had been taken to punish a party that had been for nearly two years fighting and dickering and trading over spoils; but the politicians say that the squabbles over offices was a potent cause of defeat, and it is to the losses from distributing patronage that many congressmen attribute their defeat.

Now turn to slavery. That was never owned to be an issue. Platforms and speakers loathed the subject. Nobody was interested except a handful of wild abolitionists. Says Daniel Webster in 1850,

"I shall support no agitations having a foundation in ghostly abstraction." Charles Sumner in Faneuil Hall said, "The public conscience will not allow a man who has trodden our streets as a free man to be dragged away as a slave." President Fillmore's message considered the slavery question ended and "probed gently to discover whether some change might not be made in the tariff, and political effort turned back into those more practical and profitable channels which had once engaged our national discussion." In 1857 President James Buchanan said, "Most happy will it be for the country when the public mind shall be diverted from this question to others of more pressing and practical importance." Yet in four years the storm burst which swept away slavery. And now, if signs mean anything, the destruction of the spoils system is first in the public mind and is in the near future.

THE REPUBLICAN PLEDGES.

We have watched carefully for some indication of recollection by republicans of Indiana that their party has a record upon the subject of the management of the civil service of the state. This record is practically unbroken and it is one which they can not now ignore without self-stultification. As we said last month there are two systems now thoroughly tried and proved, which successfully remove politics from any public service to which they are applied. These are the merit system of open competition for places requiring skill and the labor service system for unskilled labor. The first of these has been for twelve years in the federal service and is referred to in the extracts given below. In 1885, two years after the adoption of the federal law, a bill embodying all of its principles was introduced into the upper house by Mr. Foulke and after being explained and debated at length every republican voted for it.

In 1886 the Indiana State Republican Convention adopted the following:

We favor a thorough and honest enforcement of the civil service law and the extension of its principles to the state administration wherever it can be made practical to the end that the corruption and flagrant abuses that exist in the mismanagement of our public institutions may be done away with and they be liberated from partisan control.

In 1887 what was at that time regarded as the strongest and best civil service bill which had been written was introduced into the lower house of the general assembly by Mr. Griffiths, and after full debate and explanation the bill passed, receiving every republican vote. The deadlock between the two houses prevented a vote being reached in the upper house.

In July, 1888, General Harrison, then a presidential nominee, in a speech before a republican convention called at Danville, Indi-

ana, to choose delegates to a state convention said:

There are some questions that ought not to divide parties but upon which all good men ought to agree. I speak of only one; the great benevolent institutions—the fruit of our christian civilization, endowed by the bounty of the state, maintained by public taxes, and intended for the care and education of the disabled classes of our community—ought to be lifted above all party influence, benefit or control. [Cheers.] I believe you can do nothing that will more greatly enhance the estimation in which the state of Indiana is held by her sister states than to see to it that a suitable, well regulated and strict civil service is provided for the administration of the benevolent and penal institutions of the state of Indiana.

In 1891 a bill was introduced into the upper house of the general assembly by Mr. Magee, embodying the best results of experience up to that date, and covering both the merit and the labor service systems. This bill was fully debated and every republican voted for it.

This is the record which the republicans of Indiana have themselves written. They have not been in a majority in the general assembly at any time since the foregoing attempts and declarations began. But if those acts mean anything, they mean a promise that at the first opportunity the republicans will carry out what they have been all these years seeming to try to bring about. To ignore this record is for the republicans to say that they did not mean these former attempts, and that in making them they were hypocrites and liars. It does not seem that they will so declare themselves, but rather that they have been honest and earnest, and will make their word good. They can not afford to do anything else. The spoils system is doomed, both in state and nation. It is daily going to the wall before the two reforms we have mentioned. It is for the republicans to decide whether they will put this state in the front rank of civil progress or not. They will have an opportunity to do so. If this general assembly refuses, some other general assembly will do it. Reformers can wait, and this great reform can wait, for it is sure of its own in time. Can the republican party wait? Can it stand the rack of refusing to keep its promises, and of the inevitable loot of our public institutions which will follow?

HOW TO STOP THE ASSESSMENT SCANDAL.

In an other part of this paper are the facts relating to the swinish greed of several recently elected state officers. They are surprisingly rapacious and brazen at the outset of their career, so much so that at last accounts the culprits all bore signs of party discipline. It will be noted that every man had in mind to recoup himself for a campaign assessment that had been forced out of him, larger than he could afford to pay. He felt that his party had made him pay for the office and his chief thought was how to reimburse himself out of the public office. The public can not afford

to let this mercenary and venal conception of a public office continue. It will continue so long as these scandalous assessments continue and these will continue only so long as the spending of the money is buried in secrecy. This legislature should pass an act which should provide not only for a public itemized statement of the money spent by a candidate by himself but in his behalf by individuals and party committees. The amount that can be spent should also be limited. For all judicial offices the candidate should not be assessed and he should not be permitted to contribute. Tammany assessed judicial officers from \$10,000 to \$20,000. This year Recorder Smythe swore that he gave Tammany Hall \$35,000 for his nomination. Amos J. Cummings gave \$2,500 for his nomination to congress and \$2,200 beside. Nearly one year's salary for an office of two years' duration. As the *Evening Post* says, no corporation would venture to give \$50,000 as a campaign fund if the fact were to be made public after election.

We believe both parties would welcome such a law. It would relieve them of the leeches that bleed them, but which neither party dares kick out the door for fear the other will at once extend a welcome. The citizens of this country are ready to pay their campaign expenses if they can see the bills. With a good law all legitimate expenses will dwindle into a reasonable sum. Such expenses will not be one-fourth what election expenses are now. Private citizens now refuse to give, because they largely regard the men who will handle the money as corrupt and thievish. This suspicion has good grounds. When the accounts are published, and the amounts expended are greatly reduced, the practice of buying votes by giving a lot of worthless fellows "employment," by paying rents and other debts, and by paying worthless campaign speakers, both expenses and wages will cease, and along with it will cease the necessity of blackmailing public employes by party assessments.

CONSULAR REFORM.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, in an interesting letter to that paper, recalls that the present demand for consular reform is a revival. Some twenty years ago applicants for consulships had to pass an examination, particularly in the modern languages. It was not a competitive test, but such as it was it gave this country a much higher average of quality in the lesser places of the service than it has had since. There is also given a copy of an examination propounded in 1873, which we wish we might see tried upon Reformer Quincy's selections. We read in the dispatches of the sudden recall of Chapman Coleman, secretary of the embassy at Berlin, after twenty years' service, whose departure is regretted deeply by Ambassador Runyan and his colleagues; at the same time different commercial bodies of the country have taken the matter of our spoils consular

service in hand, and are expressing themselves vigorously upon the shameful practice.

The Denver (Colorado) chamber of commerce says:

That our senators and representatives in congress are hereby requested to aid in enacting such laws as will improve the consular service by appointment under the civil service rules, as adopted for other branches of the government; all consuls and vice-consuls. That all such appointments made shall be strict non-political, and only persons of eminent ability. That the appointee be required to speak fluently the language employed by the country to which he is about to be appointed, or be required within a reasonable time to acquire such language. That the appointee must possess a knowledge of the products and manufactures of this country, and its regulations governing imports and exports, and that they be instructed to keep in view at all times the importance of ever increasing the commerce between the United States and the countries to which they are appointed. That all consuls appointed under civil-service rules, who discharge their duties in a loyal and efficient manner, may look hopefully forward to a continuance of their service, and held in line for promotion as their abilities justify.

The president of the chamber of commerce of Portland, Ore., says that the subject of consular reform will be presented at their next meeting, and the president of the Providence, R. I., board of trade writes to the same effect. Mr. Lawrence W. Jones, late president of the Kansas City board of trade, says that the first step is to put our consular service on a business basis and banish the political hacks; that Kansas City handles annually more than \$75,000,000 in live stock, and their packing houses turn out products more than \$50,000,000 in value, and consular reform is a practical matter to them. The St. Paul chamber of commerce says:

"That in our opinion the present system of appointments for the consular service of the United States is injurious to the commercial interests of the country, appointments being made at the dictation of politicians and as a reward for party adherence, rather than with a view to the practical fitness of the person selected.

"If this branch of the government service were entirely divorced from politics and placed under the civil service rules, appointments made solely with reference to special qualifications for the service, and promotions made upon merit alone, a regular permanent service would be established, which we believe would be of greater efficiency and materially aid in the extension of our foreign trade.

A SPOILS EPISODE.

The strained relations which have existed for months between Secretary Carlisle and Supervising Architect of the Treasury Jeremiah O'Rourke came to their logical end late this afternoon, when Mr. Carlisle demanded Mr. O'Rourke's immediate resignation.

Mr. O'Rourke was appointed on the recommendation of the New Jersey senators early in 1893, succeeding W. J. Edbrooke, of Chicago. Soon afterwards the employes of the office discovered that they had an irascible chief to deal with.

The offense which induced Mr. Carlisle to demand his withdrawal is said to have been a "misunderstanding" with W. B. Fleming, chief of the law and contract division of the office. Mr. Fleming happens to be a strong personal friend of Mr. Carlisle. Recent removals in Mr. O'Rourke's department, about which he was not consulted, are said to have been one of the immediate causes of the altercation

which has led to his decapitation.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 17.*

* * *

This morning the secretary received a letter from Architect O'Rourke, in which he stated that he had received the demand for his resignation with "amazement." He recalled the statement, which he said the secretary had made to him early in his administration, that, should any charges be made against him, as was not unusual in one occupying that position, he would have an opportunity to meet those charges before any action was taken by the head of the department. This, he alleged, had not been done. Mr. O'Rourke further stated that he had known for several months that a conspiracy existed in his own office to bring about his downfall, and he denounced the conspiracy in strong language.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 18.*

* * *

Now that he has been compelled to dispense with the services of his supervising architect, the secretary of the treasury may have occasion to regret, among his other occasions for regret, that he allowed the official whom he now finds impossible to dictate the course of the department upon the bill for improving the public architecture that congress had been induced to pass. The motive of Mr. O'Rourke for making difficulties and nullifying the law, appears to be that the architects who had interested themselves in trying to get the new law put into practice, urged that it should be enforced in a new public building for Buffalo, and that they unanimously failed to admire a design prepared in the office of the supervising architect for that building.—*New York Times, September 19.*

* * *

Mr. O'Rourke, in conversation, said he had no apologies to make for his conduct of the office. He left it in better condition than it had ever been. What demoralization there was in it was caused by the action of his subordinates. The conspiracy mentioned in his letter to Secretary Carlisle, he added, referred to persistent misrepresentations by Mr. Logan Carlisle, Mr. Fleming, and Mr. Kemper, who never lost an opportunity to prejudice the mind of the secretary against him. A delegation of his friends came to Washington to see the secretary and to fix the matter up. He told them that he did not wish them to intercede for him, and that it was not a question as to whether or not he would withdraw his resignation if asked to. He would only do it under one condition, and that was that the corrupt element in his office should be expelled, and that Logan Carlisle should have no authority to make appointments or dismissals in the architect's office without consultation and agreement with him.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, September 22.*

* * *

The reason for the forced resignation of Supervising Architect O'Rourke of the treasury department is said to be a quarrel between O'Rourke and Logan Carlisle over the distribution of spoils in the architect's office. O'Rourke, so the story goes, objected to some proposed removals and wanted to be consulted about all changes to be made in his force, while Carlisle insisted upon making such removals and appointments as he chose. The outcome was so much unpleasantness that O'Rourke was ordered to resign upon pain of removal. It is not certain that the country will suffer seriously from the loss of O'Rourke's services, for his seems to have been a political appointment, carrying the power to inflict architectural monstrosities upon the cities of the land that congress endows with public buildings, because his "influence" was stronger than that of his competitors. He seems to have been a product of the system which has

led to his undoing, a system whose natural tendencies are to fill public offices with incompetents, to a greater or less degree, who have a pull.—*Springfield Republican, September 28.*

* * *

O'Rourke was a political architect appointed by President Cleveland as the man of the New Jersey senators. He was incompetent, which was a minor matter. Secretary Carlisle evidently found acceptable his hostility to any plan whereby the public buildings of the United States might have the benefit of open competition and be the means of developing a great national architecture. But when O'Rourke showed a want of tact and pliancy with Logan Carlisle and Carlisle favorites he had shown an "unfitness" for his position that merited instant and stern decapitation. His place will be filled by another political architect possessed of a properly disciplined political temperament and the people will pay more millions of dollars for more and more political architecture and on the top of this will continue to be insulted by assurances that an artistic architecture is only possible under aristocracies and monarchies.

PUBLIC OFFICE A FAMILY SNAP.

Party Assessments and What They Lead to.

Bribery is said to have been brought to bear upon State Geologist Blatchley by men in the republican party. Money has been offered for the privilege of naming the assistant officers in the geologist's department—the oil inspector and the gas inspector. Mr. Blatchley himself was the author of the statement this morning. He made it while contradicting the story that he had appointed Mr. Berry, of Terre Haute, to be oil inspector.

"This report grows out of malice," said the geologist. "It is an infernal lie. You may say that Mr. Berry neither has been nor will be made oil inspector. The story is altogether false that Mr. Berry has purchased the place from me.

"Republicans have come to me since I have been here in Indianapolis and have offered me money if I would allow them to name the men for the offices under me. I would entertain no such proposition."

"Who were the men who offered you the money?"

"I do not care at this time to make them public."

"What amounts were offered as an inducement to you?"

"As to that I will say nothing. But I want it understood that I am making my own appointments, and that I am here to serve the people as best I can."

The places of the oil and gas inspectors, about which Mr. Blatchley says that the bribery has been attempted, will not be vacant until March. For the two positions there are more than fifty applicants.

Simon T. Yancey, of Fortville, who was appointed state oil inspector by Governor Hovey, and who was ousted from office by the

supreme court, is an applicant for the position of oil inspector. At the Denison House this morning he declared that he spent a great deal of money in litigation over the office, and that he was entitled to the appointment. He was indignant when he read in a paper that Mr. Blatchley had appointed Mr. Berry, of Terre Haute, oil inspector. "Mr. Blatchley has deceived me," said he. "He promised that place to me in a room in this hotel before the convention. He said to one of my friends in Ft. Wayne, one of them in Wabash, and to several others, that I should have the place. We got out and worked for him, and got the nomination for him. He could never have got it but for us. It was reported around this hotel yesterday that Mr. Blatchley was selling the deputyships under him. I mentioned the story to a former member of the state committee, and he said that it might have grown out of what he said to Blatchley before election. He said that he had told Blatchley that he ought to select his deputies before the election and make them pay his campaign assessment. If it is true that Blatchley is charging \$800 apiece for each of his three appointments, he is more than getting back the amount he was assessed."—*Indianapolis News, November 22.*

* * *

Previous to my nomination a man not a candidate came to me and offered me a large sum of money to control my appointments, but this I refused in an emphatic way that I think he will so remember.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, November 23.*

* * *

Simon T. Yancey persists that Geologist Blatchley promised him the place of oil inspector. Blatchley is emphatic in his denial. He says that Yancey will not be appointed. Yancey's friends say that they propose to take Blatchley before the tribunal of the republican legislature.

A state officer says that the oil inspector is one of the best paid men in the state's employ. As he expressed it, the oil inspector makes "more than Greene Smith" did.

Yancey says that it pays \$4,000 a year; and Blatchley says that it does not pay more than \$3,000. The office is of four years' term.—*Indianapolis News, November 30.*

* * *

The scramble for the office of oil inspector and Geologist Blatchley's delay in selecting the man, have led to the discovery that the office is one of the richest in the state. The inspector makes from \$7,000 to \$9,000 in fees, although Blatchley and Yancey say only \$3,000 or \$4,000 a year. *The Standard Oil Company pays 90 per cent. of the fees.* The office was supposed, by those who did not know when they voted to create it, to be worth \$1,500 a year. Now it is supposed to yield not only a big revenue to the man who holds it, but to the party in power.

Numerous delegations of office-seekers have been laying siege at Blatchley's door. Prominent republicans, who do not want office for themselves, have called upon the geologist. John K. Gowdy, chairman of the republican state committee, called upon Blatchley, and

the two were in a lengthy conference. County Clerk J. W. Fesler also visited Blatchley. It is said that Blatchley has made Fesler his political confidant, and is taking his advice in the making of his appointments.

Blatchley still declines to announce the name of the man he will appoint oil inspector. *Republicans say they have received information that C. F. Hall, of Danville, will be appointed to the place. Hall is an uncle of Blatchley. It was he who introduced Blatchley into politics. He managed Blatchley's campaign at the state convention, and looked after his interests during the campaign. Hall was formerly postmaster at Danville.*—*Indianapolis News, December 4.*

* * *

Oil Inspector Hall is an uncle of the man who appointed him. The inspector is said to make from \$7,000 to \$9,000 a year in fees from the office, although Geologist Blatchley claims that the office will only pay from \$3,000 to \$4,000.—*Indianapolis Journal, December 5.*

* * *

The report prevails in the state house that the four daughters of Alexander Hess, formerly of Wabash, and now clerk of the supreme court, are of office-holding age, and will be installed as his assistants.

His neighbor across the way, Hervey D. Vories, has his wife and a nephew on the payroll. Mr. Hess has already appointed one of his family to a deputyship, and said to an employe in the building that "blood is thicker than water." The report is current that he further added, "My family first, and the public afterward."

Not counting the members of the family whom he is to put upon the pay roll Hess receives \$3,000 a year from the state for his own possession; he also receives 10 per cent. of all collections he makes.

As to the story that all the Hesses are to have a state position, there are some doubts, as there are but four places at Mr. Hess's disposal, and one of these has already been given to Miss Mary Peacock. The work to which she has been assigned is that of chief clerk, or second deputy, for which the pay is \$900 a year. Her help is a necessity to the new force. She has been in the clerk's office since it was first established.

One of the clerkships has already been disposed of to one of Hess's younger daughters. She will receive \$600 a year. Two places are yet to be filled, with three members of the family to hear from. These are the positions of clerk at \$600 and of chief deputy at \$1,500. The capital employes have concluded that he will bestow upon his own kin the fifteen-hundred-dollar position, in preference to the other place at \$50 a month. This will make the salaries from the clerk's office to the Hesses as follows: One clerk supreme court, \$3,000, with fees of at least \$1,000; one deputy clerk, \$1,500; one clerk, \$600; one clerk, \$600. The total will be \$6,700. As the family will be in office four years, Hess and his will have received more than \$25,000.

When Hess came into the office of the clerk

a few days ago, he informed his employes that they would be continued in place for some time. The inference was that they are to be retained until New Year's at least. Hess said that he would give them due notice when he was ready to dismiss them.

Yesterday he announced that his daughter had been appointed a clerk. At the same time he went to Miss Katharine Sweeney, who held a place under her brother in the former term, and told her that she would be released to-night. Hess is reported to have said at the time he discharged Miss Sweeney that he was not a candidate for re-election. *He added that the republican party had made him pay about \$3,500 for the office, and that he proposed to get all out of it that he could.*

"Is it true that a second daughter of yours has been appointed to a place under you?" Mr. Hess was asked, as he was leaving his office at noon.

"It isn't true," said Mr. Hess. "I have a daughter in Chicago who is coming here in February to visit us, and I have told her that if she wants a place she can have it. She has been working at Chicago, and it would be nice if she could work here and be at home."

"How much did the republican party assess you for this job, Mr. Hess?"

"Well, I wouldn't like to say as to that. *I will say, however, that with assessment and other expenses, it has cost me more than thirty five hundred.*"

"And you propose to get everything out of it that you can?"

"I am going to get all that the law allows me."—*Indianapolis News, November 28.*

* * *

The income of the clerk of the supreme court has always been more or less in doubt, as he is not compelled to make any accounting for his funds. It was said that A. M. Sweeney made \$12,000 a year for four years. Hess says that Sweeney made \$60,000 out of the office. The law was changed, and Hess is serving under a new fee and salary arrangement. It is commonly supposed that he does not receive as much as Sweeney did. Last night, however, Hess said, in speaking of the the \$60,000 which Sweeney is said to have made out of the office: "I do not expect to make more than half of that amount out of it." Mr. Hess denied that he had ever quoted the adage that blood is thicker than water; he said: "All this talk about blood being thicker than water, and my family first and the public afterward—there is nothing in it. I used no such expression. I am devoted to my children; my daughters desire to work, and why should I not give them employment?"—*Indianapolis News, Nov. 29.*

* * *

The official term of William S. Beck, M. D., who has been county coroner for two years, ended to-day. Coroner Wagner, the last republican, held the office from Nov. 20, 1886, to Nov. 20, 1890, and in four years the office cost the county \$22,770.68. Dr. Manker, the democratic successor of Dr. Wagner, made

the total for two years \$13,861.10. Dr. Beck's bills for two years will be about \$22,500.

From 1880 to 1885 the total cost of the office was \$11,771.22, an average of \$2,354.25 a year. From 1885 to 1890 the expense was \$24,436.99, an average a year of \$4,887.39. In the last four years it has cost about \$40,000, an average of \$10,000 a year. For the fiscal year ending June 1, 1893, seven-twelfths of which, perhaps, was Dr. Beck's, the county paid \$8,808.30. From then to June 1, 1894, Dr. Beck received \$12,967.25. Since then, until the 1st of this month, he has drawn \$5,529.40.—*Indianapolis News.*

* * *

"I was elected on a platform declaring for an economical management of public affairs, and I intend to stand on the platform to the letter. In making this statement I do not wish to convey the impression that the cost of administering the office of coroner will be reduced to what it was ten years ago, but it will not reach the exorbitant amounts which have been paid for the service in the past two years."—*Interview in Indianapolis Journal, November 17, with Coroner Castor.*

* * *

Coroner Castor filed his first bill with the county commissioners yesterday afternoon. It is for services rendered between November 17 to December 1. With it were filed the bills of his clerk and constable and three post-mortem bills. *The total for the fifteen days was \$576.40.* During the fifteen days included in the bill filed by Dr. Castor, he had twenty cases. In no case was his charge less than \$12.50. *According to his bill he put in fifty-one days on the cases, although he had been in office only fifteen days.* In each case mileage was taxed. Of the fifty-one days he received twenty "original" days (or days on which he viewed remains), and for which he received \$200; for the thirty-one other days he received \$78.50; his mileage amounted to \$7.60. The average length of time on a case was not quite two and a half days.—*Indianapolis News, Dec. 4.*

* * *

In the coroner's bill is a charge of \$12.50 for holding an inquest in the case of the death of brakeman Myers, who was killed by a Big Four train in Shelby county. Yesterday the commissioner received a letter from W. P. Knapp, coroner of Shelby county, stating that he had held an inquest the day this man was killed and rendered a verdict in accordance with the facts. When the body was sent here for burial Coroner Castor held another inquest and examined all the witnesses in the case. At the time this inquest was held Coroner Castor was asked why he conducted it instead of allowing the coroner of the county in which the death occurred to make the investigation. He answered that it was the duty of the coroner in the county where the remains were buried to hold the inquest. Dr. Castor said last night, in speaking of the Myers case, that he held the inquest believing no previous inquest had been held.—*Indianapolis Journal, December 6.*

* * *

The office promises to cause me a financial loss at

any rate, considering the expenses of the campaign and the interruption of my professional business.—*Indianapolis News, December 6.*

* * *

Miss Ray, who was the clerk and stenographer of Coroner Beck, and who went from his office to that of Coroner Castor, will leave the coroner's office this evening. She has fulfilled many of the duties of a deputy coroner. She has examined witnesses by herself, asking the questions and writing the answers. For this work the coroner is allowed a fee of \$2.50 a day.

Her place is to be taken by Miss Edna Castor, a sister of the coroner. Dr. Castor has employed a young man named Harvey Meyer, but he says, "I let him go because I was satisfied that he had an ambition to be something higher than a clerk in a coroner's office. I wanted some one whom I was sure would stay with me."

Harvey Meyer says that he was discharged, after a week's employment, without cause.

Coroner Castor says that his sister will get the fees of the office that usually go to the clerk.—*Indianapolis News, December 11.*

* * *

At least ten subordinate offices are held in the the state house by men and women related to their chiefs. Two wives are deputies to their husbands; in one office a daughter has been made a clerk; in another the officeholder's brother has a place.

In the governor's office Miss Callie McMicken, a niece of Governor Matthews, is his private secretary. She was such, however; before he entered office, having been a member of his household for several years.

In Superintendent Vories's office Mrs. Vories continues as chief deputy at a salary of "more than \$1,200" a year. John Vories, a nephew of the superintendent, has been made a clerk, although he is said to have had no previous experience in school work.

In the auditor's office Will F. Henderson, a brother of Auditor Henderson, has been a clerk.

C. N. Metcalf is the secretary of the board of health, and his wife is one of his clerks.

Clerk Hess has made Grace Hess, his daughter, a clerk at a salary of \$600 a year. He has promised a place to another daughter if she will take it.

The reporter of the supreme court, Sydney R. Moon, has his son as an assistant, but the place is not paid from public appropriation.

S. J. Thompson announced to-day that his son, M. J. Thompson, would be his assistant in the state statistician's office. The son has had experience in newspaper work.

Geologist Blatchley last night made known the appointment of his uncle, Chester F. Hall, of Danville, to be oil inspector, with an income which exceeds that of most other state officers.—*Indianapolis News, December 5.*

* * *

When Mr. Fesler was asked this afternoon regarding his payment of money to secure his nomination, he said no payment of any amount was required of him, with that understanding. "There is not, nor has there been, any question of money in the matter," he continued. "I have paid my assessment, but that

was not until several days after I was nominated by the committee. I gave no more than what Mr. Joyce had been assessed, and the money he had paid to the committee is to be returned to his estate. I do not think it proper to state what I gave, but it was nothing near the amount which it is said I have paid. The nomination did not cost me a cent aside from this assessment."—*Indianapolis News*, October 22.

PATRONAGE A SOURCE OF PARTY WEAKNESS.

Senator Murphy must have had several bad half hours since his triumphal appointment of the postmaster of Troy, because another follower of his has been pronounced guilty of the murder of Robert Ross. It is the old story of an American community in the grip of a boss, until it seems to the outsider to have lost all courage, all patriotism and all moral sense. [How it looked last summer.]

* * *

The 13th ward, Troy, where Robert Ross met his death, nobly tells the story of the success of the struggle against the Senator Murphy machine. Last year it gave Molloy, machine candidate for mayor, a majority of 343. This year it gave Mr. Black, republican candidate for congress, 324.—*Troy Times*, Nov. 10.

* * *

One of the peculiar things about the election in this state, yesterday, is the fact that the democratic counties which have secured the largest share of the federal offices have gone republican. Carroll county, which has the collector of customs, the best office in this state, the special deputy collector, and a large number of minor offices, went republican for the first time since 1866, and Harford county, which has the collector of internal revenue, and more minor places than any other county in the state, in spite of the usual large democratic majority, went republican. Senator Gibson's county, Talbot, which has 18 men in good federal offices, also went republican.—*Baltimore dispatch*, *Boston Journal*, Nov. 8.

* * *

The latest returns available indicate that, of the eighty members of the house who voted last session to defeat the appropriation for the civil service commission, the following forty-five will stay at home after the fourth of next March:

Alderson, W. Va.; Alexander, N. C.; Barnes, Wis.; Bland, Mo.; Bretz, Ind.; Bunn, N. C.; Cabaniss, Ga.; Capehart, W. Va.; Caruth, Ky.; Cockrell, Tex.; Coffeen, Wyo.; Covert, N. Y.; Cummings, N. Y.; DeArmond, Mo.; Dunn, N. J.; Edmunds, Va.; Ellis, Ky.; English, N. J.; Enloe, Tenn.; Epes, Va.; Forman, Ill.; Fyan, Md.; Gorman, Mich.; Grady, N. C.; Hatch, Mo.; Heard, Mo.; Houk, Tenn.; Hunter, Ill.; Ikert, O.; Lane, Ill.; Layton, O.; Lynch, Wis.; Mallory, Fla.; Morgan, Mo.; O'Neill, Mo.; Paynter, Ky.; Pearson, O.; Pendleton, W. Va.; Shell, S. C.; Snodgrass, Tenn.; Stockdale, Miss.; Stone, Ky.; Taylor, Ind.; Wells, Wis.; Wise, Va.—*November Good Government*.

* * *

There is evidence that, as usual, many claims for pensions which have been pending for a long time, are being allowed on the eve of election. Several veterans in this city,

who have had claims on file for two years or more, have received their pensions during the last two weeks. *These men, most of whom are republicans, have been reminded that Congressman Bynum asked that the claims be allowed.* After the pension had been allowed, the commissioner of pensions sends to the congressman a slip of paper, on which is the statement that a pension had been allowed, and there is a footnote saying that the congressman asked that this claim be allowed. This slip from the commissioner of pensions is remailed by the congressman to the veteran who received the pension.—*Indianapolis Journal*, November 4.

* * *

Congressman Bynum did not please the democrats of Haughville or North Indianapolis with the post-office appointments, and some of them are going to scratch him. The democrats of Haughville were divided at the time of the post-office agitation. Bynum did not favor the candidate of the "reform element" of the party in the suburb, but named the candidate of what was called the "clique." In North Indianapolis he chose a man who was a comparative stranger in the suburb, as against democrats who had lived and worked for the party there many years. He also overlooked the candidature of a woman who was supported by a host of the suburban people.—*Indianapolis News*, November 4.

* * *

Congressman Brookshire was given a cool reception last night. P. T. Jett, chairman of the democratic township committee, would not attend the speaking. Neither would he distribute the bills announcing the meeting. With the ushering in of the Cleveland administration, Brookshire had pledged his support to Mr. Jett in his candidacy for postmaster. Soon after this Mr. Brookshire wrote a letter to one of the ring democrats here stating that he had recommended the editor of the *Clay City Sentinel*, W. E. Naugle, for the position; and soon after wrote another letter stating that he had not made such recommendation.—*Clay City dispatch*, *Indianapolis Journal*, September 27.

OFFENSIVE PARTISANSHIP.

In May, Postmaster-General Bissell sent out Mr. Cleveland's executive order of July 14, 1886, warning federal employes against political activity.

At the democratic legislative convention, held in June, eight employes of the Pittsburg post-office were elected delegates and served. When the news of this reached the postmaster-general, he rebuked the postmaster for permitting it, and warned him not to let it be repeated; yet, in defiance of Mr. Bissell's authority, within two months afterwards, four of these men ran for delegates to another convention, and a fifth was very active at his primary meeting, but was not a delegate.

* * *

The civil service commission this afternoon gave Postmaster-General Bissell a hard nut to crack. It relates to the recent investigation at

Pittsburg of violations of the civil service law. The main point brought out was that four employes of the Pittsburg post-office, including Financial Clerk Atwell, had participated as delegates to a democratic convention in August in the face of the warning issued by the postmaster-general in May, forbidding such actions by the employes of the post-office. As the records of the commission show that Mr. Bissell approved the dismissal of four clerks in the railway mail service for being delegates to republican conventions the commission to-day sent him the names of the offending Pittsburgers, and at the same time called his attention to his previous action respecting the republicans.

In the meantime, the democrats of Pittsburg are working to save Atwell, and Postmaster O'Donnell, of Pittsburg, was here on that errand to-day.—*Washington dispatch*, *Buffalo Express*, October 24.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Civil Service Chronicle:

It was with some astonishment that I read in your issue for October the letter from Mr. Talcott Williams citing official insolence as an objection to civil service reform. Mr. Williams must have come to Philadelphia after the leaven of reform had begun to work, or perhaps he has not had much experience of our public offices; otherwise he would never have suggested that "many a reformer's views" would be modified by the better treatment accorded to plain citizens by officials holding office under the spoils system than by those under the merit system. The condition of nearly all the city and county offices prior to the spasm of virtue which attacked the citizens of Philadelphia early in the eighties is a sufficient refutation of his entire argument. The reforms then instituted have not as yet entirely lost their good effect, but as they failed to go to the root of the matter by putting these offices on a business-like footing, that is by establishing the merit system, we are gradually drifting back to our old evil condition. As evidence to this effect I inclose the following letter to the *Public Ledger* of this city, the authorship unknown to me, which I read in that paper a few days after reading Mr. Williams's communication to you:

"INSOLENCE OF OFFICE."

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

I had occasion to call at the prothonotary's office to-day to take out first papers. In answer to usual questions from a clerk who temporarily occupied the place of Mr. Smith, the gentleman in charge of the department, I told him my name and that I was a native of Ireland. He immediately called out to the other clerks, "Here's another from Ireland, Charlie; blow him in," etc. He imitated what I presume he meant to be Irish brogue, and his manner was altogether offensive and insulting. The gentleman who accompanied me, a native of this country and a republican in politics, expressed his astonishment that a clerk in a public office should treat any one going there on business in such an outrageous way. I do not know why any discrimination should be made in the case of "natives of Ireland." Certainly it is not the intention of the government that they should be gratuitously insulted.

W. F. MCP.

October 23, 1894.

R. FRANCIS WOOD.

Philadelphia, November 14, 1894.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—*From Archbishop Ireland's address: The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 23.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

IT is not to the credit of Governor Matthews that in his long message to the general assembly of Indiana the other day he found no room to advocate the abolition of the spoils system in Indiana. Politically he displayed a surprising lack of perspicacity. His message is a voluminous statement of the commonplace matters of the state. But a statesman is a leader. He sees the coming tide and takes advantage of it. The rising tide now is for the abolition of Tammany methods, but Governor Matthews seems not to have seen it.

THE republicans in this state are still keeping up some show of talk about bipartisan boards for the public institutions as though it were a great reform. It is not a reform at all. The Tammany police board of New York has two republicans and two democrats, and Platt wants to keep it so because he likes Tammanyism, and this in the face of nearly all of the people in the city of New York. The republicans of Indiana should not copy Plattism. If they have been honest all these years, they will pass a civil service law.

THE law of the state puts the election of the state librarian in the general assembly. It would be difficult to find a more stupid method. Some seventy persons tried to get the place. To send them before a board where they might compete for the place would be so simple and effective and just that not to do it is *per se* venal. As it was, days of time were taken up in strife, and when the nomination by the majority party came on not the slightest attention was paid or was pretended to be paid to securing the best qualified person among the applicants. The only one of them who was fitted by experience in library work and the only one who was in fact qualified for the position was the daughter of the late ex-Governor Baker. She lived, however, in Marion county and therefore could not be given the place. The supporters of three other persons combined and selected one for the office upon the promise that she would make the other two her assistants. It is now said that she refuses to be

bound by this promise. Could anything more belittle a great state than for its general assembly to be engaged in such work.

REV. G. A. CARSTENSEN, rector of St. Paul's in this city, at the Jackson dinner, January 8th, eulogized the late Thomas A. Hendricks. He said that the latter believed "that reforms were to be accomplished by parties and not by individuals; least of all by individuals assuming to be better than their party. He was in the best sense a practical politician. He never went wool-gathering in a mugwump Utopia." Mr. Hendricks was certainly not a mugwump. He was always in favor of any amount of reform in the abstract, but of concrete reform his record is bare. It is true also, that he did not take to individual reformers of any kind whether they assumed to be better than their party or not. Mr. Carstensen might also have added that the bond of friendship and admiration between Mr. Hendricks and Tammany Hall was strong and mutual, and never shaken by any circumstance of any nature. He was the most polished and gentlemanly of those Indiana democratic leaders who have made this state a by-word throughout the country. Their party made no progress until it began to get from under their influence.

ANDREW JACKSON rendered great military services to his country, and on this account his name is illustrious. But as President he did a wrong which can not be adequately set out in words. Yet it is not for his military services that democrats every year on the 8th of January meet together and celebrate his memory. Not one democrat in ten thousand if he told the truth would give any other reason than that Jackson "was a good sound hickory democrat, who took in the boys with cold toes." This statement of the case will stir the affirmative enthusiasm of every "Jacksonian democrat" who reads it. At all such meetings we should therefore naturally expect sounding brass and we get it. "The democratic party is the party of the constitution, the party of Jefferson, Madison and Jackson. The party that is destined to live as long as this government shall endure" (sic), said Minister Isaac P. Gray, at the Jackson dinner. "Whatever is good and grand and true in the progress

of the United States is due to the democratic party and to her alone," said Charles Duffin. "I challenge contradiction when I affirm that a democrat is a man who is an adherent or advocate of democracy," said W. R. Myers. "Our patron saint, Andrew Jackson, naturally comes first, and may it never be wholly forgotten that he originated the phrase now sometimes tabooed, yet not altogether unwholesome, that 'to the victors belong the spoils,'" said ex-Governor James E. Campbell, the Ohio spoilsman.

The only man at the dinner who displayed any political grasp of the times was Charles L. Jewett. Party wreck and ruin has had its effect upon him. No one can read the history of this country for thirty years preceding the rebellion, without realizing that in spite of the bank, the tariff and the dozen other questions which were crowded to the front, the one question which was making history and was destroying and undermining parties, was the question of slavery. And as we have often said, in spite of the currency and the tariff and the dozen other questions which are crowded to the front, the one question which is now making history is the question of spoils in public office and business; it is the question of Tammany methods, not in any one locality but everywhere wherever there are public offices and wherever there is public business—town, city, county, state or national. Mr. Jewett recognized this, and as we show by his remarks, printed elsewhere, cried out in bitterness of soul that he repented.

THE civil service commission in its last report gave high praise to Postmaster Sahm of this city. The CHRONICLE is glad to be able to add something more. The supreme test of the competitive system has always been known to be the question whether competitors of opposite politics from the appointing officer would be cheated out of their rights, when they reached the top of the eligible list. In the face of serious obstacles, the principle of fair play has constantly asserted itself and has had its effect upon the appointing officers. We believe the question is settled finally in the Indianapolis post-office. Mr. Sahm is a democrat, but republican after republican comes to the top of the list and

receives his appointment because he has won it by fair competition, and without any regard to his politics or to the politics of the other two men who are certified with him.

It may be hoped that the last post-office contest under the spoils system in this state has recently been enacted at Muncie. The last presidential postmaster has been removed and the customary broils and intrigue have been rending the party at Muncie and at Washington. The senators had selected Editor McKillip, of the *Herald*, but the elections of last November have not left them with sufficient vitality to contest with their former autocratic spirit post-office patronage and they yielded with a great show of respect for democracy to a vote of the democratic patrons of the office who selected Edward Tuhey. Editor McKillip protested against an election and one Kirkwood went on to Washington and claimed that Tuhey's election was secured by fraud; nevertheless he was appointed. The curtain now drops in Indiana over three years of demoralizing post-office brawls. When it next rises, we believe, the state will be divided into postal districts and the postmasters will be selected solely with a view to an efficient public service and they will not be the watch-dogs or the henchmen of Indiana congressmen.

When the democrats were in control of this city, they had for inspector of sweeping and sprinkling one of those life office-holders who believe in rotation in office provided the rotation is from one office to another, and they paid him \$100 a month. Then came the reform administration of Mayor Denny, and in pursuance of its professions, the pay of this office was reduced to \$60 a month, which considering the work to be performed is enough. The new board of public works then appointed a republican rotator, and dated his appointment back of the reducing ordinance and gave him \$100 a month. Perhaps most anything may be expected from an administration which permits a blackmailing political assessment upon its employes upon the publicly stated theory that they should pay for their places and where the mayor publicly declares that he sees nothing wrong in the transaction.

JANUARY 4 the President made another extension of the civil service rules by an order which includes 122 superintendents of carrier stations. These stations are sub-post-offices in large cities and in fact 122 large post-offices have been withdrawn from the field of politics and placed upon principles which govern the ordinary business of the world. The change is of great

importance. One of the hardest struggles the civil service law has had has been in the injustice of picking up politicians from the street and placing them over large numbers of men, each of much wider experience and nearly all more capable of filling the place than the new appointee. Added to this has been the smart trickery which many new appointees felt it their duty to attempt. It should never be forgotten that this same reason applies not alone to sub-stations but to all postmasters throughout the country. They should not be mere local politicians but members of a permanent, highly-skilled service subject to transfer, promotion, discipline or dismissal without any regard to politics.

THE Buffalo *Express* is very much in point when it says that since the first state civil service commission appointed by Governor Cleveland, there has never been one which when appointed believed in the reform. Several have been converted by proximity to the work of the merit system, but the *Express* goes on to say, "the custom has been for a governor to get rid of a commission as soon as it developed a desire to enforce the law, and again to put the reform out to nurse with its enemies."

Not only friends of the merit system living in new York but all over the country feel an anxiety over the action of Governor Morton with regard to the commission. There ought to be a clean and prompt sweeping out of the present members. They have shown apathy and feebleness for doing all proper work, but great alacrity in assisting Governor Flower to make the law no hindrance to spoils and spoils-men. There are disquieting reports that Governor Morton will retain the Watertown editor because he is a fellow-townsmen of the late governor. It was Editor McKinstry who, in the recent investigation of the operations of the New York civil service commission, showed his unfitness in the following testimony:

I have never made a careful study of the civil service rules. I have always acted on the belief that the commission was subordinate to the governor. I do not know why, in our report to the legislature, the designations showing what positions were in the competitive and other schedules were omitted.

It is also rumored that Morton will fill out the commission by appointing W. A. Cobb, editor of the *Lockport Journal*, a man who has only been heard of in partisan politics, and E. L. Adams, editor of the *Elmira Advertiser*, who is backed by J. Sloat Fasset. Since the above was written Cobb, described as the only Platt editor west of Rochester, has been appointed, and the New York Civil Service Association is protesting at Albany.

CHARLES A. SCHIEREN, mayor of Brook-

lyn, in a speech before the Union League club of Chicago, on January 8, declared that Brooklyn was the first city to effect a radical change and smash its ring of corrupt politicians, and he declared as the first necessity that absolute civil service reform in its most rigid form was the prime requisite. Another important matter was the absolute divorce of politics from the police and fire departments.

Such explicit and straightforward recognition that the spoils system must be crushed before we can advance any in the solution of municipal questions, is what we want, and it is within a comparatively recent time that this vital necessity has been widely recognized. How a city becomes debauched when from top to bottom spoils control, is well illustrated by the following from a Chicago paper, deploring the recent attempt to suppress gambling in that city:

"Probably as many as 10,000 persons in the city—men, women and children—were dependent on the gambling 'business.' In each of the resorts a considerable number of men were employed as attendants, watchmen, operators, 'cappers,' 'pluggers,' and so forth. Many of these drew regular wages and supported their families out of the money they took in. All of this class, besides the professionals, are thrown out of work."

The Union League club has at hand a considerable work, and it is satisfactory to see that it recognizes its responsibility when it asks the views of men like Mayor Schieren.

THE governor of New York has named George W. Aldridge superintendent of public works. About all is known that need be in the one fact that he is a Platt man. The Erie canal has for years been one of the powerful instruments for building up a political machine. Large patronage is involved, and from Albany to Buffalo it affords a chance to distribute every few miles nuclei of "workers." Mr. Aldridge is reputed to have said that he will "make the canal republican from the lock-tenders up." Thus Mr. Platt endeavors to hold together his machine. To be sure the constitutional amendment adopted in New York will put the canal employes under the merit system. But with the usual civil service commission appointed in New York City and in the state, Tammany and Hill and Flower have found the law rather an agreeable diversion; so may Platt now. All these matters are not of local interest. They are of vital concern to the whole country.

SECRETARY MORTON is complaining that foreign governments have spies watching his meat inspectors in this country. We do not know of anything that would be productive of more good. When Mr. Morton turns over meat inspectorships to be filled by such men as Congressman

Bynum, with teamsters, shoemakers and other electioneering agents, he need not expect any one to have any confidence in their work. Every lesson of this kind which teaches "practical politicians" that the foreign trade does not want democratic meat or republican meat, but wholesome meat, is of great benefit.

LATE years have afforded many instances of parties coming triumphantly into power and then proceeding by a series of conceited blunders to destroy their majority. The republican party in New York is already well along in the process of wearing down its 150,000 majority. Of course that majority was in a large measure due to the absolute necessity of defeating Hill, but along with that always went the hope that Hillism was not to be succeeded by Plattism. That hope does not appear to have been well founded. Governor Morton has appointed Aldridge, of Rochester, to be superintendent of public works, a position which if corruptly used may prostitute a large number of public offices and places into "patronage." Aldridge goes to New York and "sees Platt" and then declares that "the canals shall be republican from the lock tenders up." The state civil service commissioners under Flower let the law go to the dogs; but Morton, instead of appointing commissioners who understand the law and want to see it enforced, seems likely to retain one of Flower's men and has chosen a Lockport editor, who is simply a politician, for another place on the board, and everything looks to a continuation of Flower methods. The assembly elected Ham Fish speaker, and he thereupon immediately took a trip to New York and "saw Platt," and brazenly confessed that it was for the purpose of getting Platt's opinion about his committees. Platt is a man who lives up in the center of the state and is in the express business in New York. He has no public office of any kind yet at present he controls the government of the state of New York, both executive and legislative, as surely and as effectively as the czar controls Russia. He accomplishes it all by means of a political machine which he keeps in working order by the distribution of spoil. This is not free government; it is the most odious form of despotism. It was hoped that the republicans of New York had learned that this kind of government was coming to an end in this country; but it seems not. The people of New York will next have to deal with Plattism at the polls. If the republicans behind their 150,000 majority think they are safe no matter what they do they will find that they are mistaken.

EVERY day brings further corroboration of the triumph of Plattism. The *New York*

Evening Post, of January 16th, gives the following:

It is clearly the purpose of Mr. Platt to give the people of this city opportunity to decide whether or not they desire to have him for their ruler. He ostentatiously took charge of the legislature yesterday as boss, going to Albany in company with Governor Morton, and quite publicly assuming the right to direct the course of the republican majority in legislation affecting this city. He held a conference with the Lexow committee and instructed them as to the report which they should present. He granted audiences to the members of the legislature and to the reporters, and openly declared his wishes and intentions as to pending and proposed legislative measures. "What do you think of Dr. Parkhurst's plan for a single-headed police commission?" asked a legislator. "I don't think we are quite ready yet for a revolution," replied the boss. "Then the board of four members is to remain as it is?" said the inquirer. "Yes, if we are going to have any police legislation this winter," said the boss.

No one pretends that Platt represents the people in this impudent assumption of authority. He does not represent one in ten thousand of the people; as stated elsewhere, he simply controls a political machine made up of henchmen whom he pays out of the public treasury by assigning offices or by other means of profit. Through this machine he controls conventions and nominations, and in this manner gets a senile tool like Morton at the head of the ticket. It was a great victory to sweep out Hillism; it will be equally great to sweep out Plattism. The people of New York will hardly submit tamely; their political morality is not so low that it is exhausted by a single struggle.

MR. CARDWILL'S CIVIL SERVICE BILL.

We favor a thorough and honest enforcement of the civil service law and the extension of its principles to the state administration wherever it can be made practical, to the end that the corruption and flagrant abuses that exist in the mismanagement of our public institutions may be done away with, and they be liberated from partisan control.—*Indiana State Republican Platform, 1886.*

There are some questions that ought not to divide parties but upon which all good men ought to agree. I speak of only one: the great benevolent institutions—the fruit of our christian civilization, endowed by the bounty of the state, maintained by public taxes, and intended for the care and education of the disabled classes of our community—ought to be lifted above all party influence, benefit or control. [Cheers.] I believe you can do nothing that will more greatly enhance the estimation in which the state of Indiana is held by her sister states than to see to it that a suitable, well-regulated and strict civil service is provided for the administration of the benevolent and penal institutions of the state of Indiana.—*General Harrison at Danville, July, 1888.*

In 1885, bill introduced by Mr. Foulke, in the upper house and every republican voted for it.

In 1887, bill introduced by Mr. Griffiths in the lower house and every republican voted for it.

In 1891, bill introduced by Mr. Magee in the upper house and every republican voted for it.

A COMPREHENSIVE civil service bill, which is printed elsewhere, has been introduced into the house by Representative George B. Cardwill, of New Albany. The bill provides for three commissioners who are to serve without pay. It applies the merit system of competitive examination, open to all, to the state service. It also requires the adoption of the labor service system which has been found in the federal navy yards and in Massachusetts to effectively exclude politics in the employment of unskilled labor. Any city may place the whole or any part of its service under the law by a vote of its common council and a like step may be taken by the county commissioners and trustees of towns. The bill embodies the ideas which in practice have for years been found to work best. The republican party in Indiana has now an opportunity to keep the promises which for so many years it has been making. The subject is no longer visionary. Over and over again the merit and labor service systems have proved their absolute superiority over all other methods of distributing public employment; this is no longer argued, it is admitted on every hand. The man who sneered at "snivil service reform" is silent. The man who claimed that the examination was upon the height of the mountains of the moon, although there never was such an examination, no longer finds a listener. In Indiana it is simply reduced to the question whether the republican party leaders, including the *Indianapolis Journal*, Ex-President Harrison and Charles W. Fairbanks, who is anxious to become a United States senator, and others, are going to let the republican party keep its promises. So far we have looked in vain for any indication from them that the party ever made any promises of this nature.

SCHOOL COMMENCEMENTS AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

School Commissioner Charles C. Wehrum, to whom Tammany Hall through Mayor Gilroy yesterday refused a reappointment, was one of the oldest and well known to be one of the most useful members of the board. Having retired with a fortune from business, Mr. Wehrum found in the schools the chief field of his interest and activity. No other member of the board was so free, and none more anxious, to give his thought and time to the service of the city's educational system. There was not a public school in the whole city which he had not visited and extended his personal interest to, something, it is said, which no other commissioner has ever done. During the summers, when most men of leisure and means leave the city and its institutions to take care of themselves, Mr. Wehrum has looked after the extensive repairs to the school-houses which are made at that time.

The reasons for not reappointing Mr. Wehrum are perfectly patent. Tammany Hall wants all it can get during its brief remainder of power. It wants the presidency of the board for the ensuing year, and the division in the board between Tammany and its enemies is uncomfortably close. One or

two of the commissioners last appointed as friends of Tammany Hall have shown some signs of revolt. Mr. Wehrum had to make way, therefore, for a commissioner whose vote can be better counted upon to re-elect Mr. Knox. Mr. Wehrum opposed Mr. Knox's candidacy at the last election and voted against him. A third reason for the latter's "turning down" no doubt is that he was too vigilant and interested, kept himself too well informed of all that was going on throughout the school system and was at the same time independent, honest and incorruptible.

The above, from the *New York Evening Post*, is only a single instance of the baleful influence of spoils upon the public schools of New York. Incompetent teachers given positions because they are the dependents of henchmen, incompetents retained in the face of facts for the same reason, and the paralyzing influence upon good work of insecure tenure where there is no political pull, thousands of children running in the streets of New York because there are insufficient accommodations, school buildings dark and foul with the stench of garbage and bad plumbing—these are only a few of the wretched conditions springing out of the spoils system. And while New York may be the most wretched instance of the results of the spoils system, there are many other cities almost as bad and there are few public schools in the towns or the villages of this country where upon close inspection the trail of the spoils serpent may not be discovered.

For nearly twenty years we have watched at the commencement season the subjects of the graduating speeches and essays. Teachers belong to the thoughtful class. They wield a great moral influence. They are supposed to understand the value and necessity of patriotism and courage in dealing with public questions in this country. Certainly during this time influential papers like the *New York Nation*, the *Evening Post*, the *New York Times*, have spoken in season and out that the system must be destroyed or the country could not survive. Some of the greatest men have protested against the long train of evils inherent in this system. But the boys and the girls, the young men and the young women, have to the slightest extent only been influenced to examine and write of a system at their very doors, if we may judge from these commencement subjects. That is probably the reason. The way that spoils have come to be interwoven with the decent life of a town has made cowards of teachers and others who felt that by its intrigue and malice it would be only too easy a matter to take away their own bread and butter.

But now that the politicians through bitter experience are shouting from the house tops and even at Jacksonian banquets that the spoils must, as a matter of good policy, be taken away from a political party, let the teachers over the country take courage and start the young people in the schools to an examination of the system. Particularly let them be encouraged to make a study of the effects of spoils in the schools of the many cities of the country. May we not hear fewer biographies of old Greek and Roman

and middle-age heroes and more studies of living bosses. Let us hear less of patriotism in the abstract and more of the moral and material benefits that would result from the abolition of spoils in municipal affairs. Let us get a spirit in the youth of this country that would cause the callow demagogue who in this day and age pronounces the sentiment, "to the victor belongs the spoils," to be hissed down—of course in a gentlemanly and decorous manner.

PHILADELPHIA BOSSES AND SPOILS.

We have read that Philadelphia's moral sense has been shocked by the nude in art and by Trilby. But when it comes to those peculiar and intricate relations between business and politics, it has a moral digestion as all-embracing as the digestion of the ostrich is reputed to be. Mr. Herbert Welsh, whose heart has not yet failed after many efforts to induce his fellow-citizens to forget partisanship and to trample down bosses and spoils, said recently, in a public address in Minneapolis:

We of Philadelphia, where nearly the entire press of the city is either in open alliance or covert sympathy with the machine and the evil influences that cluster about it, are at present greatly hindered in our efforts to reach the ear of the public. We have no organ through which we can utter facts and arguments that we wish to lay before the voters.

Then he went home to do what he could to assist those who were trying to beat Quay's candidate for the nomination for mayor. Dave Martin, of whom the *CHRONICLE* readers may refresh their memories by consulting the index of its first volume, is the power to whom the committee of ninety-five made a vain protest against this nomination. The mayor has great power in Philadelphia. He appoints the head of the police department and the head of the public works department. The *New York Times*, in its issue of January 9, says, if Penrose, Quay's candidate, should be nominated:

Politicians who are ambitious to trade away public places for personal advancement will be equally glad. Corporations which own the city councils now, and only need to own the mayor to have such a grasp upon the city that they may be fairly said to own that, will expect to see their stocks advanced if Penrose is nominated. It is the common expectation that the councils will give the traction company, by the passage of a new ordinance, the ninety-odd miles of streets in the suburban districts, and that Mr. Penrose will help it along by allowing the ordinance to become a law. The members of council who are members of the electric lighting companies, or have established relations with these companies, or who are members of private firms which sell the city large quantities of gas, under directions from councils, will also be glad.

But now arises that curious Philadelphia press, moved by secret and unknown springs, when a boss is almost brought to his knees. The *Times* (democratic), in its issue of January 8th, forgets all partisanship and nobly rushes in to defend the man whom Quay and Dave Martin want to nominate.

"It was not the churches, nor was it the moral sentiment of the community that started the op-

position to Senator Penrose. It came from the jobbers, the contractors, the slums of political strife, and in the sensitive condition of the public mind carefully-invented scandals were welcomed by many good citizens without inquiring the source from whence they came. There has not been an assault upon the character of Senator Penrose that was not invented and systematically diffused by the worst political elements of the city. When they were presented to the public, every reputable newspaper of this city carefully investigated them and found them to be unwarranted."

And the *Times* added in conclusion: "We have but one purpose, but one interest, but one desire, and that is to secure the most upright, the most capable and the most courageous man within the range of selection for the office of mayor of Philadelphia. That man is Senator Boies Penrose."

The *Buffalo Express's* pertinent comments is—

"That is a pretty strong indorsement to come from the enemy, and the remarkable fact about it is that it is many times stronger than any indorsement given to him by any of the papers of his own party."

It is usually best not to interfere with any nomination a boss wants to make. The moral effect of a defeat at the polls is much greater than a caucus defeat. If Quay decides to follow the advice of the *Philadelphia Times*, and nominate that most "upright," "capable," and "courageous" man, Penrose, a greater victory can be won over him by Mr. Welsh and the reformers at the polls. If Quay is as astute as he is reputed to be, he will break the force of the reform movement by nominating one of those most respectable dummies—the helpless tool of bosses, high and low—that is always at hand.

Since the above was written, Dave Martin has defied Quay and refused to nominate Quay's man. It is said that Chris Magee, who has before met Quay, and has been defeated, is behind Martin. And now it stands that the reformers have made it possible to defeat Quay's candidate, and his rebelling henchman has nominated a man who, the *New York Times* says,

"Has been for much of his life an office-holder, more or less in touch with the men who were rebuked yesterday, though not of them. We have had such mayors in New York, and they have not been reforming or satisfactory mayors. The committee of ninety-five have confidence enough in Mr. Warwick to refrain from opposing him. They will accept and support him—some of them probably with misgivings."

A PRACTICAL POLITICIAN WHO HAS HAD ENOUGH.

[From the speech of Charles L. Jewett at the Jackson dinner, January 8, 1895.]

Never in the history of the party might one more truly say that he was proud to be a democrat than during the campaign that has just closed. Then, why these disasters? You know me for a partisan, one who has ever been an unyielding, zealous, blind partisan. While neither wanting nor seeking federal office myself, my keenest wish has been to see every post of honor and profit in all these states filled by a sound, earnest, deserving democrat. And you are also partisans. After all the years of toil, privation and defeat through which we marched to our first real victory in 1884, what words were so sweet to our ears

as those attributed to the great Marcy, "To the victors belong the spoils." And did we not, when we entered upon the cares of government, frequently declare as a profound political truth that the party charged with the responsibility of the government ought to have all the power? Was not much grandiloquent talk indulged about "the boys in the trenches" and all that sort of thing, by which was simply meant that when our man secured the presidency the offices and public employes should all be vacated by our opponents, and we, the true believers, the salt of the earth, at once enjoy all the contents of all the flesh pots? It is a beautiful theory. I held to it a long time, and it hurt my pride greatly to find it hollow, but the fact is this very fine theory has proved horribly disappointing in practice. Now, every man will admit, who is willing to admit the truth, that party patronage under existing conditions and as now distributed is a fatal source of party weakness. Its mere possession is a handicap, and its exercise invites disaster. Witness the result of the effort to enact democratic policies into laws during the last eighteen months. Observe how united a party, assembled at Washington, soon after the last inauguration, and proceeded to redeem one of the pledges upon which the election had been won by the repeal of a financial monstrosity called the Sherman act. And then note the hatred, jealousies and heart-burnings, which a year later resulted in the President being openly attacked on the floor of the senate, divided our leaders into factions, filled our newspapers with bold and bitter criticism of those in authority and brought anger and sorrow to the great mass of democratic voters everywhere. The cause of this is not to be found in any change of principle. It is not because of any change of men. Why were great senators exiled from the White House, and why did they, in turn, desert and baffle democratic measures and confuse and dishearten democrats everywhere? Simply because of the disappointments, jealousies and hatreds, arising out of the distribution of the party patronage. Instances might be multiplied, but what need to prove that there is no party advantage to be gained from a system so wretched that it drove the accomplished Conkling from the senate and sent the murdered Garfield to his bloody grave.

Let us see about the other false pretense by which the managers of the spoils system have pulled the wool over people's eyes. How about the "boys in the trenches?" How about those "victors" that demagogues glibly declare shall receive the spoils? Of all political lies and shams this is the meanest. It may well be denounced as a contemptible cheat, a confidence game which has been played on the masses of both parties until the limit of patience has been reached. The spoils do not go to the "victors," if by that term you intend to designate the great mass of working, earnest, worthy, modest democrats. On the contrary, these places are, as a rule, given to the

crafty, the persistent, the brazen; to dependents and incapables. With some honorable exceptions, men elected to congress by the dominant party act as if the simple fact of their elevation to the office of senator or representative gives them the absolute right to bestow all other places. And they proceed to do so, but how? Do they seek out the capable, worthy, deserving, working democrats? By no means. One class of these thrifty politicians fill these places with their favorites, relatives and flatterers. Another class bestows the places on such as have a "pull," such as have exercised or may have influence in precinct, county or congressional conventions.

All these office brokers agree to one thing, and that is that public office is a private perquisite. If you complain they whisper to you in great confidence that the President is acting very badly toward the party. If you seek an appointment, and can get the proper assistance from the great man who represents your district or state in one of the halls of congress, you will succeed, no matter how little you deserve from the party. On the other hand, if after years of faithful, earnest, modest work for the party you seek a place, you may as well throw your party service to the winds, for you must succeed by other methods. You must find favor in the eye of your master, this congressional middle man, or you will surely fail, no matter how long you have been getting cold and wet doing duty with the other "boys in the trenches." True, under this system it sometimes happens that an office is worthily bestowed. There have been admirable appointments made in our own state, but in the great majority of cases the most deserving applicant did not succeed, and some of the appointments are bad. Since then there is neither party strength nor justice to the individual in this system, ought the party and the President to longer endure its evil and odium? The position of President does greatly suffer in strength and dignity from the vexations incident to the struggle of rival politicians from the loss of support to his policy and administration, and from the scandalous clamor and abuse of the disappointed and vindictive. Few men have endured more in this regard than the great American who is now President of the United States and through no fault of his.

SPOIL.

A new congressman-elect in Ohio sent this dispatch to the fourth assistant postmaster-general: "Stop all appointments in this district until I can see you. I am elected."

* * *

The department is in receipt of your communication of the 22d inst., requesting that a lot of flower and garden seeds be sent to you for distribution among the women of your county, in order to influence the result of the election to be held next month, in reply to which I would say that the appropriation for the purchase of seeds, made to this department by the government, was not intended for any such purpose. To act upon your suggestions

would be to violate law and public decency. The democratic party was placed in power by the people on the assumption that it would act honestly and justly toward all the people, irrespective of political or religious beliefs, and if one were to choose some method for the destruction of the democratic party, I do not think that he could devise a scheme which, if carried out in detail, would more effectually do it than to listen to your suggestion.—*Letter of Agricultural Department to a Candidate for Congress, Washington dispatch, New York Times, October 22.*

* * *

The new republican governor of Iowa has just given an example of civil service reform by removing the state librarian, Mrs. Mary Miller. Mrs. Miller is a republican, and was appointed to office by Governor Martin. She performed her duties so acceptably that when Governor Boise came into office he retained her in her position. Now Governor Jackson removes her to make a place for the wife of a political friend who knows nothing whatever about library work.—*Indianapolis Sentinel, May 16, 1894.*

* * *

The collector of internal revenue for the district is Ben Johnson, a shrewd and able politician. Mr. Johnson is no mugwump, and announced, directly after his appointment, that an ax wouldn't be fast enough for him to cut off the heads of the republican office-holders in his district; he would use a guillotine.

The day after President Cleveland promulgated the order putting gaugers and storekeepers under the protection of the civil service laws, Mr. Johnson took the local newspapers into his confidence about his plan for evading the ruling. He said that as soon as he learned the rule would be promulgated he discharged all his men, then notified them if they would write him out their resignations, to take effect when he desired, he would reappoint them. They did so. The story was published with his knowledge and consent.—*Louisville (Ky.) dispatch Buffalo Express, December 17.*

* * *

Serious scandal has been disclosed in connection with the post-office at Stony Creek, east of this city. In last April, Richard Howd, a farmer, was made postmaster and has since been removed, though a remonstrance against his removal was extensively signed. *Howd now claims that he gave by check a local politician \$50 for Representative Pigott to secure the appointment, and that after it was obtained he was made drunk just at the time a postal inspector was brought to town, and as a result his successor was appointed. Representative Pigott denies absolutely that he was a party to the alleged conspiracy, and has asked the post-office department for an investigation.*—*New Haven dispatch, New York Evening Post, January 12.*

* * *

The *Leader* (rep.) here announces to-day as a new phase of the long and acrimonious fight

over the New Haven collectorship of customs, that Representative Pigott has indorsed for the place H. H. Babcock, a widely known Yale graduate living here. Mr. Pigott first indorsed James McGann, who was rejected by President Cleveland because he was a saloon keeper. J. Rice Winchell, the present republican collector, was asked by Secretary Carlisle to resign before the expiration of his term, but has persistently refused.—*New Haven dispatch, New York Evening Post, November 9.*

The President to-day appointed James F. Connelly, of New Jersey, collector of internal revenue for the fifth New Jersey district. Mr. Connelly was appointed on Senator Smith's indorsement. His appointment is the sixty-third appointment of an internal revenue collector since the incoming of the Cleveland administration. All the collectors now are democrats.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, November 1.*

First Assistant Postmaster General Jones and Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt, who have been investigating the alleged violations of the civil service law at the Lancaster post-office, ended their inquiry this afternoon. They found considerable conflicting testimony and they therefore decided to accept the situation in the office as it is at present, withdrawing all charges. No employes in the future will be disturbed on account of their political affiliations, and the postal and civil service laws will be strictly enforced.—*Lancaster, Pa., dispatch, New York Times, August 31.*

The agencies of the Pabst and Anheuser-Busch brewing companies at Terre Haute are making serious charges, in effect that the Terre Haute Brewing Company has a "pull" with the police, and that the police are warning saloon-keepers that if they do not handle Terre Haute beer their poker rooms will be raided. Fred Seidentopf, manager of the Anheuser-Busch agency, is very plain-spoken in these charges, he claiming that even the ill-resorts, which handle only bottled beer, and which have not even a government license warranting them to sell intoxicants to be drunk on the premises, through fear of police interference are barred from handling the St. Louis and Milwaukee products.—*Indianapolis News, February 21.*

THE CARDWILL CIVIL SERVICE BILL.

A BILL for an act to improve and regulate the employment of officers and persons in the service of the state and of the several counties, cities, and towns thereof.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That the governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, three persons to be commissioners of the civil service, who shall hold office for the term of four years from the date of commission, and until their respective successors shall have been appointed and shall have qualified. All appointments, both original and to fill any vacancy which may occur in the office of commissioner, shall be so made that at least one commissioner shall be appointed from

each of the two political parties casting the highest number of votes at the last preceding general election. The governor shall have power to remove any commissioner for cause stated by him in writing. The commissioners shall serve without pay except traveling and other expenses necessary to the discharge of their official duties.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of said commissioners to prepare rules consistent with the provisions of this act, and adapted to carry out the purposes thereof, for the selection of officers and persons to be employed in the service of the state and of the several counties, cities, and towns thereof; and said commissioners shall supervise the administration of the rules so established.

SEC. 3. The said commissioners shall appoint a chief examiner, removable by them for cause stated in writing, who shall, under their direction, superintend any examination held under this act, and shall perform such other duties as they may prescribe. Such chief examiner shall receive a salary of \$2,500 a year, and shall be paid his necessary traveling and other expenses incurred in the discharge of his official duty. They may also employ upon competitive examinations clerks and other assistants at a compensation to be fixed by them but not to exceed in all the sum of \$2,000 per annum. Every examination held shall be attended by the chief examiner or by some person authorized to attend the same under the rules of the commission. And said commissioners shall have power to make investigations regarding all matters necessary to the efficient execution of this act, and to issue and serve subpoenas, administer oaths, and examine witnesses, in all such investigations. The attendance of witnesses in such investigations shall be compelled when necessary, by order of the circuit court of the county in which said investigation is held, as in cases in said court.

SEC. 4. The rules mentioned in section 2 of this act may be made from time to time, and they shall provide among other things:

First. For the classification of the positions and employments to be filled.

Second. For open and competitive examinations by which to test applicants touching their practical fitness to discharge the duties of the positions which they desire to fill.

Third. For the selections of officers and persons for positions in said services in accordance with the results of said examinations.

Fourth. For promotion on the basis of merit previously ascertained by competition.

Fifth. For a period of probation before permanent appointment or employment.

Sixth. For reports to be given in writing by the appointing power to said commissioners of the person or persons appointed or employed, of rejections after probation, of transfers, resignations, suspensions and removals, and the dates thereof, and in the case of suspension or removal, of the cause thereof.

Seventh. For the transfer of officers and employes from any position in the service of the

state, or of any of the counties, cities or towns thereof, to any other position of the same grade in the service of the state, or of the county, city or town, in which such officers or persons may respectively be employed.

Eighth. For determining the moral, and where necessary, the physical fitness of applicants for examination.

SEC. 5. The said commissioners may appoint, and in their discretion remove, local examiners in places where examinations are to be held, who shall serve without pay.

SEC. 6. The said commissioners shall grade the competitors in the various examinations in the respective classes for which they are examined, make lists of the same accordingly, ranging from the highest downward, and shall re-arrange such lists after each examination. No name shall be retained in said lists longer than one year from the time of examination.

SEC. 7. Within three months after this act shall take effect the said commissioners shall, for the purpose of the examination herein provided for, arrange in one or more classes the offices and places of employment under the state, within the scope of this act. And at the end of said three months no person shall be appointed or promoted to any such office or place so classified until he shall have passed an examination in conformity herewith.

SEC. 8. The said commissioners, with the consent of the board of county commissioners, of any county in the state, shall, for the purpose of the examination herein provided for, arrange in one of more classes the whole or any part of the offices and places of employment in the service of any such county, within the scope of this act. And after such classification no person shall be appointed or admitted or promoted to any such office until he shall have passed an examination in conformity therewith.

SEC. 9. The said commissioners, with the consent of the common council of any city or of the board of trustees of any town in the state, shall, for the purposes of the examination herein provided for, arrange in one or more classes the whole or any part of the offices and places of employment in the service of such city or town within the scope of this act. And after such classification no person shall be appointed or admitted or promoted to any such office or place so classified until he shall have passed an examination in conformity therewith.

SEC. 10. Wherever an appointment is to be made in said classified service, the appointing power shall give notice of the same under the rules of the commissioners, and thereupon under said rules the three highest names from the corresponding list of examined persons, with their respective ratings, shall be certified to said appointing power, and one of said persons shall receive said appointment. If the appointment shall be given to any except to the person standing highest in the list the appointing power shall file with the commission the reason why the highest was not chosen.

SEC. 11. No question in any examination under the aforesaid rules shall relate to political opinions, and no appointment, suspension, or dismissal shall be affected by political reasons, influence, or affiliations. Examinations shall be practical and shall relate to matters which will fairly test the relative fitness of the applicants. The commissioners shall openly publish in all notices of examinations to be held that the competition is impartial to all, without regard to political opinions or affiliation.

SEC. 12. No recommendation or statement concerning any person applying for office or place under this act, except as to the character of the applicant, shall be received or considered by any person concerned in holding any examination or making any appointment under this act; and said recommendations or statements as to character shall be in writing.

SEC. 13. Elective or judicial officers, heads of any benevolent, penal or corrective institutions or of any of the principal departments of the state, or of any of the several counties, cities or towns thereof, teachers of the public schools, the private secretary of the governor or of the mayor of any city, and laborers shall not be affected as to their election or selection by any rules made as aforesaid.

SEC. 14. The said commissioners shall make a separate classification of the labor service under the state, and shall keep registers of deserving applicants for places in said labor service, and shall make rules for determining what applicants are entitled to have their names entered upon such registers. Such rules should guard against political or other favoritism in securing entry of names upon said register; but for meritorious reasons, such as having families to support, or where special qualifications are required, they may provide for preference for employment among those registered; otherwise laborers shall be employed in the order in which they stand on the respective registers. No laborer shall be discharged from said labor service for political reasons. The said commissioners shall in like manner classify the labor service of any county, city or town of the state with the consent of the board of commissioners of such county, or of the common council of such city, or of the trustees of such town.

SEC. 15. All notices and reports required herein, all recommendations concerning character, all lists of persons examined, with their respective ratings, all records of examinations, all examination papers, with the rating given to each answer marked thereon, and all records of said commissioners shall be open to public inspection.

SEC. 16. All expenses necessary to carry out this act shall be certified by the civil service commissioners and shall be paid by the treasurer of state upon an order from the auditor of state.

SEC. 17. The said commissioners shall be provided, under the direction of the governor, with an office, properly furnished, heated and lighted, in the state house, suitable for the

performance of the duties imposed by this act; and the county commissioners of counties, and the mayors of cities, and trustees of towns, where examinations are to be held, shall provide suitable places for holding the same.

SEC. 18. The said commissioners shall annually prepare and submit to the governor for transmission to the legislature, a report of all proceedings and expenses under this act, with their recommendations, for the printing of which report, for traveling expenses, and for stationery and necessary incidentals, they may incur an expense not exceeding \$2,500.

SEC. 19. The sum of \$7,000 is hereby annually appropriated out of any funds not otherwise appropriated for the payment of all expenses made necessary by this act.

SEC. 20. No senator, representative, alderman, councilman, town trustee, or any officer or employe of either of said bodies, and no executive or judicial officer of the state, and no clerk or employe of any department or branch of the government of the state, and no executive officer, clerk or employe of any department of any county, city or town government, shall personally, directly or indirectly, solicit or receive, or be in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription or contribution for any political purpose whatever: but this shall not be construed to forbid such persons to be members of political organizations or committees.

SEC. 21. No person shall, in any room or building occupied for the discharge of official duties by any officer or employe of the state, or any county, city or town thereof, solicit in any manner whatever, or receive any contribution of money or any other thing of value for any political purpose whatever.

SEC. 22. No officer or employe of the state, or any county, city, or town thereof, shall discharge, or promote, or degrade, or in any manner change the official rank or compensation of any other officer or employe, or promise or threaten to do so, for giving or withholding or neglecting to give or withhold any contribution of money or other valuable thing for any political purpose, nor for any other political reason whatever.

SEC. 23. No person shall solicit or be concerned in soliciting any contribution for any political purpose from any officer or employe of the state or of any county, city, or town therein, nor shall any such officer or employe solicit any such contribution from any person whatever.

SEC. 24. Whoever willfully violates or attempts to violate any of the provisions of this act or any of the rules lawfully established in pursuance thereof shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$1,000, or to imprisonment of not less than six days nor more than two months.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Of Secretary Smith's recommendation that the civil service rules be extended to the sci-

entific bureau of the interior department, the *Chattanooga Times* (dem.) says: "Let the good work proceed. Whatever else is happening about now to the democratic party, it is still in position to round out a magnificent work for the honor of the country, that it began in 1882 when it passed through congress a practical law for the taking of patronage away from the power of cheap, nasty politicians, and putting the servants of the people beyond the control of those who used them as mere stock in trade."

* * *

The spoils politician will object strenuously to the recommendation that fourth-class postmasters be brought under the civil service regulations. The postmaster-general, however, says that if postmasters of that class were removed for cause only the result would be a vast improvement in the post-office service, and there is no doubt that the statement is correct. It is difficult to get competent men to accept the little post-offices that pay \$50 to \$100 a year, and when a competent man gets one of those offices he ought to be allowed to hold it as long as he wants it. The good of the service should be aimed at. The wishes and interests of the spoilsmen should not have any weight.—*Savanna (Ga.) News* (dem.).

* * *

Rebuking the *St. Louis Republic* (dem.) for its persistent attacks on the civil service law, the *Atlanta Journal* (dem.) says: "The tendency is not towards the repeal of the civil service law, but towards its extension. There is no doubt that it will before long include the consular service and probably other departments not now under its rules. No political party will ever be foolish enough to go to the country as the avowed enemy of this law. It has come to stay and all efforts to repeal it will be as futile as commands to the waves of the sea."—*New York Evening Post*, January 9.

* * *

R. E. Bliss, of Sherman, is probably the oldest man in the railway mail service in Western New York, if not in the State. He completed his 21st year on April 23, and on account of his great efficiency in the service, he has steadily maintained his position, except for one year under President Cleveland's former administration, ever since he entered the service in 1873. Mr. Bliss's present run is with the fast mail between Cleveland and Chicago.—*Buffalo Express*, May 7, 1894.

THE CHURCH AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

It [the church] hasn't given sufficient attention to its civic duties; it has failed to assert itself in the domain of politics and become a leader in the reform movements of the day, and in this double negligence it must plead guilty of a shameful lack of patriotism and public spirit. * * * And right here I wish to controvert the stupid notion that ministers should not preach politics, and should keep quiet on all subjects not technically known as spiritual. My candid opinion is that a more pestilential doctrine never en-

tered the church, and has done incalculable damage to society by sealing the lips of the ministry and retarding the progress of various reforms. In these days the press is the coadjutor of the pulpit, whenever the preacher really has something to say.—*Rev. John L. Scudder, of Jersey City, before the Maryland Convention of Christian Endeavorers, October 25, 1894.*

* * *

Rev. Thomas J. Ducey, Rector of St. Leo's Roman Catholic Church, in a signed statement as to the great victory of the reform movement at last Tuesday's election, says:

"I have been asked to say something in review of the victory gained last Tuesday by truth, honesty, honor and religion over the fraudulent, impure and gross methods of Tammany Hall.

"Until Tuesday last this hall was the tyrant and disgrace of our city, and by its methods was poisoning the life of the country. I can not refuse to give my expression of thanks for the good work done by the press of the country. Their news columns and editorial pages have been most powerful factors in bringing about the emancipation of New York from the slavery of Tammany's corrupt methods. 'I am a democrat,' but for the first time in my life I voted the straight state republican and reform ballot, as I believed it the only way to coffin corruption and wrong in this great city of New York."—*New York Times, November 11, 1894.*

* * *

"No cry about religious liberty from the principal of the Maynard theft can make the people forget that now before them stands that principal awaiting his punishment. Was it not this theft, rewarded as it was with a seat in the United States senate, that inspired and encouraged the members of his organization to the carnival of crime against the suffrage which swept over the State last fall, filling the prisons from Gravesend and lower New York, brutally murdering the citizen in Troy, debauching the ballot in all the cities under their control? Pretended imaginary dangers of religious liberty can not make the people forget the shame of Gravesend, New York, Troy and Buffalo.

"When infamous corruption so seizes upon a municipality that the knowledge of the facts come into the possession of every citizen, it would be sad in the extreme if the great body of Catholic churchmen must be forced to stand by this corruption. To-day no man, high or low, can plead ignorance of the foulness disclosed by the Lexow committee's revelation of Tammany's rule of New York City.

"Nameless vices and beastialities have been carefully cherished and tenderly protected by this organization; the merchant has been blackmailed, the unfortunate has been robbed, the very poor have been brutally outraged and humiliated in every possible manner. To-day is there any one standing between this organization and overwhelming, ignominious defeat? Is there any man or set of men so

blind, so infatuated as not to foresee the terrible outburst of public wrath that will meet any effort to thwart the righteous indignation of the aroused citizens?

"Catholics surely can not afford to connect their religion with such infamies. Catholics, because of their religion, must help wipe out such rotten associations. They can not follow the men who have done all this wrong if they love the republic and mean to live here in the confidence and respect of patriotic citizens."—*Rev. Sylvester Malone, Catholic divine and regent of the State University of New York, November 2, 1894.*

* * *

It is somewhat remarkable that while other religious bodies have recognized and indorsed Dr. Parkhurst's efforts in behalf of political reform in New York, the first effort to obtain such an indorsement from the church of which he is a member should have failed. In the *New York Presbytery*, on Monday, a member proposed that a committee be appointed to draw up suitable resolutions on the subject. "What's that?" asked a reverend objector. When informed that it was a proposed recognition of Dr. Parkhurst's work for reform he at once declared his opposition to the motion. He said that inasmuch as Christ did not enter into social reform movements and the whole business of Christ's ministry was preaching the gospel he should feel that he had not discharged his duty if he did not say that the presbytery had no more right to take notice of what Dr. Parkhurst was doing than it had to take notice of what any other good citizen was doing, outside of the work of the ministry. The objecting brother evidently forgot that even Christ once suspended his preaching long enough to drive the money-changers and hucksters out of the temple and overthrow their tables. [The resolution has since been passed in a recent meeting.]

THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOOTERS.

Two years ago there sat in a room in East Fourteenth street a gentleman who, though only a private citizen holding no public office, was recognized as the real ruler of this city and state. * * * At the same time there sat in the office of a business corporation, on lower Broadway, another private citizen; private citizen and voter of Tioga county, doing business in this town. His power was not so large as Mr. Croker's, for his party was in the minority in both city and state, but he had an intimate knowledge of and acquaintance with the active managing politicians of both parties throughout the state, and had made the infinitesimal details of political management an unceasing, sleepless study. He, too, sat beside a button and a bell. He talked rather more than Croker, for, unlike, Croker, he enjoyed intensely, beyond the mere sense of power, the intoxication of the footlights, and the consciousness of the index finger of the public. But he listened as well. He listened to candidates for office, to ambitious young men who gave promise of future usefulness,

and to the older politicians who had attained prominence and influence, and were already factors of consequence in the game of politics. If they wanted nominations he touched his button and communicated his wishes to his lieutenants—for he, too, had gathered round himself a well-disciplined corps of followers, whom a common aim and common purpose had cemented together without any machinery of organization such as Croker had—and the thing was done. *If they were already in nomination and wanted money to carry on their campaign, he rang his bell and called down some wealthy corporation for a contribution, with an understanding, express or implied, that the consideration for the same was a mortgage on the candidate.* And he did it always with a sweet graciousness which invariably heightened the sense of obligation, allusion to which was carefully avoided. And whenever it was deemed necessary in his own or the interest of his followers to have an understanding with the other cool, clear-headed leader in East Fourteenth street, he touched the button and they came together. That, too, was an enormous power; little less than Croker's. On the 6th of the present month the voters of this city and state—more especially of this city—gave concrete expression to their hostility, not to the two men who have been its most conspicuous exponents, but to the system itself, of bossism. It was in the nature of a political revolution. The voters astonished themselves by its magnitude. But they are not so much astonished that they fail to comprehend its meaning. And they will not be balked in the fulfillment of their purpose.—*New York Tribune (rep.) in November.*

* * *

The whispering to which we have referred relates, it is believed, to some as yet undeveloped scheme by which to defeat the determination of the voting citizens of this town to drive out of office and off from the pay-rolls, every official who holds his place directly from Tammany, or through any deal or dicker with its leaders. Current rumor connects the name of ex-Senator Thomas C. Platt with this as yet undeveloped scheme. * * If any such negotiations as those hinted at are in progress, or if in any quarter there is the remotest possibility of their being entered into, for any purpose whatever—and unfortunately, Mr. Platt's reputation as a political trader, who has previously had mysterious secret understandings with Tammany leaders, gives color to the suspicion—it is best that the matter be thoroughly discussed at the earliest moment. * * The temper of the voters will not permit any favor to be shown or any quarter to be given either to the rogues who have ruled the town or the trading politicians who have had commerce with them. Mr. Platt has made it necessary to discuss freely his relations to politics and parties by his constant assumption of leadership, and the persistence with which he thrusts himself into prominence, as well as by the bad eminence he has attained as a trading politician.—*New York Tribune (rep.) in November.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 24.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE is one of the beneficiaries of the public spirit that prompted Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, to devote to public purposes the money which he received in connection with the investigation of the public institutions.

THERE is no chance for mistake as to what is best, and as to what is the only correct method in dealing with the benevolent and penal institutions of this state. The merit and labor service systems as practiced in the federal service, have proven themselves infinitely above all other systems and as the only systems now known which can eradicate politics in the transaction of public business. No half-way application of these methods, such as a general direction to the different boards to apply them, will be worth anything. This will be understood to be a mere trick to beat these reforms under the pretense of adopting them. To show the futility of such a direction, suppose the federal law had instructed each postmaster to apply these methods. The result would have been a travesty. The right system is a thorough and honest system, that comprehends the whole state service, and leaves no room for republican bosses to work in their henchmen, and that is what this republican legislature, notwithstanding the volume of republican promises, does not mean to adopt if it can help it. This comprehensive system will finally, however, be adopted in Indiana.

THE republican party of Indiana is undergoing a test of which it does not seem to realize the importance. We have, month after month, set out some of the party's reform promises and have sent the CHRONICLE to every member of the general assembly. The party has in that body a large majority and can do anything it wants to do. The members have not been button-holed or coaxed by reformers. They have been told in a straightforward manner what the party has promised, and it now rests with them to say whether those promises were made to be kept or whether the party representatives in the general

assembly are a mere band of mercenaries. It must be confessed that the proceedings in the senate on February 15, when the bill forbidding railroads to give passes was defeated, goes far to prove that the members are a band of mercenaries. The author of the bill had to promise not to ask for a roll-call on the vote in order to get his bill reported at all by the committee. When brought forward in the senate it was literally howled out of existence, and Lieutenant-Governor Nye seemed to lend a helping-hand. Many legislators before have thought that the people cared nothing for bribery and corruption and have found themselves mistaken. Every railroad pass given to any public officer, in whatever office, is either a bribe or it is blackmail, and no amount of casuistry, subterfuge or bluster, can make anything else of it.

IF the party is the reform party it has claimed to be, it will pass a corrupt practice act which will require a record of every cent spent in a campaign, whether for nomination or election, and will make it a public record. There is no other single blow which would strike out so much corruption. For more than a month the party has had before it in the general assembly a bill introduced by Mr. Cardwill which embodies the best methods now known for civil service management; yet it has never been reported by the committee. Instead, the party has met in caucus and has resolved to "take possession" of the benevolent and penal institutions of the state. The full meaning of this is that the party means to loot the two or three thousand places in these institutions for the benefit of the members of the general assembly, and of other party bosses. A man whom they call "Jack" Gowdy, who is chairman of the party state committee, and therefore at the head of the party machine, is doing his utmost to bring the party to this act of treachery. In the CHRONICLE for October, 1892, will be found a circular put forth by Gowdy, addressed to government employes, calling for money and containing this threat, "The success of the ticket is involved, as well as the pleasant conditions about you. * * * We confidently expect you to give generous assistance." Gowdy is a fit leader in this mercenary onslaught which proposes to disregard the welfare of the powerless

prisoner, the feeble-minded, the soldiers' orphan children, and the insane. Ex-President Harrison has openly declared himself against the proposed course and for a civil service law. The Indianapolis Journal is doing what it can to stem the tide. Mr. Fairbanks and other prominent leaders have not been publicly heard from. The result means much for the republican party in Indiana. While the loot of the public institutions goes on, if it does go on, there will not be wanting those who will keep all the facts before the people.

ONE phase of the situation, when the party in power is cursed as now in New York and in Indiana by pirates and adventurers, is that these men are incapable of regeneration. They are numerous, they are powerful, they control the party machine and therefore the party actions and just now they are insolent with victory. Moreover, they care nothing for success under other conditions than that the spoils shall be divided. Patriotism, honest administration and political principles are nothing to them. If the party can not succeed in their way and then follow their plan of a loot of the public treasury, they want the party to fail. The republican party to-day is loaded down with such men. It will have to put them under or go down with them.

THE furious frenzy over spoil is illustrated by the visit of Thomas Taggart, of the state democratic committee, and George Shanklin, to Washington, to get the Mexican mission for Editor Shanklin. While Minister Gray's dead body is being brought from Mexico, there is this unseemly jostling for the place of a political associate. Says the *Indianapolis Sentinel* naively: "Mr. Taggart will present the petition of the Indiana democrats urging Mr. Shanklin's appointment, during the week, and will return previous to the time of the funeral of the dead minister."

In the issue of February 21, the *Sentinel's* Washington correspondent goes on to say that Voorhees and Turpie and Congressmen Taylor and Brown, Chairman Taggart and Tax Commissioner Allen called at the White House on the 20th. That "the petition for the appointment of Mr. Shanklin was not presented out of respect for the memory of Minister Gray." Then fol-

lows this curious information, which must be regarded as the new etiquette of the Indiana democratic court ceremonial. "It was understood," the *Sentinel* says, "that the visit was one of ceremony on the part of those who made it to show the President the respect of the democracy for its dead leader." After "expressions of sorrow" had been passed "on either side," this ceremonial committee of Indiana pirates composed their faces and got down to business and informed the President that the Indiana democrats "would present a man," and then they proceeded to "mention Mr. Shanklin." The *Sentinel* says the "President showed flattering respect for the opinions of the visitors." As the CHRONICLE always means to be fair, it is bound to add that the Indianapolis *Journal's* Washington correspondent says that Private Secretary Thurber "was at no pains to conceal his indignation," and that Mr. Cleveland "greeted the delegation very coldly," and promptly informed Taggart "that he knew all he wanted to know about Mr. Shanklin." In fact, according to the *Journal* account, the President nearly kicked the delegation out of doors. We doubt very much, however, whether the Indiana democrats will perceive anything comic or indecent in the occurrence.

SENATOR WILLIAM F. VILAS, of Wisconsin, is at his old tricks again. Congressman Bynum, whom the people of this district lately so unmercifully disposed of, got a bill through the house reinstating a set of discharged democrats in the railway mail service. It was a measure of the worst kind with a viciousness of the usual Bynum stripe. Vilas took charge of the bill in the senate and the other day quietly asked the unanimous consent for its consideration, describing it as a "short bill unanimously reported by the committee." Nobody paid any attention, but as the clerk was rattling the bill off, Senator Lodge, busy with other matters, caught the words "civil service commission," and instantly objected, and Vilas's snap movement came to an end. Vilas is an old and steadfast friend of the enemies of civil service reform. In his famous secret circular opening up the system of secret charges for the removal of fourth-class postmasters, in 1885, he dealt the first Cleveland administration, of which he was a cabinet member, its first and ugliest blow and he has since made his acts square with that act.

THE civil service commission has just made public its letter to Secretary Carlisle calling his attention to the fact that since July 1, 1893, he had removed 88 women who had obtained their places by competition. Seventy of these were col-

ored women. All were printers' assistants, of whom the entire number is 367. Also that in the year preceding June 30, 1894, 45 women, including 10 colored women, were passed over upon certification without selection. In the preceding administration appointments were made from the highest on the list, and in five years they were only 18 dismissals of women. At present there are only 8 colored women remaining, and of those dismissed there was no charge of misconduct. The Carlisles seem to be at their usual congenial business. But it is a very dirty business.

At the late election it was known in every corner of the country that the people of New York City had deliberately gone outside of party machines and had nominated and elected a man for mayor with the sole object of eliminating politics, partyism, bossism and an enormous load of corruption from their city government. Mayor Strong, to carry out this idea, has lately made some very important appointments and has chosen men who seemingly will do what the people intended. This was the most natural thing in the world to do, and any other course would have convicted Mayor Strong of infamous treachery. Yet on account of these appointments, Tom Platt, Judge Jake Patterson, Wicked Gibbs, Abe Gruber, Charley Hackett, chairman of the republican state committee, and the whole crowd of Platt's members of the state legislature are "sick." For several days in the legislature scarcely any business could be done, but the members gathered in groups and talked as though a crushing public calamity had come. This is a good measure of the work which has yet to be done. The people are not dissatisfied; they are greatly pleased. But the republican machine, made up of Platt men and completely in Platt's grip, is dissatisfied to exasperation, and it has great power for harm. The belief is yet prevalent through all the rotten highways and by-ways of the city government that Plattism will yet triumph and that politics, with all the accompaniments which the late investigation brought to light, will resume its sway. There is only one course for voters to pursue. Plattism must be killed everywhere, or the republican party organization must be destroyed. That organization now thinks it is invincible, but if it continues to espouse Plattism, citizens without organization may and will fearlessly invite the contest.

MAYOR STRONG, of New York, has given the CHRONICLE a great vindication. It strenuously maintained at the beginning of President Cleveland's present term, that if he would notify congressmen that

there were no fourth-class post-offices to be divided as spoil, nor any reorganization of those offices to be made until congress, by legislation, had provided for taking them out of politics and would then sit down, the people would see to it that congress enacted the legislation. The opportunity was let to pass as seemingly not worth a thought. Mayor Strong came into office with a city government full of Tammany officials, and of everything which the whole world now understands by Tammanyism. To accomplish any reform here, also, legislation was necessary, and Platt controlled the legislature. The mayor refused to dicker, or make promises, or enter into deals. The Platt machine waited, and made excuses, and tried tricks until at last, whipped along by the threatening attitude of the people, it had to pass a power of removal bill, giving the mayor the full authority which he is now exercising to their infinite disgust. As Mayor Strong triumphed, President Cleveland might have triumphed.

Few things have done more to belittle successive Presidents and reduce them to the level of smart politicians than the repeated practice of extending the civil service rules over groups of offices after they have filled them with their partisans. There has heretofore been the excuse that other offices were filled with partisans of the other party. But that can not be urged now in excuse of President Cleveland's failure to extend the rules over the three hundred new deputy collectorships before the places were filled. It was supposed, and it had been given out from Washington, that the spoils system was done for. Yet there is now going on a bare-faced and disgraceful loot of three hundred places of the highest importance. This is politics of the most offensive form. The competitive system would have been an ideal method of filling these places. The new officials are to manage the income tax, which is odious in every feature. It was of the first importance that the men who were to collect it should be free from the suspicion of being anybody's or any party's men. Instead, we are to have the usual crop of tools of political bosses, with enemies to punish and friends to reward. The following dispatch from Lexington, Ky., shows how these offices are being filled:

Desha Breckinridge, son of Representative W. C. P. Breckinridge, has been appointed income-tax collector of the Lexington (Ky.) district by Collector Shelby, father of Col. Breckinridge's law partner. Young Breckinridge made himself notorious during the electioneering canvass in the Ashland (Ky.) district, which resulted in the defeat of his father for renomination, by William C. Owen. Among the men with whom Desha Breckinridge quarreled was ex-Judge George Kincaid, a supporter of Owen on whom he drew a knife, on the streets

of Lexington. He was disarmed before he could do any damage. Col. Shelby, the son of the collector, who has named young Breckinridge as one of his assistants, has also been concerned in an affray, since the celebrated Ashland canvass, and during the Pollard-Breckinridge trial at Washington, he was mixed up in a discreditable court scene, and was rebuked by the presiding judge.

THE civil service reformers of Buffalo are refreshingly straightforward and plain-spoken, and this same candor may be found in the utterances of the Buffalo *Express*, which is a republican paper and an anti-spoils paper. It does not flinch from rebuking the republican mayor. Mr. Jewett won his election on his pledge that "municipal government is business, not politics." Like too many men of high social and business standing introduced into new and close political relations with clever bosses, he appears to be falling by the wayside. He removed Harbormaster Doyle, an efficient man, a democrat, and put in his place an inexperienced man, a republican, although marine-men protested against the removal. He removed twelve democratic bridge tenders and then filled their places with republican politicians, certifying that there was no eligible list instead of waiting for an eligible list. This looks very like a trick. Instead of excusing Mayor Jewett on the ground of "tremendous pressure" and that he has been "misled by bad advisers," a speaker at a recent meeting said, "If what Mayor Jewett is quoted in the newspapers as saying in defense of his appointments is correct, and I have every reason to believe it is, then he and the good government clubs are at war, and no disguise should be made of the fact. No armed truce should be maintained. Our position should be pronounced and strong."

This is the way to talk. We must have a high standard for our public men, and when they fall short they must be told of it, no matter how much it hurts us to be disagreeable and them to hear us.

WHEN President Harrison was paying the political committeemen with offices, there were, if we remember correctly, loud protests and innuendoes about the Indiana way of doing things. Massachusetts appears to have even surpassed the Indiana way. Within a few days we read how Daniel F. Buckley, for years secretary of the democratic state committee and latterly chairman of the executive committee, gets the surveyorship of the port of Boston. Mr. Robinson, who succeeded Mr. Buckley as secretary, has been selected by United States Marshal Swift as one of his deputies, and so the democratic state committee will have to be equipped with a new secretary and chairman of its executive committee.

Moreover Massachusetts has further ret-

rograded. No faithful federal officers appear to be re-appointed. We used to hear in Indiana a good deal about local option in civil service reform, and Massachusetts explained her better condition as owing to a more enlightened and exacting public opinion. The shock of President Harrison's failure to continue General Corse in the Boston post-office, and Colonel Rice in the Springfield office, bore out this view; but week after week we have read of faithful officers being displaced in that state, and untried politicians appointed over faithful subordinates. Recently the competent assistant postmaster of Chicopee, who had practically run the office for years, was not promoted, but so bad an appointment was made that the disgusted citizens have called upon the senate to reject the appointment. The "faithful incumbent" of the office of surveyor, at Springfield, had to make way for a new man, "indorsed by John E. Russell," and a retiring county treasurer will succeed to a new office as the surveyor's deputy. The root of the matter is, that the good appointments and general care for Massachusetts, in Mr. Cleveland's first administration, and these bad political appointments for the democratic machine in his last administration, are based on the same radically vicious plan—appointments made upon private recommendations. It is the same bad principle, whether John E. Russell or the late George M. Stearns make recommendations, carefully thinking of the whole democratic party, or whether Josiah Quincy selects with a view only to strengthening the machine.

THE republican mayor of Boston, Mr. Curtis, selected an able civil engineer for superintendent of streets and an experienced business man for fire commissioner, and he re-appointed the city auditor, engineer, treasurer, and collector, capable men, but democrats. He also ordered heads of departments to notify him of vacancies before filling them, interpreted by the *Boston Journal* as meaning that "spoilsism will not be permitted anywhere." A blunt and frank spoilsman, Jesse M. Gove, rebuked this order of things at a recent political banquet. "From the man who picks in the sewer, to the head of the greatest department, you must have men in sympathy with you, to have a successful administration," he said. The *Boston Journal*, a strong partisan republican newspaper, tells him he is a "survival," that the "species to which he belongs is by no means extinct, but among republicans it is fast becoming so." But is not the Jesse Gove type less dangerous than the Olney type? Gove would feel no repugnance to the job of using the political axe himself on the men in the sewers and upwards.

The attorney-general appears to shun the commonness of a personal contact with patronage, but we find no civil service reformer who feels any confidence in his technical and unfriendly interpretations of the civil service law, a mistrust possibly intensified by the fact that he can remain an active director of a railroad upon which, as attorney-general, he might be required to enforce the provisions of the federal inter-state commerce law. Men like Gove have been frank allies of the spoils system, but the shifting of parties since 1884 has brought out a number of conspicuous theoretical anti-spoils men like Attorney-General Olney, who appear to be compelled to stab civil service reform upon contact.

IN the fact that congressmen hate to forego the power and authority of allotting spoil, the *Indianapolis News* recently gave the real reason why they continue to be hostile to all reform legislation, though they fully realize the danger and weakness it is to a party as well as to themselves. The smaller the man of course the more he loves to have his fellow-men fawn and cringe and serve to buy his favor. This pride and vanity is the sort of madness the gods bestow before they destroy a man, as Josiah Quincy will sadly learn. He has felt the satisfaction of having strings of followers in his ante-room patiently waiting their turn to present their claims for recognition. With so much power that he can place his men in offices over the protests of a majority of his own party personally interested in any office, why should he not swell with triumph? Every one else knows that Massachusetts will surely in time gather herself together to chastise severely any boss, but most severely will she chastise the boss evolved from a reformer.

WHY does not some friend of civil service reform reprint in pamphlet form "The Office Seeker," by Bret Harte; "The Plum Idiot," by Octave Thanet; "A Fourth-class Post-office," by Margaret Deland and "Brooks: A Story of the Civil Service," by Julia Schayer; and that charming story of Mr. Chaplin's about the Italian colony and the Boston custom house, the name of which we can not recall? There should be a short preface emphasizing the baseness of the spoils system as revealed truthfully in these stories, and there should be an appeal to the reader to join the Anti-Spoils League. These tracts should be sent north and south, east and west, among ministers and school teachers and high school students, and we might rest assured we could have no more effective missionaries in the field. There has been far too little of the work that appeals

to the emotions in the fight for the merit and competitive systems. The money raised has for years been the generous offering of the same friends of the reform. Is there no one who can raise among the more recent friends of good government enough money for a more wide-spread propaganda?

WE have received the abstract of the monthly report of the secretary of the New York Civil Service Reform Association containing many interesting facts. In the federal service the recent orders of the President add to the competitive list 8,167 places, including four chiefs of divisions. When the 300 additional deputy collectors are appointed there will be in all 1,213 offices of this grade in the internal revenue department and all of them spoils. The boards of trade of nearly all of the large cities of the country have resolved in favor of putting the consular service out of politics. There are about 200,000 persons in the civil service of the United States. Civil service bills are now pending in the legislatures of Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota.

Persons interested in the subject will find much in these monthly reports which they can receive by forwarding their names to the secretary, George McAneny, 54 William street, New York.

It seems to be generally taken as a matter of fact that Comptroller Trusler, of this city, is laying his plans to run as the successor of Mayor Denny. Just what manner of boss the community may, in the event of his election, live under is illustrated from the following from the Indianapolis News of September 2, 1891. Trusler, when a member of the common council, demanded that a captain twenty-two years in the fire department be dismissed:

"Isn't he a good republican?" asked Chief Dougherty.

"Yes."

"Isn't he a good fireman?"

"Yes."

"Well, why should he be dismissed?"

"Because he is no friend of mine."

This was the exalted plan under which the department was run when Trusler was boss and when he was perfecting a scheme to have the appointing power taken from the chief and absolutely lodged in himself—or his board, which he dominated.

COMMUNISM OF SPOIL.

THE New York Tribune, purified by a late conversion from Plattism, continues to warn its readers how close has been the connection of Tom Platt with Tammany. For years other people have been trying in vain to convince the patriotic partisans of this connection. The following from the New York Times of October 7, 1891, il-

lustrates the fraternity of Platt and Tammany:

T. C. Platt, of Tioga, who runs the republican party in the city of New York as well as in the state, announced yesterday that it had been determined that the republicans should nominate a straight ticket locally.

Platt's announcement that there is to be a straight local republican ticket means a walk-over for Tammany in local affairs, and no one knows this better than Mr. Platt of Tioga, whose orators are making the fight against Tammany in the state. Platt says that "the republican party is perfectly sincere in its desire to rout Tammany out of office and depose it from power both in city and state."

"There are some very funny things in politics," said an observer yesterday when he read this declaration of Mr. Platt's. "Let me see, how long is it since T. C. Platt stopped making deals with Tammany? Not more than two years, is it? How was it that the bill increasing the number of police justices in 1889 was passed? Wasn't Mr. Taintor appointed a police justice as a result of the deal on this bill, and wasn't Mr. Platt the man who made that deal with Tammany in behalf of the republicans? I don't say that Taintor was Platt's man, but Platt expected to get three police justices out of the deal and he was particularly strenuous in his effort to get Mayor Grant to reappoint Police Justice Jacob M. Patterson.

"Why, it is not two years since Mr. Platt was in the mayor's private office laboring with the mayor to reappoint Patterson. Mr. Grant wouldn't do it. Some of the Tammany people thought that the mayor should yield the point. Mr. Platt cried out that faith was not being kept with him by Tammany and the mayor. Even this cry did not save Patterson. He was not reappointed.

"The result of the mayor's refusal to name Mr. Patterson was rather curious. It was not long after Mr. Platt's last visit to the mayor's office that the senate committee on cities was made up and care was taken to put Senator J. Sloat Fassett upon it. It was not long after that that the republican senate resolved that its committee on cities should investigate all the cities in the state. It never visited any city but the city of New York, did it?"

THE collusion of bosses of the different political parties is one of the commonplaces of politics and yet they can always fool the bulk of respectable men who have ordinary shrewdness regarding questions outside of politics. Steve—now Senator—Elkins and Gorman have been for years in close association. The following from the New York Evening Post illustrates the same intimacy of bosses in San Francisco:

"Chris" Buckley, who controls the democratic machine, is notable as the "blind boss," the loss of his eyesight not having injured his capacity for pulling wires and laying pipes. The republican boss is "Colonel" Burns (with the "Colonel" always put in quotation marks), who was once clerk of an interior county,

and went out leaving a deficit for his bondsmen to make up, and was afterward secretary of state, with the result of losing the state \$31,000. The courts failed to determine who committed the theft, but the San Francisco Bulletin, a republican newspaper, says that "there is no doubt on the outside about it." The blind boss of the democrats and the defaulting boss of the republicans are hand in glove, and the honest men in both parties are trying to secure their overthrow by a non-partisan movement.

FOOLS AND THEIR FOLLY.

Indiana is now in the full enjoyment of rare specimens of public wisdom. Governor Matthews says that if he appoints the boards for the public institutions, he will put two democrats and one republican upon each, as though the quality of the political opinions of members of these boards should have something to do with their treatment of the criminal, the insane and the feeble-minded. The republican members of the general assembly in caucus declare that the plain meaning of the words "non-partisan boards" in their platform last fall is that such boards must have two republican partisans and one democratic partisan, and they are evidently going to enact this meaning into a law. If they had anything but the worst political motives, they would not care what the politics of the boards were, but would enact a law which would prevent the boards from using the state service as spoil.

They propose also to postpone the time of the election of the county superintendents of schools to a date when the new township trustees largely republican who elect by counties will be in office and can select republican superintendents. When this proposition was debated in the state senate, Senator "Al" Wishard, from this county, said:

"You are talking to the wind. You know what we intend to do. We have the power, and we will use it. There are seventy-three county superintendents whom we can elect, and we propose to have them. Ours is the party in power. The people will hold us responsible for the conduct of the schools, and we will have our way, if we are responsible."

"Do you mean to say that it is the intention of the majority of this senate to make the public schools of this state political?"

"To this extent, we do."

Who shall answer these fools according to their folly? Such fools have been answered before, and will be again. In the meantime the situation illustrates how we are governed. There is not a thing on the part of the republicans in these controversies except a struggle for opportunities to work henchmen into the public employ. The weight of the republican press of the state is heavily against these unworthy and treacherous representatives of the peo-

le; but they do not care for that; they are "in politics for what there is in it." It is not the first time that the people have been cheated in choosing representatives. This instance affords a new overwhelming argument that a voter should hold himself absolutely independent of any party machine. Successive defeats will finally drive out of public life the men who now control these machines.

POLITICAL ARCHITECTURE.

THE CHRONICLE has before called attention to the spoils architecture of this country, involving an enormous waste of public funds, and bringing into existence a lot of public monstrosities. The architects of the country have been protesting against the abuse, and the McKaig bill, leaving the administrative portion of the public architecture in the department and dividing and entrusting the artistic part of the work to the best architects of the country, represent their views. They find that somebody at Washington has thwarted their plans. Logan Carlisle appears to be the object of their suspicion. We had the Raum boys, and then we had young Carlisle; and it seems probable that we shall have to bear this upstart spoilsman two years longer, for he is a bigger man than his father, too big apparently for the President to kick out of the department he has scandalized. Possibly for two years more this large and generous country will freely provide funds for this bullying spoils monger's architecture.

Says Montgomery Schuyler in the July Forum:

The architect who has for forty years had the spending of two millions and a half a year, and with it the unchallenged power to play any pranks he chose with the public architecture, and to debauch the taste of the American public from Maine to California, has been the successor and representative of the clerk-of-works of the treasury building. With an influence much beyond that of any European ministry of public works, he is a clerk, holding office at the pleasure of the secretary of the treasury, unrecognized by law except in the annual appropriations, and with no guarantee whatever of his professional competency, except that the secretary of the treasury has seen fit to appoint him.

The position of supervising architect was offered to John M. Carrere, and two hundred architects urged him to accept the position. He made a thorough investigation of the possibilities of the position, and felt obliged to decline it on the ground that under the present conditions nothing could be accomplished. The following is an extract from his letter to Secretary Carlisle, and shows how shameful is the abuse of a great opportunity:

The work of this department, irrespective of its present organization, or of any improvement that could be made in the same, comprises a staff of about 150 employes, their duties comprising (1) a legal department having charge of all contracts, purchases of sites, deeds, interpretation of laws, classification of the same, and other legal matters relating specifically to this department; (2) an exten-

sive system of accounting, burdened by the vast number of small accounts, resulting from the maintenance and repairs of buildings, and needing a very great amount of detail; (3) the technical or drafting division, in which all computations of quantities and cost of work are made, auditing of all accounts, all original designs and working drawings; specifications and calculations comprising both the artistic and practical work, and involving sanitary heating, elevator, lighting, ventilating, and other plants of a purely technical nature; also, the superintendence, supervision and inspection of all these works. The work itself is scattered over the entire United States, and is absolutely beyond the reach of any one man except by proxy, and practically beyond his control.

The number of buildings now in course of construction—some of them well advanced, others hardly started, and many of them still untouched—is 115, ranging from marine hospitals, the appropriation for which is only about \$2,000, but involving much troublesome detail and waste of time, up to buildings like the San Francisco post-office, the appropriation for which is about \$2,000,000; Buffalo post-office, about \$5,100,000; Kansas City post-office, about \$1,000,000; the New York appraisers' stores, \$2,000,000; these being the most important buildings, the others ranging all the way from \$500,000 to \$50,000 and under. In addition to this, eight buildings are now about to be appropriated for, ranging from \$100,000 up to \$4,000,000 for the Chicago post-office, the latter to be constructed within a period which I understand is not to exceed two years.

In addition to the above, congress appropriates about \$200,000 a year for the maintenance of over 250 buildings; most of the money is spent in small amounts ranging from fifty cents upwards, for repairs, etc., involving indefinite trouble and drudgery, and demanding much time and attention.

The present condition of this work is in such a disorganized state that it would take the best part of any man's time to reorganize the work itself, irrespective of the department. The accumulated waste of money is beyond belief. The department, in the main, seems to be well organized, though cumbersome. The personnel is efficient in a measure, but ill adapted to the class of work which the country expects of our government, and absolutely deficient in artistic worth. The tenure of the office is controlled either by civil service rules or by political influence, and with this state of affairs the office of supervising architect, legally, is merely that of the clerk of the department appointed by the secretary of the treasury; and though his responsibility is supposed to cover all of the above work, his authority is absolutely dependent on the secretary of the treasury, and much of it is divided with the heads of departments.

Any man, no matter what his ability or his power for work and concentration, and no matter what conditions might be offered to him, even those of absolute responsibility with absolute authority, would have to devote himself either to managing the office, allowing the designing to be done by draftsmen, as at present, or to designing, allowing the office to be managed by heads of departments, as at present; and no man of ability with a reputation to lose as an artist would be presumptuous enough to accept the office, even if his duties were to be confined to designing, irrespective of any other work or responsibility, because it is absolutely beyond the grasp and ability of any one man who has ever lived to imprint his personality upon this much work, and much less to design it and study it himself.

After all these years and after the expenditure of all these millions, the country has scarcely a single beautiful or noble structure.

The Court of Honor proved conclusively what American architects can do. They can accomplish unexcelled architectural beauty and grandeur. The existing United States architecture proves conclusively all that a long line of political bosses, ending with the present weak Covington politician, can accomplish.

THE BUFFALO PLAN

Of Improving Citizenship Through the Public Schools.

The CHRONICLE has received from Mr. Emerson, the superintendent of the public schools of Buffalo, the following interesting letter, which it prints in full:

I was interested in reading an article in your issue of January, 1895, on the subject of school commencements and civil service reform. For ten years I was a teacher in the high school of this city and afterwards was principal ten years. I have observed how reluctant teachers are to advocate the principles of good government in our public schools. It seems to me supreme folly to spend millions of dollars for public schools without making any attempt to point out to the boys who are soon to be voters the duty of good citizenship. While I was principal of the high school I took occasion at least once a year to explain to the assembled school, numbering 700 or 800 boys and girls, the claims of the principles represented in the merit system, and did much, I believe, to remove the prejudices which so commonly exist against it.

Since becoming superintendent of the city schools I have introduced a system of civic training, extending from the third year of the primary through the grammar grades. I send you a copy of our course of study (under separate cover) that you may see what the plan is. I do not think that a similar attempt has been made in any other city in the country. It is only a first attempt and will doubtless be perfected as time goes on. We have tried in years past the plan of having a text-book for a year or two, but this made the work mechanical and it was not a success. By this method of oral instruction I am sure the boys and girls will leave the grammar schools with a good general knowledge of the institutions under which they live, and of the dangers which beset them. Yours truly,

HENRY P. EMERSON.

Buffalo, Feb. 5, 1895.

The course referred to by Mr. Emerson is as follows:

THIRD GRADE.

The meaning of government, its necessity and uses, should be developed. In connection with the geography of Buffalo, the word mayor should be explained and his name given. The necessity for money to carry on the government should be shown. How are the public schools supported? The fire department? The police? Why, then, do we pay taxes? Consult Fisk, pp. 5-7; Townsend, pp. 1-2; Peterman, pp. 17-21, 57-63, 157, 158, 201-204.

FOURTH GRADE.

While teaching the geography of Erie county, show that a county is made up of towns, with sometimes one or more villages and cities. Show by a diagram how a village is formed in a town and why; how a village becomes a city and why. How many towns in Erie county? How many counties in the state? Name two villages in our county; name one city. Teach the duties of sheriff and give his name; the same of governor and president. Bring out the relative size of this state; the population of Buffalo and New York state (approximately). Peterman, pp. 51, 56-59, 85. Fiske, pp. 79, 116-136.

FIFTH GRADE.

As the lessons in geography leave the United States to take up other countries of the world, the different kinds of government should be touched upon, as monarchy, absolute and limited (or constitutional); republic, etc.; such words as representative, hereditary, elective, should be explained and illustrated. Review what has gone before in the third, fourth and fifth grades. Amplify the ideas as you review them. Show that we live under three governments, local (city), state and national. Illustrate: Schools, police and fire protection, pavements, sewers and park system, paid for by local government; insane asylum, canals, building of capitol at Albany, by state; Fort Porter, the breakwater, light-houses, post-office and letter carriers, by United States. Why is this so in each case? Townsend, pp. 4-6; Peterman, 159; Fiske, 274.

SIXTH GRADE.

The city, county and state government should be taken up more in detail. Use the supplementary circular on this subject prepared by the superintendent. Present no more than you can make interesting. Fiske, 48, 79, 100, 167-172; also Northam.

SEVENTH GRADE.

[Refers especially to United States history, and is therefore omitted.]

EIGHTH GRADE.

Review from the beginning. Then take up the federal constitution, the full text of which is given in the history. Emphasize the three branches of government: (1) Congress; the two houses; how elected and length of term; what congress has power to do, and what it may not do; special powers of each house; restrictions on the general government; restrictions on the states. (2) The executive; how elected; inauguration; his duties and powers; messages; his cabinet; principal duties of each department; the diplomatic and consular service. (3) The supreme court; its jurisdiction.

NINTH GRADE.

This grade should be reserved for a general review of the subject and the consideration of matters of importance to us as a city. Our city government when first organized; our present charter, when adopted; how it may be changed; the common council; powers of the mayor; important appointments; the city departments; elective or appointive heads. (See chart prepared by the superintendent.)

Legal qualifications for voting; the duty of voting; the Australian ballot; the New York system, is it the best? the voting machine. Fiske, 347.

Difficulties in the way of good government in large cities; municipal extravagance. Fiske, 116-136.

Bribery and fraud in elections; the corrupt practices act. Fiske, 342. The "spoils system;" civil service reform.

Parties and party machinery: The caucus (primary); conventions; platforms, nominating candidates.

Revenue: Direct and indirect taxation; tariff duties; free trade and protection; arguments for and against.

We have studied the above excellent programme with great interest. Just as it is, it is a valuable training, but if it is intended to be a factor in good citizenship it is incomplete. Whatever hints to good citizenship are given are left until the ninth grade as if they were something separate and apart from the other instruction. If a child is told in the third grade, as he should be, that public schools, the fire department, and the police department, are supported by money collected of all the people, then is also the time to begin to impress the fact that taxes are trust funds. By apt illustration a very young child will grasp the moral principle that trust funds must be spent more carefully than one would spend private funds. It is not too soon to show by simple but specific illustrations

that what the city has paid for must be managed for the city, and not for the selfish interests of a few. So in the fourth grade where the facts are given of the duties of a sheriff, the governor, and the president, inseparable from the formal facts of the functions pertaining to those offices, are the facts that they must use their offices as a public trust. All this may be done in the most elementary way, but the fact that a public office is a trust is inexorable, and it should be taught. As early as attention is called to the formation of the village and the city, should begin to be taught the necessity for the city or the village to be clean, healthful and beautiful, and how this is effected by water, pavements, sewers and parks, and the sin of squandering the people's money by bad work. Here, too, is the time to impress the individual duty of everybody, even children, to aid in securing a clean city.

In short, step by step, the wrong of any abuse of public money, the stern obligations of public office over private interest, the undeniable facts that no bribery or fraud can be tolerated in our public business must be specifically and persistently illustrated and a high standard of public duty be demanded along with the understanding of the mere functions of government. Ways and means of attaining these ends differ, and are proper subjects for discussion, and are, therefore, to be simply explained. The Australian ballot system, free trade and protection, the merit or competitive system, belong to this latter class and are properly left until children are more mature, but that every office exists solely for the benefit of the public, and never for the benefit of an individual or a party, that it is wrong to use offices to pay men for party work, that it is wrong to increase the public pay-roll in view of an approaching election, or for an appointing officer to quarter his relatives upon the public, or for a congressman to use the fourth-class postmasters to work up his primaries, as well as the wrong of a multitude of other improper uses of public offices must be taught. The very class Mr. Emerson most hopes to reach are those who not only live amidst great ignorance of the functions of national, state, and city government, but they are even more ignorant of the moral principles and duties of citizenship. We can easily conceive that the lads in the neighborhood of Canal street would recite the facts of this course as stated with glib intelligence, and yet be perfect miniature Tammanyites in the belief that public funds exist in order to be filched by people smart enough to learn the ropes.

CURRENT SPOIL.

Franklin W. Joplin was appointed postmaster at Elizabethtown, Ky., vice Mrs. Benjamin Helm. The circumstances surrounding the case makes it one of unusual interest. Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, the husband of Mrs. Helm, was one of the most gallant soldiers of the confederate army. He was the com-

mander of the famous orphan's brigade, and was killed at the battle of Chickamauga. Mrs. Helm, the postmistress who was removed to-day, was a younger sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, who was a Tod. Col. Robert Lincoln was her nephew, and when he was appointed secretary of war by President Garfield, he secured his aunt's appointment as postmistress of Elizabethtown. That position she has held through three administrations—Arthur's, Cleveland's and Harrison's. Although an effort was made to have Mrs. Helm removed during Mr. Cleveland's first term it was not urgently pressed and was unsuccessful. *The appointment of Franklin W. Joplin to-day was made on the recommendation of Representative Montgomery.—Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 16.*

* * *

A movement has been begun here to secure the removal of E. P. Kearns, collector of internal revenue for the twenty-four counties in Western Pennsylvania. Representatives Sibley and Kribbs, two of the three democratic members in that revenue district, are engineering the move. The trouble can be traced back to the patronage involved. All of the trio had candidates for the collectorship, but Representative Sipe carried off the prize and Mr. Kearns was appointed. *It was agreed, however, that the other representatives should name the appointments to be made in their districts. Collector Kearns failed to keep the agreement and when cornered gave various excuses, the principal one against Mr. Sibley being that he recommended populists only. Messrs. Sibley and Kribbs appealed to Mr. Sipe to see to it that the agreement was kept, but to their surprise Mr. Sipe told them that as they had not supported Mr. Kearns for the appointment they had no right to attempt to dictate his appointments. Now all three statesmen will be out of jobs after March 4th.*

* * But the principal charge is said to come from influential business men of Pittsburg and vicinity. *They do not desire that Mr. Kearns be in control when the time arrives to collect the income tax. They fear, it is said, that private information secured through the inquisitorial features of that law would not be kept inviolate if he remains in charge, and their fear was aroused by his course in collecting the other taxes.*

As Collector Kearns has a good record with the internal revenue bureau, and the officials will not allow party politics to control, the impression prevails that he will hold on. He is here on the ground ready for the fight and is sustained by Mr. Sipe. As he will have four or five income tax agents or deputies to appoint, it is hinted that the charges are simply a bluff to compel him to make a divvy with the kickers. The places have salaries ranging from \$1,440 to \$2,000 per annum.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, December 19.*

* * *

The principal charges are in sworn affidavits by J. S. Bryner and W. W. Graham. They allege general mismanagement; that the employes were assessed a full month's salary to aid in the attempt to re-elect Representative Sipe; that numerous other employes holding

responsible positions were permitted to leave distilleries unguarded to work in behalf of Mr. Sipe; that several of the employes were drunkards and incompetents, and that one was retained because his brother was one of the collector's bondsmen. But the most serious charge was that the collector would levy contributions of wine, whisky and cigars upon the whisky men and others in his district, with the intention of not paying for them, and that he did not pay for them. The gaugers were required to make these levies until they grew ashamed of the dirty work, and one of them is alleged to have said he could not perform his official duty exactly towards these victims while this was going on.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, January 8.*

* * *

Postmaster Frank Lalor, of this city, who was appointed by President Cleveland about a year ago, is severely criticised for recommending the discharge of a letter-carrier. Michael Stahovski is an intelligent Pole who was appointed by Postmaster Yard, the republican who preceded Mr. Lalor, and was considered by Mr. Yard one of his most efficient men. He was first appointed a substitute carrier in July, 1892, and was made a regular carrier in February following. He had passed an excellent examination under the civil-service rules, and was selected because he stood at the top of the class examined with him.

Stahovski says he had not the faintest idea of any trouble until December 18, last, when he received a letter from First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones, informing him that charges had been preferred against him of offensive partisanship, visiting a liquor-saloon while on duty, and drinking, working for the republican ticket on November 8, 1892, and intoxication while on duty. Stahovski replied promptly, denying each charge specifically, except the third. In regard to that he said, that at the time of the election he was still only a substitute carrier, and on election day was not on duty at all. Being interested in the election, he exercised his right as an American citizen, and worked for his favorite candidates. After his appointment as a regular carrier he never took part in political affairs. Stahovski asked for a trial, at which he could prove his denials. The department was silent until January 23, when he received the following:

After a careful consideration of the charges made by the postmaster against you as carrier, I have decided to approve the postmaster's recommendation for your removal, and he has been instructed to nominate your successor.

About two weeks prior to receiving this summary letter, Stahovski says he was asked by Postmaster Lalor if he had yet heard from Washington, to which he replied in the negative, and made a similar inquiry from the postmaster. Mr. Lalor said he had not, and then Stahovski asserted that the charges were untrue. The postmaster replied:

You have bitter enemies and I do not know

that I can do anything for you in the matter, as I am a democrat and you are a republican.

After receiving the letter of January 23, Stahovski asked of Mr. Lalor a hearing to disprove the charges, but was told that nothing could be done for him. "Everything in Washington is one-sided," said the postmaster. "The department looks up the last charge against a republican and tries to remove him, and would like to get all republicans out if it could."—*Trenton dispatch, New York Evening Post, January 31.*

* * *

Postmaster Lalor celebrated his appointment to office by writing a letter to Senator Smith, of New Jersey, saying that he had inherited a number of republicans on his force whom he would like to get rid of, and inquiring by what means he could go about it without rendering himself liable to punishment under the civil service law. Senator Smith turned Mr. Lalor's letter over to the civil service commission; but the commission sent a copy of the postmaster's letter to the post-office department, with a suggestion that the department might be interested in knowing his point of view when it became necessary to act upon his recommendations.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, February 1.*

TAMMANY REPUBLICANISM.

It is related of the late Judge George Shea that when he retired from the marine court judgeship in 1882, he did so because Tammany Hall demanded as the price of his re-election a year's salary of the office, \$15,000. To this he answered, with true Roman scorn, that if his services to the city had not been such as to warrant his re-election on his own merits, he did not desire the office.

A story is told concerning City-Judge Cowing of the court of general sessions which, if true, forms an interesting commentary upon his assertion to the grand jury that in the Robertson General Sessions bill, politics for the first time entered that court, and makes also a valuable exhibit to be attached to the statement of reasons Recorder Goff has given why he should be empowered to reorganize the force of employes. The story comes from a usually trustworthy source, and in substance is as follows:

When Judge Cowing was nominated in 1892, by Tammany Hall, after being renominated by the republicans, a condition said to have been imposed either directly or indirectly, by express agreement or tacit understanding, was that he should pay a large contribution into the Tammany Hall campaign fund, and should give his patronage as judge to that organization. It is matter of public knowledge that the judge paid over \$10,000 to the Tammany campaign committee, and that he defended his action in the newspapers. The attendants whom he had origi-

nally appointed as republicans seem to have been confronted by the alternative of going over to Tammany or of resigning to make way for Tammany men. Four men who now belong to Tammany Hall remained in enjoyment of their salaries; the rest, who are still republicans, were discharged. One of the four was John J. Phillips, who was at first dismissed, having failed apparently to perceive unaided what he must do to be saved. With his notice of dismissal in his hand, he went to ex-Coroner John R. Nugent, whom he had been accustomed to look up to as his republican district leader. The coroner opened Phillip's eyes. "Join Tammany Hall at once, as I have done," advised the ex-coroner. So did Phillips with all expedition. Then came a summons from John F. Carroll, clerk of the court. "Have you your notice of dismissal?" said Carroll. "Yes," said Phillips. "Give it me," said Carroll. In a moment it was torn in bits. "You are reinstated because you are a veteran," said Carroll. Never before had Phillips suspected how valuable it was to be veteran. Among the attendants appointed by Judge Cowing to fill the vacancies he had created was Michael Quinn, keeper of a lodging-house and barroom in Pell street, and William T. Devlin, a henchman of John C. Sheehan, and keeper of a saloon in West Twenty-fourth street, connecting with the Grand Opera House.

When the main facts of this story were related to Judge Cowing, he said: "It is utterly untrue that there was any agreement or understanding between Tammany Hall and myself. What I did I did voluntarily." It was then attempted to ask Judge Cowing to specify the things he had done voluntarily, but he refused to listen to any further questions.

The story was told to Phillips. He said some of it was true and some false, but refused to separate the accurate from the inaccurate explicitly and in detail. He admitted, however, that he had been dismissed after Judge Cowing's re-election, without any reason being assigned to him; that he presumed the dismissal was at the request of Judge Cowing, as he was on that Judge's list; that he did consult with some of his friends about his discharge, and that he was reinstated because he was a veteran. He declined to say whether or not he joined Tammany Hall in the interval between his discharge and reinstatement; "a man's politics," he said, "is like his religion; he has a right to keep it to himself, and to refuse to answer questions about it."

It is well known that ex-Coroner John R. Nugent, after having been republican leader in his district, joined Tammany Hall and served under his old antagonist, John Riley, the Tammany leader.

After obtaining the above statements, the following letter was received this morning:

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR: Judge Cowing, in his charge to the grand jury, stated that "for the first time

politics has invaded the citadel of justice." Let me state how politics invaded the citadel of justice when Judge Cowing sought and received the nomination of Tammany Hall for his second term, and at the dictation of Tammany Hall turned out court officers who had served for years and whose only offense was that they were members of the republican party.

I was appointed court attendant of the court of general sessions by Judge Cowing, on the first day of February, 1882, and such appointment was given to me on the recommendation of the republican organization of my assembly district. I am a veteran of the late war, and past commander of Adam Goss post, G. A. R. For nearly eleven years I served as such court attendant, and during that period of time, with the knowledge and approbation of Judge Cowing, I was an active member of the republican party. Frequently I served as a member of the county committee, and also as a delegate or alternate to conventions. On all of those occasions, when I desired leave of absence, Judge Cowing always permitted me to go, because he knew of and was interested in the object of my absence. During this period of years I served on election day, at every congressional election, as chief deputy marshal in the fourth assembly district. The fact that I was appointed and served as such was well known to Judge Cowing, and no objection was made by him.

In the month of July, 1892, ex-Coroner John Nugent, in conversation with me at the barge office, told me that it was all arranged that Judge Cowing was to get the Tammany Hall nomination that fall, and that he had agreed to turn the republicans out of his court, and give the places to Tammany Hall. In the early part of October of the same year, Judge Cowing called me up to the bench one day, and told me he had been on the outing of a democratic association on the east side the preceding day, and that he had met many friends there who told him how hard I was working for him. He said, "Pat, keep up the good work for my election, and if Tammany Hall does not nominate me I will man every district in the city."

Judge Cowing received the Tammany Hall nomination, and in the republican county convention, of which I was a member, there was a bitter opposition to Judge Cowing receiving the republican nomination, on the ground that he was in league with Tammany Hall.

On the 31st of October, 1892, John F. Carroll, the then newly appointed clerk of the court from Tammany Hall, sent for me and asked me if I was a United States deputy marshal. I told him yes; he said, "I can not certify this pay-roll with your name on it." I asked him why, saying that I had served as such every year since I had been a court officer, and that Judge Cowing knew it. He said he would not certify to it any way.

On November 2, 1892, I received the following letter:

NEW YORK, November 2, 1892.

To P. J. O'Brien:

DEAR SIR—If convenient, will you come to the Tammany Club Room, No. 218 East Broadway, on Friday evening, November 4, 1892, at nine o'clock? I desire to see you relative to election district matters. Do not fail to call.

Respectfully yours,

E. T. FITZPATRICK,
Chairman of General Committee.

I did not call at the Tammany club rooms, and took no notice of the letter. On election day I served, as usual, as chief deputy United States marshal. Election day being a holiday, no court was held, consequently I lost no time from court.

I continued to serve as court officer until the 21st of November, when I called upon Judge Cowing in his chambers. I said to him, "What is there about Mr. Carroll sending for me?" He said: "O'Brien, I think the corporation counsel has got you technically." I said: "In what respect?" He said: "In reference to being a deputy marshal." I said to him: "Why, you knew that I was a deputy marshal ever since I have been a court officer, every alternate year, when the republican party desired my services, and you never objected to it." He replied: "I am very sorry." He also said: "My wife said to me this morning that it was better to be born lucky than rich. If I did not get the Tammany Hall nomination, you see I would have gone down with the ship." I said: "Is that all the notification I get?" He said: "I don't know of any other," and I bade him good day.

On the next day I receive the following notice:

NEW YORK, Nov. 21, 1892.

To Mr. Patrick J. O'Brien:

You are hereby notified that your services as an officer or attendant of the court of general sessions of the peace will not be further required on and after the 1st day of December, 1892.

(Signed) JAMES FITZGERALD,
Judge General Sessions.
RUFUS B. COWING, City Judge.
FREDERICK SMYTH, Recorder.

The judges who signed this notice were the judges who were understood by all the court officers as the judicial combine that ran the court.

My salary was refused for the month of November, and I had to sue for it. In that suit in the supreme court, the question was raised, that because I had acted as a United States deputy marshal, I had forfeited my right to the salary, and the judge threw the defense out of court, and directed a verdict in my favor. That case was appealed to the general term, and the general term has affirmed the judgment.

I was not the only republican discharged by Judge Cowing on account of his nomination by Tammany Hall, and to make places for Tammany Hall men. There were six others. I was discharged to make room for Pat Diver's man, Michael Quinn, who kept a five-cent lodging house, at the corner of Pell and Mott streets, and who now keeps a liquor-saloon at the same place, and who boasts that he sells a glass of beer as large as a plug hat.

This is the man who assaulted a good government club delegate at the polling-place of his district, on one of the registration days at last election, and charges were preferred against him to the grand jury, but by some means an indictment was prevented.

John Miller, a veteran, and a thirteenth assembly district republican, was discharged by Judge Cowing, to make room for Billy Devlin, a protege of Police Commissioner Sheehan, and keeper of the bar in the grand opera-house.

Pete Seaman, another appointee of Judge Cowing's, kept a liquor-store right opposite the court, and within a few days was told by Judge Cowing that he would have to get out of it or resign his place in the court, as things were getting too hot.

One of the republicans discharged by Judge Cowing about the time I was discharged was named John Phillips. He had been originally appointed by Judge Cowing on the recommendation of the republican district organization of which ex-Coroner Nugent was the leader. When Phillips received his notice of dismissal, he ran to John Nugent with it. John Nugent, in the meantime, had jumped into Tammany Hall, and he told Phillips to do the same. Phillips did join the Tammany Association in John Reilly's district, and in a week or so Mr. Carroll, the chief clerk, sent for him and asked him if he had his notice of removal in his pocket. Phillips produced it, and Carroll told him he was reinstated because he was a veteran. Up to that time no question had been raised about his being a veteran; he simply had joined Tammany Hall. Had I complied with the notification to join Tammany Hall I would also have been reinstated.

This transaction will show the extent of Judge Cowing's truth and honesty when he said to the grand jury, "I believe you will find that in this court politics has never had any sway." As a matter of fact, every appointment that was made during my time was based on politics, and it is a notorious fact that the politicians who are seeking favors for their friends under indictment, accused of crime, thronged the court-rooms and corridors and even the judge's rooms.

Since Mr. Carroll has been there it has been a rendezvous for Tammany Hall politicians. There never was a morning that district leader Jimmy Boyle was not flitting between the clerk's office, the judge's rooms, and the district attorney's office. When Judge Cowing says that politics never had any sway he flies in the teeth of his own acts and what has taken place under his eye for years.

A word as to the attendants: there never has been either order or discipline among them; every man is boss, comes and goes when he pleases, and the work has always fallen upon a few men who had not as much pull or were not favorites. PATRICK J. O'BRIEN.

224 Madison Street, New York.

—From the New York Evening Post, February, 1895.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 25.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE republican majority in the late Indiana general assembly came into office on the great reform wave which swept the country in 1894. On coming up to Indianapolis they found the one pressing work before them to be the removal of politics from the state service and the placing it upon a purely business basis. The methods were at hand in the shape of the merit system and the labor service system. There were hundreds of great examples where these methods had been proved with brilliant success. None but fools or knaves would think of trying any other methods. A bill embodying the results of these wide experiences was prepared and introduced. It never got out of the committee. The party promise, years old and repeated in every form, was not forgotten, because it was constantly held before the face of every member of the general assembly. With stolid indifference they broke the promise. They were wild with a wolfish desire to get at the places in the insane hospitals, the institution for feeble-minded children, the prisons, and so on. And yet they were afraid of the public vengeance. For the benevolent institutions they finally passed a bill providing that the members of the six boards should be divided in politics. Of all the humbugs with which knavish politicians dodge reform, this is the greatest. When they came to the penal institutions their wolfishness got beyond control and they enacted that those be seized as spoils, pure and simple.

THE republican majority in the general assembly thoroughly rounded out its worthless career, and it disgraced the state as it has not been disgraced in this generation. It turned its mighty mind to the custodian of the state house, and the twenty employes under him, all of whom have satisfactorily performed their duties, which consist principally in cleaning the tobacco juice of the members of the general assembly from the tiled floors. A bill was passed to legislate these employes out of office, and to turn the state house over to a republican superintendent. Thrifty Mike Cain, the engineer, had kept a jug of

whisky in the basement, and he seems to have bought enough members with enough drinks, for he was expressly exempted from the operations of the bill. The measure went to the governor, who, under the constitution, might keep it until three minutes before the general assembly expired by law. If then returned with his veto, the two houses could not pass it in three minutes. The governor decided to so return it, and at about ten minutes before midnight his private secretary started with it to the lower house on the next floor. The republicans had been watching for him. They had nailed up all of the doors of the gallery, and they now waylaid him and attempted to keep him in the elevator, where a desperate struggle took place, in which in its mad flight up and down a woman was nearly crushed and a rib of the private secretary broken, and a man hanging on the side of the elevator just escaped being cut in two. The private secretary says: "The elevator still continued running, and while I was on my knees I reached out and touched the spring on one of the gates as we passed it. I got the door open, and the next time we came to it I made a jump and got out. I was six feet from the floor and fell to the ground with a crash."

A riot followed, in which the spittoons of the members of the general assembly and other missiles were thrown. The private secretary, with help which had come, forced his way to the door of the house, and through the door, and announced the message from the governor within the time. The speaker had, however, declared the house adjourned. The republican leader was a member named Adams, an ex-school teacher, a sort of Scholar in Politics. So redoubtable is he that when he used to play foot-ball, four men were always detailed to tackle him. The republican majority now say that the bill removing the scrubbers and spittoon-cleaners of the state house became a law because the governor failed to return it within the prescribed time.

THE CHRONICLE especially recommends the story of Mr. Warfield, the reform postmaster of Baltimore, to its spoils readers—it trusts that it has a goodly number. It is only just that spoilsmen should have this merry reading showing that civil service

reformers are no better than they should be when put to the actual test. This paper can not resent the large list of unpleasant epithets expressive of the contempt that spoilsmen bestow upon civil service reformers, for the reason that there is a considerable truth at bottom of them. It is the weakness, vacillation, and the taint of spoils politics shown by civil service reformers themselves that have been a shame upon a great cause. It was reformers who condoned the breaking down and evasion of the civil service law in the Indianapolis post-office in 1884 on the ground that we must expect only democrats to apply for examination under a democratic administration, and so on. It has been reformers who have succumbed to the pride of controlling patronage. It has been reformers who have justified the sale of offices to secure legislation. We must admit that we all have lost clearness of moral vision from long contact with a vicious system. And while all reformers must speak out plainly about poor Mr. Warfield, who tried to be a cunning politician for reform purposes, and left thereby the straight and narrow road, it may be frankly admitted that the last ten years have put him into a notable company of like sinners.

THE Baltimore postmaster recommended the removal of seven employes, and the appointment of seven political followers who had been his election assistants. Before the recommendation was approved, the President put the places under the civil service rules. Then the post-office department declined to approve the postmaster's changes. Of course, legally, this ended the matter. The authority of the department is absolute; if it declines to approve a removal, the removal is not made, and that is all there is of it. The postmaster gave it up, and appointed his seven men as watchmen, and immediately promoted them to the positions sought. Then he backed out of this swindle, and decided to regard the original appointments good. He probably knew his man. Attorney-General Olney comes briskly forward, and says that the men may legally hold their first appointments. It takes a great man to be the attorney of sixty-five millions of people and of a great railroad corporation at the same time. Only some

such man would be equal to Olney's civil service opinions. Mr. Bissell's incurable weakness is illustrated in this silly reference to Olney for decision. What with Olney and the Carlises and Quincy, Mr. Cleveland's second administration will not lack for offensive notoriety.

THE great struggle now going on between Platt and the people of New York is one of the most important that has ever occurred as regards wholesome politics. The people defeated Tammany Hall by a tremendous majority, with the sole object of getting rid of bossism, and the worst kind of corruption. Now comes Tom Platt and declares that the object of defeating Tammany shall not be gained, but that the only result shall be that he shall be substituted in Tammany's place. This does not seem to be mere brag, for it is not certain that Platt does not have the power to accomplish his object. Depending on the uncontradicted statements of such papers as the *New York Tribune*, it may be said that Platt has been in the habit of collecting large amounts of money from corporations and individuals, and this money he has sent out to candidates throughout the state as aid to them in their campaigns. The result is that the leading men in the legislature, including the heads of the important committees, are Platt henchmen rendering absolute obedience to him. The result is that bills for reorganizing the corruption out of the government of the city of New York are held up because they give no power to Platt, while bills which make him virtually the dictator of New York are threatened. This is a development of American practical politics no less dangerous than the Tammany Hall development. It ought to be studied and understood by everybody, and especially by that large class of excellent citizens who regard it as the highest political duty to stick by the party machine, right or wrong.

GOVERNOR MORTON committed the blunder of leaving on the civil service commission Mr. McKinstry, who had helped to make the law the laughing-stock of Tammany. He then appointed Editor Cobb, of whose appointment a republican paper said:

"We are gratified at the appointment of Willard A. Cobb, editor of the *Lockport Journal*, as a member of the civil service commission. Mr. Cobb is a practical politician, not a snivel service man, and so long as this un-American law is in force it can best be administered by those who are opposed to its execution in detail."

As a corrective of the deliberate blow at the reform law in the appointment of Cobb he put on the commission one true and tried friend of the merit system, Silas W. Burt, and after a painful struggle, the Platt leg-

islature saw fit to confirm the nomination. We may be sure that if Mr. Burt can do no more, secret evasions of the law will end,

It is not difficult to 'size up' Postmaster-General Bissell. He has capacity and executive ability. But, as *Good Government* says, he lacks aggressive courage on broad lines. He has in a general way sound ideas of administrative reform but he founders upon the rock which has prevented Mr. Cleveland from being a great President—he believes that the offices must be so distributed as not to disrupt the party. No man practicing this belief will in our time reach greatness in office. Mr. Bissell has done a good many things for reform and he is entitled to the thanks of the country. Indeed, when we see a man of so much ability and with full comprehension of reform ideas, and with all the party wreck and ruin of the Cleveland and Harrison distribution of spoils before him, we are filled with astonishment that he should have missed the opportunity of stolid, unyielding refusal to divide the fourth-class post-offices as party plunder. He missed his object; as *Harper's Weekly* says, the spoils politicians of his own party were incensed at him for doing so much for civil service reform, and the civil service reformers are dissatisfied because he failed to come up to the standard which was entirely feasible. His party is effectually disrupted. Nevertheless we regret that he has resigned, because it makes the future uncertain. Mr. Wilson may be better and he may be worse. His professions are satisfactory, but we hope he will not be that worst pest in office—the new incumbent with no exact knowledge, and no practical experience who thinks he knows short cuts which will put in practice reform ideas, and satisfy and unite the reformers and the politicians. He should understand that there is an impassable gulf between spoils politicians and reform methods.

THE CHRONICLE has elsewhere compiled, mostly from the *New York Evening Post*, a month of the efforts being made by a large number of citizens to restore to New York city free government. It must not be forgotten that for years past a small group of patriotic people and papers have, in season and out of season, warned their fellow-citizens of the chains being forged by the united efforts of the Platt-Tammany combination. It must not be forgotten that a minister's dogged will finally fired the inert mass of apathetic citizenship with a moral purpose to probe to the very bottom of the corruption. Then came those shocking revelations of the poor and weak blackmailed, honest men corrupted, and criminals acting upon the

knowledge that there were only dishonesty, injustice and foulness in the administration of the government of the city, and that all this dishonesty, injustice and foulness, were known and tacitly acquiesced in by large numbers of men notable for their fair names. When this was realized the conscience of the American people awoke and Tammany was apparently engulfed. Reform work was not abandoned. The keenest and busiest men of New York laid aside private duties and united to prepare legislation absolutely necessary for any real reform or for any permanent abolition of Tammany, or kindred bossism. Then that other boss—the nether Tammany, Tom Platt, began his work. Sometimes sly as when he sends lying statements for his henchmen editors throughout the state to print as their own; again bold as when for nine weeks a legislature at his beck holds up all reform legislation; but whether sly or bold, this boss is unwearied. He trusts to his large experience, that in these movements people get selfish and lose courage, and finally the high-spirited leaders yield to material interests and become cravens.

The *Chicago Record* says that six ministers of the gospel appear in the roster of the West Virginia legislature, and they all voted to send Stephen B. Elkins to the United States senate. Such mental or moral strabismus at first thought seems to support the theory of those who claim that the clergy should never enter political life, nor be drawn into any movements for political reform, because they are sure to disgrace themselves or the reform before they get through.

At Cornell University, the Curtis debating clubs observed the birthday anniversary of George William Curtis.

Addresses were made on "Curtis's Connection with Cornell," by Prof. B. G. Wilder, and on "Curtis and Civil Service Reform," by Prof. B. I. Wheeler. Papers were also presented giving a "Sketch of Curtis's Life," by N. Lyon, '97; on "Curtis as an Orator," by F. P. Ufford, '96, and on "Curtis as a Writer," by A. J. Sperry, '96. On account of Curtis's intimate connection with the university in its early days, an attempt will be made to secure for Cornell a share in the Curtis memorial lectureship, which is soon to be established, providing for courses of lectures on citizenship to be given in several colleges.

It is reported that the committee in charge of the fund has decided to establish a revolving lectureship, the incumbent of which shall deliver lectures in Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and perhaps Amherst and Brown colleges. Certainly, Chicago University and Michigan University should ask to be included. In this connection, we refer all of our readers to the excellent life of Mr. Curtis by Edward Cary, with the further suggestion that there is no better subject for commencement than the facts and lessons of Mr. Curtis's biography.

Cincinnati is to be congratulated because Theodore Roosevelt has roused the civil service reformers of that city to revive their association formed in 1881, but we respectfully extend condolences that it has a press so apathetic and behind the times that it attracts attention because the *Tribune* gives a little over a column to an account of the address. Indiana civil service reformers owe much to a few enlightened and liberal papers. Judge William H. Taft, of the United States Circuit Court, was elected President of the Cincinnati association, and made a vigorous address.

The *South West*, a civil service reform paper says:

Mr. Roosevelt began by a reference to a little editorial remark in the *Commercial Gazette*, that contained, as far as we are able to judge, rather the thoughts of George B. Cox, translated into polite English, than any independent editorial opinion. Later on, referring again to the same paper, he said:

"I saw to-day in another column of the same friendly paper (Laughter), a statement that they were quite confident I would not go into any wicked scheme to include a large number of democrats now in office under the classified service, and the republicans would not probably get in. They can just bet that I will go in for any scheme of that kind. (Laughter.) I shall do my best to get the classified service put over every branch of the public service that it is capable of being put over. (Applause.) And I shall do it, anyhow, without any regard to party, merely because I claim to be an American citizen, and wish well to the commonwealth. (Applause.) And if I were sure that my party was to get in to-morrow, I would try to have it done to-night, because I know that nothing weakens a party more than the division of patronage. That there is absolutely no form of a faction fight quite so damaging and quite so degrading as a quarrel over the spoils. (Laughter.)

"If the party to which I belong can not win except upon a basis of paying the captains of tens and the captains of hundreds with fourth-class post-offices and jobs here and there, I don't wish it to win. (Laughter and applause.) * * *

"People are afraid, they say, of having a governing class in this country. There again it is a little bit difficult to argue seriously. Do they really think that a country of 75,000,000 people is in danger of being tyrannized over by 8,000 government clerks? Have they ever seen government clerks? I wish they would walk through the post-office to-morrow and look at your letter-carrier when he comes around, and see if you see anything sinister about him, and if you really think that the fact that that carrier has probably staid there in the service five or six years, and will probably stay there six more, if he behaves himself, if you really think that that in some hidden way jeopardizes your liberty—think of that seriously, and ask yourself if you have to give an answer to that question. * * *

"The governing class that is a danger is the class that is after public patronage; is the class who is the heeler, the ward boss, the ward rough, the man who is present at the polls, to cheat; the bully, to lie, to carry the election somehow, because he is to be paid for it. He is the danger, and he is not the man to be in the classified service." (Applause.)

Mr. Roosevelt says that Postmaster Zumstein's administration of the office has been most satisfactory. Eighty-two per cent. of the carriers who were employed when Mr. Zum-

stein took charge of the office are still there, and there has been but eighteen per cent. of changes, and these were by reason of bona fide resignations, deaths, and removals. The workings of the examining board at the post-office is also highly satisfactory, and he regards it as one of the model boards.

And yet this postmaster, who has obeyed the law and has begun to learn his business, is to be removed and a green hand appointed. We quote the following from the *South West* as illustrative of the barbarous practice in vogue:

The *Commercial-Gazette* mentions J. Marshall Smedes and Wm. J. O'Neil instead of J. W. Harper and A. W. Houston, and gives its five candidates handsome editorial send-offs, each of which concludes with the stereotyped assertion that the respective applicant "would make a fine postmaster, with Muller in the outside room." There is a great, deep truth in this bit of pleasant sarcasm. It tells nearly the whole story of the utter unreasonableness of our civil service system, as it was and it now is. Before the enactment of the civil service reform law of 1883 there were really two postmasters needed in Cincinnati and all other larger cities. One had to give his time and energy to the business of collecting, forwarding and distributing the mails, and so forth. His duties and services were clearly defined, and his salary was therefore moderate. He was the real postmaster with the title and salary of first assistant. The other man, who had the title of postmaster, was not expected to meddle with the mails, but to see to it that his county and district conventions were properly packed in the interest of the man who retained him as his personal political servant at the expense of the United States treasury. His services were of a very uncertain nature, and hence his salary rather large. It is easy enough to understand that under the old system there was really need for two men for each office, but since the patronage has been taken away from the heads of such offices there is no longer any need for two postmasters in Cincinnati. There was but little need for Mr. Riley when Mr. Muller was his co-postmaster; there was less need for Mr. Zumstein, who has been Mr. Muller's co-postmaster, as was his predecessor, Mr. Whitfield.

Why could not Mr. Bissell have realized how he would have added to his own good name and to his party's to insist that if men like Zumstein were to be removed because they were recently political appointments, faithful subordinates like Muller should be promoted.

BALTIMORE'S REFORM POSTMASTER.

Mr. S. Davies Warfield is the postmaster at Baltimore. Mr. Warfield has been for years an independent democrat. His father, Henry M. Warfield, was the independent candidate in 1875 against Mayor Latrobe, the present incumbent. It has never been questioned, that in that contest Mr. Latrobe was really defeated, but was counted in.

It was in connection with the state election, which took place a few days after this municipal election of 1875, that Eugene Higgins entered the court-house by night and burned the ballots.

Mr. Warfield, in 1889, was the chairman of the independent democratic city committee,

and as such he labored hard to elect the fusion ticket, headed by Major Alexander Shaw, the republican nominee for mayor.

In 1891 Mr. Warfield was himself the fusion candidate for mayor against Mr. Latrobe, but was badly beaten.

In all these campaigns, civil service reform was a prominent issue, and the party with which Mr. Warfield acted laid special emphasis upon it.

Mr. Warfield has always been a devoted follower and personal friend of Mr. John K. Cowen, the general counsel of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, a vice-president of the civil service reform association, and for a number of years the fighting leader of the independent democrats of Baltimore.

In 1893 some sort of an arrangement was made between I. Freeman Rasin, the Baltimore city "boss," and Mr. Cowen. Mr. Cowen had repeatedly and fiercely attacked Rasin from the stump, and in the columns of the press; saying nothing about him, however, which was not admittedly true, but which, if true, proved him a person with whom it is difficult to understand how any clear-headed man, anxious for honest government, could have any alliances.

It was stated in the *Baltimore Sun* at the time, and has been since repeated by Mr. Rasin and his friends, that the arrangements referred to was entered into by Mr. Rasin at the special personal request of President Cleveland.

The terms of the plan as then announced were, that Mr. Cleveland would appoint Mr. Warfield postmaster, and Mr. William L. Marbury district attorney. Mr. Marbury is a very able young lawyer, who had taken an active part in all reform campaigns in Maryland, for a number of years past. He accompanied Mr. Cowen into the republican state convention, in 1887, and there followed Mr. Cowen's example in pledging his support to the republican state ticket, on the ground that the defeat of the democratic machine in this state was necessary if the state was to be honestly governed.

Mr. Rasin agreed that, as his contribution to harmony, he would place upon the regular legislative ticket, in the second legislative district, four independents, namely: Mr. W. Cabell Bruce, who had long been an especially earnest advocate of civil service reform; Mr. Thomas S. Baer, secretary of the Baltimore reform league; Mr. John Helmsley Johnson, for a number of years editor of the *Civil Service Reformer*, and Mr. Archibald H. Taylor. These gentlemen, it is understood, were not asked to make any pledges, and in point of fact are said not to have made any. These gentlemen and Mr. Cowen had, however, in past campaigns, opposed Mr. Latrobe bitterly. He was in 1893 again a candidate, but they were necessarily silent.

The late Mr. S. Teakle Wallis, however, than whom no more disinterested reformer ever lived, thought that these gentlemen could consistently take the nomination, and ought to.

It is believed, however, that a large number of reformers, who in national politics were democrats, disapproved of the whole business, as did the republicans. There was no question, of course, that these independents were nominated simply and solely because Mr. Rasin said they should be, and that their nomination was in itself the clearest evidence of the thoroughness of Mr. Rasin's power over the machinery of the democratic party.

It was claimed by some who defended the scheme that, as a result of this alliance, practical measures of reform could and would be gotten through the legislature, and that in particular a civil service reform law would be enacted.

Senator Bruce, when he got to Annapolis, introduced such a bill, and for awhile it was given out that it would pass. Of course it did not, nor did any other reform measure in the line of those long demanded by the reform organizations in Baltimore. Not a single improvement was made in the election laws, nor did the reformers elected apparently make any special effort to secure the enactment of any of the bills which the Reform League prepared and sent to them.

Such was the situation when upon the expiration of the four years' term of Postmaster Johnson, President Cleveland nominated Mr. Warfield as postmaster of Baltimore. Mr. Gorman hung this nomination up in the senate for some time, but it was finally confirmed.

When Mr. Warfield took office, he made a little speech to the employes, in which he told them that he purposed to enforce the civil service reform law rigidly in the classified service. He also declared in substance that Mr. Cleveland was the greatest civil service reformer who had ever lived. The pledge then made, in so far as it related to the positions within the classified service at the time Mr. Warfield took charge of the office, has been faithfully fulfilled. The number of removals among the several hundred classified clerks and carriers has been very small; probably not exceeding three or four, and those all for cause.

Mr. Warfield never said, or intimated, that he would treat the unclassified places as included within the spirit of the civil service regulations. For some months after he came in, however, he made very few changes. He allowed a number of the republican ward politicians, with whom Postmaster Johnson had filled the non-classified places, to retain their offices, although he would have been amply justified in removing them promptly.

During these first few months in office the only indication that there might be trouble to come was found in the political biographies of every new appointee in the unclassified service regularly given out by somebody. These people were always described as Cleveland democrats. The candidates for whom they had voted in the last three or four municipal campaigns were, as a rule, also stated. It appeared from these biographical notices that they had almost without exception in those campaigns supported the tickets the election

of which had been advocated by Mr. Warfield.

There were not many such appointments made, however, and things moved along very smoothly until towards fall, when Mr. Warfield conceived the plan of having Mr. Cowen nominated in the fourth congressional district to succeed Mr. Rayner, who had declined to be a candidate for renomination. Mr. Cowen did not live in the fourth district, but did live in the second, of which Mr. Talbot was the representative.

According to Maryland political traditions this non-residence in the district was a more important matter than it would seem to be to any one not familiar with them. Mr. Cowen is very able, has long been an avowed free trader, and an aggressive anti-Gorman man. He is a warm friend of Postmaster-General Wilson, and it is believed of Mr. Cleveland as well.

Mr. Rasin's friends say that the President himself requested Mr. Rasin to have Mr. Cowen nominated. Mr. Rasin agreed, and then Mr. Warfield had a paper circulated among the leading democrats of independent proclivities in Baltimore, asking Mr. Cowen to run. This paper was extensively signed by many gentlemen who had not approved of the legislative alliance of the year before, but who were warmly interested in the tariff controversy, and who believed that Mr. Cowen would be an exceedingly valuable supporter of the President's policy.

This letter, so signed, was put in the newspapers simultaneously, or nearly so, with the announcement that Mr. Cowen would be the regular democratic nominee. Many of the regular democrats, including a number of those who regarded themselves as closer to Mr. Gorman than to Mr. Rasin, publicly expressed their opposition. It is very probable that a large majority of the rank and file of the democratic party in the fourth district, either because they could not get over the prejudices which had been instilled into them by their leaders and newspapers during the series of campaigns in which Mr. Cowen so bitterly fought the democratic machine, or because they were opposed to the nomination for congress of a railroad attorney, or because they did not like electing a man who did not live in the district, would very much have preferred not to have Mr. Cowen the nominee. So strict is the discipline, so absolute the control of Mr. Rasin over the democratic party machinery here, that Mr. Cowen was unanimously nominated.

During the succeeding campaign he made an exceedingly vigorous and able canvass, arguing the tariff question from the administration standpoint in a series of speeches of great power. Mr. Warfield was intensely interested in this campaign. It appears probable that he had before this time promised appointments in the unclassified service to a number of persons who had been known as independent democrats. He knew there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the Cowen nomination in the ranks of the regulars, and that

in spite of the apparent unanimity with which the convention acted, there was considerable danger that the ticket would be badly cut at the polls. Under these circumstances he feared to appoint any more independents to post-office places. He accordingly made up his mind to let the republican incumbents remain in place until after the election.

He was a practical minded man, however, and was anxious to make use of the men whom he proposed to appoint to office, as well as of some of those already in the government service. He did not altogether trust the loyalty of the regular democratic organizations, and thought it just as well to have a little outside organization of his own. He accordingly set up a more or less secret election bureau, under the charge of one Harley, a clerk in the mailing division of the post-office and a member of the local post-office civil service examining board. This bureau was largely if not exclusively manned by applicants for places in the post-office. It has been alleged in the newspapers that some part of the stationery used in this office was paid for by the government and brought from the post-office.

On the 2d of November, Mr. Cleveland, without warning Mr. Warfield, amended the civil service rules so as to include within the classified service a large number of hitherto exempted places in the postal service, including most of the offices which Mr. Warfield had promised to his campaign clerks. Mr. Warfield was naturally considerably embarrassed. Just what he did, if anything, in the matter before election, it is hard to gather from the fragmentary and somewhat contradictory statements which have been given out. It appears, probably, that Mr. Warfield had some sort of a conversation with some of the assistants of the postmaster general, or with the chief clerk of the post-office department, in the course of which he gave them more or less definite information that he proposed to make some changes, and what the changes were, and perhaps the names of the persons whom he proposed to appoint.

These conversations or statements Mr. Warfield claims were made on or before November the 1st; that is to say, one or more days prior to the inclusion of the places within the classified service. He wrote a letter to the post-office department, dated November 1st, but which the newspapers say the department alleges it did not receive until November the 8th, formally and officially notifying the department of the appointment of his election assistants to the places he had promised them. He seems then to have been informed by the department that these places were now within the classified service and could not be filled except from the eligible registries. Whereupon he went to the civil service commission and had an interview with Messrs. Proctor and Lyman, Mr. Roosevelt not being at the office the day he called. Just what occurred there the public does not know. Mr. Warfield says, or Mr. Warfield's confidential friends

say for him, that he explained to the commission the circumstances and asked them if he could not appoint his political followers watchmen, detail them to clerical duties, have the watchmen places classified, and then, having the men within the classified service, promote them to other positions in it, and that the commission advised him he could do so. On the other hand, it is understood that the commission says that all Mr. Warfield asked them was two hypothetical questions; first, whether he could classify persons who, while nominally filling positions as watchmen, were actually performing clerical duties, and second, whether a person holding one position in the classified service in the post-office could be promoted without a new examination to any other place in the classified service in the same office, and that the commission answered both questions in the affirmative.

Mr. Warfield went back to Baltimore, appointed the men watchmen, and had the watchmen's places classified, and thereupon immediately promoted the men to the positions for which he had intended them. They never served a day as watchmen. When the facts came to the attention of the commission, as they very speedily did, it of course set aside this whole performance. Mr. Warfield thereupon fell back upon his original contention, claiming that these appointments had been validly made prior to the President's extension of the rules. He relied upon various prior rulings of the department, especially that made under the advice of Attorney-General Miller in connection with the appointments made in the spring of 1889 by the Harrison administration to the positions in the railway mail service then classified, and on various decisions of the courts. One of the difficulties of sustaining this contention under the circumstances of this case is, that at the time the so-called appointments were made, there were no vacancies to which the persons could be appointed.

It is not denied that the first notice the former republican incumbents had of their removal was from one to two weeks subsequent to the President's extension of the rules. Postmaster Warfield then asked them for their resignations, which they declined to give. In so asking, the postmaster himself was apparently guilty of a violation of the postal regulation promulgated some time since by Postmaster-General Bissell, which forbids the postmaster to ask for the resignation of any person in the classified postal service.

All these things took place last November. Nothing has yet been apparently decided in the case. The civil service commission has notified the postmaster-general that, in its judgment, Mr. Warfield's new appointments are illegal, and has asked, it is understood, for the decision of the postmaster-general upon the question.

Having been unable to obtain such decision, it has been reported in the papers that the commission has requested the treasury department to refuse to pay the salaries of Mr.

Warfield's new appointees. It is understood that the postmaster-general has finally referred the whole matter to Attorney-General Olney for his decision and the matter there rests.

Meanwhile public opinion is practically unanimous in its conclusions. The democratic spoilsmen and the republican spoilsmen are laughing at the postmaster, and sarcastically commenting upon the performances of reformers in office.

The general amusement is increased by the fact that Warfield was indiscreet enough to explain to the republican officials whom he removed, that he would have removed them before, but that he did not dare to make his new appointments prior to the election for fear the regular democrats would cut Cowen to pieces.

The civil service reformers feel that Mr. Warfield apparently does not understand what civil service reform means, that he has not grasped the idea that it is not his place as postmaster to manage politics, and that he believes that he has the right to use all the positions in the office, not included in the classified service, in the furtherance of his political ends. So feeling, he promised men places in return for political services rendered, and when a change in the regulations rendered it impracticable for him to carry out his bargains without resorting to tricks and evasions, to tricks and evasions he resorted.

Meanwhile the civil service commission has, as it would seem, concluded that Mr. Warfield is a man who will be none the worse for some watching. It has accordingly removed the old local civil service board of examiners, including Mr. Harley, who was the head of the post-office election bureau during the Cowen campaign, and has constituted a new board; two of whose members are not in the postal service at all, one of them being an experienced official of the United States sub-treasury, and one of the oldest members of the Maryland civil service reform association, and the other a clerk in the office of the United States engineers here.

THE GRAPPLE OF REFORM WITH PLATTISM.

A MONTH'S RECORD.

It is an open secret in this town that in several election campaigns—we will not undertake to say how many—republican committees, national, state, and county, when they have asked for contributions to campaign funds from wealthy individuals connected with great corporations, have been met in many instances with the answer that while these individuals were willing, and expected to make subscriptions for the purpose named, they would prefer to make payment to that well-known and trusted leader, Mr. Thomas C. Platt. It is an open secret, that this condition has been assented to in a majority of cases, if not all. It is an open secret that the money so paid to Mr. Platt has been disbursed by means of his own checks as his personal contributions to the campaign expenses of republican candidates for the senate and assembly, and other official

positions throughout the state. It is an open secret that Mr. Platt has not considered it worth his while to make any accounting to the committees named of his disbursements. It is an open secret that many of the corporations contributing in this indirect way to campaign funds to be used—legitimately, of course—for the election of senators and assemblymen have large interests at stake, which may be depended upon securing or defeating legislation at Albany. It is an open secret that in some instances legislation at Albany affecting corporations in this city has been held in committee, or otherwise delayed, until Mr. Platt was assured of a contribution to the republican campaign fund.—New York Tribune, March 13.

THREE GREAT REFORMS.

There are now awaiting action by the legislature three measures which may be said to embody the wishes of the people of this city as expressed in the anti-Tammany victory at the polls last November. These are:

The Public School Bill.

The City Magistrates' Bill.

The Police Reorganization Bill or Bills.

* * *

FEBRUARY 20—ALBANY.

Ex-Senator Platt left for New York city early this afternoon. Some of his friends urged him to stay over for the legislative reception at the executive mansion to-night, but he begged to be excused on the plea of business engagements. When he left he professed to be well satisfied with the results of his visit.

*All the more prominent republican machine legislators have been summoned before him to give an accounting of the situation, and the republican heads of the state departments also have had to contribute their quota of information and support. Gov. Morton had Mr. Platt with him for several hours early last evening at the executive mansion. * * **

It may be stated that Mr. Platt started down the river this afternoon with the belief that there are at least eighty-five men in the assembly who may be relied upon by him to view men and measures from his standpoint. These figures are those of men who knew Mr. Platt's mind after he had received and talked last night with the many who called upon and advised him.

* * *

FEBRUARY 21—ALBANY.

While no one may speak authoritatively for Governor Morton, it may be stated that yesterday's tide of Platt's political influences did not wash him away from his anchorage. He did not assure Mr. Platt that any New York bills in any form passed by the legislature would receive executive approval.

* * *

FEBRUARY 21—NEW YORK.

Platt assured the three republican police justices, who are on the bench with twelve Tammany justices, when he returned to the city yesterday, that they would not be disturbed, since the bill abolishing that bench and creating a city magistrates' bench would never become a law.

FEBRUARY 22—NEW YORK.

Only a small portion of the usual crowd of Platt legislators came down from Albany to-day to spend the last days of the week in receiving orders from the boss. Among these were the faithful O'Connor of Binghamton and Lexow of Nyack. They were at the Fifth Avenue Hotel early this morning, and after looking about vainly for some of their associates, they started for the headquarters in the United States Express building. Neither they nor the few local Platt men who were at the hotel had anything to say about the war programme which was prepared last Sunday. Harmony has become their watchword since it became apparent that Mayor Strong could not be frightened by threats of annoying legislation.

* * *

FEBRUARY 23—NEW YORK.

Governor Morton was in town to-day, and the politicians surmised that he had come to help to bring about harmony in local republican circles. The governor arrived at the Hotel Renaissance in West Forty-third street last night and had a conference with Platt almost immediately after his arrival.

The Platt men have entirely abandoned their threatening attitude. Just a week ago they were filling the air with threats about what they would do if the mayor failed to come to terms. Now they are begging for peace on almost any terms. The governor, it is well known, refused to join in a war against Mayor Strong, but it is said that he promised to do all he could to induce the mayor to give some patronage to the Platt men, and it appears that he is not in town for the purpose of carrying out his promise. Most of Platt's lieutenant's are in the city, anxiously awaiting the result of the governor's efforts.

* * *

FEBRUARY 25—NEW YORK.

The corridor outside the mayor's office was crowded with politicians before eleven o'clock. When they were told that they would have to wait another hour, some of them said that they had brought their lunches along and were prepared for a siege. Then they resumed discussion of the probable effect of Gov. Morton's conference with Mayor Strong last Saturday. *The Platt men professed to be confident that Police Commissioners Kerwin and Murray would be retained, and that Platt would get recognition in the dock and fire boards, anyhow.* At noon there were about 200 politicians in the anteroom and in the corridor. A dozen of them were in a crush against the door of the Mayor's office, and had the door been opened suddenly they would probably have fallen in a heap in the office. At 12:05 o'clock the door was still locked, and a loud growl went up. Three minutes later, the mayor's big messenger, Daniel, came out through a side door and shouted: "The mayor won't let anybody in till one o'clock. He has important business on hand. Now you might as well take a walk around the block and cool off." * * *

No reform expectation is greeted by the police with more scepticism than that of a non-political administration of the police department. Among the men particularly there is a fixed faith in the ultimate triumph of politics. They admit that changes are imminent; they believe there will be a reorganization which will affect many of them, even in the lower ranks, and they concede the honesty of Mayor Strong's purposes. *But in the end they say the politicians will reach and influence the force and the individual fortunes of every policeman.* This is all patent to those who hear the men talk among themselves at police headquarters, and to reporter they show their minds freely, if what they say is not for publication. * * * It is clearly the purpose of Platt to get even with Mayor Strong and the reformers, by defeating all reform measures for this city through delay in the senate. He has a very strong grip upon that body because of its narrow republican majority, the balance of power resting in the hands of the two or three senators who have no other object in public life than to do his bidding. These senators have made little concealment of their purpose to prevent the passage of any bill thoroughly reforming either the police department, or the police justice bench, or the department of education. They have, from the first (we speak now especially of Lexow and O'Connor), declared that the Platt police board bills, which perpetuate the "bi-partisan evil, are the only measures of the kind which shall be allowed to pass the senate. They have had these made caucus measures, and say that this approval bars out all change in their character. They are "holding up" the police justice abolition bill, and mean to defeat it unless they can get assurances from Mayor Strong as to the men whom he will appoint under its provisions. They are less open in their opposition to the public school bill, but their purpose is to kill that also unless they can get terms.

* * *

FEBRUARY 26—ALBANY.

Viewed from the standpoint of the followers of Thomas C. Platt, the legislative situation is growing continually more exasperating. Governor Morton in his statement yesterday placed himself on record as heartily in accord with the policy of Mayor Strong.

* * *

FEBRUARY 27—NEW YORK.

In accordance with previous announcement, a special meeting of the chamber of commerce was held to-day at 12:30 o'clock for the purpose, as stated in the call, of "*petitioning the legislature to pass without further delay a bill for the removal of the police justices of this city, and the reorganization of that branch of our criminal procedure.*"

[*"It is a question not of politics, not even of business, but of morality, of humanity, even of religion. These are the present police justices: William H. Burke, Joseph M. Deuel, Patrick Divver, Thomas L. Feitner, Thomas F. Grady, Edward Hogan, Joseph Koch, Bernard F. Martin, Clarence W. Meade, Daniel F. McMahon, John J. Ryan, Charles E.*

Simms, Jr., Charles N. Taintor, John R. Voorhis, Charles Welde. What they are can be best understood by a brief comment on some of them taken from a publication of the *Evening Post*, which appeared many years since, and which statements have not been challenged:

"Bernard F. Martin was in business as liquor-dealer, in partnership with 'Red Leary' and Kate, his wife. 'Red Leary' was one of the most notorious burglars in the country, and Kate probably one of the most famous pickpockets in the world. His saloon was the resort of the most disreputable and criminal classes in the community. As order of arrest clerk, he was indicted for accepting bribes on March 17, 1890, and escaped trial only on a technicality in the law. As the result of his efforts to roll up a big vote as a Tammany leader in the Maynard campaign, eight of his lieutenants were indicted for violation of the election laws, found guilty, and sent to prison.

"Patrick Divver at the time of his appointment was the proprietor of or had interests in several liquor-saloons. He is an ex-member of the board of aldermen, a race-track frequenter, and a friend and companion of gamblers. His activity for Maynard got him into even greater trouble. When the returns came in it was discovered that one election district had 363 votes for Maynard to none for any opposition candidate. Another showed 371 for Maynard to none for any other, and the third showed 267 to none for any other. There had been such obvious fraud that evidence was collected and presented to the grand jury, upon which indictments were found against many of Divver's workers, eighteen of whom were tried, found guilty, and either suffered fine or imprisonment or fled from justice. It has been shown that Divver has had among his intimates for many years not less than forty men who were among the most disreputable in New York city. The Lexow committee brought out the fact that at one time the Divver saloon was the headquarters of a gang of bunco steerers.

"Thomas F. Grady. His conduct on the bench has been so bad that a presentment was made against him by the grand jury in March, 1893, as follows: On November 14, 1892, Justice Taintor, sitting in the Yorkville Police Court, sentenced to the workhouse for six months each, eight disorderly women, and on the following day Justice Grady at the Tombs Police Court, signed a requisition for the discharge of these eight vagrants, and their discharge was secured on this recommendation, he acting on the recommendation made to him by Conrad Smyth, clerk of the Yorkville Court. The grand jury feels that while Justice Grady has violated no law in the discharge of the offenders, his action on November 15 defeated the ends of justice.

"Joseph Koch. His record as excise commissioner was summed up as follows: Together with Commissioner Fitzpatrick he voted for licensing saloons near schools and churches, and in purely residential neighborhoods, without regard to the protests of school trustees, clergymen, and property-owners. He was indicted for willful neglect of duty as excise commissioner, and finally escaped only by a special act which was passed by the legislature repealing the law under which he had been indicted. Concerning this law, Judge Ingraham said, 'I regret to see that the legislature has thus provided a new avenue of escape of punishment for crime.'

"John J. Ryan. About whom it is said that he came prominently into notice about two years ago by taking part in a row in McKeever's saloon, Fourteenth street and Sixth avenue.

"Edward Hogan. About whom it is said that ever since he has been on the bench he has been known as the friend and protector of saloon-keepers."]

* * *

MARCH 1—NEW YORK.

The advance guard of the Platt faction in the legislature is already in this city, prepar-

ing for the regular weekly conference with the "boss." Senator O'Connor arrived last night, and other members of the legislature followed to day.

One of the closest personal and political friends of Commissioner Brookfield said of the gathering:

"It will be a disappointed crowd. Lauterbach will have to report failure, for yesterday he asked the commissioner for a share of the spoils and has been denied. Mr. Brookfield says he is for peace and harmony, but he has no use for the Platt crowd."

* * *

MARCH 4—NEW YORK.

The members of the committee of seventy, to whom has been given the special charge of watching the course adopted by the Platt legislators at Albany, are following their work with interest, prepared to order demonstrations the moment they believe the people's interests are to be put aside for partisan gain. R. Fulton Cutting, chairman of the committee appointed to continue the work begun at the recent anti-Platt mass-meeting, said to-day:

"The action of the committee will depend wholly on the developments of this week at Albany. As soon as we are convinced that the legislators do not intend to pass the bills of the committee of seventy in the form in which they were introduced, we shall have a demonstration of some sort."

* * *

MARCH 5—ALBANY.

The situation of the New York police reorganization bills was more problematical than ever this morning. The meeting of the Lexow committee, which was to have been held to-day, has been postponed.

The republican senators are in conference this afternoon, to determine whether they would agree among themselves to be bound by caucus rule. The anti-Platt senators finally consented to abide by such a rule. This is construed by outsiders to mean that, if Platt so wills it, the independent senators will have no alternative but to vote for his schemes, inasmuch as he controls a majority of the republican senators.

* * *

MARCH 8—ALBANY.

Most of the Platt senators and assemblymen will be in New York city to-night, to confer with their boss about the existing political situation. They are in an ugly mood, and are chafing over the delay in setting in motion retaliatory legislation against Mayor Strong and "the gangs of reformers." This delay is due to Mr. Platt, who would like to begin to "get square" with the mayor in this way, but is afraid the conditions are not auspicious yet.

The animosity of the Platt faction towards the supporters of Mayor Strong is exemplified well in the case of Assemblyman Pavey (rep., New York), who was largely instrumental in drafting and having signed by eleven of the nineteen New York city republican assemblymen the testimonial upholding

the mayor's course in the matter of appointments. In consequence of his attitude on this subject, Mr. Pavey's important bills are "held up" by the Platt committees.

* * *

MARCH 8—ALBANY.

It is a very moving spectacle to see Timothy Dry-Dollar Sullivan and O'Connor, of Binghamton, joining hands in the state senate for an assault upon Col. Waring, on the ground that he is an extravagant and incompetent official. The real trouble is not stated in Sullivan's resolutions, but is given freely to the reporters, and is that Col. Waring "not only refuses to grant favors to the senators, but is churlish in dealing with them." One of these offended statesmen, whether O'Connor or not is concealed, says that "Col. Waring is doing more to bring discredit upon Mayor Strong's administration than all the other appointments the mayor has made."

* * *

MARCH 9—NEW YORK.

The usual crowd of Platt legislators came to this city last night and to-day to talk with the boss before beginning next week's work in Albany. All of them who were seen this morning were agreed upon one point, namely, that the police-reorganization commission would be eliminated from the Lexow bill, and that the work of reorganizing the police force would be intrusted to a bi-partisan police commission to be appointed by the mayor.

The combination of Jimmy Martin with Charley Murray and Mike Kerwin, in the police board against the reformatory resolutions of the third commissioner, Mr. Andrews, ought to cause no surprise. It is the familiar union of Platt and Tammany which has been in operation at Albany for nine weeks, and which is always ready to spring into existence when an assault is made upon a corrupt political system. The excuses which the two Platt commissioners and the Tammany commissioner make for their conduct are not worth considering. The real reason of their action is the same one which is so powerful at Albany, namely, Platt's orders to "hold up" all reforms until he can get terms from Mayor Strong.

* * *

MARCH 11—NEW YORK.

The committee of seventy's bill proposes a scientific system of school administration which, if made law, will, during the three years of Mayor Strong's administration put our schools upon a basis so far removed from political influences that they can never be brought back to their present level. From the moment this bill appeared, the corrupt influences which, under the present system, are centered in the trustees, have been moving heaven and earth to "beat it." They tried to do this with the Bell bill, but did not succeed. Now they have concocted a third bill, which is to be put forward as a compromise, and which, among various plausible and some desirable features, retains the trustees with their pestilential powers practically undiminished. This is a deadly blow at the seventy's bill, which deprives the

trustees of all powers save those of visitation and inspection. If the trustees be allowed to retain the power of selecting or nominating teachers, the whole scientific system proposed in the seventy's bill will be nullified, the present political "pulls" will be perpetuated, and reform will degenerate into a farce.

* * *

MARCH 14—ALBANY.

It is possible for the boss to form an alliance with the Tammany legislators to fix the magistrates bill to suit his own views. While it is doubtful whether he would enter into such a compact in the face of existing public sentiment toward the magistrates bill, it is still just as well for the anti-machine members to resist being lulled into security by the pacific talk of the Platt men.

* * *

MARCH 16.

The obstructing members of the police board (Platt's men) refused yesterday at the board meeting to take any action toward filling the 281 vacancies that exist in the police force, and strove to throw the responsibility for their action on Mayor Strong.

[Commissioner Andrews desired to carry into effect new civil service rules that would result in appointments upon merit and competition instead of the former rules that were no bar to the appointment of Tammany henchmen.]

* * *

MARCH 18—ALBANY.

Senator Cuthbert W. Pound appears of late to have surrendered his prerogatives as a senator to Thomas C. Platt. Mr. Pound must believe that his only road to a renomination is to obey whatever orders Mr. Platt may choose to issue, for that is the only explanation which can be given of his recent actions in the senate in behalf of Platt and Platt's followers. He signed to-day the report of the Lexow investigating committee in favor of these New York police bills. Moreover, as chairman of the committee on prisons he reported favorably bills which have been introduced to give William Barnes, Jr., the Platt boss of Albany county, the patronage of the Albany penitentiary.

* * *

MARCH 18—NEW YORK.

This state within the last few days has been flooded with a pamphlet, evidently sent out with the intention of annoying the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, and, if possible, turning the country people and politicians from supporting him. It contains, without any comment whatever, a printed copy of the testimony which Dr. Parkhurst gave before Judge Fitzgerald and a jury, in the trial of Hattie Adams. It starts with the story which made such a sensation when published in the newspapers of Dr. Parkhurst's visit, with two of his agents, to Hattie Adams's disorderly house, and its first pages contain his direct testimony as to the scenes he witnessed there. A copy of this pamphlet was shown to a reporter for *The New York Times*, yesterday, by a man who said it was given to him in Albany. It was said that a copy had been received by nearly every member of the legislature, during the last two or

three days, and that they had been mailed to the editors of many country newspapers.

It was also said that its typographical appearance was such as to indicate that it had come from the same publication office as had another pamphlet, which is made up of newspaper comments on the good work of ex-Senator Thomas C. Platt. It looked as if it were a part of the literature of the Platt literary bureau.

CURRENT FACTS.

The Boston chamber of commerce has adopted the following resolution: "That the President of the United States be earnestly requested to extend the civil service rules to the consular service, and request congress to adopt without delay such legislation as will improve this important branch of our national service, and place the interests of this country, as they are represented abroad in our consular service, on a sound business basis, and that there shall be thoroughly eliminated from appointments to the consular service the consideration of reward for political services."

At the meeting of the state board of trade at Norwich, Conn., upon motion of Gen. Aiken the efforts of Henry Cabot Lodge to improve the diplomatic service were approved of.

The New York chamber of commerce on February 7 adopted the following:

Whereas, This chamber has recorded its opinion that appointees to the consular service of the United States should be selected by an adequate civil service examination, and that the efficiency of this service demands permanency of tenure and promotion from the less to the more desirable places; and,

Whereas, There are now pending in the senate of the United States two bills, introduced by Senators Morgan and Lodge, to provide for the reorganization of the consular and diplomatic service, which fulfill the essential conditions considered by this chamber necessary to secure efficient and creditable service;

Resolved, That the chamber of commerce of the state of New York heartily approves of the essential features of said bills, and recommends the early passage by both houses of congress of a consular reform bill.

On February 4, at the regular monthly meeting of the Indianapolis board of trade governors, the recommendation supporting the Lodge consular bill was passed.

Governor Morton has appointed Col. Richard G. Lay superintendent of the western division of the Erie canal. Colonel Lay is not a canal man but he was the brother of Governor Morton's first wife.

A New York carrier named Janicke was run over by a delivery wagon on Park Row about two weeks ago and narrowly escaped death. He refused to be taken to the Hudson Street Hospital until his bag and mail had been safely delivered to another carrier. And

yet have we not heard that under the competitive system we could never secure faithful employees?

Collector Kilbreth has promoted two republican employes because of long and satisfactory performance of their duties in the New York custom house. This is a considerable reform step in Tammany-Platt New York.

The federal grand jury at Louisville, Ky., has indicted A. R. Carothers, the assistant custodian at the custom house, and Isaac F. Middleton, one of his subordinates, charging them with being unlawfully concerned in soliciting money for political purposes from the employes of the government. The amounts collected, as charged by the indictments, range from \$5 to \$15, the money being used to aid in the campaign of Montgomery, in the fourth District.

Congressman Taylor has been having a merry whirl with the officers of the supervising architect of the treasury department. In accordance with the protest of the union laborers of Evansville against the importation of non-union men from Ft. Wayne to do the necessary painting and repairing on the custom house and post office he saw the supervising architect and had a long conference with him. Of course the conservatism of all the government departments is against any interference whatever between union and non-union workmen, and the supervising architect was loth to break precedents by making a rule in this case. However, Mr. Taylor persevered and has come off with laurels. He has not obtained a pledge that union labor and home labor in Evansville shall obtain a preference, but it is promised that a special inspector shall be sent out and judgments on the bids will be deferred until he makes his report. Mr. Taylor thinks that once he can have the inspector safe in Evansville the rest of the journey will be plain sailing.—*Washington dispatch, Indianapolis Sentinel, February 18.*

The appointment, Wednesday, of George Cotton as postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., is a complete surprise to the politicians. The sentiment at Elmira is, that this recognition of Senator Hill's lieutenant is the first overt act of friendship between President Cleveland and Senator Hill. Cotton has been a bitter enemy of President Cleveland.—*February 28.*

Democrats of Bayonne want a successor to Postmaster Frederick Boorman. Mr. Boorman is a republican and a veteran. His term expired Jan. 9, last. There are several applicants for the position, some of whom have good backing, and have worked faithfully for the interests of their party. The term of John T. Dunn, of Elizabeth, has expired as a member of Congress, and Senator James Smith, Jr., is now considering the situation. * * * Editor Harry C. Page, publisher of *The Bayonne Herald*, entered the race at a late day as a compromise candidate, and is not worrying about the outcome.—*Bayonne, N. J., dispatch, New York Times, March 9.*

The nomination by the President, to-day, of James E. Conley, to be postmaster at Brockport, N. Y., marks the close of one of the keenest post-office contests that have come to the notice of the administration. In Mr. Cleveland's first term John C. Collins was chosen postmaster, and he made a most acceptable official. As soon as Mr. Cleveland returned to the White House, Mr. Collins filed his papers for reappointment. He has been seeking the office ever since. In his first struggle for appointment, Collins was backed by John Owens, a prominent Monroe county democrat, but in 1893 Owens transferred his influence to Mr. Conley, and has since worked in his interest. Valentine Fleckenstein, collector of internal revenue for the Rochester and Buffalo district, in which Brockport is situated, originally supported Collins, but a few months ago he went over to Conley.

The Brockport post-office in the last three years has had two postmasters, both of whom have been removed because of defalcations. The New York senators have not decided whether they will delay the confirmation of Conley, who is known to them as a Cleveland democrat.—*Washington dispatch, New York Times, February 26.*

By the appointment to-day of John B. Patterson to be postmaster at Corry, the postmaster-general settled an amusing contest. There were originally thirteen candidates for the place, and all were hustling to secure the support of Representative Sibley. But after Mr. Sibley made his speech in the house attacking the President, none of the candidates cared to have it known that they had ever spoken to Honest Joe. Mr. Sibley, of course, realized that by his speech he was persona non grata to Mr. Bissell, and he declined, therefore, to recommend anyone for this appointment, unless Mr. Bissell requested him to do so.—*Washington dispatch, Buffalo Express, March 3.*

It is hard to understand what purpose moved the President after his experience with Gen. Armstrong as assistant commissioner of Indian affairs, to allow Armstrong practically to name his successor. Thomas P. Smith, of New York, nominated for assistant commissioner yesterday, was an inspector in the field when Armstrong announced his intention to retire, but came to Washington at Armstrong's instance, and has been, apparently, busy with his own canvass ever since. From all that can be learned about Mr. Smith, he is as extreme a political partisan as Armstrong was. As an inspector, common report credits him with going about from agency to agency and school to school, looking for republicans in "unprotected" places, who could be put out of the way to make room for democrats. If this is the fact, Secretary Smith appears to have broken faith with the friends of the Indian to whom he promised that Armstrong's successor should be as good a civil service reformer as he could find, and a man thoroughly abreast of the progress of the day on the Indian question.—*Washington dispatch, New York Evening Post, January 15.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.*

VOL. II, No. 26.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Indianapolis, Ind.

THE civil service reformers and the republican leaders, and the citizens generally, of Illinois, are deserving of the warmest congratulations; the civil service reformers because, after years of patient work, they have now a splendid success as their reward, the republican leaders for their astuteness in understanding that the day has gone by for spoils to be anything but a hindrance to party success, and the citizens of Illinois, that they have taken the one greatest step toward the realization of an actually free and democratic government. The Illinois legislature recently passed, by an overwhelming majority, the measure giving to cities the power to put the several departments of the governments under civil service rules, to be administered by a commission. Governor Altgeld promptly signed the bill. The civic federation of Chicago originated the bill. It would bring, if adopted in Chicago, the 15,000 employes of the city under the merit system, and remove from the mayor this immense patronage. The local political leaders commended the measure. The republican leaders had the political foresight to do this, in the face of the fact that they knew that their success at the coming city election was almost certain, that the democratic mayor had packed the offices with democrats, and that the law, if passed, would, from the start, take all this immense patronage from the hands of a republican mayor.

Whether the law as passed by the Illinois legislature should apply to the city of Chicago was subjected to a popular vote on April 2. The republican mayor, Swift, was elected by a plurality of 41,110, but the civil service law was carried by the majority of 45,570. Twice now a civil service law has been subjected to a vote of the people at the polls, in New York and in Illinois, and twice the people have shown how sick and disgusted they are with the whole spoils business, and that whenever given the chance, they will lay rough hands on it. And yet, probably, petty bosses will continue to write the papers that "civil service" is unpopular among the people, un-American and aristocratic, and only ad-

vocated by a little group of canting holier-than-thou hypocrites.

AND in this connection how do the Indiana republican leaders regard their late fulfillment of party pledges to end the spoils treatment of public places? There has been in Indiana a more active warfare against spoils than in Illinois. The plain people of the state, who pay their taxes and vote without expecting to be paid for it, are quite as anxious to benefit, by the economy, efficiency and justice of the merit system as were the people of Illinois. An excellent bill was introduced, and it was buried because the republican leaders were true to the bourbon political reputation of the state. Its republican leaders have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. They are bigoted, hide-bound and moss backed, and the aspirants among the young men for leadership, if anything, surpass their elders in these particulars. It has been a republican custom to make merry over these qualities manifested by the Hoosier democracy. But that party had a leader, Mr. Jewett, bold enough and astute enough, to announce at a Jackson dinner, last January, that while his heart beat as true as ever to spoils, it simply wouldn't work, and hadn't worked in practice, and meant the destruction of the political party adhering to it. But the republican legislature forgot all the bitter lessons of experience, and regarded the welfare of their party as they smelled the spoil, and almost felt the crunching of it between their teeth, about as the bulldog regards the kitten in its jaws. Their party organ protested against such a betrayal of party pledges. General Harrison protested. We used to search the papers for the protest of candidate-elect for the senate, Fairbanks, but never found it.

The CHRONICLE has preferred to take the view that the republican leaders sacrificed their party from stupidity. Among politicians, stupidity is the deadliest sin, and unpardonable.

IN the city there has been the same incapacity to understand the trend of the times. Mayor Denny realized that the time had come when aside from all other reasons, considered purely as a wise party move, merit should rule in all city appointments. But unfortunately for himself and

for the city, he also felt that P. C. Trusler must be given something good, and he gave him the place of controller. And Trusler and his small fry followers have ever since been hostile to the mayor's efforts to reform the civil service of the city. The excellent and thorough rules submitted to the mayor and considered by him and his "cabinet," had when adopted some large gaps where reform had been, and the consequence was Trusler's successful assessment of city employes, discreditable to those concerned in it and short-sighted and stupid on the part of professedly clever politicians and which the party will have to pay dearly for.

WHAT is called party government still affords an astonishing spectacle in New York. The great victory of the people at the election against the worst corruption ever known in this country gave the republicans a great majority. The legislature met, it was supposed, to take steps to rid the people of the corrupt officials, and to so legislate as to prevent, so far as legislative ingenuity could, the recurrence of the evils. But a man, in the express business on Broadway, named Tom Platt, who had been all along assigning places and campaign money to republican heelers, determined that nothing should be done which would interfere with his party perquisites. At a sign from him matters came to a standstill. He talks with Mayor Strong and Strong with him. He talks with Governor Morton and Morton with him. These are instances of the dignified and honest officials who hesitate and falter in the presence of this ill-favored expressman. Tammany police justices remain in office, and the rascally bi-partisan board system seems likely to share the same fortune. As an illustration of what Platt can do, take the request of Mayor Strong, that an amendment be made to a pending bill. "His wishes, in that respect," says Lauterbeck, a Platt henchman, "having been communicated by Mr. Platt to the republican members of the senate, the amendment was promptly made."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL OLNEY (whose Pennsylvania railroad pass the papers report as having been picked up in the White House grounds a few days since), has made a characteristic decision in the case of Post-

master Warfield of Baltimore. The case was fully gone into in the CHRONICLE of last month. The postmaster failed to work in some new men before the President's order including new places in the classified service. First he tried to get them in as watchmen, then classify them and then slip them in where he wanted them. The civil service commission declined thus to beat the law. Then the postmaster claimed that he had in fact made the new appointments on November 1, the day before the President's order although the post-office department did not receive official notice of the removals until November 7, nor of the appointments until November 8. Attorney-General Olney held the appointments to have been legal, and cited the decision of Attorney-General Miller in the case of the railway mail clerks claimed to have been appointed prior to May 1, 1889, the date of the classification of the railway mail service. That opinion was denounced by the democratic press as aiding and abetting the attempt to beat the law. What did Attorney-General Olney say of it at the time?

THE congressional boodle character is well illustrated by the case of Bartlett versus Coffeen in a Wyoming court. Coffeen was a congressman and Bartlett was his private secretary. After both were out of office Bartlett sued Coffeen, alleging that the latter held back \$20 to \$30 per month of the secretary's salary which the congressman turned over to his daughter and nephew for alleged services but who were in fact attending school. Bartlett further alleged that Coffeen compelled him to contribute five to ten dollars a month to office rent and the hire of a typewriter machine. The ex-secretary was given by the jury \$202.50. This is the latest demonstration of the principle, illustrated by a long line of notorious precedents, that public office is a family snap.

READERS of the CHRONICLE may remember that in the December number, considerable space was given to accounts of the furious onslaught of the incoming republican state officers, on the public treasury especially, in the way of working in relatives. At the same time it was shown that several were simply trying to recoup themselves for the large assessments levied on them by their party machine. There was Geologist Blatchley with three important appointments, one of which he gave to his uncle, who had, it was stated, got his nomination for him and steered his campaign. Then there was Coroner Castor, whose greediness was such that his own party had to check it; he turned out two employes to give his sister their job. Then there was Supreme

Clerk Hess, whose naïve plans, as reported, filled the newspapers with delight. His place cost him more than \$3,500, and he gave jobs to several of his family. It was to be expected that he should regard a public office as a family perquisite. But there was considerable public clamor over the want of reserve and decency, in the onslaught of relatives; and for this or some other reason, one of Hess's daughters was not provided for. We are now glad to chronicle that in March, he turned off the woman stenographer, because he wanted the place for this heretofore unprovided for daughter. Although we all have to pay for it, we hope that the supreme clerk and family, by this thrift, can recover the assessment.

EX-CONGRESSMAN BYNUM before retirement had his son appointed to West Point or the naval academy at Annapolis, we do not recall which. Mr. Henry, his successor, has thrown these appointments within his gift open to competition. This means that lads of republican or democratic parentage, Catholic, or Baptist, or Presbyterian; German, or Irish, or English, or Puritan, rich or poor, populist, union or non-union, free silver or gold monometalist, may compete, and the lad standing the best test for physical and mental qualifications will win. Is not this plan just and respectable and democratic?

THE Indianapolis *Journal* speaks of Miss Ahern, the state librarian just displaced by the republican legislature after six years of service, as "courteous" and "efficient," having "developed a fitness for the work which makes her retirement a matter for regret." Of the new incumbent it adds that she "will doubtless be equally efficient should she serve an equal length of time." One of the interesting features of the candidacy of the successful candidate was the promise to farm out the several subordinate places in order to get certain votes and the reproaches and criminations that after the votes were got the pledges were broken. Senator Boyd, however, secured a place for his daughter. The legislature finally took a short step towards reform, placing the appointment hereafter with the state board of education.

ONE of the encouraging signs of the times is, that when a post-office employe is removed apparently without cause, it is made public by a home newspaper, and whether or not he gets a fair hearing in Washington, he gets one in his own community. There is no way by which the spoils system can be trampled down sooner. The *Evening Herald*, of Huntington, Indiana, in its issue of March 18, gives two columns to the case of Wilson S. Bell, a veteran soldier, where, in spite of the ap-

pearance of fairness in naming the reason for dismissal and the names of the complainants, there are all the ear-marks of the same old trick of trumped-up charges to get an employe out of the service. County Recorder Nave complained in Washington that Bell had failed to deliver his mail properly; but Bell states that Nave had never mentioned the matter to him. Attorney Kaufman said he saw Bell on December 28 stop while on his route, and in response to an inquiry as to whether there was any mail for the person, search through his "pouch two or three times to find the mail for this person, occupying in the conversation and search eleven minutes." Bell denies this charge, and gives the names of fifty-four people on his route who desired his retention, as a satisfactory carrier. Then last March the postmaster increased Bell's territory, and he writes to Washington that substitutes have lowered Bell's record twenty to twenty five minutes. We can not undertake to judge Postmaster Fulton's conduct on this point, but the "substitute trick" has been very popular, and, we are bound to add, very successful in Indiana, since the offices were put under the civil service rules. One plan is for the substitute to hire an assistant until he has made the needed record for the charges. In this case we suppose he made a "spurt" for the occasion, and he may have been aided by an especially light mail. The post-office inspector, also, plays the rôle he has played before in Indiana. Bell, in his letter of dismissal, is told that he has been given a hearing by the post-office inspector during his investigation of the case, thus complying with the postmaster-general's order; but Bell says he was never notified of Inspector Leatherman's presence, nor was he given any hearing.

Whether or not Bell was a fit subject for dismissal, the *Herald* has performed a public service in giving him a hearing.

JUDGE HENRY H. BATES and Rufus S. B. Clarke, chief examiners in the patent office, have resigned by request. Judge Bates received his appointment in 1868. It is not worth while to go into the details of his great fitness for the place, because Commissioner Seymour assured him that his record was clear, *but he wanted his place*. A minor brutality of the event was the request for his resignation as he lay on a sick bed. All the particulars of these removals were given in the Washington dispatches of at least one New York paper. Patent lawyers protested, but President Cleveland never corrects an unjust removal nor resents the basest meanness of his own subordinates in effecting these removals. The hardships and ingratitude connected with such cases appear never to

awaken an emotion of sympathy in him. He has always seemed to have an attitude of pitiless stolidity. We all have enough brutishness that familiarity with suffering breeds callousness. Von Moltke, at the first spectacle of a bull fight, turned sick as the gored horse was forced along in the ring after it had stumbled, caught in its own entrails, but the habituated ladies and gentlemen of the audience fluttered and chatted and smiled and saw nothing unseemly. An American President and the ladies and gentlemen who can see unmoved these wanton removals of efficient and devoted employes, after years of public service, show the coarse brutality and indifference of those other ladies and gentlemen.

BOGUS REFORMS.

Mayor Strong's blunder, which now has the appearance of a fatal blunder, has been in his belief that his pledge to give New York city a non-partisan administration was to divide the places among the different organizations that supported him. This belief has resulted in some appointments, where fitness was the sole test as in the appointment of Colonel Waring, as street commissioner, and in other appointments where the unfitness was as glaring. Mayor Strong appointed three excise commissioners for New York. The responsibilities, the temptations and the difficulties of those positions need no comment. He should have selected men whose characters had been subjected to as great tests as these positions will bring and who had come out of the ordeal unblemished. Mayor Strong did this in other instances, and he is not to be excused when he failed here. One position was given to Julius Harburger, as due the Steckler organization for their services in the campaign for municipal reform. Harburger's training for his present position has been—

Clerk in passementerie store.....	4 years
Proprietor of tailors' trimmings store.....	20 years
Clerk of fourth district court.....	10 years

Another appointment was to Joseph Murray, whose business career has been—

Ship-calker	1 year
Drummer-boy (18 years old).....	1 year
Boat-hirer and builder	18 years
Post-office clerk.....	5 years
"Contractor"	1 year
Appraiser's clerk	1 year
Keeper of Castle Garden lunch-counter	4½ years
Builder and building superintendent	2 years
Custom-house custodian	1 year
Superintendent of Chaucey property.....	2 years
"Real estate".....	1 year

To thrust men whose careers have been in such petty lines into the enormous responsibilities, and to stand up against the enormous pressure of their new positions, was not reform, and it was unpardonable. The third appointment to Mr. Woodman was generally commended.

It is interesting to follow the course of the new officers. Harburger and Murray, as a first step, made thirty-five arbitrary removals, giving the impression that their colleague, Mr. Woodman, sanctioned them. Mr. Woodman protested against such precipitate whole-

sale changes, which would cripple the department. When Murray was asked whether he believed in appointing as many new men as possible, he said: "Don't you think that any man would want to get as much patronage as possible? I guess you would if you were in my place."

The second suggestive episode is the stand of the different commissioners on the attempt to put the appointments under an open competitive test. Mr. Woodman was earnestly in favor of it. In a public interview he calls attention to the kind of men secured by the old system of favoritism, under the ridiculous farce of a pass examination. But his fellow-commissioners united against him. Mayor Strong has shown himself entirely clear-headed; did he know that Mr. Woodman would be from the start the one reform member of the board perfectly helpless as a minority member?

It is such an admirable object-lesson in the way spoilsmen work that we give below the grave and frank scruples against the dangers of the competitive system as expressed by Harburger and Murray, and following that, extracts showing the sort of men, when left to themselves, they choose for the "confidential position" of excise inspector:

I am directed by the board to say that they consider such a step [open competitive examinations] detrimental to the most efficient service. *The position of excise inspector is largely a confidential position to the heads of the board, as the commissioners depend upon the reports made by the inspectors for the information to guide their judgment in the granting or refusing licenses and renewals thereof. It is absolutely necessary that there should be on the one side a feeling of confidence in the integrity and fidelity of the inspector, and on the other, loyalty and a personal interest in, and responsibility for, a successful administration of the department.* These feelings can not be fostered and the confidential relations established, were the inspectors chosen by your commission solely on the ground of the ability of the candidates to successfully answer the questions contained in the examination papers. The present system [pass examination; i. e., favoritism] allowing this board to select the candidate in the first instance and your commission to ascertain his qualification by an examination, will produce the best possible results, and lead, we believe, to a better administration of the department than could be obtained by selection of inspectors in the manner you suggest.

THE RESULTS.

No. 1 was Baker, real estate, on the bond of Commissioner Murray.

He was reasonably incorruptible, modestly admitting that every man had his price, but he omitted to state his. He did not need to accept a bribe, being, as he said, "well fixed" himself, and as a cigar manufacturer occupied one of his houses, he could get all the cigars he wanted. So he was almost absolutely unapproachable. He took the place, he said, though not asked why, because Mr. Murray wanted him to do so. Of his duties as inspector he had no definite knowledge.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 2 was Evers, expressman, in 1879 proprietor of an oyster saloon, taking out a license, later porter for republican collector of the port; in 1894 had a clerkship with republican reorganization committee.

He smokes, chews and drinks, but whether he ever gets drunk or not "depends on your definition of 'drunk.'" He is never "helpless or unconscious," though sometimes he "feels good and sociable."

Beer is his beverage; liquor is only medicine to him. He considers himself beyond temptation. That a bribe of money might ever be offered him never occurred to him till after a severe cross-examination. Cigars, drinks, or presents of cases of wine, etc., he will refuse indignantly. The mere suggestion offended him. Of his duties as inspector he had no definite idea.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 3, Callaghan described himself as clerk, messenger, man of all work, and confidential man for the Jesse Hoyt estate. His employers liked him so well they have kept him always by them, hating to discharge him, though, as he said, he had been a kind of a burden to them for three years.

He has known excise inspectors, and from their talk he obtained a very definite notion of the work they had to do, how they go about it, and something of the temptations they have to resist. But he will face all without fear. He smokes and drinks, but does not chew. Sometimes he goes without touching a drop for weeks; then again he takes half a dozen drinks a day. Beer is his preference, but he accepts liquor when the company is such that the influence of good-fellowship is irresistible. At such times he gets to feeling good, "what you would say was havin' a little aboard," but never did he lose an hour from business on account of drink, and only once was he spoken to about his condition. That was last April, two years ago, when he drank two glasses of English ale. Despite this inclination to moderate self-indulgence, he was sure he could stand off temptation. He would not refuse a saloon-keeper's invitation to smoke or drink; he never refused to take a drink or cigar "off any one." This was his first answer. Under cross-examination he decided that he would take nothing whatever from any liquor dealer. It would be better not to be "under a compliment" to any of them, was his reflection. He had a fight once. It was not due to liquor, though. He was a deputy United States marshal at an election. The poll clerk ordered him out, but was unable to put him out, and a policeman was called. The policeman was carried out himself, but he arrested Callaghan, who was not released until after the count.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 4 was Smith. After learning his trade he worked at it for the Ingersoll Rock-Drill Company (Wm. R. Grace, he mentioned twice, is the president of that company). After seven or eight years there was a—well, a kind of a strike; it wasn't exactly a strike. The company increased the hours and reduced the pay. Smith was a "shining light" in a little—er—strike. They won that strike, anyhow, and Smith was idle for a few months. He went into the milk business then, but sold out to his partner. (His partner married a rich girl afterwards and hasn't been to see Smith since.) Smith has a blank space in his biography along here, but he remembers getting employment with the Ball Electric Light Company, which has kept him steady for eight years. He is considered a good practical machinist, constructing, running, stationary, dynamos—"most anything in the trade, you know."

Of excise inspecting? Well, he knew an inspector once, but "as him and Smith differed" (in something not specified), Smith did not like to ask about the business. He got some idea from the Lexow investigations and such. Of course, he knew what sort of temptations he would have to resist, and was ready to meet them. He drinks now and then, and might have thought himself under the influence at times, but he wasn't; he never lost consciousness. So he will be all right on that score. He will

not drink at all in his own district (excise, not political). If he were "asked to have a glass of beer," he would resent it as an attempt to dictate what he should drink.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 5, Graham, made a creditable appearance, showed an appreciation of the duties of inspector and expressed himself in correct language, although he has been self-supporting since he was ten years old.

No. 6, Clayton, has been seven years in the civil service, as consul at Callao, Peru. When he was removed by a change of administration, he returned to Washington, where he "laid around" again for a year, having a good time with plenty of money. Then followed seven years more in the civil service, as consul at Para, Brazil, and another season of "laying around," etc. His appointments were made from Georgia, where he had political influence, though he lived here. Anyway, they were accredited to that state and pegged out. * * * He drinks when he wants to, but is not a hard drinker. He likes a glass of beer at night, now and then, sometimes takes whisky, when he has a cold, for instance. Other things he has drunk at "parties," and though he never was what you would call intoxicated, he has had "a jag on," you know. When a fellow (at a party) gets to drinking champagne, claret, and all that, a "mixture up," most anyone would be knocked out of course. Yes, he has lived pretty high at times, but there are no more temptations in the excise business than in any other walk of life, and he thinks the low salary, \$1,200 a year, would not lay him open to those temptations. He didn't know what they were. They were nothing to him, but for other inspectors, he could imagine where they might be and described them pretty well. He would drink with saloon-keepers, if he knew them; otherwise, he would pay for his drinks. He might take a drink from Mr. Stokes, for instance, if he knew him.

He wanted the position for the salary. His long service in the prime of his life at the consulates had left him unfitted for any business, and while he had many friends among business men, they could not very well employ him themselves. He is out of employment now, and does really desire very much to be passed.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 7, Steinberger, a traveling salesman, was voluble and quite indescribable in the space we can give. He thinks that having talked and criticised, and found fault as a reformer with the city government as heretofore administered, he should now take an active part in the reform administration.

No. 8, Franklin, a barber, has maintained a shop for fourteen years, and unless a man who thinks of buying him out comes down with his price, he will keep the shop going under his eye, even when an inspector.

Nobody ever seen him under the influence [of liquor]; nobody can claim he ever was. So there are no dangers or temptations in the business "that he supposes of." A man who would take a bribe is unfit, in his opinion, to be an excise inspector, and an offer of even a cigar, manifestly intended "to make him feel good to the saloon-keeper," would be refused by Franklin, who at first could not

imagine why bribes should be offered a man in the position he aspires to.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 9, Commissioner Murray sent to the local examining board of the state civil service commission, yesterday, a man who had to be refused an examination under the rule excluding all persons connected with the liquor business within two years. *The candidate told the reporter that he had talked his case over with Mr. Murray, and that they had agreed he might get through.*

No. 10, Schulz, a brickmason, twelve years with one firm.

Of the excise he knew almost nothing, only what he had picked up, such as a liquor-dealer can't sell to minors and children under age or to drunkards who have too much aboard. He himself doesn't drink only a glass of beer now and then, never anything stronger, because of sickness. He was never under the influence or had too much. So the temptations of the excise business can't tempt him in any shape, manner, or form. He is not aware of there being any temptations in the business particular except what he has read in the papers. He has read of bribe-taking by bribe-takers, but he will refuse anything but a cigar and he won't take a cigar either. Why anything should be offered him he couldn't see.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 11, Dryer, Commissioner Harburger's candidate made such voluble disclosures as must have given the commissioner an irritating half hour, as he read the summary of the evidence. * * * Is now in the United States weigher's office. More light came, however, from a statement he began without invitation and was not permitted to finish; it was to the effect that he had worked hard in the late election in his district for ———. Besides that, he is a laborer in the weigher's office at customs and acts as tally-keeper, keeps tab on things, you know. He can make a living there at \$2.50 a day when he works, but he wants to have a rainy day some time, you see. So Mr. Harburger thought this (inspectorship) was just the thing—yes, sirree. Mr. Harburger told him about the duties; Dryer wasn't agoing to go it blind—no, sirree. And he got a little book, too, so he was prepared for the examination, though if you put it another way he had not prepared or consulted anybody, except that he didn't want to go it blind—no, sirree, no, sir. He got some points from a saloon keeper friend of his—an acquaintance, that is, you know. But really as for that he didn't need to ask. He is pretty quick to see a thing; he can tell a man when he is lying to him, for instance, pretty near every time. Yes, sirree, he is well posted; well, in fact, he has looked up the majority of subjects. Say, he had a stationery store uptown, and do you know, he read so much in his own books he failed? that is—well, yes, he failed. But it was partly because he hadn't enough capital and went out a good deal. Judgments? One from that time, nine years ago. That was a wrong; he had some ink in the store down in the basement and it froze, and you know what frozen ink is—well, it froze and was no good anyhow, all water, and Dryer offered to compromise on it. Drink? No, sirree. It don't agree with him—no, sirree. If he drunk a

glass of whisky, he would think that he was the king of Germany or something. Once he did; but he wasn't drunk, he was sick; that was at a wedding. Of beer he drinks a pint, about, a night. It's the same as whisky, with pea soup; he can't go pea soup, neither—never could; his daddy is the same way. A cigar he enjoys at all stages, you bet. Temptations? Well, there may be some for a jackass, but for him? No, sirree, sure. Could he get any other work? His daddy would give him a job at this minute, but in his business there is too much work.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 12, Rinn, a street car conductor, another candidate of Commissioner Harburger:

* * * That companion to him got him to leave there and they both went to work for the New York Elevated Road. (Here he gave some history of elevated railroads.) He was store-keeper and operator for the road, till the consolidation, when he lost his place. The companion to him went with M. H. King, who was (all about Mr. King), to the south to work on the Gulf and something road. (Here a short history about the road.) Well, that companion is a manager down there, and he wanted Rinn to go when they started off. No, he didn't, that's so. He became a ticket-seller and operator for the "L," four or five years, and then got a hankering for to be telegraphing again, as the saying is. You see, when a man has done a thing once, he—well, he—as the saying is—. To tell the truth, yes, he was discharged just once. It was at the time he got to hankering for the, as the saying is—the time when he left the "L." He was discharged on the grounds of sticking to a man. It was this way: One night after being quite wild, there (on the station) the gateman come on intoxicated. Rinn, who was ticket-seller (this was after the roads was consolidated), thinks, thinks he, he could do the man a kindly act, and so he helped him along. The gateman, drunk, as the saying is, was laying on the bench, when he (Rinn) seen the inspector coming. Rinn attempted to warn the gateman and to get him up off'n the bench, but him and Rinn had a little scuffle, and the inspector seen it, and asked Rinn if the man was drunk, and Rinn said, "No." It was a lie, but it was said in kindness. Anyhow, Colonel Hain asked the gateman if he wasn't drunk, and he said yes; and then Rinn was asked, and, not knowing what the gateman had said, he told the Colonel no, and he fired him. That was the story of Rinn's life, and he told it all frankly after he was started on it.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 13. Not reported.

No. 14, Levine, a law clerk: He had no knowledge whatever of his duties as an excise inspector, expecting to find out afterwards. * * * There are no temptations for him in the excise business accordingly, not even money or cigars. He was positive because he would not run the risk of being caught. He would not like to run the risk of dismissal, or be under a saloon-keeper's obligations, because the saloon-keeper could report him to the commissioner.—*From report of pass examination.*

No. 15, Feldman, born in Roumania, a real estate broker:

He don't prepare for this examination; why should he? Humph! it is a non-competitive examination, isn't it? Why should he prepare for? He has been studying up the law good, being closely attached to his brother-in-law, who is a lawyer with a law office and a law business for some time. Um, hum. He has a good memory, but he relies chiefly on his

great good sense and his good sound judgment. No, he don't remember what judge naturalized him, but it was in 1887. He came here in 1879, seventeen years after he was born in 1860. Isn't it more than seventeen years? What? What did the examiners mean? Humph, he told them once it was seventeen years, and that's right. But if he was born in 1860 and arrived here in 1879, wouldn't he have been nineteen years old when—? Ach! No, sir; why? He told them how it was the right way, his way was right, humph! * * *

When he resumes the office of inspector will be time enough to know anything about the duties. Why should he inquire about them now? He won't have to be told much. He educated a man already once in business, and has during the course of his education learned to rely on his own dictations, his own senses, and his good, sound judgment, which knows what the duties will be. His duty as an inspector is to fulfill his duties so as to make a good official. He understands the excise department has been run at a disreputable name, run very corrupt. Blackmail is outrageous; in fact, it is very bad, very, very, very bad to take bribes. They would knock him out from fulfilling his duties in his good judgment. Yet he spoke only as to his own personality to whom it would be no enticement. There may be temptations for others, may be, may be so. He don't drink never. He has been out with high merchants who drank, but he did not drink. If anybody offered him a cigar it would be because he would reciprocate, and he wouldn't. He has treated a man when he has sold him a line of goods what will do him a benefit to buy. But not in this business, if he passes to it, no, sir.—
From report of pass examination.

No. 16, Maddox, a book-keeper, furnished nothing in his examination upon which a fair judgment of his qualifications could be based.

No. 17, Gibney, as described, was a healthy, clear-eyed and modest, and honest appearing, trackman, but his illiteracy was such as should bar him from the position.

No. 18, 19, 20 and 21 are stated to have been interesting, but the New York *Evening Post* was unable to report them.

No. 22, Glover, a floor-walker, "could think of no temptations in the excise business." Whence he came and why he sought the position the examiners did not ask.

No. 20, H. B. McAllister, one of the applicants for an inspectorship under the new excise board, whose original examination was not reported in the *Evening Post*, was recalled by the local examining board to answer a few supplementary questions. The opportunity was favorable for a glimpse at another man whom Commissioner Murray has traveled much between here and Albany to have saved from competitive examinations. They certainly would work a hardship to such men as No. 20. He "never had no perticklar trouble with spelling in letters," but at school he did. He was always nervous and couldn't spell

words he knew. That was probably the reason he made some peculiar blunders in his recent examination. Being reassured and given another chance, he spelled adjutant, which he had written "edjerton," a-j-, no, a-d-j-t-n-t. Yes, he had been in the army, with the Ninetieth Pennsylvania Volunteers and knew what an adjutant was. Curiosity he lettered curisty, or to try again, q-u-r-i-s-t-y, no, c-u-r-i-o-s-t-y. Eligible he made with more assurance e-l-i-d-g-a-b-l-e, but he was given the word in syllables and corrected it to e-l-i-g-a-b-l-e. Gallery, according to McAllister, is either g-a-l-a-r-y, or g-a-l-e-r-r-y. He is nervous about definitions, too; indictment means untouched, corrected, and asked for indict, he said it meant a person guilty of a crime.

The candidate was born at Philadelphia, December 21, 1839, but is only fifty-four years, in his written statement, unless there is some misspelling somewhere. His address is No. 354 East One Hundred and Twenty-first street, and he is a salesman by occupation. They cut down commissions in his business here lately, so it don't pay, so he wants a change.

THE RECENT MAYORALTY ELECTION IN PHILADELPHIA.

No great city in the United States opens to the student of the cognate problems of civil service reform and good city government, a richer field for research than Philadelphia. Such students should make our city of Brotherly Love, at least a temporary resting place, as the scientist would the coast of Zanzibar, if that distant and desolate region furnished peculiar or unique advantages for observing a planetary transit, or a total eclipse of the sun. Philadelphia has just experienced what to a superficial observer might be considered a total eclipse of these principles which reformers hold to be "generally necessary" to "political salvation." The results of the recent election have been such that some of us ruefully rub our heads and ask "where are we at?" But our keen scientific spirit can not be blinded to the fact that the collision, whatever harm we have suffered by it, has strewn the ground with the richest kind of specimens. These we propose to pick up and analyze for our own future enlightenment, and for the present edification of reformers whose educational opportunities are less liberal than ours.

It has been a running fight for reform all winter, and a careful examination of its various phases during the whole season will, I believe, show more gain than might at first appear to one who stares simply at the 61,000 machine majority which the official returns have announced as the result of the mayoralty election.

The republican machine, which has so long controlled Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, is a very perfect machine after its kind, and one which has steadily increased its power of late years, owing to the practical belief of many

of our "best citizens" that the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule should not be allowed to interfere seriously with personal financial gains, and that municipal should be rendered subservient to national interests. Consequently an appeal to moral standards has been answered at the polls, especially those in the city of Philadelphia, with a distinct negative. Senator Quay, with his moral conviction of speculation with state treasury funds, Charles A. Porter, whose great fortune has dated from the time he began to monopolize city contracts, and David Martin, whose skill as a defrauder of the ballot and as a corporation lobbyist has made him in his sphere pre eminent, are the most powerful and conspicuous machine leaders. The financial disasters that have been felt all over the country, and most severely in this manufacturing community, have had immense influence in tightening the grip of the machine. Morals must go by the board if the slightest yielding to them means lee-way for the wicked democrats. The bosses were not slow to see and to seize their opportunity—the tidal wave majority of 80,000 at the autumnal elections promised all needed margin. Quay had his own candidate for mayor to whom he had promised Philadelphia—Mr. Boies Penrose, a young and able man, a graduate with high honors of Harvard, but schooled wholly in Quay methods, and whose personal course was reputed to be contrary to good morals. The bosses, Porter and Martin, were opposed to his nomination, for his backer, Magistrate Durham, was a rising star who presaged their decline. Quay, Penrose and Durham believed that they could carry their point without serious trouble, as they almost wholly controlled by one influence or another the newspaper press with the exception of the Philadelphia *Ledger* and the *Call*. The municipal league openly opposed Penrose on his public record, which they showed to be that of a Quay lieutenant. But this fact would have had small weight in all probability, as the community's conscience does not seriously trouble it on that score of Quay politics. But a very serious undercurrent of opposition that grew swiftly lava-hot began running on the personal morality question. Whether this really burnt into the quick of our Philadelphia conscience, it is hard to say—so non-reverberant has that monitor become when it fears an unwary palpitation may reduce the bank account—probably it did, but under any circumstances it alarmed the rival bosses, or they cunningly affected to be alarmed, so that they dropped the slated candidate, taking at the last moment on the eve of the convention Mr. Charles F. Warwick, the city solicitor. And hereby hangs a tale, or a trap. Mr. Warwick's name was among a dozen others published on yellow posters by a few reformers when the Penrose opposition was at its height, as good names to substitute for the objectionable candidate. Many reformers signed this circular, and many did not. Most of the proposed candidates' names on the

circular were very strong; some were thought by the knowing ones to be very weak. Warwick was among the latter. His selection as the mayoralty candidate by Porter and Martin, and his imposition upon a convention which the night before stood ready to give Penrose a large majority, produced intense irritation among the Quay-Penrose faction of the machine. Quay publicly denounced Martin for his treachery on the floor of the United States Senate, as the lobbyist of a great corporation, who had defended his action on the ground that his masters had forced him to it. It was intimated that Warwick would be knifed at the polls—a threat that was not fulfilled—and that an investigation of corruptions in Philadelphia which would destroy his political sponsors—Porter and Martin, would be instituted by the state senate—mere play of summer lightning which brightened the political horizon for an hour and made it ominous with distant thunder mutterings; but no real electric flashes followed since, as the rival bosses pertinently explained, bolts of that kind might run zigzag back and forth tearing uncontrollably other reputations than those aimed at. The reformers were divided: some were in a strait between the steep rock of the yellow poster, to which in haste they had given their names, on the one side, and the steep rock of the tariff on the other. But what was the real objection to Warwick, if any could be alleged? The other wing of the reformers, some of whom were in sincere doubt for a time what course to pursue, took the ground that while they brought no specific charges against Mr. Warwick personally, he was too closely associated personally and politically with two dangerous men—Porter and Martin—to be capable of destroying their power and of exposing the ramifications of corruption which were known to exist throughout the city government. He belonged to that class of candidates who are especially to be feared, whose freedom from too obviously objectionable points, accompanied by a virtual acquiescence in machine rule makes them a safe screen for the bosses to work behind. The most apparent public need of the city at this juncture was investigation, exposure, the complete destruction of that life-centre of bossdom which creates and more or less completely controls the entire machinery of the city, from the ward-heeler in the most obscure corner of a division, to some judges upon the bench.

The democratic party offered Philadelphia a candidate who, individually considered, is the strongest man in political life to be found in the state—ex-Governor Pattison—the strongest in purity of public and personal character in the measure of service he has rendered both the city and the commonwealth, and in his grasp of public questions. He served Philadelphia twice as controller, instituting reforms of which the benefits still linger; the state twice as governor, protecting the treasury and other public interests man-

fully against the surreptitious or open attacks of spoilsmen, who, emboldened by the almost unbroken and unlimited power of the majority party which spawned them, needed the restraint of a strong hand. Governor Pattison's letter of acceptance upon receiving the mayoralty nomination, was perhaps the boldest and most satisfactory civil service and municipal reform utterance that any candidate has offered any American city. The sincerity of his promises was generally believed by his enemies as by his friends, for his character and record were their guarantee. It was this very belief that he would do what he said, and give a non-partisan administration—rewarding every man according to his work that made the opposition to him so bitter. The democratic leaders, however, were clearly warned by some of the reformers most favorable to Governor Pattison, that in their belief republican party feeling was so intense, owing to business depression, that he could not be elected. It was suggested that either an independent republican must be nominated on a non-partisan basis, or at least a democratic business man. The advice was not acted upon. Possibly the result would have been the same had it been. What were the causes of the overwhelming defeat which the reform cause received? Many causes conspired to produce it, but the essential one, to the minds of thoughtful and experienced men, were not far to seek. The campaign was fought with spirit and along the lines of legitimate argument and appeal to public policy by the Pattison camp. The corruption of the city councils—a claim admitted by all—the domination of the department of public works by corrupt contractors (the stench of the great scandals of the Queen Lane reservoir was at the time poisoning the air); the enormous increase in the city's expenditure with continuance of inefficient city work; the police and fire departments used as political machines—these and similar matters were dwelt upon as evidences of the need of a complete change. The republican machine attempted practically nothing in rebuttal, but appealed constantly to party prejudice and passion. Their argument in substance was, elect Pattison mayor of Philadelphia, and all over the country will go the disastrous news, "The democratic party has carried the stronghold of protection!" In vain was it urged, on the other hand, national and city affairs must be divided if you would purge your city of the thieves that are devouring it, and if you would free your national party of the corruptions that weaken it. In vain were citizens urged to follow the example of New York. The party passions and fears were too strong to be resisted. The ring controlled nearly all the newspapers of the city, whose columns joined in attack upon Mr. Pattison and his associates, which in mendacity and indecency went beyond any thing which the city has witnessed for years. But the evidences of interest manifested in the reform cause during the campaign were so great, the attendance of meetings was so

large and of so thoughtful a character, that, as the campaign drew to a close, the reformers thought their chances of winning were fair, and many well-informed regular republicans admitted that the election would be a close one. The announcement that the machine ticket had won by 61,000 was a profound surprise to both sides in the contest.

There is one very significant point which should be noted: David Martin, the republican boss who managed the campaign for Warwick, boasted on the morning of election, that he would give his candidate 60,000 majority. His prophecy was fulfilled almost to the letter. Under some circumstances prophecy is easy. There can be no doubt that fraud played a large part in the result. Martin's methods are known to be wholly unscrupulous. The *Philadelphia Ledger* accredits him with having raised \$60,000 from assessments upon employees of the city departments. The election machine was largely in his hands; the lower order of regular democrats are extremely venal; among the negroes and foreigners in the lower part of the city repeating is known to have been rampant and unchecked all day long. The indifference of our "best citizens," in such dangerous abuses when they aid their side in a contest is a discouraging though natural feature of the situation. But some of these are a little nervous over the unwieldy bulk of their success. They wish their victory had not been so decisive. All the worst councilmen from whose hands the stains of corruption will "not out," were triumphantly elected. One of them, whose personal life had been so shamelessly indecent that clergymen and good women made a special effort to defeat him, found his desk loaded with lilies of the valley and maiden-hair fern, a floral tribute which his admirers bestowed upon him, apparently oblivious of the keen satire upon his feelings which its delicate purity suggested! Then, too, our immense unused and unusable Queen Lane reservoir—a suggestive monument to corruption, for which the city has paid \$1,000,000, and in the construction of which, it is claimed, she will lose at the least \$250,000—remains. It is our Philadelphia Sphinx, which, if interrogated rightly, may reveal much that is of public interest.

The civil service provisions contained in the city charter here have been rendered almost wholly nugatory by the manipulations of the politicians. This they have not found it hard to do, since the rules formulated by the authorities charged with the execution of the laws have been contrary to the spirit and intention of the act.

But notwithstanding the overwhelming reform defeat, which in our opinion was mainly due to the belief of our people that national interests rendered it unsafe to give the slightest aid and comfort to the democratic party, "the end is not yet."

Since the election the Civil Service Reform Association has taken vigorous steps toward the prosecution of cases involving the polit-

ical assessment of office-holders. Two of the defendants in these cases are republicans and one a democrat—a fortunate defense to the association against the charge of partisan bias, which would doubtless have been made had all the accused belonged to the dominant party. The defendants in the hearing before the magistrate were bound over to appear before the higher court. The evidence is considered to be strong against them.

If the reformers' view of the real situation in Philadelphia is proved by events to be the true one, the great victory of the machine will prove its calamity in the end. The present moment is not wholly encouraging for reformers, but, as was suggested in the beginning, it is a fruitful time for research and observation. Let us possess our souls in patience.

SPECTATOR.

HOW THE SPOILS SYSTEM DEFEATS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

BY REV. W. H. KAUFMAN, HULL, IOWA.

Probably the greatest bar to "a government of the people, by the people and for the people," is the present system of the distribution of offices as rewards for party services.

The first thought is apt to be that this system affects only, or at least mainly, the appointive offices. A moment's consideration, however, will show that the blasting effects of the spoils system fall chiefly on the people through the elective officer. The primaries are the vital organs of the body politic. Let us see how they fare under the spoils system.

A preliminary canvass for nomination is going on. The people pay very little attention to this. The candidates for nomination and their personal friends are the sole movers. To secure a nomination at a congressional or state legislative convention, a candidate must have his friends out at all the primaries and secure the right "delegation." The really honest man, who will neither take nor give a bribe, who will get nothing from the office but the bare salary, can afford to spend very little in "fixing" the primaries. Not so with the spoilsman. Being corrupt, he is willing to spend, if need be, in hope of a bountiful harvest from the corporations which he will pluck once he goes to the legislature. But really, he needs to spend very little, except his traveling expenses. He comes to our city, "sees" the editor and says, "Now, of course, I don't expect you to work for me for nothing; but when we elect our president, I will see that you are appointed postmaster." He "sees" another influential worker and says, "If you will help me out, when I get to Washington I will see that you are appointed collector of internal revenue for this district." To another he promises his support for a consulship, etc. I have known a specially unscrupulous candidate to promise the same office to several persons—"After us the deluge." In this way he visits every city and town of his district, "fixing all the faithful." All the papers that are corruptible are suddenly filled with the

praises of Candidate Spoilsmonger, and the "boom" is "on." The people are indeed somewhat surprised that so great and good a man should have lived so long in the district without being better known. His virtues (many and great, as all the papers aver) do seem to have the marks of the tailor's goose, as though they were fresh from the shop, and not marred by long usage; but is there not a worker or two in every neighborhood, interested, unknown to the people, in securing the nomination of Candidate Spoilsmonger, more especially, this also unknown to the people, in securing thereby the appointment of Uncle John or Brother Will or Cousin Joe, as postmaster or consul or bank examiner.

Now how much on an average does a congressman have to distribute in this way? There are over 250,000 offices in the national civil service. About 47,000 are filled by competitive examination, leaving some 200,000 as "spoils" for defeating the popular will. If each office draws on an average \$750 salary, we have \$150,000,000 annually as a corruption fund wrung from the people but used in defeating the will of the very persons who pay it out of their hard and scant earnings. Setting aside \$50,000,000 per annum as the perquisites of the President and senators we have \$100,000,000 for the 356 congressmen. Of course it is not divided equally, for the party that wins the presidency gets all. This party may or may not have a majority in the house. Last fall there were elected 244 republicans, 104 democrats and 8 populists. Of the 356 congressmen, therefore, only 104 will be distributors of spoils. Of even these there are quite a goodly number who are at "outs" with the President over his financial policy and so get no patronage. Probably not to exceed 80 congressmen distribute the \$100,000,000 annual corruption fund. This is an exceptional case. Perhaps 150 congressmen will be about the average. This will give each congressman of the dominant party \$666,666.66 official salaries to be given at his will each year. The uncertainty amounts to very little, for every one who has had anything to do with fighting the lottery vice knows that the average man's decision is governed vastly more by the size of the prize than by a calculation of his chance of winning it. For instance, the Louisiana Lottery Company advertises "\$1,000,000 in tickets will draw (specifying the various prizes) a total of \$535,000." Yet otherwise sensible men do, by the thousand, put up their money knowing by the very advertisement before their eyes that the chances are two to one against them. So that to win this prize of \$666,666.66 the partisans put up vast sums out of their own private property. Many men will take an office as reward for personal service who would be above taking cash, and as a men will work for a \$2,000 office as hard as for \$2,000 cash we have Candidate Spoilsmonger going about our district with (for his two years) \$1,333,333.33 of public money in his pocket to divert the course of public opinion to his own advantage.

Is it any wonder that the corrupt man is usually elected? Would it not be a wonder if the more corrupt should fail of election? Is it any wonder that Candidate Bribe-giver is suddenly transformed into Congressman Bribe-taker? Is it any wonder that congressmen get suddenly rich on a salary of \$5,000 a year? Is it any wonder that the third house, the lobby, is really stronger than either of those elected by the people?

"What is the remedy?" "It is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is the word of faith which we preach." Take all these offices out of the hands of the spoilsman and fill them by open, competitive examination.

We have done this with reference to some 47,000 offices. We must finish the work so well begun. There is no other nation in Christendom which spends such vast sums in enslaving itself. Till 1853 England was as bad or even worse, but to-day only some twenty appointive offices are dependent on legislative elections.

Not only are our congressional elections corrupted by this vicious spoils system, but our state elections at well.

This may be made perfectly plain in a very few words.

At each presidential election there are put up, as grand prizes, offices whose salaries amount during the four years to \$600,000,000. Some idea of the vastness of this sum may be had from the fact that it is \$100,000,000 more than the total assessed value of the personal and real property of the state of Iowa in 1887! To secure this vast sum but one thing is needful—the election of our "candidate" as President of the United States. With so vast a stake the campaign never ceases. "The king is dead. Long live the king," is antiquated. Now the cry is, "the republicans will carry the next election; but we must carry the one six years hence." What means the constant change from one party to the other and back again, only that the people feel that neither one truly represents them? To carry the presidential election there must be complete organization. Not only the states, but every county, city, ward and precinct, must be thoroughly organized, and kept organized. Eight hundred men voting "wrong" in New York state a few years ago, turned the \$600,000,000 from one set of vampires to another. "Patriotism?" Pshaw! Spoils.

Now this perfect organization can be had only by carrying all the local elections possible. The spoils system feeds on offices as the jackal feeds on offal. Tammany could not live a month without several thousands offices, and half as many million dollars in salaries. Besides there are the United States senatorships, and all the state offices. These of themselves would not suffice to keep up the organization, but they help along the campaign, which needs to be kept up in order to win the \$600,000,000 national offices. So we find that in the pettiest local issues of road-master, pound-keeper, and pig-driver, we

have to fight this horrible contagion of bribery and official corruption. For must not these little men be kept in line, and "helped out" between-whiles if they are to fight for their over-lords at the quadrennial elections? No feudal lord could hold his retainers faithful if he deserted them in their little quarrels after they had fought hard for him in his great battles. So the "machine" grows till it "fills the earth." "To the victors belong the spoils"—among brigands and American politicians!

That we have not drawn the picture too dark, hear Senator Ingalls, late president of the United States senate: "The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power, is the purpose. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. There are men in Kansas who would get up at midnight and ride forty miles to do me a favor, and I want to give them some of the good things we have won."

A free and independent press is to day a necessity in a republic. Daniel Webster said that, in destroying a free press, golden chains were as potent as shackles of iron. Yet I have a list of 450 editors who were appointed to office as postmasters by President Harrison. Besides these, a large number of editors were given lucrative and hitherto honorable positions as ministers and consuls. I have not kept a record of this administration.

It is idle for members of the reform parties to hope that their candidate will do better. The fault is in the system. Under this system, more and more, the worst man will be elected. We have simply the choice of either destroying the system, root and branch, or else having two immense Tammanies under whose tyrannies we will eke out a miserable existence. It places a premium on corruption. The candidate who makes most profuse use of offices will be nominated and elected.

No man, not even our multiple-millionaires, can afford to put \$600,000,000 into a campaign. Yet we, the people, do, every presidential election, put up this vast, almost inconceivable sum, and practically offer it to the most unscrupulous candidate for our own enslavement. How, then, can we pretend to be surprised that American politics is such a dirty pool that the man in the moon holds his nose as he passes over it.

Is it any wonder that American politics is a by-word and a hissing among the nations of the earth? Our local and state governments spend about \$500,000,000 annually, and they are all drawn into line and used by the omnipresent "machine." Reformers and independents may carry an election here and there, but the bulk of the salaries of all local offices goes to one or the other of the great machines. This is the tap-root of the intense partisan feeling which every reformer has to fight.

To get "our man" in as President, and "me" in to help him distribute spoils, seem the highest ambition of the "practical politician."

UNITED STATES SENATOR MURPHY'S MACHINE.

It is the exemplified work of a desperate and hitherto resistless political machine, so adjusted, organized, and run as to enable individuals in the name of the democratic party and in defiance of law to overthrow government and thwart the rights of suffrage. This machine is an organization composed of professional politicians, having a recognized, acknowledged and responsible head, and operates through democratic election officers and other outlaws supported by a police department and a police force obedient to its dictation. This organization known as the "Murphy machine," approves, rewards, and protects its tools, and thus perpetuates its power.

The process known as "repeating" is accomplished by persons not entitled to vote, going through the city singly, or in bands, voting in the various districts on the names of legally registered voters. A sergeant of police, an ex-president of the common council, a member of the detective force, are samples of the official positions held by those who escorted and guarded those criminals in the commission of their crimes. *In rare instances those aiding the repeaters claimed to be republicans, but they are what is known as "Murphy republicans," a class as much distrusted in Troy as the Murphy democrats themselves. They are on the board of police commissioners, on the police force, and in other states, an abject submission to Murphy is the apparent price of their appointment. Their chief value lies in their pretended affiliation with the republican party, for democrats can be found in abundance to commit crimes; the need is to find men who will do vile service, and at the same time, by professing republicanism, place part of the odium upon the republican party.*

The cause of this revolting condition in Troy is what is known as Murphyism. Decency in politics seems not to have been known in recent years in that city. Under this machine a system so degraded and rotten has been created and fostered that no person who has not actually heard the testimony could believe that a condition so appalling and corrupt could exist in a civilized and decent community. The republican party is in no way responsible for this condition, but some individual members of that party are responsible. Year after year Murphyism has gained strength. *One republican has surrendered himself for office, another for business advantage, another through fear of cajollery, until scores of prominent republicans who were willing to trade their principles for personal advantage are now serving as Murphy republicans.—From majority report special senate committee to investigate Troy elections, March 6 1895.*

The most appalling danger threatening the church, the community, and the individual is that of the permanent division of religion, patriotism, and morality.—Bishop Potter.

POLITICAL REMOVALS.

The appointment of John Desmond to be collector of customs for the port of Fall River caused some surprise when the news came to-day, though it had been given out that the President would appoint by April 1.

Mr. Desmond was visited by a number of friends who offered him congratulations.

Mr. Desmond succeeds Capt. James Brady, Jr., who, if he had served until July 31 next, would have held the office 30 years.

Capt. Brady was first appointed by President Andrew Johnson on July 31, 1865. Capt. Brady is 64 years of age. He served as lieutenant and captain in the late war and at Winchester lost a leg. A few years ago he was removed from the custodianship of the custom house, which office was given to ex-Postmaster Whitehead, and when Daniel D. Sullivan succeeded Mr. Whitehead, the custodianship was added to the postmastership. A year ago, Secretary Carlisle called for Capt. Brady's resignation. The captain's term of office expired Sept. 10, 1894.

Mr. Desmond was backed by ex-Mayor Coughlin and Postmaster Sullivan and Hon. John W. Cummings and his application was indorsed by Josiah Quincy.

When asked about his appointment to-day Mr. Desmond said:

"I have been feeling indifferent about the matter. I knew that Capt. Brady's resignation had been called for and that an appointment would have to be made and permitted my name to be used as a candidate for the place."

Capt. Brady learned the first news of his successor's appointment from The Boston Herald correspondent. He had nothing to say for publication.

Mr. Desmond will have the appointment of a deputy collector, with a salary of \$1,600, an inspector at \$1,200 and a boatman at \$300. The collector's salary ranges from \$2,500 to \$3,000.—*Fall River dispatch, Boston Herald, March 21, 1895.*

The fight over the appointment of postmaster at Elizabethtown, Ky., was settled to-day by the President appointing F. M. Joplin to succeed Mrs. Emily Todd Helm. The retiring postmistress is a sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln and was appointed by President Arthur twelve years ago. *Congressman Montgomery has been active in the fight, and before congress adjourned succeeded in securing the appointment of Mr. Joplin, but the senate refused to confirm the nomination. Since then efforts to remove Mrs. Helm have been made and charges of misappropriating fuel and other things intended for the use of the post-office to the amount of \$100 have been made against her, and a post-office inspector named Arrington visited Elizabethtown and made an investigation. He reported to the department, but the officials having charge of the matter refused to divulge the contents of his report.—Washington dispatch, New York Times, April 8.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The spoils system inevitably leads to public corruption, treacherous and unsafe administration, and the ultimate foundering of the ship of state.—From Archbishop Ireland's address: *The Duty and Value of Patriotism*, before the Loyal Legion April, 1894.

VOL. II, No. 27.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND has made another important transfer of places to the classified service. This order embraces the eighteen chiefs of division of the department of agriculture, the employes of the bureau of animal industry, except temporary laborers, and it also embraces statistical agents and messengers in the weather bureau outside of Washington. The extension includes over five hundred places.

THE reform system in the federal service may be regarded as thoroughly established; it can not be overthrown, and with the labor service system and the fourth-class postmaster system, will finally embrace all the subordinate places. Contention had practically been reduced to fighting Carlisle and Olney who, although with present powers of harm, are rather small beer. In view of the great opportunity and great need of Mr Roosevelt in New York, it was time for him to leave the commission. In New York he is hampered as no man ever was by Platt-Tammany laws. The country is watching to see what he will accomplish.

THE reorganized civil service commission now consists of Mr. Proctor, of the late commission, and two new appointees. It is well known that Mr. Roosevelt gave unstinted praise to his colleague, Mr. Proctor, and *Good Government* in a position to know the workings of the commission thoroughly, says he is of unflinching courage, and has Mr. Roosevelt's own frankness and is as pronounced and sound in his views. The other members are Colonel William G. Rice, of Albany, N. Y., who was once private secretary to David B. Hill, and who is reported to have said:

"President Cleveland has always had my support in his determined efforts to improve the government service. In common with every thoughtful citizen I recognized the importance of the work, and I am in heartiest accord with all intelligent endeavors to promote a just, courteous and skillful transaction of public business."

We shall very soon have opportunity to discover what Commissioner Rice means by "intelligent endeavors to promote a just, courteous and skillful transaction of

public business." The third appointee is a republican, Major John M. Harlow. He has been connected with the postal service for thirty years, beginning as a postal clerk. He was promoted to be the postmaster at St. Louis by President Harrison and stood at the top as an admirable and efficient officer. President Cleveland, in spite of his fine record and fitness, did not retain him. The selection can hardly fail to be excellent.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* says:

One of the best tributes that could be paid to a retired postmaster was once paid to Major Harlow by a prominent democratic officer of the post-office department, in the hearing of the present writer. Said he: "Not only did Postmaster Harlow do more with the money given him than any other postmaster who served simultaneously with him—as the books of the department will show—but when he recommended a carrier for dismissal, every one knew that the man must go, for Harlow would not have marked him for discharge unless there had been the best of reasons. Of course, when the present democratic administration came in, every act of his in this line was most rigidly scrutinized. But it was found that, no matter what were the politics of the accused employe, Harlow was absolutely fair and knew just what he was doing. If proofs were wanted, they were always forthcoming on demand, and perfectly sustained each other. Several attempts were made to procure the reinstatement of men whom Harlow had turned out for drunkenness, disobedience, dishonesty, or something of that sort; but so invariably did the cases prove Harlow's justice and good sense, that it was not deemed necessary to examine the papers in such cases any more—they were simply dismissed as not worth wasting time upon."

THE reference elsewhere in this paper to a Massachusetts bill making it obligatory to give soldiers places regardless of fitness brings up the question which most people ask themselves, but do not dare to ask publicly, how much further this soldier demagoguery is to be carried? Were the services rendered in the war which ended thirty years ago a matter of patriotism sold and not paid for? If so, when will the payment be complete? We venture to say from actual knowledge that it was not a sale of patriotism. Commencing years after the war, a scheme of bribery and corruption has been worked out which originated with political demagogues and a class of soldiers known everywhere in the army as "dead beats." Sound and healthy principles in the granting of pensions have been departed from and disregarded until the fact of drawing a pension is in the

public mind no evidence of disability or even of faithful service. In the same manner all sound principles of preference for public employment are constantly sought to be disregarded. A preference after competition showing a standard of merit is the utmost admissible extent. But such preference as is now proposed in Massachusetts is degrading to the soldiers and is corrupting and demoralizing to the last degree.

PLATT'S best thoughts: "Strong I know very little about; he was president of a bank; he has broken promises all around. If he were to run for mayor this fall he would have a big defeat. Morton has not satisfied me. Quigg was almost mutually brought up by me and by the *Tribune* newspaper. President Harrison, like many men I have had an understanding with, did not keep his word. My luck in sustaining public men has often been adverse. I expect to control the next state convention."

THE CHRONICLE continues to give much space to New York. This is because that place is just now the center of the fight against the spoils system. Nowhere else at present can such useful lessons be learned, whether of the insolent impudence of the boss or of the pitiable weakness of the respectable citizen elected to office, or of the irresistible march of reform, though hampered on every side, when in the hands of a capable officer, who knows only the law and the public interest.

MRS. DAVIDSON, the state librarian, elected by the late general assembly by a combination in which votes were given for promises of under places, is about to make another move. She has notified the janitor, Michael O'Brien, who has held the place since the new capitol was finished, to leave June 1. She will give the place, which pays \$60 a month, to her son. Truly, when we look at the doings of the chosen, who came into office in Indiana on the great republican reform wave of 1894, it seems that public office is a family snap.

THE late Congressman Bynum at the end of his term nominated a young man for the naval academy. His candidate failed in the physical examination. Mr. Bynum, however, although out of office, has induced

the naval authorities to override the report of the physical-examining board and the disqualification has been waived. It would be difficult to find a more vicious exercise of a pull. It saps the very foundation of army and navy discipline. Words can hardly be found to fitly condemn a secretary of the navy who permits such a cheat upon the public service. He should understand that this district got rid of this unspeakable demagogue for just such work as this. In sharp and healthy contrast with this is the action of Congressman Henry, of this district, and Congressman Johnson, of the Richmond district, in opening all such places to competition.

CARRIER AMBROSE HAMLYN, of this city, was arrested for larceny, and was held on his own recognizance, giving a bond for one thousand dollars, which he has forfeited. Hamlyn's case is an interesting illustration of "politics" in the administration of the civil service law. He came in under the civil service rules, six years ago. Postmaster Wallace found him a substitute, and promoted him to be a regular carrier, ignorant, he stated, of his bad character. But after this was made known to the postmaster Hamlyn was not dismissed. His pull was that he was the son of the most active republican leader and manager in his township. His case was mentioned in the CHRONICLE of June and July, 1889.

It is stated that an employe of the public printing office at Washington has been dismissed for writing and publishing in an Arkansas paper, over his own name, an article advocating free silver in which he called the President "a grand old rascal," and said "he is as full of perfidy as a snowball is of water."

The Administration has doggedly for years now been appointing such fellows as these to public office through favoritism, in spite of protest because they were the men of certain congressmen. Since it has followed this course, it would naturally be expected to bear as much from them as their fellow-citizens have had to bear in such appointments.

MAYOR SWIFT, of Chicago, said at the dinner to celebrate their great civil service reform victory, that

"Eminent citizens of the city of Chicago importune me daily to take care of their father-in-law or a brother-in-law or a son-in-law who is not worth a dash or something else. Every day since I was sworn in I have had from 700 to 800 and perhaps 900 people at my office on one errand—patronage."

There is nothing more unaccountable and disgusting in the whole shameless spoils business than the notorious fact that rich people and distinguished people become as common and vulgar as the begging tramp at your back door in their quest for

places for needy relatives. They haunt the offices, write letters, they beg the influence of their friends, and they are not ashamed as they pass their hat for alms. It would not be strange if those whose hard struggle to live had coarsened them should bring themselves to the mortifying necessity of asking the public to assist them in the support of their needy and helpless relatives; but when well-to-do people do so it is a sure sign of loss of personal dignity and of patriotism.

PHILADELPHIA is to have an unmuzzled paper, *City and State*, published weekly, by Mr. Herbert Welsh. A modest weekly, even with a moderate circulation, but which, without fail, week after week, prints the facts concerning the bosses, their henchmen, their jobs and their secret respectable backers, will finally leaven the great lump of boss-ridden, conscience-ridden Pennsylvania.

THE printer's employed in the postoffice branch of the Government printing office have petitioned the national civil service commission to place them under the rules. There is no question more vital to working men than the one of the merit system. It means not only honorable employment honorably obtained for a large number of them; but it means even more to their children.

THE Buffalo *Express*, in reciting why the superintendent of the New York state prisons should be removed, says Danemora was given to a henchman of Boss Murphy, whose incompetence was notorious, and cites the scandal connected with the escape of Bunco-Steerer Tom O'Brien; the warden at Sing Sing was a Hill politician whose drunkenness became such a scandal that he was forced to resign. Warden Durston, of Auburn, later of Sing Sing, had a record of taking the prison guards from their duties to attend Hill caucuses, which they ruled by brute force, throwing out bodily the anti-Hill democrats who sought to vote. While Durston was engaged in this political work, a revolt occurred among the convicts, who had been left insufficiently guarded, and several escaped. The superintendent of prisons took no notice of this conduct, except to promote soon afterward the warden who had been guilty of it.

The above is an illustration of spoils politics. It would seem no manifestation of mental crankiness to say that such a system was to be abolished in any honorable way; and that to clever-minded convicts reasoning upon their condition the irony of being under such influences must be considerable.

But hear now the shallow pates in high places. Ex-Postmaster General James, whose son-in-law, Postmaster Pearson, of New York, was killed by the cabals and tricks of spoilsmen, is reported in an interview in the Cincinnati *Tribune* of May 17, as saying that Robert Lincoln should be the next republican candidate for president. He goes on to say:

"I saw Bob Lincoln in London, and suggested the presidency to him, but he smiled and said he was not a candidate, but, of course, that was modesty, and he would accept. I remember that, as he said farewell, as we were starting for home, he put his hand on the carriage, shook hands all around, and then exclaimed: 'Good-bye, God bless you all, and d—n a mugwump.' That was a sentiment, roughly expressed, which alone ought to elect Bob Lincoln."

A civil service reform mugwump, the only sort in the province of THE CHRONICLE, is a man who says, for one thing, that prisons maintained as roosting places for the henchmen of bosses is so indecent that his immediate duty is to do what he can to stop it, and in his opinion his best way is to so vote or not vote as to make the tenure of bosses of whatever party name unstable. When Robert Lincoln damns this sort of man, however courteously, he indicates his own unfitness for any important part in these times. If we remember correctly it was Minister Lincoln who, in response to the orders of the boss as an humble party man, wrote at a critical time a letter for Boss Quay's candidate for governor, Delemater, whose defeat hastened his financial collapse with the blemish on his reputation.

LAST month THE CHRONICLE gave a long description of the sort of men, as shown by themselves, the excise commissioners selected for their pass examinations for inspectorships. The commissioners were very solicitous and fearful of the harm to the public service should these places be left open to competition. Mayor Strong appointed a working majority of Platt commissioners, and Platt inspectors followed. The state civil service commission, which also has two good Platt men on it, waited till the positions were filled and then applied the rules.

A republican comptroller in Brooklyn, N.Y., said, not long ago, at a public dinner: "As a partisan in my office said, I say now: To the victors belong the chestnuts, and if they do not take them they are — fools." He was defiant and jocular, but he has already come to grief and anger and there are many interested spectators of the comptroller whose chestnuts have become too warm to handle comfortably. He no sooner got into his office than he removed twenty old clerks, most of them experts; five had been in office fourteen years, two

for seven and six years respectively; for these places he took twenty-three green men. In another class he removed eight out of eleven men who had obtained their places through competition. Then he dismissed the clerks of the board of audit; of these four were veteran firemen. He was as busy at Albany in trying to obstruct the civil service law as he was at home. He ran his course for four months. Judge Herrick has now decided that a long list of his appointments since January 1 have been irregular. He will now have a busy period trying to collect salaries for his irregular appointees.

THE Newton Civil Service Reform Association of 310 members has held its annual meeting, and in the course of its summary says that Secretary Carlisle alone, in the cabinet, seems to willfully trample upon the rights of the people by the frequent appointment of notoriously unfit persons to positions of high responsibility in recognition of party work. This is a mild statement of the situation.

AT the recent meeting of the Washington Civil Service Reform Association, Comptroller Eckels in his speech heartily indorsed the civil service reform idea, and characterized it as the enforcement in public business of the rules that govern in private affairs. The old idea was that public office was public plunder, and a man who obtained a position believed that he was to forget the tenets of common honesty. Civil service reform had made its way into the affections of the people, and was now a definite principle in practical politics. Mr. Eckels instanced the recent election results in New York and Chicago, where cleanliness in politics as applied to the candidates was the chief consideration. The people of the former city, he declared, had been disappointed, the man whom they elected to preside over municipal affairs having officially approved a measure which the men who elected him did not believe should prevail. Mr. Eckels said he personally had known senators and representatives to recommend lately for important positions men whom they would not intrust with their own financial affairs.

AS FURTHER illustrating the point stated in THE CHRONICLE last month that the far-sighted politicians everywhere were demanding civil service reform as of paramount necessity for the preservation of their party, a recent protest from Buffalo to the New York legislature against a bill introduced to cripple and kill the civil service law, contained the following officials and heads of departments of that city:

commissioner; W. S. Bull, superintendent police; G. F. Zeller, fire commissioner; William N. Smith, fire commissioner; Jacob Davis, fire commissioner; George S. Gatchell, commissioner public works; James Mooney, commissioner public works; Charles G. Pankow, commissioner public works; Mark S. Hubble, city clerk; S. J. Fields, chief engineer, bureau of engineering; Ernest Wende, health commissioner; Frank C. Laughlin, corporation counsel; Philip G. Meyers, superintendent of building; Peter Drexelius, water superintendent; Erastus C. Knight, comptroller; Thomas F. Crowley, city assessor; A. H. Beyer, city assessor; E. P. Murphy, assistant chief of fire department; Adam Rehm, superintendent of poor; John S. O'Shea, superintendent of streets; Charles B. Wheeler, chairman civil service commission. I concur in the representations made in the above original. Charles F. Bishop, ex-mayor.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

IN these later times it has fallen to the lot of few men to render their country such important services as those rendered by Mr. Roosevelt as a federal civil service commissioner, which place he has recently vacated. His entrance into the commission marks the turning point between doubt and certainty as to whether the great modern methods of administrative reform were to endure for this generation, or were to be broken down and left for the indefinite future to revive. Public morals had become so thoroughly corrupt that it was taken on every hand as proper to expect the most flagrant and stupendous perversion of the public service to personal and party profit. The original reformers planned well. The federal civil service act of 1883 will always be a monument of statesmanlike sureness and simplicity of remedy for one of the greatest evils that ever existed in any government. But when the remedy came to be applied, grave mistakes were made. Part of the early commissioners were small politicians, while the reformers on the commission committed the fatal blunder of standing hat in hand and with obsequious attitude in the presence of insolent Gormanism and blustering Voorheesism. The critical moment came with the first election of Mr. Cleveland, when the law was shaken to its foundations in the determination to wreck it. The long struggle which followed is well remembered. The reformers of Indiana and Maryland seemed to stand alone in sounding the alarm; and it may be said without boasting that in the four years of steady defeats, without a single victory, they never once lowered their arm. In the election which followed, treachery to the law had its weight. Then came Theodore Roosevelt, a man who knew the value of a blow between the eyes. Order began to appear out of chaos. The commission was no longer afraid. Publicity took the place of secrecy. Fair play to competitors, regardless of politics, was made the first principle. Senators and representatives went staggering from a contact with the commission, and the tricks of heads of offices to cheat the law were dragged into the

daylight. The people like a man who is not afraid. They watched the brave contention and the merits of the cause appeared to them, and an educational process spread over the country, the result of which is seen in the present general desire among the people for the reform system in all public business, national, state and municipal. This is what Theodore Roosevelt has done for his country. He is the only man of the Harrison administration who has won permanent national fame and the value of his work will grow in estimation the further we get away from the system of transacting public business upon the principle of "addition, division and silence," which prevailed for generations.

LATE NEW YORK HISTORY.

It has been the purpose of this paper to use the facts scattered here and there of boss government, to mass them, to arrange them so as to convince as far as facts will convince, what a degrading bondage it is, and of what infinite variety are the fetters manipulated by these bosses to suit the particular weaknesses of the people whose help they need. Nobody who has skimmed the facts can doubt that the partisan bigotry of the men who call themselves good citizens is the main bulwark of the boss.

New York city is an object lesson on an immense scale of every phase of the bondage of a band of bosses. As was happily said, for their purposes they wear *nommes de guerre*. Croker and his band are called Tammany, and Platt and his band call themselves republicans. In respect to booty they are rivals, sometimes outwardly foes, but always ready for private understandings and deals. If the existence of either is menaced, for each is essential to the other, they combine in their underground work, and so far they have been invincible. Any amount of space is worth while to chronicle what they do, how they work and the efforts put forth from time to time to get from under their yoke.

Since the last issue of the CHRONICLE a turning point in the last and greatest struggle was met, and nothing can be gained by concealing that the elements for good government suffered a Bull Run.

The struggle centered in Mayor Strong. He met the critical moment of his career and of the city's, and succumbed. He had a great opportunity to redeem a city that had made a noble effort to free itself, and he betrayed the trust. It is an imputation upon his capacity to believe that he did not fully understand his action. It was the old story of sacrificing the municipality on the plea of the necessities of national politics.

As has been stated in this paper, on the authority of a leading republican organ not only of New York but of the country, the New York Tribune, Platt owns the legislature. They went down to New York weekly and

"Edgar B. Jewett, mayor; James E. Curtiss, police commissioner; Charles A. Rupp, police

received their orders from this czar masquerading in plain clothes and in a humble express business. The governor of the state met him in an effort to gain his consent for legislation. The following is a specimen news item:

The next caller was Warner Miller. He spent a half-hour with the governor. Afterwards he said: "I don't know what the prospects for harmony are, but I hope they are brighter."

No one doubts for an instant that Platt never intended that Tammany should be crushed; their fundamental objects are identical. The reform legislation mapped out as vital in any plan to free New York from democratic Tammany would also free New York from republican Tammany or Platt. This legislation Platt at the very start said they should not have. He had to meet and break down a foe formidable from numbers, character and professional, business and social distinction, and behind them a public sentiment united and enthusiastic. The Committee of Seventy prepared the needed bills. They advocated them at great mass meetings. They had as champions a large part of the press. Bosses like Platt always work under cover. The work is stealthy, unwearying and dirty. Platt began by using his subsidized state press; covert attacks on Dr. Parkhurst, to discredit him in the state and weaken the sympathy for his work; appeals to local prejudice that the efforts of the Committee of Seventy in New York were factional fights to split the republican party; criticisms of the reform bills and the cunning introduction of substitute and utterly inadequate bills to divert and divide public opinion; endless sly tricks of Platt dummies in the legislature; delays, threats, punishments of any member who gave signs of breaking loose; a perfect understanding with Tammany members always in reserve to vote under Platt's directions in an emergency. This has been Platt's fight for four months. His vital point was a bi-partisan police bill to undermine the reform bill, which repudiated the bi-partisan features. Platt's bill was recently passed by his legislature, signed by Mayor Strong and Governor Morton. It only tightens the fetters already on the city. It makes the bi-partisan feature compulsory. Of it, one fearless and unfettered member of the assembly, Pavey, said:

A bi-partisan board means, of necessity a government by deals and mutual concessions between the men who compose the board. It has always been so, and must always be so. Every appointment, promotion, trial, or discharge will have some political complexion. Every man on the force knows that he is on the force, and will be kept on it and promoted only if he has "influence," or "pull," or "backing"; or, in other words, if he is an unscrupulous and serviceable partisan tool of some small politician. From the time of his appointment to the end of his term of service he has continual notice that he must serve the political power which appointed him or incur its displeasure and be punished and degraded therefor.

And of the flimsy excuse which Mayor Strong gave as his reason for signing the bill,

that the bi-partisan feature is necessary to prevent fraud at elections, he said:

It has been charged, with good reason, that elections have been dishonest in the city of New York. But the fault has not been in the control of the police department. We have had, for years, at least one republican member upon that board, and it is a matter of common knowledge and public record that his career was as bad as that of any of his Tammany colleagues, and that he was no more to be trusted with the task of securing honest elections for the republicans of the city and county of New York than the worst representative of Tammany Hall on that board. There can be no explanation of this except that he had found it to his personal or political advantage to make a deal with the Tammany police commissioners and carry out their plans. But attention should not be diverted from another situation, and that is this: No man doubts that if in a given election district there was one honest, conscientious, and courageous republican inspector of elections, that the election could and would be conducted honestly and the result correctly counted.

The method of appointing inspectors of election has been and is as follows: The republican leader of an election district sends to the republican county committee the names of men proposed as republican inspectors, ballot clerks, and poll clerks for that election district. These names are submitted to the board of police commissioners by the republican county committee, and the men thus named are appointed by the police commissioners as such election officers. The men thus named and appointed have qualified and served, and the illegal registration, the illegal voting, and the false counting have gone on under their eyes, have met with their approval, and the returns have received their signatures.

This has been so from the simple reason that in certain districts the leaders of the republican party who were in command of the machinery of the party in those districts, and who proposed the names to the county committee, and through the county committee to the board of police commissioners, had made their bargains and deals with Tammany Hall and nominated only men whom they knew they could rely upon to carry out those deals; and yet it is these very leaders with whom Mr. Platt has chosen to ally himself to control the party machinery of New York city. These are the leaders who unite with him in the cry to the republican voters of the state that their majorities can only be protected by the preservation of bi-partisanship in the police department. There is where the responsibility has rested in the past, and will rest in the future if the proposed Lexow bills are passed.

Public opinion beat vainly against Platt's legislature as against a mountain of rock. Up to the last Mayor Strong was looked to to save the results of a contest so desperate that it had finally touched the best of American citizenship. Public opinion then beat upon him. At the hearing before him required before he should sign or veto the measure, Joseph Laroque spoke for the Committee of Seventy; Seth Low, president of Columbia College, spoke for the Civil Service Reform Association; Dr. Parkhurst, for the Society for the Prevention of Crime; J. H. C. Nevius, for the Confederated Good Government Clubs; Geo. L. Rives, for the City Club; Theodore Sutro, for the German-American Reform Union; L. J. Callamen, for Good Government Clubs. Civil Service Commissioner Watson, said the

bill under consideration violated the pledges of the Committee of Seventy and its candidates with reference to civil service reform. Mr. Hallett spoke on behalf of the religious press.

"Mr. Low reminded the mayor of the meeting of the citizens of New York to protest against the proposed legislation. Three issues were presented. The question of good faith was first. They demanded that all positions in the city should be under the civil service. That was the demand of 154,000 voters last November, who placed the present mayor in the chair. The pending bill as it affected the police department in taking away true civil service reform was in absolute opposition to the platform of the committee of seventy which these 154,000 people voted for. The second question was that of good local government. No law could be for the benefit of good government the opponents of which had twice filled Cooper Union. Any bill which pretended to give good government to the city of New York could scarcely be effective in that direction unless it had the support of the citizens.

"The other question was the message from the city of New York to all over the country. Was it bi-partisanship? That was no new thing. The message should be that New York was willing to return to the first principles of the national government, when the fathers of the republic decided to place one man at the head of every department and thus place the responsibility upon him.

"Mr. Low then went into the history of bi-partisanship, and declared that good government could not be maintained unless politics was absolutely divorced from the police department.

"In conclusion President Low said that so long as the bi-partisan board existed Tammany easily had control, but just as soon as Tammany had absolute control of the city then came the overturn, and not because of, but in spite of, a bi-partisan police board."

Dr. Parkhurst said:

"When it comes, however, to the matter of the principles that are involved, we do not consider that you are free. I say it as courteously as emphatically, that the matter of deciding upon the principles which shall determine your action does not lie within the jurisdiction of your own choice. I am not here to burden your attention, or complicate the question by the discussion of technicalities; but there are certain governing considerations that stand forth very conspicuously in the public mind, and that worked with great potency in the animated months of last autumn.

"You can neither make nor repeal those considerations; those considerations made you—that is, they made you mayor. I am not obliged to theorize upon the matter. It is not presumption in me to say that I know what was in the minds of the voting citizens on the 6th of last November. I know what motives and expectations constrained them to give you their suffrage. I am speaking now of the people. I don't know what the politicians thought. We didn't hear anything from them until the votes had been cast. Nothing but plunder in sight can reach the springs of their eloquence. But the people were borne upon a tide of intense and intelligent opinion. They wanted you to be mayor, and they knew why they wanted you to be mayor. We were all tired of partisan politics. The city had been politics-ridden. The city was wearied and nauseated with it, and had risen up in revolt against it. The evils which the society for the prevention of crime had been unearthing, and which the investigating committee from Albany had brought out still

further into the light, had had their roots in partisan politics, bi-partisan politics, just such bi-partisan politics as a non-partisan mayor is now asked to indorse, and add the dignity and authority of his official name to; just such bi-partisan politics as whole halls full of native Americans, Germans, Hebrews, Bohemians, Italians and Poles were concertedly scorning six months ago.

"All that was needed to arouse such audiences to tumultuous applause was to tell them that what we needed in New York was a city government that would wash its hands clean of republicanism and democracy, and that you, sir, was the man that would do it. That was the argument that we used in your behalf. That was the plea that we trumpeted from the Battery and the Hook to Harlem. That was the conspicuous plank in the platform you were elected upon. * * *

"When they voted for you they believed they were voting for a man that would lead them out of the wilderness of political complications and partisan bargaining, and who would show toward that whole nefarious business a face of flinty uncompromise.

"For you to approve the bill in question would so far forth be a recognition and an acceptance of the principle which your election disowns, and which your constituency dissents from and abhors. * * * But when the people elected you they meant by it that you were going to stem as with giant hand the tide of dickering politics with which for so many years we have been inundated, and that your own administration was going to be an unflinching protest against the intrusion of national issues into municipal concerns. * *

"Bi-partisan means partisan twice over. If you set one republican partisan over against one democratic partisan you do not rub partisanship out, you rub it in. And that is why the advocates of this measure want it.

"The object of this peculiar kink in the bill is not to get rid of partisanship, but to furnish soil for as big a crop of it as possible. That is why they have put the bi-partisanship into the police commission, instead of separating the election bureau from the police department and putting the bi-partisanship into that. They dodge the issue and attempt to disguise their small trick by dressing it up in the millinery of fair play. * * *

"But, furthermore, any action of yours looking to the establishment of national issues as a fixed and necessary ingredient in our municipal life is not only out of joint with the platform upon which our campaign last autumn was conducted, and in seeming discord with the spirit of your October letter and of subsequent spoken utterances of yours, but it would be just as plainly out of place with the present movement of the popular mind.

"There is, not only in this city, but throughout our American cities generally, a strengthening appreciation of the fact that the intrusion of national issues and party discriminations into municipal administration is a nuisance and an impertinence. That feeling is coming well to the front. Our own city has been making a tremendous contribution to that result. Men of national reputation in both parties, and who are as distinctly partisan in national interests as they are the reverse in municipal ones, have by their recent pronounced utterances in this city, exerted a pressure in the direction of municipal emancipation that we should be disappointed and pained to have you do anything to neutralize."

Against all this the only speaker for the bill was Platt's man, Lauterbach—Lauterbach, who on April 4th issued a manifesto for Platt in which he accused Mayor Strong of having broken pledges to Platt. We quote a small portion of that very remarkable document,

which admits among other things Platt's ownership of the legislature, to show the fetters that Platt says he riveted upon Mr. Strong before allowing the republican county committee to support him. Mayor Strong has always declared that he was a free man, only pledged by his public utterances and by the platform which he has since betrayed:

At the conclusion of the interview [with Platt emissaries] one of the gentlemen remarked: "Col. Strong, you are a gentleman, an honorable man, and would accept no favors at the hands of any one without realizing the obligation you are under, and we will trust you as a man of honor to treat us fairly and honorably after you are elected." He said: "That is correct; you can trust me; I will not forget my obligations."

It was then agreed that, if his name was presented by the Committee of Seventy, the republican county committee would accept and recommend it to the county convention.

These interviews, which, in their detail, go to even a greater extent in their expressions of loyalty and their promises of co-operation than are here indicated, were immediately reduced to writing by Messrs. Murray and Patterson, and their correctness certified to by Mr. Phillips who was present.

Upon the strength of these assurances and pledges, Messrs. Murray and Patterson, with their associates, at once went to work to put the organization in line for his nomination, which could not have been accomplished under any other circumstances.

Everybody in New York except Mayor Strong recognizes his surrender. The most lenient supposition is that Platt, through his subsidized press and bought legislature, finally convinced the mayor that the republican party of the state demanded that the sacrifice of the city of New York was necessary for national purposes. It is an old story, but it is, all the same, worth hearing again in all its particulars.

We will briefly allude to the fate of two more bills. From time to time this paper has collated facts regarding the more notorious biographies of the police magistrates of New York, with specimens of the justice dispensed by them. All who have kept at all informed of the facts revealed by the investigations and the newspapers, must have realized that to put the helpless poor and criminal under such judges was to inflict shocking injustice. One of the reform bills introduced into the legislature was to give the mayor the power to remove these men. There were fifteen, and of these twelve were Tammany men. Mayor Gilroy's last important appointment was that of Deuel, a Platt republican, and it was generally believed to be the result of a deal with Platt. The criminal records of several of these justices had been printed in daily papers; several were the associates of thieves and green goods men; more were ex-saloon keepers with shady associations. Platt and his legislature delayed and maneuvered to kill this bill unless Mayor Strong should pledge himself to Platt as to the vacancies. Not until Governor Morton's special message to the legislature, saying if they failed to pass the bill they would violate the pledges upon which they were elected, did they weaken. Then these Platt henchmen, not disguising

their disgust and chagrin, and reviling the bill, passed it.

There was another reform bill to purify the school system of New York. Assemblyman Pavey, whose plain speech against the bi-partisan police bill is elsewhere quoted in part, was the champion of this bill. Tammany gathered itself together for defense. It mustered its Tammany teachers, who hooted and yelled down the speakers attempting to explain the reform bill. In the legislature Platt's men gleefully punished Pavey for daring to oppose their boss. On Tuesday he denounced Boss Platt's bi-partisan bill; on Wednesday Platt's man, Lauterbach, put the knife into the bill by having enough republicans unite with the Tammany members to kill it.

No one can be indifferent to this spectacle in New York. Its condition is only the perfect flower of the spoils system under perfect conditions for its development. The effort to free itself through a struggle on so large a scale as to be set down as a great historical event, is like other struggles to be freed of bosses. The rise and fall of its mayor, though deplorable for its paralyzing influence on the fight, is the rise and fall of many a man who has seemed the one to lead a people out of the wilderness. The one question now is, will the Committee of Seventy be able to maintain its lofty purpose, to hold fast the enthusiasm and patriotism and carry on the struggle for another two years?

PAYN—LOBBYIST AND PLATT HENCHMAN.

Mr. Louis F. Payn, in a snuff-colored sack suit, a silk hat and with a clean-shaven face, save for a white chin whisker, walked in the senate chamber at 10 minutes to 8 o'clock. His hands were shoved down in his coat pockets, his cigar tilted up an angle of 40 degrees, and his patent-leather shoes finished a conspicuous make-up.

Then he sat down in a corner, and very soon Senators Coggeshall and Mullin were in close conversation with him. When Chairman O'Connor came in, he walked up, shook hands with Payn and said, "How are you, Lou?" * * *

Mr. Payn, with his cigar still lighted, and with a grim smile on his face, next took the stand. He was asked if he knew of the firemen's bill and the exempt firemen's bill. He said in response: "The bills came to my notice through Captain Burns, who said he represented Chief Bonner and wanted the pension bill defeated. After the bill was defeated, Capt. Burns offered me \$1,500 or \$2,000 for my services and expenses; but I refused it." * * *

"What has been your business for the last 25 years?" was asked by Mr. Raines.

"Paper making, brick making and tin making, and I regret to say I own a newspaper."

"Did you ever take any interest in politics and in legislation?"

"Oh, yes; I have been interested in elections for 25 years, and in election of speakers, senators and that sort of thing." (Laughter).

"Have you been interested in political machines?"

"Yes; if you call them that now." (Renewed laughter).

"You were interested in a machine in your own district?"

"Well, ——— I have been charged with it." (Laughter).

Mr. Raines then went into the charges made against Mr. Payn in 1869, and Payn declared that one Van Valkenberg had retracted his statements made then and hostile to Mr. Payn, and on his affidavit the committee that convicted him had retracted their decision of conviction for bribery and that he was, therefore, exonerated.

These papers were filed at Washington when he had applied for the position of United States Marshal, and he had been after them for several days to present them at this investigation. They would be filed with the committee. The then President, U. S. Grant, had considered the affidavits, and he had been appointed United States Marshal at the instance of such men as Roscoe Conkling, Gov. Fenton and others.

"Every prominent republican in New York," he said, "that I thought worth having, indorsed me. There were no mugwumps or goo-goos in those day." There was a roar of laughter at this, but Payn never smiled, though Mr. Quigg and Mr. Root laughed heartily.

He detailed his friendly relations with Conkling from the day Conkling had him appointed and confirmed, until the day Conkling died.

Asked if he ever belonged to the Platt wing of the party, he said: "The charge has been made, and I never denied it."

"How has Mr. Quigg been known?"

"Until recently he was with the same side as I am on, but lately he has tried to break down the party."

Explaining his presence at Albany, he said that at no time or place did he have any money transactions connected with legislation. But he was employed by corporations and others, and had also watched political legislation closely.

Then, during the rustle of anticipation in the audience, Mr. Root took the witness in hand, and the first question he asked was:

"Do you have a house here?"

"Yes, at No. 228 State street. I have lived there since the Delavan burned."

Witness said he had been coming to the legislature more or less for 20 years. He stated that he was present at the legislature during 1868 in the interest of Jay Gould.

"What corporations do you serve here?" asked Mr. Root, sharply.

"I decline to answer," he said quietly.

"What sums of money do you receive from these corporations?"

"I decline to answer."

"How much money do you get for a retainer?" questioned Mr. Root.

"I refuse to answer," said Mr. Payn once more.

"I appeal to the committee to compel the witness to answer," said Mr. Root.

"The committee," said Senator O'Connor, after a pause, "thinks Mr. Payn must answer."

"With all respect," said Mr. Payn, "I refuse to answer."

"The stenographer will note this refusal, and the committee will report Mr. Payn's attitude to the senate," said Chairman O'Connor.

Mr. Payn was next asked about his bank account, but he showed great ignorance, and did not know whether his firm had a bank account or not.

Witness said he owned about \$60,000 of stock in the Hudson River Broken Stone Company, but he never saw their checks and did not know about their bank account. He had not received any dividends from any of the enterprises he was in.

"How have you lived, then?" asked Mr. Root sharply.

"Oh, I have my income from corporations," answered Mr. Payn with a smile.

"Did you ever get \$10,000 from one corporation?" asked Mr. Root.

"Yes; from Mr. Gould," replied Mr. Payn.

Witness said that of the \$10,000 he got \$5,000 from Mr. Thompson in New York and \$5,000 from Mr. Gould at Albany.

Mr. Root then read from testimony before the senate committee that inquired into the relations of Mr. Payn with the passage of the so-called Erie bill in 1868. In this connection Mr. Root said: "What was your business then?"

"I was harbor-master in New York and my salary was about \$350 a month."

"What other business had you?"

"Well," drawled Mr. Payn, "I was playing the street pretty high, if you call that a business," and there was great laughter.

Asked how he served his clients, he said that he talked with senators or assemblymen on pending measures from his view-point, pointing out the merits or demerits of the bills.

Payn finally said that he received eight or ten regular annual salaries, but declined to say from whom.

In answer to questions about politics, he said: "I am engaged in politics in my own county and in Mr. Root's also."

"What part do you take in New York politics?"

"Well, I advised against the nomination of Strong." (Laughter).

When the cross-examination was over, Mr. Payn volunteered the statement that Mr. Gould came to him after the investigation was over and apologized for his testimony and gave him an additional check of \$10,000, and ever afterward was his personal friend. "In 1881 he told me to buy Western Union stock," said Mr. Payn, "and it netted me quite a sum of money."—*Albany dispatch Buffalo Express, May 9.*

EDITOR GRENELL'S CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

IN the May issue of *Good Government* may be read in detail a modern instance of one of Mr. Roosevelt's neatest flayings. Editor Grenell, of the *Detroit Evening News*, thought he would take a civil service examination and then "expose" the commission, the questions and the system generally. He unfortunately chose to compete for the position of assistant statistician for the department of agriculture, and his standing was a fraction less than forty-four, which was really a very excellent record for a newspaper man to attain in a technical service entirely dissimilar from his own work.

Mr. Grenell was satisfied with his marking, but for the purposes we have indicated he wanted the markings of the other candidates. The civil service commission supposing he was a bona fide candidate under their rules declined at first to give the other standings, and in the course of the correspondence Editor Grenell rushes wildly into rash statements, in answer to which Mr. Roosevelt has many times before demolished the loud and ignorant foes of the merit system.

A part of Mr. Roosevelt's reply to Mr. Grenell, which so far as we know the latter has not yet printed, entertaining as it is, in his paper, is as follows:

You say that "a glance at the papers prepared for the examination proved the impossibility of my (your) attaining a sufficiently high average to pass. Indeed, I (you) feel sure the civil service commissioners themselves could not pass, and I (you) know that two thirds of the present members of the President's cabinet would 'fall down' in the attempt." Evidently you do not understand the purpose of holding special examinations for special places. When we hold an examination for assistant statistician our aim is to get a man who is an assistant statistician, not one who is a civil service commissioner or a cabinet officer. It would be a proof of the incompetency of the commission if it framed an examination for assistant statistician with a view of having cabinet officers and civil service commissioners pass it. The commission holds examinations for all kinds of positions. For instance, we hold them for the position of assistant astronomer. Do you mean seriously to imply that when we hold an examination for astronomer we should make that examination one which the average cabinet officer could pass? It would be a mere chance if any member of any cabinet was fit to be an astronomer, or, for that matter, an assistant statistician. I do not suppose that any member of the present cabinet, or of the cabinet of Mr. Harrison, would be fit for either of these positions. I know that no member of either cabinet would be as fit for statistician as the man who was appointed

under the assistant statistician examination. In your own case, as you bring the matter up, your examination showed that you were entirely unfit to hold the office you sought. Doubtless you are an admirable newspaper editor, and you may be fit for much higher work than that of an assistant statistician, but you are not fit for that particular work, and the commission would have been to blame if it had framed an examination which would not have emphasized the difference between the man who was competent to be an assistant statistician and one who was not competent, no matter how good this latter individual might be in some other line of work.

You say the questions are not practical, and instance one of the questions in reference to a geometrical problem as having no relation to the subject-matter in hand. This shows that you do not understand what the work of an assistant statistician really is. As a matter of fact, many statistics are illustrated by geometrical figures and problems. This is the case with the work now actually performed by the assistant statistician in the department of agriculture. So you see that the question was all right. It was your lack of understanding of the subject which was to blame.

You say that a boy fresh from a high school could get 80 to 90 to his credit, and that any one could cram him up so as to pass after a fortnight's work. Again you are completely in error. The average age of those passing our examination is 27 years. Instead of being fresh from the high schools, the men have been out of them at least ten years on the average. The man who stood at the head of the list in the examination you took, and who received the appointment, was 43 years old and was already a computer in the United States coast survey. Remember that you are only theorizing on the subject, while I am speaking from a thorough acquaintance with the facts of the case. As a matter of fact the persons who get office under us stand higher in every way than those appointed under the old methods, and form an exceptionally intelligent, honest and able class of employes. In our own bureau we have more than fifty men employed. They all came in under our own examinations, standing at the head of the lists, and it would be impossible to get, in public or private employment, a better corps of men than they are.

None of the men who were coached for this [assistant statistician] examination passed. I have given you the particulars about the man who stood highest. The man who stood second was 38 years old, and had been a statistician in the census bureau. The man who stood third was 26 years old, a post-graduate student of Cornell University, and afterwards private secretary to a member of congress. The man who stood fourth was 24 years old, and was a Fellow in Political Economy and Sociology of the Chicago University. The man who stood fifth was 29, and was an accountant in New York. He had formerly been an instructor in statistics in the University of Chicago. * * *

It may interest you to know that the secretary of agriculture chose the highest man on the list, and informs us that he is the most satisfactory man in statistical work that he ever had, and that after the appointment had been made he received a letter from Mr. Edward Atkinson vouching for the remarkable capacity of the man in the very lines upon which we tested him, and for the very business in which he was to be employed. The secretary of agriculture said he thought he was the best man in the United States for the position. You thus see that in this very examination of which you complain, the man who passed the highest was the best man that could have been found anywhere for the position. The examination was eminently practical in character, and no man who failed to pass it could be considered competent for the position.

The next time Editor Grenell tackles Theodore Roosevelt he should spend more time in preparation and he should not elect to compete for the place of assistant statistician in the agricultural department.

DETROIT has for years been conspicuously lethargic in any apparent understanding of the evils of the spoils system or any feeling that it should be crushed. It has had no reform spirit in its press nor amongst its citizens. This is the more singular, as it would naturally be influenced by the proximity of the great state university. We take it for granted that the professors of Michigan University are as alive to the dangers threatening American institutions and American character through the spoils system as are those of Harvard and Yale. The course of their opposition to the corrupt and degrading influences of patronage may be widely traced in and out of those institutions. Not so, in Detroit, well filled with Michigan University alumni. We have been told by a person who has a wide social acquaintance among the intelligent people of that city that to bring up the question of civil service reform is to introduce a topic that has vague and abstract interest only, quite foreign to their usual topics and productive only of languor. We believe that they have in the last year or so organized a civic federation, and it is a fact that Rev. Donald MacLaurin, at the coming meeting of the Municipal League at Cleveland, will discuss Detroit's municipal condition. Possibly his paper will throw light on this question.

QUAY'S PENNSYLVANIA.

MATT QUAY has just furnished the state of Pennsylvania as striking an illustration of the ownership of a legislature by an outside boss as Tom Platt has repeatedly given the people of this state in the case of the New York legislature during the last four months. Platt sits in an office on lower Broadway, and issues his orders to his tools in the capitol at

Albany through legislative errand boys, or, when time presses, by the long-distance telephone. Quay has been spending the last few weeks in Washington, where he has made up his mind at his leisure what policy should be pursued by his tools at Harrisburg. A proposition for an investigation of the city government of Philadelphia was recently introduced in the legislature. Powerful interests had strong reasons for desiring its defeat. Theoretically the way for them to secure that end would have been to bring influence to bear upon the senators and representatives at the state capital. Practically their only hope was to appeal to the man in Washington who controlled the dummies at Harrisburg. What occurred is thus described by a republican organ, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*:

"When Senator Quay arrived in Washington from Florida to find that Penrose had introduced the resolution, he was besieged. It would surprise the people of Philadelphia to learn of the men who have made pilgrimages to Washington. Some of them pass for millionaires and stand high in the community, and yet most of them have had interests in one or more of the companies that have benefited through ordinances passed by councils. It was very well understood that should Senator Quay declare against the policy of adopting the resolution it would fail."

The boss at Washington took time to make up his mind, and the state of Pennsylvania awaited his decision. At last he decided to permit the investigation, and the resolution was immediately adopted by an overwhelming majority. The incident merits attention for the perfect frankness with which the city of Philadelphia recognized the ownership of the Pennsylvania legislature by an outside boss.—*New York Evening Post*, May 13.

We described yesterday the manner in which Matt Quay has been governing the state of Pennsylvania from Washington, receiving there delegations of prominent Philadelphians who went to ask him to prevent a threatened investigation of the city government, because, as the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, a republican organ, put it, "it was very well understood that should Senator Quay declare against the policy of adopting the resolution it would fail." Now that the end of the session is approaching, the boss has concluded that it will be more convenient to go to the state capitol and issue his orders on the spot. "Senator Quay is expected here Tuesday night or Wednesday morning," says the Harrisburg correspondent of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, independent republican, "and it is believed his presence will determine the fate of several measures which are hanging up in both houses awaiting his approval or disapproval." One important measure, which has been much discussed in the legislature and by the press, is a bill providing for the retirement of judges upon a pension at the age of seventy. It has passed one branch, and strong arguments upon public grounds have been urged for its passage by the other. "The fate of the judicial-retirement bill rests with Senator Quay," says the *Ledger's* correspondent. Another bill now

pending proposes the establishment of an appellate court, which is favored by the supreme court as a needed means of relief for that tribunal. "The appellate-court bill will also be a subject for Senator Quay's consideration when he arrives," says the authority from whom we quote. There is no question of partisan prejudice in these frank confessions of Quay's absolute control of legislation in Pennsylvania, as he is a republican, and both the *Inquirer* and *Ledger* are republican newspapers. The fact is so notorious that nobody longer affects to disparage the power of the boss.—*New York Evening Post*, May 14.

The ruler of the state of Pennsylvania has changed his plans. For some weeks Matt Quay has governed from the national capital, enjoying the delights of the Washington spring and receiving there delegations of citizens who wished him to order passed or defeated various bills which had been introduced in the legislature. On Monday it was announced that he would go to Harrisburg this week, to "determine the fate of several measures which are hanging up in both houses awaiting his approval or disapproval." Yesterday, however, it was given out that he had gone to his home in Beaver, would not be seen at the capital this week, and might not visit Harrisburg at all. The reason is a regard for the personal convenience of the dictator. It is thus explained in a dispatch to the *Philadelphia Ledger* from its Harrisburg correspondent:

"It is believed that the senator desires to escape the importunities of friends who would seek his influence for certain legislation of an unimportant character which he has no wish to interfere in, and that *that legislation he wants he can secure from a distance just as well as if he was on the ground*. It is therefore thought that he is absenting himself to avoid becoming involved in the success or defeat of measures which result in making him enemies."—*New York Evening Post*, May 15.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON ASSESSMENT BLACKMAILING IN PHILADELPHIA.

"Nevertheless, the condition of the force at this office (Philadelphia) is by no means as satisfactory as in the other offices of the same size. *The political tone of the community is largely to blame for this*. (Italics ours). Under Postmaster Field it appears that only Republicans received appointments, and under Postmaster Carr only Democrats. This was largely because the men of the opposite party would not enter the examinations, but undoubtedly the custom of keeping letters of recommendation for eligibles from politicians and other persons on file, both by Postmaster Carr and by his predecessor, has been partly instrumental in bringing about this undesirable result."

Mr. Roosevelt condemns this practice as tending to introduce political influences in making appointments. He admits that he

found no proof that the law forbidding political assessments had been violated, and that he found that the postmaster has placarded the office and sub-stations with copies of the Postmaster-General's proclamation, in which he informed the carriers that they need not contribute unless they wished, and that they would not be jeopardized by refusing to contribute. "In the great majority of cases the employes unquestionably contributed without being solicited *by any person in the government service*." (Italics ours).

Now here comes the kernel of Mr. Roosevelt's report:

"But although there has been little actual violation of the law, there has been what is virtually a very heavy assessment of the postal employes. Before the congressional election last fall, and before the municipal election this spring, they were all repeatedly solicited by letter for political contributions by the democratic campaign committees. A few of them did not respond, but most all paid three per cent. last fall and two per cent. this spring. The republicans were not assessed. This heavy assessment amounted to fifty dollars out of every one thousand dollar salary, and was by most of the employes regarded as a great burden, and was paid merely because they feared ill consequences if they did not pay. A few might have contributed as much unasked, but the great majority, as many of them testified to me, paid the money simply as an insurance against trouble. One of them stated that he would not have paid it if the civil service commission had been located in Philadelphia, and he could go to somebody for protection in case he got into a scrape." Mr. Roosevelt gives as another reason why this assessment blackmail—for it is nothing short of that—is imposed on federal office-holders here is to be found in the fact that "the habit seems to be universal in Philadelphia, so much so that the office-holder has come to regard it as the natural order of things."

Mr. Roosevelt asserts that plenty of evidence was offered to him concerning the assessments which was said had been levied by the republican campaign committees among the city and state officials, and certain of the circulars were shown him: "One of these circulars was written with unconscious humor. It requested from the recipient a 'voluntary' contribution of one day's pay, and explained that if the 'voluntary' contribution was not made the name of the refractory man would be forwarded to the head of his office with a request for his dismissal."—*From City and State*, May 9.

VETERANS' OFFICE-HOLDING PRIVILEGES.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the annual meeting of the Cambridge (Mass.) Civil Service Reform Association:

Resolved, That the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association heartily approves of the action of the executive committee in protesting against the passage of the Soldiers' Exemption Bill (being House Bill No. 1040).

Resolved, That the members of this association desire to make a still stronger remonstrance against any extension of the principle on which this bill is based, namely, that one class in the community should have greater privileges than others.

Resolved, That while the association is heartily in favor of every legitimate recognition of the services of the genuine veterans of the late war, they call upon these veterans themselves to show their intelligence, independence and patriotism, by opposing every measure which may tend to degrade the civil service of the nation, the state, or the city, by promoting the appointment of any person to public office without due regard to his qualifications for the discharge of public duty.

The passage of the proposed veteran exemption bill in its present form is a severe blow at civil service reform. By the existing conditions of the civil service act veterans are given a very absolute preference over all other applicants for public office, a pass examination being all that is obligatory for veterans, and even that is not required where they are applied for by appointing officers. But under the new bill, which went booming through the house, the appointment of a veteran is obligatory, upon his own oath that he considers himself competent to the duties of the desired office, accompanied by the vouchers of two friends. We have failed, as yet, to find a veteran of any repute who does not think that this is going too far in the creation of a privileged class. And, speaking as a veteran, we honestly believe the passage of the proposed bill will be a serious injury to the cause of the G. A. R., in giving color to the accusations which are just now being made that it is an organization maintained for the purpose of obtaining pensions and offices for worthy or unworthy members alike. Those who have the honor of the veterans nearest at heart seem to be unanimously opposed to this new bill.—*Cambridge, Mass., Exchange*.

The following was unanimously passed at the regular meeting of Post 30, May 16:

Resolved, That W. H. Smart Post 30, G. A. R., heartily indorses the bill which has passed the house of representatives, and which gives to veterans preference in employment in the public service of the commonwealth and the cities thereof, and that we earnestly request our senators to assist in the passage of the bill through the state senate. We regret to find that the Civil Service Reform Club of Cambridge has been doing everything in its power to defeat the bill, and we condemn its action in the matter as unwarrantable and unpatriotic.

—Speaking of the adoption of civil service reform in Chicago, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (Rep.) says: "There is not a particle of doubt that a similar law applied to state employments in Minnesota, if submitted to the people, would receive an overwhelming majority of the popular vote."—*May 8*.

* * *

—The *Minneapolis Journal* scores Governor Clough, of Minnesota, for vetoing a bill providing for the application of the civil service rules in appointments and promotions in the department of grain inspection. The bill passed both houses of the legislature without a dissenting vote.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 28.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE formation of the national municipal league and of the good government clubs which held their annual conference at Cleveland, May 29, 30 and 31, has brought a great number of new and earnest men and women into the field of governmental improvement. The rapidity with which all classes of citizens have thronged into these organizations is an unerring indication that there is in the public mind a deep-seated determination that there must be an improvement. The meeting at Cleveland was a conference at which was heard for two days and a half the story of the government of the cities of this country. No formal resolutions or statement of principles were adopted, but with practical unanimity the enemies of good government were recognized to be the boss, the boodler, the trimming party leader, and the indifferent or blindly partisan good citizen. There was the same unanimous opinion that complete success will never be reached until municipal government is divorced from party considerations of every kind and nature. There was a wide difference as to remedies. With one it was sufficient to arouse the activities of good citizens, with another to make better laws, with another to elect good men to office, and so on. Later on the members of these organizations will recognize that there is no one specific for bad city government; nor is there any order in which remedies must be tried. Whatever can be got first, whether good laws or good officers or the activity of good citizens must be taken as it can be had, and all must be carried on together. Later on also it will be more fully recognized that the pirates who prey upon municipal government will disappear when there is no booty to be captured; and that the greatest remedies discovered in modern times for the removal of governmental booty are the merit and labor service systems. In this respect a good many members are groping in the dark. The conference was of great value.

IN making Mr. Olney secretary of state the President has bestowed upon him a very marked promotion. This act has

been generally praised by the public press, the leading papers of both parties heartily joining therein. The CHRONICLE has often differed in such matters and it differs now. Mr. Olney is undoubtedly a good lawyer, but he is not a great lawyer. He has probably performed the routine duties of the attorney-general's office well enough; it does not take a great lawyer to do that. Whether he has looked after the highest duties of his office with commendable zeal and fidelity, the people do not and can not yet know. He certainly has not made a mark for such zeal and fidelity, and he committed the gross impropriety of retaining his position as counsel of a great railroad corporation. Viewed as a political leader, his opinions, with a single exception, are unknown to the country, and in the excepted case they are known by his being viciously negative. On every hand, in the city, the county, the state, the nation, there is a great struggle for better government—for freedom from the grip of bosses and bummers and thieves. It is the one great cause in which a man may render his country a permanent service. No man should occupy a position in the cabinet who is not in active sympathy with this cause, and Mr. Olney's attitude towards it has been one of cynical indifference, to put the matter very mildly.

THE Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland has just performed one of those unpleasant duties from which civil service reformers have too frequently flinched. It has been obliged to censure a professor of civil service reform and a member of its own association for practicing the spoils methods of spoilsmen. When Mr. Bissell was postmaster-general he complained of the importunities of a prominent professor of civil service reform for patronage as the worst he had to bear with the exception of a single congressman. Some of President Cleveland's most fatal deviations from the principles of civil service reform he has stated were upon the counsel of apostles of reform. Josiah Quincy was a reformer of this sort. Gorman and Quay are less dangerous. Their acts brace up reformers but to condone Quincy and Postmaster Warfield strikes at the very life of reform. Mr. Bonaparte put it finely, when he said:

In a professed reformer, "practical poli-

tics" are *not* "practical." When a man's end is to advance his own interest, without regard to that of the public, the practices of our professional politicians are judicious means to that end, just as the artifices of a "bunco steerer" or a "green goods man" are well devised to effect his purposes; but a preacher of the gospel who used these artifices to awaken souls to righteousness would gain little for either the kingdom of heaven or his own consideration among God-fearing folk; and it is no less futile for any one appealing to the people's conscience against wrong-doing by public men to vary the monotony of his exhortations by intimate association with the men he denounces and apparent imitation of their ways of life. Nothing is so certainly fatal to one who would guide public opinion as the appearance of duplicity. To attempt to reform politics by a "tactful" distribution of patronage, or even by arousing unfounded hopes of future "spoils" is, after all, like trying to lift one's self from the ground by one's own boot-straps, or to inclose a space between two parallel lines. It is giving great effort of mind to make two and two equal to five.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, in a recent address at Vanderbilt University, deplored rings and bosses and put forward this stirring war-cry for all good citizens:

Protection and free trade can wait; they have waited and wavered for a century. All other questions can wait as they have waited and wavered for a generation. Thieves are in possession of the state house, robbers are intrenched in the city hall. Unite, discard party, disregard cries, shibboleths, and phrases, and so rescue the state and the city.

To prove the resistless power of a combination of independent voters he cited the triumph of the committee of seventy in New York and the committee of one hundred in Brooklyn and of civil service reform in Chicago. Mr. Depew did not explain how a man holding such sentiments could entertain Tom Platt at dinner.

WHEN Governor Morton, of New York, appointed Platt's man, George W. Aldridge, commissioner of public works, he followed a long line of precedents, in which respectable appointing officers have for political reasons put the merest machine politicians into places of trust. Aldridge started out with the declaration consistent with his well-known character that the canals would be republican from the lock-tenders up. He briskly proceeded to make this declaration good, and in the course thereof he appointed a certain fifty-

one Platt republicans to important positions. There was no effective way of preventing these Plattites from occupying the places, but when they came to draw their pay that was another matter. The state civil service commission overhauled Aldridge and reported to the governor that these fifty-one persons had been appointed in violation of the civil service law, and the governor promptly approved the report. Aldridge squirmed and counselled with Platt, and had himself interviewed, and argued that the places were not within the law, but all to no purpose. The fifty-one Plattites will have to step out, and Aldridge will have to take fifty-one men from the despised eligible list, to the great diminution of his value to Platt, and to his own personal mortification. To have to make fifty-one appointments upon the canals by a system of open competition and with the probability that there is not a single Platt man among them, will certainly fill Aldridge's cup of bitterness to the full.

IN minor matters few of the universities have so much reason for congratulation as Cornell has, from the fact that it is rid of Charles A. Collin, who has held a position in its law school. Collin, while holding this position, was the "counsel" of Dave Hill and Flower, and Cornell had to see him writing legal apologies for those worthies; as, for instance, when Hill wanted to defeat ballot reform, and Flower wanted to defeat the appropriation for the Lexow investigation. The scholar in machine politics always cuts a humiliating figure, and few have had a sorrier appearance than Collin. In his partnership formed with Blue-Eyed Billy Sheehan, with whom he is about to open a law office, in New York, things have followed in their natural sequence. Collin is spoken of as a "practical," as opposed to a "theoretical," or "bookish" lawyer. This may or may not be a virtue. Wherever the name of Sheehan is concerned, there is such a suggestion of all sorts of pulls, that a bookish lawyer might be the more wholesome spectacle, although his practice might be less profitable. Sheehan is advertised as a democrat, and Collin as a republican; but there is a singular brotherhood among this stripe of New York politicians, no matter what the party name, and they pull together in a very "practical" manner.

It is fair, however, to give both sides a hearing. Mr. James. P. Harrold has written to the *New York Evening Post*, saying that Professor Collin is an "invaluable instructor, a profound scholar, an able teacher and a man of the highest integrity." To take the last word we repeat that he is the apologist of Dave Hill and Flower and the partner of Blue-eyed Billy Sheehan,

the brother and supporter of John C. Sheehan, formerly of Buffalo and late police commissioner of New York. It is unfortunate that any one at Cornell can think that Mr. Harrold's eulogy and these facts can possibly go together. Mr. Harrold declines to defend Collin's "political ideas." Are we to understand that integrity is to be put in one pocket and political ideas in another?

THIS is a good time to study the old lesson of "issues." Some years ago we were told that we ought to keep quiet about civil service reform until the tariff question was settled. We pointed out that the tariff question did not differ from the same question in the forties, nor was it likely to differ from the same question in the hundred and twenties. A tariff reform bill has been passed and yet somehow the question is not settled. Another question also has become acute—the currency question, and we notice that the Reform Club of New York is bending all its energies to that subject. Is civil service reform to wait until it is settled whether or not we are to have free coinage of silver? Some other question will at once follow the silver question and if the proposal were agreed to for a moment there would never be an end to waiting. The tariff and the currency questions are the happy hunting grounds of the bosses and the heelers; if the people's attention can be confined to those questions the game can be bagged. The cool calculation with which issues are chosen for a campaign was never more patent than now. Quay, who is in serious danger of being upset as the boss of Pennsylvania, says that the issue next year should be upon the tariff. He can excite Pennsylvania by shouting danger to protection, and it will submit to him for another term. The people of Pennsylvania will follow any kind of a criminal if he leads on to protection. On the other hand a large body of the republican bosses think that free coinage should be the issue, not with any view whatever to the welfare of the country, but solely because they believe that the party can succeed. The object of all these deliberations is to find some way by which Platt can again divide the federal offices in New York, and Quay the federal offices in Pennsylvania, and all the other party bosses all the other federal offices. Civil service reform has not in the past waited the pleasure of the likes of these and it will not in the future.

It is probable that a century from now there will be a tariff question and a currency question and other routine questions, whose discussion will ebb and flow with financial changes. What President

Cleveland did in those matters will not attract greater attention than is now attracted to what President Polk did fifty years ago in kindred matters. But there will be no spoils question. Undoubtedly the next twenty-five years will complete the change now going on to such an extent that public business, including the contract system and the employment and discharge of employes and the manner in which they perform their duties, will be devoid of the corruption and of the party considerations which now so heavily weigh it down. The wholesomeness of this change will always attract to the process the closest attention of history. The great strides, therefore, which President Cleveland is repeatedly taking in this direction will more than all else he does give him a place in history. The transfer of the government printing office to the classified service is one of the greatest blows which has ever been struck for the reform and indicates the headway it has gained, as well as what a President can do if he will. This office has been a national disgrace. On account of "politics," this, the most powerful nation in the world, has been afraid to introduce labor-saving machinery into its printing office. The place has been regularly looted by the scalawag politicians whom we send to congress. Over all this organized labor has attempted to keep a supervision. Such a place was a curse to laboring men, for it is a place where thousands sought but only one obtained good pay without rendering adequate service. All this will be changed. Skill will have its reward. Politics will disappear, and a fair day's pay will be given for a fair day's work. It is one of the greatest triumphs of the merit system that laboring men themselves both in and out of this office asked to have it applied there. Perhaps the greatest sufferer will be Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, for whose Maryland rounders the government printing office was a sure and never exhausted refuge; and this was true, whether the times were republican or democratic.

WE have received the eleventh report of the federal civil service commission covering the ground to June 30, 1894. It is the most valuable report yet issued and its chief virtue is that it is not afraid to name names and publish the facts of its investigations. The stories of the attempts to trick the civil service law are retold with great effect, and nothing so well indicates the thorough understanding of its duties. The plain statement concerning the Indiana post-offices and that, with the single exception of those of Mississippi, they are the most deeply branded with marks of trickery, points out another disgrace inflicted upon this state by politics. It is all

the worse that the postmasters concerned were left unpunished. It should be remembered that these things happened more than a year ago, since which time the repeated triumphs of civil service reform have had a sobering influence even upon Voorheesism.

THERE is no question but that the thorough venality which pervades American state legislatures is a grave public calamity. The late reform, rib-breaking, prison looting general assembly of Indiana, the Pennsylvania legislature, under the absolute control of a notorious thief, the New York body under the control of Platt, and the Massachusetts legislature passing over the governor's veto, with but two dissenting votes, a law to debauch the soldiers of the rebellion, are instances of this all but universal legislative corruption. The cause is the character of the members. Clerks as a class will not cheat or defraud, or try to cheat or defraud, their employers; they believe it to be wrong and would listen to no plan which contemplated such action. This is true of all classes of private employes. But it is not true of the members of state legislatures; they readily cheat and defraud their employers, and call it "politics." They vote for any kind of a law which will help the party machine, they legislate so as to loot a public institution solely to pay party-healers, and a large proportion of them sell their votes for money. There is no permanent cure except to get men into the legislatures who are at least ordinarily honest, and who look upon public business as they do private business. This will be a slow process, but it is a part of the great movement now going on for better government. The next generation will look upon us as we now look upon Walpole's time.

THE meeting of the national republican league at Cleveland this month was unusually well attended in the matter of delegates, which is a sure indication that the prospects of party success next year are considered good. This league is a delegate meeting of republican clubs, and the republican clubs, like all other party clubs, are kept alive and controlled by party workers. When the promise of success is good they turn out in great numbers and "whoop 'er up" at every meeting. When asked what they stand for, they have only one reply: "The principles of the party." If asked to state these principles they become wary and in fact feel entirely sure of only one which is, to quote Mr. Robert Lincoln, "Damn a mugwump." The Cleveland meeting was no exception. After a long struggle it plainly admitted that it did not know what republican principles are,

whether upon the tariff or the currency or anything else. This meeting was composed of the younger men of the party. Among them, if anywhere, one would expect to find some appreciation of the great reform in civil affairs which is being worked out in the United States, and there would also be expected a strong sympathy with this revolution of the benefit of which there can not be two opinions, and a desire to help it along. Yet to this Cleveland meeting and to its individual members this whole matter was a sealed book. For the representatives of "the party of progress" and "the God and morality party," this has a strange look.

INSPECTOR McLAUGHLIN, convicted of extortion, was sentenced to two and one-half years imprisonment in Sing Sing prison. He is forty nine years old, and for twenty-five years has been in the police department of New York city. In sentencing this officer of high rank, and in many respects honorable record, the judge said he had nothing in his heart but regret for a wrecked life. With the court, we may all feel pity for McLaughlin, and yet he was guilty and should be punished. But others, more responsible, unfortunately will not be punished, too. The New York Times states well where the responsibility for McLaughlin's wrecked life lies:

Extortion of money as the price of immunity for illegal acts, or of exemption from the enforcement of the law, or of freedom from annoyance and expense, was general in the police department, and was in complete harmony with the views and practices of the politicians who controlled the city government. These men, mostly Tammany leaders, but some of them republican leaders who were in deals with the others, regarded all public trusts as opportunities for more or less private gain. It was an accepted principle with them, which many of them never even questioned, that the possessors of official authority should be paid for using or refraining from using it by those to whom either the use or its neglect would be advantageous. * * * Undoubtedly in this sense and to the degree indicated McLaughlin was the victim of the system of which he was a part and in which he knew that admission and promotion must be paid for. * * * It is a great pity that the men immediately responsible for this system can not join the convicted inspector in prison. But the final responsibility is not with them. It is with the respectable citizens who, blinded by partisanship or indifference to the demands of principle in the performance of political duties, have allowed themselves to be driven as cattle are driven. The absolute dependence of every corrupt political leader in any party is on the unthinking support of the honest men of that party. Platt has commanded it from republicans as Tammany has commanded it from democrats. When it is withdrawn and citizens intelligent enough to know what is right in politics have the courage and sense to do it, the system that rests on the sale of public trusts will come to an end.

Harper's Weekly has perhaps been the most outspoken of all independent papers

as to the responsibility of Mayor Strong in his failure to keep his pledges. It could not excuse his interpretation of his pledge for non-partisan appointments into multi-partisan appointments, and especially it condemned his approval of Platt's bi-partisan police board, however excellent the mayor's appointments. Mayor Strong's policy, as outlined by himself for publication in the New York World, indicates that *Harper's Weekly* has only erred on the side of leniency. The mayor says that no consideration should outweigh the one great question of fitness, but then proceeds to show how he made his appointments, which have not borne the test of conspicuous fitness. It would be physically impossible to have fitness the prominent test and then require the offices to be fairly apportioned according to further religious and factional tests, as the mayor reports himself as doing. He says:

"I discussed the question of appointments with myself and asked myself, 'What is my duty?' After mature reflection I decided that I would give one-third of the offices to the democratic organizations that had supported the reform movement and helped to elect me, and two-thirds of the offices to the republicans. I have adhered to this. I calculated the vote as well as I could, and decided that I had got about 100,000 votes from the republicans and about 50,000 votes from the democrats, and therefore the apportionment of offices at the rate of one for democrats and two for republicans seemed fair and just."

The mayor, according to the interview, then told in detail how he had carried out his plan of dividing the offices. He said he had appointed some men because they were Roman Catholics and others because they were Hebrews, so as to give all denominations a show.

Mayor Strong also says that he has but two mugwumps in his administration and that it is right to reward political services with offices. In this painfully humiliating interview the mayor admits everything of which he has been charged or suspected. He shows himself to be a calculating traitor to the trust which was confided to him. His declaration that fitness first and party next should control in appointments has been the declaration of every rascally boss since Aaron Burr.

City and State is on the right road for genuine reform when it gives such facts and details as it does regarding an offer of a land company to sell the city of Philadelphia 82½ acres of wild land a mile from the nearest street railway for \$250,000, assessed for taxation at \$78,000, for a municipal hospital. One of the most prominent spirits of this land company is one Powers, a professional office-holder, the recognized republican leader of the twenty-fifth ward, and a member of the republican city committee. As deputy coroner under Coroner Ashbridge, naval officer under Collector Cooper, and assistant highway commissioner under Chief Bullock, he has long fed at the public crib. His

present position gives him a salary of \$1,800 per year.

A coroner, an assistant highway commissioner, a police captain, two councilmen and four politicians of local note, are mentioned as owning stock. This is one way of being in politics for what there is in it.

SECRETARY HOKE SMITH has recently re-appointed two faithful and efficient Indian agents who were republicans, but in no sense politicians, J. George Wright, at Rosebud, and George Steele, at the Blackfoot agency. The secretary of the interior has only performed a simple and obvious duty to the Indians and to two worthy officers; but the failure to do these obvious duties has been so glaring for so many years that performance finally becomes an act of great merit.

THIS city has its next election in October, the time being distinct from all other elections. The process of evolving candidates for mayor is interesting. Under our charter with a dishonest mayor or with a respectable but weak one under the control of bosses, a pretty general slaughter may be made of the city business without any adequate means of prevention. The party workers all know this and so far they seem to be the only ones taking part in finding candidates for mayor. They will undoubtedly control the nominations and will do their best to Tammanyize the city. The only candidates they talk of so far are men who are in politics for what there is in it, and who would treat the boys accordingly. There is not the least suggestion of choosing a man who will exclude party politics and will transact the city business upon business principles. As the time for nominations draws near, fear will begin to get in its work. The boys do not want to be defeated, and they will remember that there is an unusually large independent vote here which has no partisan bowels of compassion. Then will follow the process of trimming to secure a respectable candidate who will be a figurehead, and this is for the welfare of Indianapolis, the most dangerous part of the business.

THERE is a republican club in the south part of the city, which by summons or otherwise is bringing before it various candidates for the party nominations to the city offices and is examining them. The examination is very simple, and consists of the one question, "How do you stand on civil service?" It should be explained that the southern part of the city is heavily democratic, and it is claimed that to encourage one to be a republican down there requires something more than

mere principle. How can there be anything more, says this club, if this — — — civil service is to prevail? We frankly answer that we do not know; but we are very sure that "civil service" is going to prevail everywhere, and even in Indianapolis. The truth is these are sad times for the enemies of "civil service." Here is our old friend, the Brookville *American*, exclaiming in sack-cloth, "The government printing office at Washington has been placed under snivil-service rules, adopted and administered by the mugwumps of this country. What does this mean?" The meaning is plain. The rising tide of civil service reform is overwhelming the heelers, the bosses and the entire multitude who have for years tried to eke out an existence in politics by preying upon the public business.

AMONG other interesting civic phenomena, may be counted the fact that this city pays a dollar and forty cents for eight hours of common labor, while all private business in the city pays a dollar and twenty-five cents for ten hours of the same kind of labor. On this basis the city pays seventeen and a half cents an hour for the same kind of labor that costs private employers but twelve and a half cents an hour. This is more interesting when coupled with the fact that within a month the board of public works has called the street commissioner before them and notified him that the time of traveling to and from the job must not be counted as part of the eight hours, but that the men must actually work the eight hours, with nothing out for going and coming time. We decline to regard this as a question whether laborers shall receive high or low wages. The question is whether this city is a charitable institution or a business corporation which is entitled to have its streets and sidewalks built and kept clean on the same terms obtainable by the transactors of any other kind of business. The city is not a charitable institution. The price it should pay for anything should be the market price and no more. We are aware that politics and all kinds of vengeance interfere with the application or advocacy of this perfectly just principle. The knaves and demagogues, however, who oppose this application, must sooner or later be fought down and it is time to begin. The commercial club and the board of trade should lead off.

POSTMASTER WARFIELD.

IN the CHRONICLE for March we gave a long account of the doings of Postmaster Warfield of Baltimore. The executive committee of the Maryland civil service reform association, after going over the

ground, made a report censuring Mr. Warfield. His friends in the association itself contested the report, but after debating the matter many hours for two evenings, and after hearing Mr. Warfield's statement, the association sustained the executive committee. Mr. Warfield has sent us his statement with various editorial comments and a note calling attention to the injustice done him.

The question is whether Mr. Warfield has acted improperly as postmaster of Baltimore. November 2, last, the President transferred certain positions in the Baltimore post-office to the classified service. These positions were not then vacant but were occupied by appointees of Mr. Warfield's predecessor. These appointees continued to hold the places and draw the pay for more than a week after November 2, and then they were asked to resign, and having properly refused to do so they were removed. Mr. Warfield then tried an old and very disgraceful trick to beat the civil service law. He put in certain men as watchmen and then, without their having served an hour as watchmen, he promoted them to the above places. This action was blocked by the civil service commission and the Warfield men went out. Mr. Warfield then claimed that he had appointed the same men to the same positions before November 2. The failure of this excuse is that the postmaster appoints nobody; that is done by the department, and the department never appointed these men before November 2. It is true that Attorney-General Olney decided that the men were legally appointed before the classification; but that as we have often pointed out only classifies Mr. Olney with Mr. Warfield. Mr. Warfield has been very careful not to assist the investigators to a sight at the record in the department, although a simple request from him would have been sufficient. What that record shows nobody knows. He repeatedly falls back upon the statement that the matter was decided in his favor by the highest authority. We can tell him plainly that such a decision is worth nothing any more than it was in the Aquilla Jones case, or in the Eugene Higgins case, or in the Rockhill case, or in the dozens of cases where political pulls have beaten honesty and fairness. The decision in his case was simply politics and Olney. Mere naming of men by a postmaster who has no appointing power is not of the slightest legal force. It is no part of an appointment, because the postmaster is no part of the appointing power. These places were not vacated and these appointments were not made until after the law had provided a different method of making them. The department simply overrode the law, and Mr. Warfield was a

party to it. He admits that he withheld action in vacating and filling these places for political reasons affecting the election of his friend John K. Cowen to congress. Nothing could be more improper in a postmaster.

QUAY AND HIS PROVINCE.

Quay's under boss, Martin, became ambitious, insolent and rebellious when Quay was in some straits in his last mayoralty campaign, and Quay was stung into saying in the United States Senate that a certain "republican national committeeman" had given as a reason why he "could not preserve plighted faith," and "do what ought to be done," in regard to an important nomination, "that he had been under a heavy salary from a great corporation for the last three years," and "that he was compelled to do what the corporation wished him to do." This referred to Dave Martin who, as the readers of the CHRONICLE already know, has been Quay's useful creature for his peculiar work at home and has even been sent to aid Boss Platt in New York. The *Public Ledger* recently gave a circumstantial account of some \$100,000 worth of real estate acquired in the last few years by Martin. Altogether, as the *Ledger* said, "Mr. Martin can now afford to accept revolution." An "investigation" has always been the favorite thumbscrew of bosses. Platt has used it to discipline Tammany and bring it to terms for deals and so Quay concluded to allow the Penrose committee to look over Philadelphia's municipal affairs and incidentally put the screws on Martin and bring his insubordinate henchman to terms. Magee, the Pittsburgh boss and Quay's formidable rival, and Martin fought the appropriation for the investigations. In the house they were in the supremacy and after a bitter contest the senate surrendered. Meanwhile those respectable people of Philadelphia of whom there seems to be so many, allied by the cords of business interests with the things to be investigated, journeyed up to Quay to intercede against any municipal probing. But Quay decided that the investigation should begin. At what point it will end will be his future pleasure. But an investigation, whatever its motive, is what Philadelphia should have and the executive committee of the Citizens' Municipal Association of Philadelphia has decided to raise \$20,000 to defray the expenses. Before undertaking to raise the money, however, the committee desires to have a letter from the investigating committee confirming private assurances "that the broad interests of the public would be held solely in view throughout the proceedings." The Municipal Association also desires to be represented at the hearing of the committee by counsel, with power to produce evidence and to examine and cross-examine witnesses.

How Quay will profit by an investigation was indicated by a Quay retainer when he said:

"If Dave doesn't look out he may not be in a position to make a fight when the time comes to

choose the state delegates. He may have his hands full with other matters if the senatorial committee should happen to be in session about that time."

How interesting would an investigation be that should reveal all the people that have directly and indirectly realized substantial profits out of the worthless reservoirs that cost \$2,000,000, and for which an appropriation of \$250,000 more has just been made.

A bill is before the Philadelphia council for a subway *under any of the streets of that city*. It renders possible an absolute monopoly. Yet nobody professes to know about the company that asks these privileges. The councilman who introduced the measure declared that he knew nothing about the ordinance nor about the company. One Front street wool merchant handed him the bill. The wool merchant received it from "a man with iron-gray hair," who thrust it into his hand and asked him to hand it to the councilman. Such men as Martin engineer such franchises as these, attend to the stealthy and dirty work of getting them, and then they let in those respectable citizens seeking lucrative investments on the ground floor. In the network of the intrigue by which these corporate bodies have come into being and live, the good citizens become fatally compromised and thus it happens that though Quay has been a defaulter, and though no one would claim that he has not dragged the republican party of Pennsylvania through the mud, yet says the *Philadelphia Ledger*:

"One of the most distinguished members of the general assembly recently stated, when requested to use his influence to secure the passage of an important public measure, wholly unpartisan in character, that he could do nothing in the premises, as Senator Quay was opposed to its passage, and he added that no bill to which Mr. Quay was antagonistic, or the passage of which he did not approve, could be passed by the present general assembly."

And this power of Quay's has been unbroken because the lips of those who should have fought him to the bitter end have been sealed by business interests. And though his power to-day is menaced, his danger lies in the struggle of rivals for the bossship.

STORIES OF INDIAN SERVICE SPOIL.*

HARNESS-MAKER CONNELL.

It is only with shame that one can see changes made every few years in offices which have no more to do with politics than with the price of stocks or the eclipses of the moon. If the whole miserable business were not so vicious in principle, it would sometimes be positively comical. Take, for example, the case of a man named Connell, who was appointed a harness-maker under McGillicuddy, although personally a democrat—the explanation being, without doubt, that he was so good at his trade, and so useful that McGillicuddy

*[From an address of Francis E. Leupp at Philadelphia.]

ignored all secondary considerations. It so happened that among the papers recommending Connell's appointment the only letter bearing a well-known signature was one from a very prominent republican, who was then in congress and has since been given a scat on the bench. When the democratic commissioner of Indian affairs took hold in 1885, Connell's papers were scrutinized in the office at Washington, and he was promptly removed. He could not understand why this was done, and visited the commissioner to inquire about it. He was informed that there were no charges or complaints against him, but that he was removed because he was a republican. It then turned out that the only reason the commissioner supposed him to belong to the obnoxious party was because of the letter of recommendation from the conspicuous republican already mentioned. Connell at once proceeded to summon witnesses from his old home, who testified to the commissioner's satisfaction, not that their friend was a good harness-maker, or that he had a faculty for training young Indians at a trade, or that he was especially useful and efficient as a helper about the agency, but that he was never guilty of the crime of voting a republican ticket! Upon the strength of these assurances the commissioner re-instated him.

ROTATING PROSECUTORS.

The execution of an enlightened Indian policy demands, however, the application of the same principles to other branches of the public service. Indeed, in a general way, it may be said that the various parts of the great organism which we call our national government are so intertwined and correlated that there are very few important principles applicable to one which are not applicable in equal measure to all the rest—the only points of essential difference being matters of detail.

I do not know how I can better illustrate my proposition than by citing an actual case which has recently come under the notice of some of those present here this evening, and which has impressed me, more than anything else I have encountered in a long time, with the importance to the Indian service, and to a progressive Indian administration, of extending the merit system to the civil service generally.

In the spring of 1893, a squaw-man named Fielder, living near the Cheyenne river agency in South Dakota, and known to be a drunkard and of violent temper, beat his Indian wife into a state of insensibility. Her only offense was a refusal to give him some money which she owned in her own right, but which he wanted to buy drink or pay his debts. She dragged herself, bleeding and miserable, to the agency, and the agent, Mr. Lillibridge, sent some of his Indian police with a message to Fielder, and tried to induce him to come in peaceably and submit to be locked in the guard house till he could be turned over to the judicial authorities on a charge of assault. Fielder at first seemed disposed to surrender himself, but changed his mind; and

when at last it was obvious that he intended to keep out of the agent's way altogether, the latter sent a small squad of the police, picking out the most obedient and trustworthy men in the force, with instructions to arrest the culprit and bring him in. Fielder not only shut himself in his cabin and refused to let the police in, but, when they attempted to force an entrance, ran out at them with an ax, and would have killed one or more of them if they had not used their pistols in self-defense. Fielder was killed in the struggle, though there was nothing to indicate that unnecessary violence had been used. When the agent reported the facts to the Indian bureau in Washington the bureau referred his communication to the department of justice, under whose instructions the district attorney for South Dakota had the Indians arrested and brought before a grand jury at Pierre. The grand jury sifted the case thoroughly, having the advantage of sitting near the spot where the homicide occurred, which enabled them to summon witnesses promptly and at little expense. After a careful investigation they reported that there was no ground for indicting the Indians, and the latter were set at liberty. Nothing more was heard or thought of the matter for nearly two years. Meanwhile, the agent at Cheyenne river had been changed and a new district attorney appointed. Suddenly the new district attorney, a local politician, discovered that it was his duty to re-open the Fielder homicide case; and with a half breed witness of bad or doubtful character, he went before a grand jury sitting at Deadwood—the most distant point in the state where a United States court is held—and procured an indictment of seven of the Indian policemen; he then had them arrested and dragged all the way across the state, of course to the profit of the deputy marshals who handled the job, and who will have fat bills for mileage, living expenses, and per diem compensation to turn in to the government. A sensational trial of a batch of Indians was a godsend, moreover, to the jaded appetites of those Deadwood hoodlums who were ready to accept as a foregone conclusion that to try an Indian for his life meant to hang him. Undoubtedly the whole operation is good for a big double-handful of votes whenever this enterprising district attorney becomes a candidate for any elective office.

The commissioner of Indian affairs, Judge Browning, was naturally very much exercised over this turn of affairs. He wrote to the new agent at Cheyenne river, Mr. Couchman, for a detailed report of the case in its later phases. This he referred, through the secretary of the interior, in a most respectful and courteous manner, to the attorney-general, asking that instructions might be sent to the district attorney to enter a *nolle prosequi*. He took pains to represent, not only the inherent injustice of the proposed prosecution, but the inexpediency of giving the Indian police and the Indians generally an impression that, when they were acting under orders of an agent and it became

necessary to use force with a white man, they were liable to be put in jeopardy of their lives as a reward for doing their duty.

The attorney-general, instead of accepting this in the spirit in which it was offered as a suggestion which might save him from making a serious mistake, resented it as an interference with his prerogative. All he was willing to do was to write to the district attorney and ask for his side of the case. The district attorney responded with a report which showed that he either did not know anything about the facts or was willing to distort them, and on the strength of this the attorney-general telegraphed him to "go ahead."

The sequel may be briefly told. There was a tedious and expensive trial, which cost the prisoners every penny they had in the world, and in which the counsel fees for their defense had to be guaranteed by the Indian Rights Association as the only apparent means of preventing the poor fellows from being convicted by default, for the Indian bureau was powerless under the law to contribute anything. Five of the prisoners were acquitted outright. The remaining two were found guilty of "assault with intent to do great bodily harm," an offense for which there seems to be no definition in the laws of South Dakota, and for which it will therefore be impracticable to hold them.

This may seem a long way around to the very direct point which I wish to make; but you will see the application when I call your attention to a few condensed propositions.

First. The trial proved that there was no ground whatever for prosecuting the Indians.

Second. If this unrighteous prosecution had gone against the prisoners through lack of a proper defense, discipline on the Indian reservations in the northwest would not have been worth a rush from that day forward, and the fruits of a quarter century of humane effort would have been scattered to the winds.

Third. The re-opening of the case would never have occurred if the district attorney who first investigated it had remained in office.

Fourth. That district-attorney was retired to private life, not because he was an unsatisfactory officer, but because he was a republican; and another man who did not know his business, or was willing to subordinate his duty to considerations of personal advantage, was put into his place, merely because he was a democrat.

To sum up: An obviously useless prosecution was pressed, which involved a large expense to the government; which impoverished seven worthy and deserving Indians; which might have ended in taking several human lives; and which in that event would undoubtedly have been followed by another bloody Indian war and given a backset of twenty years to frontier civilization. And all this is traceable directly to the fact that district attorneyships, like Indian agencies, are still treated as spoils.

Can there be any doubt that all hope of the

future for the reform of our Indian administration is bound up with the prospects of civil service reform, not only in the Indian service, but in every one of the co-related and interdependent branches of our governmental organization?

BOSS RULE IN CINCINNATI.

In the police department under the law of 1886 the mayor makes all appointments, subject to the approval of the commissioners, who alone may make vacancies upon finding good cause after full investigation at which the accused has a right to be heard.

Not having the power of appointment, the police board has not been tempted to make vacancies without sufficient reason, *and though the appointments made by the mayor are undoubtedly dictated by his superior, who rules Cincinnati from behind the throne*, still as the mayor has no chance to make vacancies, he is only able to make the few appointments which are the result of death and resignation.

The law provides that all positions of higher grades in the force shall be filled by promotion from the ranks, and as a basis for these promotions written and oral examinations are held. These, together with the physical and other examinations which have been established by the board for ascertaining the fitness of candidates for appointment before confirming them, have had the effect of improving the character of the force until it is probably in its rank and file one of the best in the country.

To sum it up, the administration of the government of Cincinnati by the system of bi-partisan boards, to which, with the mayor, are entrusted its municipal powers, has been primarily satisfactory in most particulars. *The evil of this system, however, consists in the fact that it puts the city, more completely than is possible under any other system, into the power of its unofficial ruler. By means of the patronage of the bi-partisan boards, whose members from both parties are appointed by his servant, the mayor, he is able to control the nominees of both parties.*

If the nominees on his own party ticket are very bad, he can make the others worse if necessary. Having a well established majority under normal conditions, he is able to thwart the designs of municipal reformers by this trust which he has formed with the hungry manager of the minority party through the aid of the municipal spoils and the bi-partisan system, the result being that the offices are filled, except in rare instances, by men much below the proper standard.

One of the latest appointments to this board excites apprehension among those who wish to see our police force retain its present high standard, because of the indications that his appointment was dictated by that power to which I have referred, which absolutely controls all appointments made in Hamilton county. Should it ever happen that the same influence should dominate both the mayor and the police board so as to cause them to make vacancies and ap-

pointments to suit their mutual political needs, then the end of the efficiency of the system will be near.

[From the paper of Charles B. Wilby, at the National Municipal League, at Cleveland, May 30, 1895.]

THE VULTURES AT THE CARCASS OF COLUMBUS—OHIO.

"There is a law in force in the state which requires the managers of the penitentiary to apportion the one hundred or more guards of that institution among the several counties of the state in proportion to the population, including Indians not taxed, or something of that kind. The enforcement of this law results in bringing to the capital city a new force of guards whenever there is a change in the state administration. The old force hangs around for two or three years hunting for jobs in the police or fire departments of the city, or as campaign hustlers pensioned upon the political executive committees. They wait patiently about, hoping that the whirligig of politics will speedily restore their party to power and themselves to position. This law should have been entitled "An act to increase the number of politicians in cities of the first grade of the second class."

The state officers, members of the legislature their clerks and employes, after living for a short time among our people, gradually come to know what life really is. They have their eyes opened to its beauties, its pleasures. They stop singing, "I'm But a Pilgrim Here." They grow more cheerful and soon begin to look around for a home where they can enjoy for the rest of their lives their suddenly acquired wealth. Life in the remote counties of the state loses its charm. They love to be near the throne, the seat of government. It used to be a serious question with the people of Columbus what disposition should be made of the ex-convict when discharged from the Ohio penitentiary. Repeatedly bills were introduced in the legislature, at the earnest solicitations of our people, requiring the convicts, upon expiration of their terms, to be sent back to the counties from which they hailed, which they had the honor to represent.

The members of the legislature from the distant counties of the state, fearing competition for their seats in the next general assembly, would almost unanimously oppose the measure. Those of them who were afraid to face their constituents and had determined to live in the capital, would vote against the measure possibly for the reason that they desired congenial society in their new home. Notwithstanding this opposition the measure did finally pass, and now a detective is always at hand when a convict is discharged to see that the law is enforced and the county entitled to an increase of the population gets it.

It has been suggested that the foregoing were not the real reasons why this measure was opposed so vigorously by the average member of the legislature. It is intimated that they look upon it simply as an entering wedge to be followed by another law that

would require members of their own body, state officers and employes, to be sent back to face their constituents upon the expiration of their terms of service. This reform lies in the immediate future. This turning loose upon our city every year of a large body of state officials and employes, members of the legislature, clerks and penitentiary guards, with no provision for sending them back to their counties from whence they came will have to be changed. In the earlier reform the obstacles were not insurmountable. The ex-convicts were reasonably sure of a welcome home. They were at least not afraid to go home. The impending reform may not be so easily accomplished. A compromise might be effected by which the ex-official would not be required to go back to his constituents provided he would leave the state.

Until some provision is made our city will continue to be a city of office-holders and ex-office-holders, of statesmen and retired statesmen, of citizens who are liable at any moment to break out with their old disease of itch for office. It will continue to be infested with an excess of professional politicians, who go about seeking for something political to devour, such as state, county or municipal office. Being in the habit of attending to the business of the public, it is difficult for them to attend to matters of private concern. They naturally and instinctively turn their attention to matters of state. They are ready and willing at all times to render public service for a consideration.

We do not wish to be understood as saying that there are not some very respectable, law-abiding ex-convicts residing in the city of Columbus, men who have reformed and become good citizens. We can say as much also for some ex-state officials, ex-members of the legislature, and ex-employes of state institutions. Some of these have reformed and are actually received in so-called good society. They are even trusted and employed by well-meaning citizens of a philanthropic disposition. The removal of some of them from our city would be a serious and irreparable loss.

The foregoing facts would lead one to infer that the death rate of our city is low. Vital statistics show that it is the most healthy city of its size in the entire country. The fact that very few office-holders die has probably as much to do with its good showing in this matter of mortality as cleanliness of the streets. There being no demand for politicians and office holders in either of the other worlds, they are permitted to remain and become standing advertisements of the state capital as a health resort."

[From the paper of D. E. Williams at the Cleveland meeting of the National Municipal League.]

On one pay roll of Chicago, under the Altgeld administration, 212 names of men appeared, some of whom could not be found at the streets and numbers given, while those who were found swore that they were not in the employ of the city during the period covered, and did not receive the money set against their names.

THE MARYLAND ANNUAL MEETING.

From Mr. Bonaparte's address.

It is now some five years since Mr. John S. Clarkson, then a prominent politician, in a speech widely published, predicted that if what he called "the claim of the mugwump," namely, that the people favored civil service reform, could be submitted to the people themselves, "it would be rejected by ten millions of votes." The year which has elapsed since our last meeting has seen this experiment tried. The people of the state of New York, the people of the city of Chicago have had submitted to them "the claim of the mugwump," and have indorsed it, the former by more than one hundred thousand, the latter by nearly fifty thousand, majority. What Mr. Clarkson thinks of these facts I do not know, nor is it a matter of much consequence, but they are fraught with great moment to all those who believe, as I do, that a self-governing community will always, sooner or later, have as good a government as it deserves, but no better. If the people of the United States really were what this man supposed, he and his like would be our fit rulers. The result when his "claim" was tested, as he wished that it might be, shows that his and their days of power and prosperity, if not ended, are numbered.

I believe that these days *are* numbered; but, unfortunately, their number is probably large. The work which we undertook when this association was formed will undoubtedly last our time. If any among our members fear lest we may run short of wrongs to be righted, I can safely bid them dismiss such fears. The supply of abuses and scandals in the conduct of our public business promises to be ample, and their quality shows little sign of deterioration. * *

At the last meeting of this association I said that, whilst I well knew, and was fully prepared to say, what I thought of the appointments of Mr. Murray Vandiver, Mr. Barnes Compton, Mr. Hammond and others then recently chosen by Mr. Cleveland as federal officers in Maryland, I did not yet know what to think of his simultaneous choice of Mr. S. Davies Warfield as postmaster, and must wait until I did before commenting either upon this selection or the incumbent's administration of his office. The time for such comment has now come.

Mr. Warfield is the fifth postmaster of Baltimore since the enactment of the Pendleton bill. He is the first whose action has indicated, to my mind, at least, that he regarded the faithful enforcement of the statute according to its true and obvious intentment, as a part of his official duty, or as covered by his official oath. He has never, so far as I am informed, or have any reason to believe, discriminated for or against any one among those certified as eligible for employment in the classified service for any reason which he could not avow publicly and justify under the law, and he has not countenanced the infamous, but very common, practice of trumping up false or frivo-

lous charges of misconduct against classified clerks or carriers merely to make vacancies. Moreover, he has recently introduced a system of examinations and marking to determine relative rank, and compensation in the classified service which may, perhaps, hereafter admit of improvement as the fruit of practical experience, but serves, meantime, as a protest against an odious and paltry abuse, namely, diminishing the salary or reducing the grade of public servants whom their chief officer wishes, but can find no pretext, to deprive of their means of subsistence that he may gratify his political or personal prejudices—an abuse which has been particularly prevalent in the treasury department under its present family management. Had the entire force of the Baltimore post-office been included in the classified service when Mr. Warfield became postmaster, there is every reason to believe that I might justly close what I have to say of him, with a compliment to President Cleveland, fairly earned in the opinion of some who have found much to criticize in the Maryland appointments made during both his terms of office, for having, at least in one, and a conspicuous instance, put the right man in the right place, and one to himself, which ought not not be much of a compliment, but has been, unfortunately, deserved by a small minority of those in like positions of public trust during the past twelve years, for having honestly obeyed the law. But, I am sorry to say, there is another side to the shield.

The unclassified service of the post-office was made up, when Mr. Warfield was appointed, of republican politicians, as it had been when Col. Adreon had retired, and for the same reasons which had caused it to be made up of democratic politicians under Messrs. Veazey and Brown. I am quite ready to believe that among them were many fit candidates for prompt removal, and I fully recognize the sufficiency of "offensive partisanship," and "pernicious political activity," as grounds of removal for these as for any other ministerial public officers. Indeed, it should be remembered that the principles of civil service reform require no less imperatively and emphatically the immediate dismissal of an unfaithful or an unprofitable servant than his retention while competent, honest and zealous. It is, therefore, no fair ground of censure for me that the postmaster made many removals. I should have been as well satisfied had he made more, and much better satisfied had he made those he did make with less delay; but if he asks that reformers should assume that his removals were made for the good of the service only, it is pertinent to inquire how he has filled the vacancies. It is the doctrine of this association, and it should be that of all right-thinking men, that every American citizen of creditable antecedents, fair reputation and regular life, who desires public employment, is entitled to a fair consideration by the appointing power of his qualifications for the post to be filled, and that, whenever political opinions or party affiliations have no legiti-

mate connection with its duties, to discriminate against him because he is a republican or a democrat is no less unjust, both to him and the government, than it would be to hold him disqualified because he were a protestant, or a catholic, or a Hebrew. When, therefore, the public perceived that the postmaster chose his new appointees exclusively, or nearly so, from his own party, and exclusively, or nearly so, from one, and numerically a weak, faction of that party, it became hard for even the most charitable to believe that the desire to find employment for the more needy adherents of that faction had nothing to do with the dismissals he had made; and although, on the whole, I think it is but fair to say that these appointees, so far as I have been able to learn, compare rather favorably than otherwise with those of his immediate predecessors, some among them were such men as not to render this belief the easier.

I have said that, in my opinion, there would be less ground for legitimate criticism of Mr. Warfield if he had made his removals more promptly; in fact, there was something more than mere delay to awaken suspicion in this connection. In common with many of our own number, and with others among our best citizens, he very earnestly and notoriously desired the nomination and election of Mr. John K. Cowen to congress. Mr. Cowen has been for many years vice-president of this association, a position to which you have just re-elected him. He has always been an outspoken advocate of civil service reform, and he made, when nominated, a declaration which would have been satisfactory to his friends under any circumstances, and was more particularly satisfactory in view of the circumstances under which it was made. No one could possibly think the worse of Mr. Warfield for wishing well to his candidacy, but a rumor soon became widely current that the patronage of the post-office would be surrendered to a boss who was said to have secured Mr. Cowen's nomination, and that the consummation of this edifying arrangement was postponed until after the election only to make sure that the statesman in question might not forget to deliver the goods after receiving the agreed price. The *denouement* showed that this rumor did Mr. Warfield injustice, but it did not relieve him of the imputation that he had, at least, so timed his official action that selfish and unscrupulous political intriguers might entertain and act upon hopes of his complicity in their own corruption. I need not dwell upon his singularly inconsistent action, and the humiliating and ludicrous position he occupied, in consequence of the President's unexpected extension of the classified service on the eve of the election.

TWO OPINIONS.

BEFORE.

William Brookfield, commissioner of public works, declared to-day that he was going to take care of the old district leaders who supported the committee of thirty element of

the republican party, no matter how much he might be criticised for so doing.

"John Simpson, John Collins, Martin Healey and William Henkel adhered to us through thick and thin," said Mr. Brookfield, "and I am not going back on them now. I have appointed Henkel superintendent of the bureau of encumbrances, and I am going to give places to Simpson, Collins and Healey. I don't know what places yet, but I am going to appoint them to some offices in my department.

"I know I shall be criticised, but I don't care. If it had not been for the loyalty of these men, Colonel Strong would not be mayor and I would not be commissioner of public works. When our county convention was held last fall, a large element of it wanted a straight republican ticket. My friends were in favor of a combination, and we would have been beaten if Simpson, Collins, Henkel and Healey had not stood by us. They stood by us, too, when it looked as if we would lose. They defied Platt, and their action resulted in the nomination of Mr. Strong. They deserve well of their party, and I am not going to forget them now."—*New York Times*, March 12.

AFTER.

"I have been in office long enough to be convinced that civil service is a vital necessity of our form of government. I believe in it as I believe in religion, and so long as I am in office, I shall adhere to it strictly. I don't say that the present civil service system is perfect, but I do say that the theory is right. I believe that the question of patronage should, to a large extent, be eliminated from politics. It will be better for both parties. The only way to do that is through the civil service. The sooner such patronage is out of the hands of both parties the better. I believe that the present civil service commissioners are sincere, faithful and honest men. They believe in the theory they work on, and they shall get all possible aid from the department of public works.

"Office-getting and office-filling is not the underlying principle of republicanism. If it was, if that is all that the republican party stood for, I should leave it to-morrow.

"All the troubles of the administration have arisen out of the question of patronage. The way to solve that problem, in my opinion, is to turn all the offices, or nearly all of them, over to the civil service commission. That commission is now made up of men who can be thoroughly trusted—men who believe in their own theories and practice their belief—and if they had the disposal of the offices, the best available men would be selected, and the mayor and the heads of departments would be relieved of this trouble.

"There are 100,000 republican voters in this city. Perhaps five or six thousand want offices, and when they don't get them they raise a cry against the administration. But what do the other 95,000 republicans care who get the offices so long as they go to good men? The great mass of republicans do not want offices."—*New York Times*, June 21.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 29.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1895.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

Indianapolis, Ind

THE CHRONICLE gives space this month to the current history of Police Commissioner Roosevelt and his colleagues' efforts to enforce the excise law. The cursory reader of the late Lexow investigation knows that that law was used by Tammany for astounding blackmail and corruption. Any attempt to bring New York city out of the pit of corruption into which it has sunk, any effort to purify the police force, any hope of a clean and upright police judiciary would fail miserably and disgracefully if Mr. Roosevelt and his colleagues violated their oaths of office. They have found the law and they are to execute the law. The legislature of New York is to decide whether or not it will change the law. This fight of the police commissioners is such a lesson in courageous statemanship; it is being conducted with such wit and cleverness and uprightness; public sentiment has so promptly endorsed the utterances of men who declare they will not violate their oaths of office, let the consequences be what they may, that the CHRONICLE hopes that its collection of facts may be an inspiration in the future to some of the younger men who enter political life. The nineteenth century in the United States has no use for the crafty, evasive, compromise style of statemanship. In his career as civil service commissioner and thus far in New York, Theodore Roosevelt may be said to embody the ideal of the American people.

THE monthly record of the doings of bosses is more than usually stirring. In Maryland, there was a great fight against Gorman, but as usual he came off victorious. This is likely to continue so long as the people of Maryland lack the spirit to defeat Gorman's party at the polls for having such a boss, or for that matter, any boss. It is idle to say that the republicans would be just as bad. There is nothing like a succession of alternate defeats to bring parties to their senses; and nothing could be worse than to let a fellow like Gorman have the reward of constant victory. In Pennsylvania, Quay seems to have been defeated by a combination of smaller bosses. Any kind of a defeat for him is a victory for the people; but the smaller bosses will have to be dealt with in turn. In the Quay contest there were many illustrations of the practice to which we have often referred of utterly ignoring the real qualities and purposes of a boss by

raising a cry about danger to cherished tenets and each cry is adapted to the prejudices of the particular community. In this line one of Quay's counties adopted the following :

Whereas, In view of the coming presidential contest in 1896, it is to the best interests of the republican citizens of this commonwealth that the helm of the party should be in the hands of one whose record shows that he is in favor of full and adequate protection to American labor and industries, and whose superior skill as a statesman, brilliant organizing ability and acknowledged capacity in directing campaign work place him at the head of the party leaders of the union, and enabled him to marshal the republican party to victory in 1888.

Resolved, That the Delaware County Republican Executive Committee heartily indorse the candidacy of Hon. Matthew Stanley Quay for chairman of the state republican executive committee.

THE postoffice department has instituted the practice of sending its men to different cities to find out how the letter carriers are performing their duties, and this is done without consultation with or the knowledge of the postmaster. This is a wide departure from the method which was followed for years and even into the early part of the present administration when matters relating to the civil service law were to be looked into. Then the postmaster was the first man consulted and his word was usually taken in the face of any amount of overwhelming evidence. The two above methods mark the difference between wanting to find the facts and not wanting to find them. The civil service commission is expressly excepted from this criticism both as to motive and practice since the beginning of Harrison's term. Under the present method with the carriers, a good many delinquencies have been found such as creep into any force not closely inspected. The carriers complain but there is no good ground for it. The government is extremely liberal with the carriers. The pay is good and is above what is paid in private business for the same amount of intelligence and physical effort. The work is only eight hours a day. The position is during good behavior and the pay is the same through good times and bad which is an immense advantage over private employment. The government therefore is not asking too much when it insists that a carrier shall give his undivided attention and incessant effort to his duties during the eight hours which constitute his day's work. The

postmasters concerned are inclined to criticize the department and this does not tend to good discipline; they should rather increase their own vigilance.

THE hundreds of thousands of dollars which the government has been obliged to pay for overtime work has not increased the esteem of the people for the employes who insisted upon it. Those claims were not morally due; and the spectacle of the government having to protect itself against similar claims in the future by forbidding employes to enter their place of employment until the actual beginning of the eight hours is not pleasant. One of the tendencies which will have to be guarded against in the future is the disposition of classes of employes to band together and get more advantages. When we see the rascally acts which congressmen of all parties do in the pension department for the sake of votes, it is clear that they would not hesitate for the same reason to debauch classes of civil service employes. An instance of the demands which may be possible is that of the national association of letter carriers, for some sort of a trial before dismissal. After consideration we are fully of the opinion that no such law should ever be passed. The discipline of any civil service force requires that the power of prompt dismissal shall rest somewhere. Every day gives indication that within the classified service this power in the face of public opinion can not be abused with impunity. We are in favor of trusting public opinion.

SECRETARY HERBERT has "settled" another crew who looked upon the civil service rules as a joke. It will be remembered that Secretary Tracy introduced the labor service system into the navy yards, but it seems that in Brooklyn, under the present administration, the rules have not been taken earnestly. This came to the ears of Secretary Herbert who transferred the two officers who were at fault and gave the whole yard a wholesome lecture. He has made it understood that the labor service rules are to be observed the same as any other law. It takes a good while to convince some people that you can not build modern ships with the Mikes and Jakes of the New York and Brooklyn ward associations.

THE march of civil service reform has become so steady that it no longer attracts unusual attention. Nor has there appeared

any evidence whatever of that sleeping hostility to the reform which the politicians have always declared the people had. Under former administrations the transfer of the railway mail service and the free delivery post-offices and so on to the classified service did not awaken that hostility. Under the present administration the internal revenue service, the bureau of engraving and printing, the government printing office, the whole agricultural department and other great additions were made and yet the hostility slept on. Now follow within the month the geological survey with 125 places and the employees of pension agencies amounting to some five hundred. In all these years every transfer has met with unqualified public approval and the claim of hostility on the part of the people was a myth desperately clung to by a class of men who wanted to live off of the public treasury without deserving to do so. The transfer of the pension agencies removes one of the greatest scandals in the public service where the places were literally bargained and sold as political rewards. The present agent at Indianapolis publicly stated that he promised the places in this office to the legislators who got him his own appointment. In addition to these promises he has managed to give some relatives some good pickings out of the contingent fund and otherwise.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD has announced no new discovery in his statement that certain members of the Illinois general assembly sold their votes for or against proposed measures. The evidence is practically conclusive that this is done in nearly every state legislature in the country. It is a part of the spoils system. Mediocre but sharp men procure themselves to be elected to the legislature because they are "on the make." Taking bribes for votes in such a place is not looked upon as any other crime is. The late Indiana general assembly in effect brazenly declared that it would have railroad passes and it got them; yet the public is not greatly shocked. Many a legislator who is known well enough to have feathered his nest with hard cash is not socially ostracized when he returns home, but his entertainments paid for with the same cash are gladly partaken of by the "best people."

CHICAGO has lately afforded a curious spectacle. The new civil service rules have just gone into effect, but ever since Mayor Swift went into office there has been going on a division of booty as open and bare faced as that ever made by any band of pirates after a rich capture. The city being republican the division there was to republican looters; while the county being democratic there was a rapid re-division there for the benefit of the more powerful democratic looters. Both machines worked with all their might up to the last minute and the division was made not from business principles but solely with regard to partisan or personal services, the object being to settle into good places as many workers as possible. Any honest desire to benefit the public service would have caused a delay of all removals until the rules went into effect, when the vacancies could have been filled by open competition.

It is said that Mr. James W. French will be appointed warden of the federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The prospective appointment is praised on every hand, the republican papers especially declaring that "the appointment will vindicate itself." We believe this to be true. Mr. French was for five years warden of the Indiana state prison at Michigan City and in the course of his service made great progress in the line of his duties and became an efficient warden, grasping and knowing how to put into use the best ideas of prison management, and he was respected and liked by the prisoners. He had become a valuable officer to the state and to outsiders it might seem strange that the state should willingly lose his services. Yet the state does so, acting through its late rib-breaking, railroad-pass-grabbing, prison-looting general assembly. That august body, with the design of having Mr. French removed, made a new prison board and Mr. French was accordingly dismissed and the wardenship given to a new and inexperienced man named Harley. The sole reason was that Mr. French was a democrat. For the forty places as guards seven hundred party heelers are now scrambling. Harley's view of public business is indicated in his remark, "I shall not remove men until the new men learn their business." That is, for the accommodation of political bosses who want to pay some henchmen for personal services by quartering them upon the state, a school is to be kept by the state until these raw henchmen learn something and then the efficient and experienced employees who as Harley says have been in the service "from two to twenty-five years," are to be turned out. This whole operation is a heartless outrage inflicted upon defenseless prisoners by callous minded party bosses for the sake of personal benefit.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM AND ITS BEARINGS UPON THE INTERESTS OF LABOR.

[From the lecture of Herbert Welsh at the Plymouth School of Ethics, July 12, 1895.]

The question which civil service reform presents to the people of the United States is pre-eminently one of morals. It is not fundamentally a question of examining boards and of averages, of appointment and dismissal, but whether the executive branch of the government shall be conducted honestly or dishonestly; whether the immense patronage at our disposal comprised in our civil service shall be used directly in the public interest, or dishonestly and fraudulently for the increase of party power for securing private ends, or the amassing of private plunder. This is the vital question at issue and none other. It is un-

fortunate that we should be obliged to use so dry and technical a name as "civil service reform" for a thing so charged with more than national well-being, for a principle which is as necessary to the preservation of American institutions as was the extinction of negro slavery. The American republic contemplates a government the controlling thought of which can not be better expressed than by Lincoln's famous Gettysburg definition, "A government of the people, by the people, for the people." The foundations of this ideal were laid by the fathers, but they can only have suitable and enduring superstructure built upon them by our jealous and exacting care. That we have been to a high degree negligent of our duty in this respect would seem to be only too evident from a glance at the present workings of any department of our government. Whether we look at our great cities in their executive or legislative functions, at our state legislatures or even at that once august body, the senate of the United States, we find the same general conditions. Everywhere is to be found an amount of mismanagement, of inefficiency, and in many instances of glaring fraud and of dishonesty which are not truly representative of us as a people of average intelligence and of our average moral standards. We may claim unhesitatingly that at the close of the first century of American independence, notwithstanding the splendid achievements, of our people in the sphere of material well-being and advancement, their great progress in the line of popular education, their growing distinction in the world of letters and of the fine arts, that in their political institutions they have failed to develop fruit which should have been their natural product and which the world had a right to expect. If the causes of disturbances be not accurately ascertained and promptly removed, they present a serious menace for the future. No one, who has studied with care the developments of American politics within the last twenty-five years, will claim that this indictment is too severe. The words of a distinguished senator from Massachusetts furnish a weighty testimony to support it. Said Mr. Hoar, during the trial of William K. Belknap:

My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen in the state of the union foremost in power and wealth four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the political condition of her chief city become a disgrace and byword throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the committee on military affairs, now a distinguished member of this court, arise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting youths to be educated in our great

military school. When the greatest railroad of the world * * * was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous report of three committees of congress * * * that every step of that enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine, avowed by men grown old in public office, that the true way by which power should be gained in the republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used, when gained, is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. * * * These things have passed into history.

I am well aware that these terrible words were spoken nearly twenty years ago, and that, thanks to the heroic labors of that most distinguished and unselfish American patriot, George William Curtis, and the little band of devoted reformers who supported his efforts, in many directions great and substantial advances have been made in the cause of reform. By the well directed attacks of these men, the spoils system, the most conspicuous source of the corruption depicted so powerfully by Senator Hoar, has been driven from its strongest intrenchments in the federal service. For a long while the reform advanced by slow, and to the popular eye, scarcely perceptible steps; but within the past year the President of the United States has, by executive order, added no less than eight thousand places to the classified service; places taken from the bribery chest of the politician and restored to the honest service of the people. This number is almost equal to that included by the original Pendleton act. Chicago, also, and the state of Illinois are to be congratulated, and through them the country, upon having enacted during the past winter the admirable civil service statute. Once aroused to a sense of danger from the riotous outbreaks of last summer, and the necessity for fundamental reform as a remedy, the most vigorous city of the continent leaped fully armed into the conflict, and by one astonishing effort put herself at the head of the reform ranks. Let an exigent public sentiment now demand the thorough enforcement of this law.

Why is it that American politics have by universal acknowledgment in moral tone and dignity sunk to a level far below the standards of the American people? It would be a mistake to assign any single cause, in a reply to so large a question. But there are two causes which may be assigned, of vital importance, which we as a nation, and especially at this moment, should seriously consider: First, a certain buoyant, careless optimism, characteristic of us as a nation, which lies at the root of many of our most troublesome national shortcomings. The time has come for us to be reminded that we are no longer boy but man. We must now know or be prepared to suffer still more keenly for our ignorance of the simple truth that institutions, no matter how admirably contrived they may be, have no breath of life; they are so much iron or brass, unless guided by the hand of wise and patient men; without

a clear national mind and pure national morality to direct them, they will become dangerous or dead things, and it is the nation, not a few men only, that must know and act upon this. We must look for our safety in the future to a widely diffused sense of responsibility, based on a more exact and highly trained political knowledge among our people.

Second—Nothing would seem to be more pertinent to this growing popular consciousness of the necessity of a clear understanding of what are the necessary features of good government than a knowledge of civil service reform and an uncompromising application of its spirit to our entire political system. Politics have become alarmingly debauched, and in their turn have debauched the nation by allowing the spoils system to gain control of them. What seemed at the outset a trivial lapse in public virtue—a use of the civil service which was not strictly honest—has developed a system of politics which is inconceivably removed from that which the founders of the republic designed, in which the free and intelligent voter finds himself powerless in the clutch of the machine, where the honorable leader is displaced by the unscrupulous boss, and where a public career becomes less and less a possibility for men of character and of independent convictions.

One of the most striking symptoms of the disordered condition of our politics is manifest in our great cities. It is the alliance formed between the corrupt political machine, which regards public affairs only as a money-making concern, and unscrupulous capital, which finds in the machine a convenient tool for the advancement of its financial schemes. Such attempts as railroads, street railways, electric lighting, and other corporations are now making upon the executive and legislative branches of our great cities, would be harmless had not the whole fabric of our politics been so weakened by the dry rot of spoils as to be unable to bear the strain.

Far more alarming than the hideous union of Tammany with crime of the vulgar sort, which the recent political revolution in New York city brought so vividly to public view, is this alliance between the machine and great corporations, which have at least the appearance of respectability. The startling anomaly is presented of the management of great corporations, including men of the greatest religious and financial prominence, with those who form part of the machine, and are known to control political action by corrupt means. Perhaps in no city of the country is this alliance more conspicuous and more perfected, and more lamentable in its outcome, than in the city of Philadelphia—though by no means is it confined to Philadelphia.

While such a union between corrupt elements of the community is a burden and a loss to all, that burden and loss must ultimately be felt especially by wage-earners and their families. The great corporations in Philadelphia have been the great corrupters of our city councils, where for many years they have

maintained a working majority in both branches entirely subservient to their wishes. Their lobbyists, who at the same time hold prominent positions in local politics, openly appear on the floor of both chambers controlling legislation in the interests of their respective companies. Franchises of enormous value, which, if properly managed, would yield a revenue of millions of dollars to the city annually are in this way lost to the public, and yield great fortunes to those who secure them. One of the most prominent and influential of our politicians was during the past winter publicly denounced on the floor of the United States Senate by the most powerful politician of the state, for being in the pay of a great corporation, under whose orders his accuser alleged he had been obliged to break his promise to support in the convention the slated mayoralty nominee. This charge was never denied, and the public did not doubt its correctness. But what was the gravamen of this charge? That the local boss referred to was a lobbyist, paid to corrupt the councils of the city, and thereby to secure legislation which the corporation desired; that the candidate whom he had promised to support was one distasteful to the corporation, and that it had power to control the lobbyist's actions. This same local boss was shown by a leading newspaper of the city to have purchased during the last year more than \$100,000 worth of real estate, although engaged in no ostensible business. Philadelphia has recently built by contract a great reservoir, which cost her \$1,500,000, and which, when finished, it was discovered, would not hold water. The city is now called upon to pay \$250,000 additional to put it in condition to serve its purpose. It is even likely that a much larger sum will be required. The city is in urgent need of a purer and larger water supply than she now has. No help in this important matter can be obtained from official sources, and so a committee of public-spirited citizens comes forward with a donation of many months of unpaid toil. They propose to erect a filtering plant which shall bring us the boon of pure water. And why were there no public funds? Because every kind of abuse and corruption, the result of half a century of the spoils system and of blind unreasoning partisanship, which has obliged loyal party adherents to accept the leadership of even known thieves and tricksters, have squandered the ample revenues of the city.

The story of New York and of Philadelphia is in substance the story of Baltimore, of Cincinnati, of Chicago, of San Francisco, of New Orleans, of nearly all the great cities of the country. It presents to us the twin problems of civil service reform and of municipal reform, and not only as local necessities but as national needs—problems which are the personal concern of every tax-payer who must bear their weight financially, but more especially, I prefer to think, of every citizen and patriot who must bear before the world the deep disgrace of failure to solve them. But if there be any one part of our whole people above another who have a vital interest in driving the spoils system from American politics and corruption from American cities, it is those whom we call, for want of a better title, laboring men and wage-earners.

THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN NEW YORK.

First and foremost, that question is one of police reform. If the commissioners are not bound in honor and by their oaths to effect that reform, then they have no bounden duty whatever. Remember that an opportunity to reorganize the force by a general law passed for that purpose was wickedly denied them by a combination of the powers of darkness in control of the legislature. Remember that the partial, the blackmailing, the terrorizing enforcement of the excise law was one of the chief engines of police corruption and demoralization. Remember that the old force is to-day practically intact. A few intriguers-in-chief have been put off it, but the mass of the old men are still there. Have they lost their itching palms? Have they forgotten how to threaten, to intimidate? Are they not still acquainted with the devious ways that connect the Sunday saloon with the headquarters of political power and favoritism, and with wholesale bribery and extortion? Being what they are, knowing what they do, no more sure and deadly device could be thought of to prevent a change of spirit and of method in the police force than a relapse into the old haphazard, iniquitous way of enforcing, or failing to enforce, the excise law. Simply as executive officers, charged with the solemn duty of making the New York police a body of honest and trusty men, the police commissioners could do no other than they have done. Have the people of New York so soon forgot the pit of shame whence they were digged last November? Do they no longer remember those horrible disclosures of crime by the guardians of the city against crime, which made the metropolis a hissing and a by-word? No part of those revelations, which were so pitiless and pelting that they brought a blush even to the brazen face of the Sun, and set it to mumbling hypocritically for one day about the need of reform—no part of those revelations was more complete and crushing than the showing up of the intimate connection of the Sun's precious excise law with police corruption. A "dead-letter" law, indeed! It was rather a Tammanyized lettre de cachet, the ready and purchased instrument of the greed, the lust, the revenge of the harpies who made the law their sport and tool. It was the very symbol and embodiment of arbitrary discrimination between man and man, between class and class, of oppression and exaction, of chicane and treachery, of bought immunity and of blood-money.—*New York Evening Post, July 15.*

That the existing excise laws are to be rigorously enforced was made evident by Mayor Strong and President Roosevelt in the mayor's office yesterday, when the delegation of the United Societies for Liberal Sunday Laws called to urge a less stringent course.

Internal Revenue Collector Edward Grosse and Ex-Assemblyman Otto Kempner did most of the talking for the liberal Sunday laws men.

In the crowd that was in the mayor's office were delegates from the German-American Reform Union. The substance of what the mayor's visitors wanted was a disregard of the excise laws on Sunday.

"If I had it in my power," said Mayor Strong to the delegates, "I would allow the sale of beer on Sunday. I am ready to co-operate with you at the next session of the legislature in securing more liberal legislation on that point. I shall be criticised for this, but I can't help it.

"But I want to say that so long as the present law exists it must be enforced. It is the only way."

That was the only placatory statement of the mayor.

In the course of Kempner's tirade, he threatened President Roosevelt with political annihilation. Mr. Roosevelt, with clenched fist, declared that he was not working for office. He was only doing his duty, he added.

Not since Mayor Strong took office has there been such a stormy gathering of citizens in his office to vent their views. The mayor received his visitors graciously and everything went smoothly until Otto Kempner, Internal Revenue Collector Edward Grosse, and Sheriff Tamsen began to say hard things about reform and the present administration. Then the mayor looked angry. He did not mince words, but told those present he did not fear a political death, and that he would close every saloon.

The feature of the meeting, however, was an altercation between President Roosevelt and Internal Revenue Collector Grosse. Mr. Grosse began by asking the mayor quietly if he could not have the law enforced less severely. The mayor leaned against his desk, and replied:

"I tell you, boys, as long as the law is on the statute books, it has to be enforced. There is no getting over that fact. Now you know the best way to get rid of an obnoxious law is to enforce it, and when the legislature meets, why it can be repealed. I believe in a quiet drinking resort, where a man can take his family, but it is beyond me to say, 'You must close this place and leave that one open,' which is what you practically ask me to do. Then, again, even saloon-keepers want Sunday for rest."

Then Sheriff Tamsen made this novel proposition:

"Mr. Mayor, while you are about it, you should stop the street cars and close the stores. That is what the law means."

Mr. Grosse interrupted and said that the present administration was becoming despotic, and using drastic measures, and that its course was impolitic. He prophesied that at the next election the people would rise up and sweep the party that the commissioner and the mayor belonged to from power. He said that if the people had known how strictly the law was going to be enforced, President Roosevelt would not be commissioner of police, and that Mayor Strong would not be in the mayor's chair. He said that President Roosevelt was running the risk of being consigned to political oblivion.

President Roosevelt stepped forward and said:

"Just let me answer that argument. He has defined the issues, and I will meet them squarely, and face to face."

"Hold on," said Otto Kempner, who also had been interrupting Mr. Grosse, "I want a chance to speak."

"We'll hear you later," said the mayor.

"No, I want to be heard now," said Mr. Kempner. "I want President Roosevelt to answer my arguments."

"With pleasure," said President Roosevelt.

"Mr. Chairman," began Otto Kempner; "excuse me—Mr. Mayor—are we to understand that the law is to be enforced? Are the people to be deprived of their rights? Do you know that you are playing into the hands of Tammany Hall?" Mr. Kempner said this with a grand rhetorical flourish, and looked at his honor as if it would be unwise to say no, but that is just what his honor did.

"Mr. Kempner, I mean to enforce the laws. I have sworn to do so," replied the mayor. "I will do so. You might as well understand it. I will, I will," repeated the mayor emphatically.

Mr. Kempner was not prepared for such a decided answer, but he went on:

"Then, Mr. Mayor, Tammany Hall, that we thought we had crushed to the ground, will rise again, and the people will put it in power. Why, the citizens that voted for you thought that they would not be deprived of Sunday beer, and—"

"Hold on!" said the mayor. "The people who voted for me made the mistake of their lives, if they thought that I would not enforce the laws."

Then Mr. Kempner said something that made the mayor very angry.

"It's an asinine exercise of official authority. It's puritanical. Only bigots would enforce such laws," was the remark.

"What occasion is there for suddenly enforcing this law? Has crime become rampant? No! Then why, oh! why, have you deprived us of our rights?" asked Kempner.

"This is the first time that I knew that I was responsible for the last legislature," said the mayor, sarcastically.

"This is a democratic republic," broke in Grosse, "and when the laws are not upheld by popular sentiment, they should not be enforced."

"Indeed!" said the mayor. "Well, as long as I am at the city hall they will be enforced, and enforced to the letter, too."

President Roosevelt then took the floor, and directed his remarks to Collector Grosse and Otto Kempner.

"You have threatened that it means political disaster to me," he said. "Now listen If it meant a hundred political deaths for me to do my duty, I would do it. I would not budge an inch. Nothing can swerve me. I may never be heard of again, but I will have kept my oath of office. You, Mr. Grosse and Mr. Kempner, stand here as the champions of a vicious and corrupt system of the lax enforcement of the law—"

"I object to such statements. It is not true," interrupted Mr. Grosse.

"No, no, it's not so. He does not," chorused part of those present.

President Roosevelt tried to raise his voice above the tumult, but could not, and became angry at the failure to show him the courtesy that he had exhibited toward them when they attacked him and the mayor.

Finally the noise subsided, and President Roosevelt continued. He said that while Mr. Grosse and Mr. Kempler might be sincere personally they represented a vicious system nevertheless; at which repetition of the statement the tumult broke forth afresh.

President Roosevelt said that to enforce the law laxly was to favor the big man with a pull, and be harsh on the small one without a pull. He said that he would betray his trust if he attempted to discriminate.—*New York Times*, June 30.

* * *

"Gen." James S. Clarkson has been in this city off and on the last few days. He is staying at Long Branch, and runs up to town almost every day. Mr. Clarkson is the republican national committeeman from Iowa. He believes this fact qualifies him to criticize the action of New York republicans, especially Mayor Strong and President Roosevelt of the police department. Mr. Clarkson, of Iowa, objects to the way President Roosevelt is enforcing the excise laws, which he says at least eighty or ninety per cent. of the people are opposed to, and which for a number of years have been a dead letter. He also objects because he hears many young men who voted the republican ticket saying they can not get their beer on Sunday, and that for that reason they do not want to vote the republican ticket again. He hears these things on the boat coming up from Long Branch.

* * *

The excise law they did not dig up out of a refuse heap. They found it dating only from 1892, a law passed by the men who now shriek

loudest against its enforcement, a law accepted by the chosen representatives of this city, a law corruptly used for the basest personal and political ends, and they said: "*That law we will enforce without fear or favor. No man shall escape from its sweep by bribery or favoritism; no policeman shall profit by winking at its disregard, either in place or pocket. Our highest duty is to make the police a body above reproach or suspicion. To that end we will strike utterly down this part of the system which has been synonymous with connivance and fraud and oppression.*"

There is a fine and high moral note about this to which it is discouraging to find the press and the public so little responsive. We are so used to shuffling in office that we seem not to know clear straightforwardness and courage when we see them. When we got our present police board, we were congratulating ourselves on having such fine-fibered public servants. Yet when their fine fiber shows itself, we are astonished, almost alarmed. Why do men like Mr. Roosevelt take office except to show the trimmers and the trucklers what an honest gentleman will do in their place? We mention him only because he is the official head of the board, only because he peculiarly represents the scholar and the gentleman in politics. Happily, the board is a unit with him on this question. All the members we are glad to believe, are as ready as he to put the clamor of the politicians aside, to swear to their own hurt and change not, to do what they conceive to be their simple duty and let the consequences take care of themselves. Whatever may be the outcome of the agitation—and that it will lead to an immense change for the better in our present intolerable condition we can not doubt—the display of high-mindedness and convinced courage which our police commissioners have given us will not be lost to the city. It means a higher standard of civic duty, which it will not be easy to forget even if others lapse from it, and it will long serve to rebuke and reassure us when we are tempted to say that public officials of fearless and unflinching integrity are no more.—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

The board of managers of the United Societies for Liberal Sunday Laws met last night at Terrace Garden, and decided, in view of the determination of Mayor Strong and President Roosevelt of the police department to enforce the excise laws, that relief must be obtained from the legislature. Many prominent German societies were represented. John B. Pannes presided, and it was decided to attempt to secure more liberal Sunday excise laws by legislative action, preceded by agitation throughout the state, as shown by the following resolutions:

The undersigned citizens of New York are of the opinion that the mitigation of the so-called Sunday law is in a high degree desirable, and in the interest of public harmony and of popular respect for the laws, even necessary. But we are also convinced that this mitigation depends upon the legislative power and not upon the arbitrary pleasure of the executive officers of municipalities; that such officers are bound by their official oath to enforce to

the full extent of their power the laws as they find them, irrespective of persons or of their own opinions concerning the desirability of those laws, and that even if any laws should in the long run prove incapable of enforcement, the officers are constrained by their duty at least to make an honest effort to enforce them.

We consider it, therefore, a great wrong to make the conscientious execution of the laws on the part of these officers a matter of reproach, no matter whether the law in question be ever so unpopular, for it does not lie in their discretion to determine which law is to be enforced and which is not to be.

On the contrary, all good citizens have reason to rejoice, that after a period of shameful corruption, oppressive tyranny, and robbery, which was made possible only by an arbitrary disregard of the laws, the government of law, the foundation of public order and honest administration, has been restored, and that we have once more officers who take their duties seriously; for, did they not do that, did they permit themselves now to be induced to leave any laws at pleasure unexecuted, this would lead to a restoration of the old corrupt and lawless condition.

When the people suffer under the effect of improper laws, the remedy is to be sought in the abrogation or amendment of such laws by the legislature, and not in the demoralization of municipal officers through efforts to seduce them from the performance of their sworn duties. In the present case, all those who, with regard to the Sunday law, are of the same mind with us, should, without distinction of party, unite their efforts in an endeavor to obtain from the legislature to be elected next fall the submission of this question of the local option of the municipalities concerned.

C. SCHURZ,
A. V. BRIESEN,
GUSTAV H. SCHWAB,
JACOB H. SCHIFF,
PERCIVAL KNAUTH,
N. CILLIS,
JOHN B. PANNES.

* * *

ROOSEVELT BEFORE GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB G, JULY 11.

First—As police commissioners we propose to act, not as republicans or democrats, protectionists or free-traders, but simply as custodians of the law in the interests of all decent citizens. And we have ignored every question except the question of enforcing the law and standing by the men who have acted rightly.

The other day we recognized a policeman who had been on the force only two months and who did his duty. A noted fellow citizen, the Hon Michael Callahan, had a big saloon. (Michael J. Callahan (Tam.).—Keeps two saloons; is known as a "tough;" one of his assaults was committed two weeks ago upon a respectable citizen; his "pull" with Police Justice Divver saved him from punishment.—*N. Y. Evening Post's Voters' Directory*, 1893.) He was a big man. We could not touch him, it was said, for he had a "pull." But we did touch him. This policeman arrested him and took him to the police station, and on the way Callahan's compatriots knocked the policeman down and stamped on him. And some of them got arrested to.

The next morning we saw arrayed in court against one another, the simple policeman, without a "pull," and the big man, the local politician, who had brought to court with him one congressman, one state senator, and

one alderman—a sample of each kind—and others, whose word supplanted the law twelve months ago in this city. Twelve months ago there would have been no doubt of the issue of this case. The policeman would have been rebuked, and would have learned that we had in this city an aristocracy that could not be touched. And there is no doubt now, except that now it is dead certain to go the other way.

It will help every man on the force when he disregards the "pull" and stands up for his duty as he sees it.

We have to make certain promotions. Under the old methods the least objectionable way was through the "ward boss" and "ward heeler;" the most objectionable way was by purchase outright.

The last three promotions were made without a knowledge on my part of the men's politics or religion, and I do not care what they are. One rescued a woman from drowning, and on looking up his record, we found he had saved twenty-five lives, without receiving recognition from his superiors. But congress twice recognized his services. We promoted him on probation. If he has no executive ability, no amount of heroism will keep him there; if he has, he will stick.

The second man ran down two burglars one day and the next week he jumped into the railroad tunnel and captured another. We've put him up. He will keep his position on his merits, because we think it the decent thing to do.

The third was a patrolman who killed a man in self-defense. A laborer ran amuck with a knife and tried to murder his "boss," a contractor, and then he turned upon the policeman, who had to shoot him. The contractor sent the policeman \$100 for saving his life, but the policeman returned it, and asked the contractor to send it to the widow of the man he killed.

We have established the rule in the force that corrupt or inefficient men, no matter what friends they have, or what influence, must go. On the other hand, he who shows himself to be efficient and capable of those higher deeds which are grouped as heroism, is going to receive the recognition his merits demand. And we feel sure that in this way we can bring the force up to the highest standard and make it an object of rightful pride to the whole city.

The one thing more corrupting and debasing than anything else is the political "pull."

* * *

Government by blackmail is the kind of government that Tammany Hall provided for us, for how long a time there is no means of knowing. The facts were notorious for many years, but were not distinctly proven until the Lexow investigation took place. Then came a perfect flood of testimony, and it is still flowing. That of the editor of the *Wine and Spirit Gazette* is not the least interesting. He says that the police levied blackmail on the saloon-keepers, using the Sunday laws as the instrument of

extortion. The blackmail was paid until the amount became excessive. Then

"A committee of the central association of liquor-dealers took up the matter and called upon Police Commissioner Martin. An agreement was then made between the leaders of Tammany Hall and the liquor-dealers, according to which the monetary blackmail paid to the police should be discontinued in return for political support. In other words, the retail dealers should bind themselves to solidly support the Tammany ticket in consideration of the discontinuance of the monetary blackmail by the police. This agreement was carried out. Now, what was the consequence? If the liquor-dealer, after the monetary blackmail ceased, showed any signs of independence, the Tammany Hall district leader would give the tip to the police captain, and that man would be 'pulled,' and arrested on the following Sunday."—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

A police surgeon of many years' experience assures us that the *morale* of the police force has been remarkably improved by the course pursued by the police board. He says that the men have discovered that the "pull" has ceased to be the controlling power in the department, and that merit is now the only basis for good standing or advancement. The conduct of the commissioners in not only sustaining members of the force who do their duty fearlessly, without regard to political or other considerations, but in commending them publicly is having an excellent effect. The best members of the force are rejoiced at the new order of things, for all that they have ever desired is to be judged according to their deserts, and the poorer members are conscious that the only way by which they can be certain of remaining upon the force is by mending their conduct. Every one who takes the trouble to sound public opinion on the present vigorous effort to enforce the Sunday excise laws must be struck with the growing sentiment in support of the police board's action. There are plenty of people to be found who speak contemptuously of the law, but few of these take the ground that in enforcing the law the police board is to be censured. There is a growing opinion also that if the city were to vote on the question of Sunday selling, under a local option law, it is by no means certain that a majority would be found in the affirmative. It is to be borne in mind that the Catholic and Protestant churches would be united against Sunday selling, which would be a very powerful combination. Then, too, any one who has sounded sentiment among the poorer classes is aware of the fact that thousands of them would be glad to vote to have the saloons closed and kept closed on Sunday. Finally, there is nothing so popular in this community as pluck and courage and fearless performance of duty by police officials, and the police commissioners are winning that kind of support now, and are making converts to the cause of law and order.—*New York Evening Post*, July 5.

* * *

Talk of Tammany reorganization is not half so significant of the reviving spirit of the enemy of honest government as is the current misrepresentation of the efforts of the police to maintain law and order. It is a mode of

attack too characteristic to be mistaken. Last Sunday 138 arrests were made for selling liquor. On Sunday, January 14, 1894, when Jimmy Martin and John C. Sheehan were the master spirits of the police force, the record was 150 arrests for the same offense, while under the Platt-Tammany Commissioners, Murray and Kerwin, the returns were 291 arrests for Sunday, January 20, 1895. Yet we are told that President Roosevelt and his colleagues are arrogantly enforcing a law which public sentiment made a dead letter. When did it die? Certainly not in Tammany times. What was the Pantata? A high police officer under Tammany commissioners, to whom an association of Bohemian saloon-keepers paid \$125 a month for being allowed to evade the law by selling liquor on Sunday, while their less shrewd or more honest fellows kept their bars closed or suffered arrest. Was it a dead law that filled the pigeon-holes of the Tammany district-attorney's office with thousands of indictments against liquor-dealers who did not pay tax to Tammany and were caught doing business on Sunday? Now because there is no one to collect blackmail for immunity from the law there is an outcry against "Puritan despotism."

The hue and cry against the action of the police commissioners finds its most practical explanation in such sentences as these: "How the brewers are affected; loss each Sunday over \$165,000."—*New York Evening Post*, July 18.

* * *

"Commissioner Faure, of the department of charities and corrections, for instance, yesterday simply acted as a good citizen," said Mr. Roosevelt. "He brought to our attention a flagrant violation of the law in a certain precinct by a wealthy and influential saloon keeper. The circumstances, as he detailed them, show that the policeman on the beat must have known of this violation of the law, and that the acting captain of the precinct either did know or ought to have known. We shall reduce the acting captain, try the patrolman and see that the saloon is closed."

From the impressive manner in which Mr. Roosevelt uttered this statement there is no doubt that severe punishment will be meted out to these negligent members of the police force.

"Where men will assist the police as effectually as Commissioner Faure," continued Mr. Roosevelt, "they can be of the utmost service, but a mere general statement that the law is not being observed, or that half of the saloons are not shut, does not amount to anything. It is presumably untrue and always useless. The persons, moreover, who send anonymous communications are wasting their time ninety-nine times out of a hundred. On the other hand, the work by a responsible individual who gives us dates, facts and figures is invaluable."

"One or two of the branches of the city vigilance league, for instance, have already excellently prepared statistics of violations, or seeming violations, of the law in certain

precincts, which form the basis of investigations which I am at this moment carrying on."—*New York Times*, July 24.

* * *

ROOSEVELT BEFORE GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB I (GERMAN).

Mr. Roosevelt began his speech by saying: "I care nothing for the birthplace of those whom I address, because I speak as an American to fellow-Americans." Taking up the allegation that crime has increased under the new administration of the police department, he said:

The last few days certain statements have appeared in some of the papers to the effect that under the new administration of the police department crimes in this city have increased. These statements are absolutely false. I hold in my hand the official figures giving the total number of felonies reported at the station-houses and the total number of arrests for felonies during the first three months of the present year, when the old organization of the department was still undisturbed, as compared with the last six weeks, during which time the force has been absolutely under the new direction. The total number of felonies reported during January, February and March was 759. During the month of June and the first half of July the total number was 313, an average of less than seven a day, as against an average of eight and a half for the first three months of the year.

The arrests for felonies cover a large number of felonies not reported at the station-houses. When an officer sees a felony committed he makes an arrest and reports it as an arrest and not a felony. For the first three months of the year the total arrests for felonies was 912, while for the past six weeks the total has been 481. In other words, under the old regime arrests averaged a trifle over ten per day but in the last six weeks, owing to greater activity and zeal on the part of the police, the arrests for felony have averaged nearly eleven a day.

Replying to Senator Hill's letters on the enforcement of the excise laws, Mr. Roosevelt said:

Senator Hill has done me the honor to take me as the antitype of his political methods and political views, and has singled me out for attack in connection with the excise law. Senator Hill's complaint is that I honestly enforce the law, which he and Tammany put upon the statute book, with the full belief and intention that it would not be honestly enforced. I do not usually ascribe motives, and I would ordinarily hesitate, in speaking of a United States senator, to say that his governor and his legislature (for he controlled them both absolutely) deliberately enacted a law which they deliberately intended to be dishonestly executed; but I do not have to ascribe motives in this case, for Senator Hill's letter is in effect a frank avowal that these were the motives which actuated the Tammany legislature that passed the present law.

This law is being honestly enforced, and Senator Hill's assault upon that honest enforcement is tantamount to the admission, in the first place, that it never has been honestly enforced before, and in the next place that he had never expected it to be honestly enforced. He kept silent while the law which the people had put in the statute books was contemptuously violated in the interest of corruption. He clamors now that it is administered by officers who pay no heed to money

or political influence, and who deal equal justice to the poor and rich alike.

A more humiliating position was never taken by a public man than this position which has been taken by Senator Hill. It is but natural that he and Tammany should grow wild with anger at the honest enforcement of the law, for it was a law which was intended to be the most potent weapon in keeping the saloons subservient allies of Mr. Hill's machine.

This Sunday excise law has never been a dead letter. It has always been enforced against the man without money and without political influence. It was passed with the deliberate purpose of keeping a sword over the neck of every saloon-keeper who did not render abjectly faithful service to Tammany Hall, and to the state machine which Tammany Hall served.

I do not wonder that Senator Hill raises an outcry against its enforcement. It was not meant to be honestly enforced. It was meant to be used to blackmail and browbeat the saloon-keepers who were not the slaves of Tammany Hall; while the big Tammany Hall bosses who owned saloons were allowed to violate the law with impunity and to corrupt the police force at will. With a law such as this enforced only against the poor or the honest man, and violated with impunity by every rich scoundrel and every corrupt politician, the machine did indeed seem to have its yoke on the neck of the people. But we threw off that yoke; and no special pleading of Senator Hill can avail to make us put it on.

But it is a shame and disgrace to the state that one of its United States senators should venture openly to appear as a champion of the dishonest enforcement of law; for that is all that is meant by this outcry in favor of enforcing the laws liberally, exactly as Tammany Hall enforced them. Remember, this law was no dead letter. It was always enforced against some people. During the year before I came into office something like 5,000 arrests were made for violation of the Sunday excise law. Think of that—5,000 arrests! Our arrests have only been a little more numerous proportionately. But, whereas in the old days men with a "pull" went scot free, we, on the contrary, have taken particular pains to see that it was the man with a "pull" whose store was closed. Every honest liquor-dealer owes a debt of gratitude for rescuing him from bondage. Under the old system, he either had to keep open by bribery of some sort, or else he had to be closed and see his less honest rival gather in his trade. Under the new system we treat all alike, and the honest man no longer sees the premium paid for dishonesty.

In the true spirit of the demagogue, Senator Hill, with utter disregard of the facts, asserts that this is a discrimination against the poor man and in favor of the rich, and draws a contrast between me taking a champagne dinner on Sunday at the Union League Club and the poor man, to whom I deny his Sunday beer. As to me, his statement is false, and is made out of the whole cloth. This is so unimportant that I merely allude to it in passing as offering a fair gauge by which to test the truthfulness of a man who, in talking to an antagonist, is content to make assertions based on the idlest and most vapid newspaper chatter, but it is important to point out the falsity of Senator Hill's main charge that we discriminate against the poor.

On the contrary, the discrimination against the poor was under the old system of corruption. Where justice is bought, where favor is the price of money or political influence, the rich man had his own and the poor man went to the wall. Now all are treated exactly alike. As a matter of fact, we, members of the police board, have attacked the richest organization

in New York. The brewers and liquor-sellers represent more combined capital, and capital which is more often lavished in controlling elections, than is the case with any other organization.

The honest brewer and the honest liquor-seller have no cause of quarrel with us; but the dishonest, the men who approved of corruption and thrived under it, they see their dishonest gains taken away. They see the hold which they have had over the police force removed, and as that police force is made honest, their wrath is naturally as bitter as it is unscrupulous. I do not wonder at the ferocity, I do not wonder at the venom of their higher allies in the newspaper press; I do not wonder that Senator Hill has come promptly to their support.

But if I do not wonder, still less do I care. It is a matter of absolute indifference to me what they say. The laws will be enforced by the police exactly as we are enforcing them now. All honest and law-abiding citizens are in honor bound to give us their support; but whether they do or do not give it we shall not refrain from doing our duty.

United States Senator Hill speaks euphemistically, and carefully avoids saying in so many words that he wishes us to violate the law; but one of his supporters, State Senator Cantor, is less mealy-mouthed and comes out boldly, insisting that the officers appointed to enforce all laws should connive at the violation of this law. Yet this same Mr. Cantor, who openly advocates having the executive officers connive at the violation of the laws they have sworn to enforce, is actually talked about for a high judicial position. It would surely be a strange spectacle to see in New York elected to a judicial office a man capable of defending so shameful a prostitution of justice.

The question is merely, Are the laws to be honestly enforced? This question is to me so simple, so easily answered, that I can hardly understand how any man who is both honest and intelligent can fail to give us his support. There are, of course, plenty of scoundrels to raise a hue and cry against us; and I am sorry to say they are backed by some weak men who do not understand the situation, by some honest men of muddled minds, and by some who are contented to announce, in the language of the Scripture, "that their god is their belly," and that they would much rather see dishonesty crowned king and corruption flourish than obey the law when they think it interferes with their appetites.

Nothing is worse for a community than to have on the statute-books laws which are but partially enforced, and to encourage the law-makers to enact legislation which shall remain a dead letter. Every honest officer ought to enforce the law, and I earnestly hope that one result of the enforcement of the law by the police will be to show our legislators, both at Albany and in the board of aldermen, that they must not put or leave on the statute-books a single law which they do not think ought to be enforced.

The demagogue has dared to complain that we were favoring the rich against the poor. The fact is that these demagogues know well that it is they themselves who are champions of a powerful and, until our advent, an illegal, favored class—the class of rich brewers and the rich liquor-sellers who made money with greater ease than any others in the community, and who are furious because their illegal gains have at last been stopped by officers who can neither be threatened nor bought into connivance at wrongdoing.

The illegal sale of liquor, especially on Sunday, has been in the past a source of corruption. It is something we are bound to root out. In the interests of decency and

morality we shall enforce all laws so far as we have the physical power. That is what we are here for.

We are not a legislative body, and, as I said, I think one effect of our action will be to prevent the legislature from passing laws which are not meant to be enforced, and to persuade it hereafter to exercise care in the laws it leaves on the statute-books.

* * *

"As long," continued the victim of police proscription [Harry Hill], "as the present law exists, and it is not heartily and impartially enforced, just so long will it be used by politicians to attain their ends, and by the police to levy tribute or gratify revenge—I speak 'by the card.'"

"Because I would not submit to be classified and booked for so much a week for police tribute, the order was given that I was not to be allowed to live in New York, and the order was carried out. They tried to harm me even after they had convinced me that I was a marked man; but to their credit, be it said, the Brooklyn police were not influenced by what my enemies on the other side of the East river said about me.

"In speaking of Mr. Roosevelt's dealing with the excise question, I speak admiringly but regretfully. I am, as a publican, in hearty sympathy with the saloon-keepers who suffer, while I know of the evils that come of not enforcing a law properly, but of using it as a club against men obnoxious to politicians or grasping police officials.

"And I won't bar any political party either, republican though I am. There were times when both the democratic and republican parties could have changed the law, but it was too valuable a factor in their schemes."

You say you do not expect any remedy from the legislature; I deem it by no means impossible under existing circumstances. You predict only that the Germans of New York will at any price drive out the present municipal administration, and put in its place one favorable to Sunday liberty, of whatever elements it may otherwise be composed. I have a better opinion of the Germans of New York. If your agitation, as at present conducted, were to be successful, it would inevitably lead to the restoration of Tammany rule. I assume, of course, that this is not your purpose, although your prediction might have had more the character of a warning than of an incitement. In any event, I am convinced that a large majority of the Germans of New York will at no price consent to lend a helping hand to such a betrayal of the common weal as the restoration of Tammany rule would be.

* * *

During nearly forty years I have been more or less active in public life, and I have always had the honor of the German name in America at heart. Often have I had to repel the aspersion that, good people as Germans may be, they are apt to forget everything else soon as their beer is touched. I have always treated this as a revolting calumny. A comparatively small number of reckless and noisy shouters may sometimes have given color to this accusation, but the overwhelming majority of the Germans looked at the rights and duties of American citizenship from a much higher standpoint.

The Germans of New York are no exception to the rule. They will, in this emergency, surely do what is right and worthy of the German name. While ever as much in favor of a more liberal Sunday law, they will remember that this is neither the only nor the most valuable object of their endeavors. Although the recent struggle for good municipal government may not have yielded all the fruit

they desired, yet, as good citizens, they recognize it as their duty to preserve and develop all the good results it did yield.

The corruption of the police was the most dangerous evil afflicting the community. Whoever furnishes the city an efficient, incorruptible and dutiful police will confer upon it an inestimable benefaction and deserve the gratitude of every decent citizen. The men now at the head of the department are honestly endeavoring to do this, and the Germans will not imperil the success of that endeavor by demanding that the old demoralizing business of selling permission for violating the Sunday law be continued. They wish to attain the desired Sunday liberty, not by a demoralizing circumvention of the law, but by an orderly change of the law.

If this change does not come as quickly as they would have it, they will certainly not raise the alternative, "Either Sunday beer or Tammany." They will not forget that the accomplishment of reforms in a democratic community usually requires patience, and that he who means to be a good citizen of a republic must cultivate that patience. They will remember that the liberal current which has given us of late years public Sunday concerts and open museums, promises soon to loosen other unreasonable restraints. They will, with calm perseverance and in a lawful manner, continue their efforts until the Sunday question is submitted in the spirit of home rule to the local option of the people of New York city. And thus they will reach their aim, remaining true to the cause of good government and preserving the respect and confidence of their fellow-citizens.—*Carl Schurz, in the Staats Zeitung.*

* * *

GUSTAV H. SCHWAB.

My position is like that taken by Mr. Schurz. He spoke the sentiment prevailing among our German citizens. The Germans are an order-loving people. They believe in the observance of law. Laws on the statute books should be enforced. Mr. Roosevelt's action is entirely right. If laws are obnoxious, a remedy for them should be sought in the proper way—by legislative repeal or by local option provisions, so that the city authorities might deal with the matter. There can be not only no possible sense or justification in the evasion of existing laws, but it is the sworn duty of public officers to enforce them. The public should commend officers who perform this duty.

* * *

Everett P. Wheeler, when asked what he thought about the policy of the police board, said: "It is one of those delicate questions upon which I do not care to express an opinion. I can not without giving the matter more thought than I have at present, nor can I say whether I approve or disapprove of Mr. Roosevelt's course."

* * *

Simon Sterne said: "Every enforcement of the law, of course, benefits the community; but if you ask me whether we are not likely to pay a fearful penalty for any very rigid enforcement of the excise law, I should be tempted to say that in all probability we will have to pay that penalty."

"In what way?" asked the reporter.

"By the reinstatement of Tammany," replied Mr. Sterne. "The law was passed to keep the liquor element in the city of New York in terror of the powers that be. Any man can complain of the commissioners, who are simply carrying out the law from a sense of duty, very much like the sheriff who has got an execution against a runaway locomotive. It is dangerous work for the sheriff

and his posse to serve such an execution. They are doing their duty, but the locomotive may hurt them."

* * *

The New York *Staats-Zeitung*, a German newspaper of high character, sees fit to indulge in lamentations because the New York Germans—meaning American citizens of the metropolis of German birth or extraction—are not a unit in condemning the zeal with which the reform administration is trying to enforce the excise laws, especially that provision which forbids the sale of stimulating drinks on Sunday.

* * *

All laws are to be enforced, but in the order of their importance; all crimes will be punished, but in the order of their seriousness; and those who think they can divert the labors of the board of police from putting out the conflagration by pointing to bonfires are foes of good government, allies of the lawless, and are clamoring in vain.

This is the gist of a statement made by President Roosevelt to-day. He did not want to say anything. The board of police wanted to act without a word of explanation. But the president could not resist the temptation to be plainly understood. So he spoke. He said:

"No effort, direct or indirect, to distract our attention from important crimes and law-breakers to unimportant crimes and law-breakers will succeed. The excise law is going to be enforced right up to the handle, and all the allies of corruption in the department who are desirous of seeing that corruption remain, by trying to befog the main essay, may just as well abandon their efforts. The course of the police commission won't deviate one hand's breadth from the path it has hitherto pursued. We shall enforce all the laws so far as our force will enable us to enforce them. Ultimately we will have them all obeyed, and meanwhile, it is a waste of time for the criminal classes and their allies to try to prevent us from enforcing the vital laws by raising a clamor that we are not enforcing others of less importance.

"I would not allow a policeman to neglect to arrest a burglar on the plea that he was preventing a violation of the Sunday excise law, and so I will not allow a policeman to have a chance to allow the saloon of some man with a pull to violate the law, on the plea that he is looking after a soda-water fountain.

"We will enforce all the laws, however, and I hope that one effect of our efforts will be to make the legislature and the board of aldermen understand that when the police force is both honest and efficient they do not want to put or leave on the statute books any laws which they do not expect to see enforced. The most corrupting and demoralizing thing for the whole community, as well as for the police force, is to have laws on the statute books that are only partially enforced—that are only enforced against the man without a pull. And in the end all decent citizens will see this, no matter how loud, for the minute, may be the clamor of the champions of corruption and disorder."—*New York Evening Post, July 15.*

* * *

—Says the *Atlanta Journal* (Dem.): "Only a few years ago civil service reform was generally regarded in this country only as the hobby of a few Arcadian politicians. Hardly anybody expected to see it become more than a theory. Now it is an accomplished fact. It has come to stay. Its scope and its hold on the popular mind are constantly increasing." *May 15.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 30.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for August has a characteristic article from Theodore Roosevelt, entitled "Six Years of Civil Service Reform." The article treats of a new phase of the struggle, by going behind the curtain and showing the obstacles met every day by those who have in hand the actual operation of the law. The spite, hatred and disappointed rage at the law, leading fellows like Vilas and Bynum to a constant guerrilla warfare upon it, and how their movements are checkmated by men like Henry Cabot Lodge, are described in a manner entirely interesting. The fight against the spoils system is the history-making struggle of this period, and every man should have the honor or disgrace to which his acts in that struggle entitle him.

PRESIDENT POLK in his own handwriting has clinched the evidence of his own lack of manliness and statesmanship. In his diary brought out in the *August Atlantic* he says, March 4, 1846:

"A year gone and the pressure for office has not abated. Will this pressure never cease? I most sincerely wish I had no offices to bestow. If I had not it would add much to the happiness and comfort of my position. As it is, I have no offices to bestow without turning out better men than a large majority of those who seek their places."

In May of the following year he writes:

"Almost the whole of my embarrassment in administering the government grows out of the public patronage which it is my duty to dispense."

He had the whole matter in his own hands. The pressure was, as now, applied through congressmen. The constitution and his oath of office required Polk, as they require the President now, to beat off and utterly disregard the men making the assault. There have been many cowardly failures since Polk, but none has been more cowardly or more helpless than his. He was a mere puppet in the hands of his party machine.

IN the line of the CHRONICLE'S apprehension, last month, the report comes from Washington that congressmen will inquire into the recent "spying" of the post-office department upon the conduct of its carriers. This is altogether prob-

able. A congressman will do most anything to get control of votes, no matter how much harm it may do to the public service or to the public welfare generally. Many congressmen take to such work naturally. It is this corrupt tendency of congressmen which makes us doubt the wisdom of allowing classes of public employes to band together in any kind of an association. Their dependence must not be upon congressmen, but upon their superiors in the executive department, and the people must be trusted to deal with those superiors for any misuse of power. There have been too many examples for it to be any longer doubted that the people will overthrow any administration which debauches or abuses the public service. In such a case as the one in hand congressmen have no legitimate power whatever. All they can do when their favorites are made uncomfortable is to vote to cut down the appropriation. This stand-and-deliver practice has made a coward of many a cabinet officer, but we hope it will not do so much longer.

THE restiveness of the carriers at being watched is not a good sign. It would be better for them to mend their ways. The carrier reported from this city as not taking a paper from the outside of the letter-box was guilty of a species of disobligingness not uncommon. It is the spirit of doing no more than the law literally requires, added to a disposition to display independence and have it understood that one who works for the government is not to be dictated to. This is all a mistake. Public servants do not work for the government but for the people, and the people do not and will not feel timid toward their employes. It is true that an employe may for a time cause single persons discomfort and annoyance by being disobliging but his ways will find him out and the same public opinion that protects him against injustice will force him to the wall. Carriers and all others would do well to adopt the rule of doing more—much more—than the law or their superiors require. It will be bread scattered upon the waters. In the meantime it is the duty of the people to uphold the department in its efforts to secure a full eight hours' work for the liberal eight hours' pay.

TAMMANY has been going through the process of registering the decrees of its bosses as to what committeemen and leaders it shall have next year. The signs are universal that it is "the same old Tammany." Of course, in the interest of good government and of honesty and of everything else that is decent and respectable, this organization ought to be broken up. For fifty years it has been a public breeder of blackmail and law-breaking and all manner of immorality. The welfare of the entire country demands the destruction of this organization. Every good citizen should work to this end, but all good citizens do not. We can understand in a measure why ex-Governor Campbell of Ohio should strike hands with Tammany and be glad of a chance to show his sympathy with it, but why President Cleveland should write this public enemy a letter and thus join in its "celebration" of the day of the Declaration of Independence, is beyond our comprehension. The character of the letter had nothing to do with the matter.

EXASPERATION with that form of organized dishonesty, called municipal government, continues to break out in different forms on every hand. In Kansas City a civic federation has been organized, with the determination "to separate municipal and state affairs, and place competent and trustworthy men in office without respect to party lines." In Omaha, politicians and members of the city government were systematically looting the city treasury by having a pull with the treasurer, and borrowing upon their I. O. U's. Threatened with discovery, the treasurer fled, leaving a note saying that he had gone to commit suicide. He got, however, no further than a road-house, and he had such a pull that not only would the council not remove him, but he was not arrested, and held on a week before he resigned. At this home thrust into their pockets, the scales fell from the eyes of Omaha citizens, and one thousand of them, "regardless of party feelings," issued a proclamation calling for the organization of a movement for "the introduction of business methods in the city government." In Denver, the water company, as usual, had a pull. Lower rates or an independent water service was an issue of the election last spring, and was

supposed to have been gained. When, however, the ordinance came up, the pull of the water company was found all-sufficient. Citizens with a rope as the emblem of the hangman, confronted the board of aldermen for eight hours, with fifty policemen between them. But it did not avail; the average alderman will face considerable danger rather than not yield to his pull, and the ordinance was passed. Meanwhile, by a vote of seventeen to one, the common council of West Superior, Wis., have impeached the mayor of that city on a charge of extorting money from firemen and policemen.

THE CHRONICLE has endeavored, without malice or fear or prejudice, to show the spoils acts and opinions of a number of prominent reformers, and while the task is ungracious and the assault of reformers themselves is often bitter, it means to go on because the work is necessary.

WHEN the Indianapolis charter was passed, the CHRONICLE pointed out that a Tammany mayor could and would give us Tammany government. Both party machines have at last fully grasped this fact, and they seem disposed to risk the attempt to Tammanyize the city. The charter should have provided an iron-clad labor-service and merit-system, to the end that a Tammany mayor would have been without power to loot the city service. It is not that there are no civil service provisions in the charter which an honest mayor would observe, for there are some broad general provisions; but if a mayor is dishonest and ignores them, there is no adequate remedy. Then we have the fool provision that in the police and fire forces the places shall be "equally divided politically." Be that as it may, the devil seems more determined than ever to play fast and loose with the affairs of Indianapolis. The time has come to form a good government club, whose sole object shall be to take the government of this city out of politics.

IN view of the great advances which this national administration has been making, a recent occurrence at Wabash in this state seems a survival of a past age. For some delinquency the department determined to remove Postmaster Hoover of that place. If a bank or a railroad, or any private enterprise had been going to displace an important official, the business principles upon which it would have selected his successor are well known; and politics would have been unheard of and unthought of in the matter. But the greatest government on earth, with unlimited means of investigation, for a purely business position of

high importance calls upon the chairman of the democratic county committee to "name" the man. This brings back the abject administrative weakness and incompetency under which we have struggled for so many years. But the "call" became public, and the Hoover democratic faction at Wabash gathered themselves up and made an onslaught upon the department and swore that Hoover should be kept, right or wrong, competent or incompetent, honest or dishonest. And the department in abject humiliation backed down. Perhaps the people of Wabash can worry along with a postmaster whom the department thought ought to be removed; but that "the trouble has caused considerable bitterness in local democratic ranks," can not be endured, and for that the department must be severely censured.

OUR NEXT MAYOR.

The republicans have nominated our old friend Pres. Trusler, the present city comptroller, as their candidate for mayor. It can not be said that the honor was unsought as Trusler for months has pursued it like a small Quay or Platt. It is true also that not one-tenth of the party went to the primaries, but the party must and should feel responsible for him and will enjoy all the glory which he may cast upon it.

Trusler is in some respects an interesting man. He came up here from Connersville and had a place in the post-office. Off and on he was in the city council, where, if our recollection serves us right, his conservative nature hesitated at departing from the old and safe method of lighting the city by gas, to the new fangled notion of electricity. We think there is a remark of his somewhere on record, made not many years ago, to the effect that it had not been shown that a town could be lighted by electricity. He has been earnest in politics even to the point of physical risk; for, if our recollection again serves us right, he once had a personal encounter, or fight, with one Browder, a fellow-partisan, but of the merits of that controversy or on which side victory perched, we do not pretend to decide.

As a member of the council he took an active interest in the fire department and among other things required the chief, Mr. Webster, to turn out the dozen democrats among the eighty-two firemen. Being refused he led the movement which resulted in the displacement of the chief. True, that transaction caused a great scandal and shook insurance circles from center to circumference, and had much to do with the overwhelming defeat of the republicans which followed and Chief Webster had to be re-instated; but that has all blown over. Trusler has stood by his guns, and the boys have no reason to suppose that if he is elected, Mr. Webster will not again go instanter, and that the police and fire departments will not have a shaking up

such as has not been seen in many a day, and "republicans" will find there that pleasant and profitable quartering upon the city treasury which their efforts in heeling, shouting, setting up primaries, and fixing things for Trusler, merit. Possibly this may raise the rate of insurance, but is a small matter like that to stand in the way of putting down monarchical tendencies such as "civil service?"

We can not notice at this time all of Trusler's principles, but there is one which will give eminent satisfaction to the men who bear the heat and burden of the day. Trusler believes in the sinews of war, and that there shall be no shilly-shallying about raising them. We all remember the brilliant boldness with which from his comptroller's office lately he notified policemen and firemen to call and come down with a fixed per cent. of their pay. And when some milksop taxed him about it he laid down this immortal principle: "All appointive offices are political offices and should be paid for by those who get them." There is no gainsaying this and no part of his administration will be more edifying than the thorough and business-like manner in which that principle will be carried out.

As to "civil service," while there is some little squinting in its favor in the platform, Trusler was not present when it was read and no one need hesitate to vote for him fearing that he might feel bound. The fragments of the very considerable system which Mayor Denny has inaugurated can already in the mind's eye be seen flying in all directions. No one need fear that there will be any civil service nonsense about Trusler. The boys in the trenches are going to be taken care of.

We do not feel that any exhortation is necessary, for there is a good deal of enthusiasm. The Indianapolis *Journal* is already treating us to the thousand phases of Trusler's exploit in refunding some bonds when every money-lender was hunting high and low for a good investment. It has not yet noted how he saved the city money by refusing to allow \$8 for tree planting at the city hospital. Cal Darnell, who, when in the council, had thirty henchmen quartered upon the city, is hoping for happy times again when Trusler comes in. All the boys are for Trusler. Every heeler, every striker, every shouter, every political dead beat and every political scalawag is happy and hopeful and full of enthusiasm. To be sure, progress in directions exactly opposite to Truslerism has been almost a tidal-wave in municipal affairs in this country the past year; but Indianapolis wants none of that; she wants to writhe in the grip of bosses and ward heelers.

To this end one can not doubt that the man and the hour have arrived. At one fire station there was once a single democrat. Trusler demanded his dismissal on the ground that he was a "disturbing element." At another time Trusler demanded the dismissal of a captain who had been twenty-two years in the fire department;

"Isn't he a good republican?" was asked.

"Yes."

"Isn't he a good fireman?"

"Yes."

"Well, why should he be dismissed?"

"Because," said Trusler, "he is no friend of mine."

No one can fail to be impressed with the promptness and vigor of this administrator as well as with the cogent reasoning which directs his movements in reducing the affairs of the city of Indianapolis to a business basis. It is only some Miss Nancy who will say that a boss shouldn't own a town, and drive men out of employment whenever his feelings happen to be ruffled.

THE INTEREST OF WAGE EARNERS IN CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

Those with few resources standing between them and want are the first to feel the evils of bad government, are the first to feel the weight of increased taxation, and are the most helpless sufferers from it. The machine, the boss, and all other poisonous fruit of the spoils system, have their hands in the pockets of us all, but deepest and most ruinously in those of the workingman. Legislation for the betterment of the condition of the working-man or working-woman, for the protection of life and limb of themselves and their children in workshop and factory, can only be expected to have just treatment from members of state or city legislatures who are really representative of the people. What can be expected of those who hold their seat as paid representatives of unscrupulous capital, nominated and elected to their offices by boss leaders, who, as Senator Quay said of David Martin, are in receipt of a corporation salary large enough to support themselves and their families? What sort of workingmen's friends will such men as they are prove to be?

For a typical spoils system legislature, look at that of Pennsylvania during the last session. Refused to grant money for needed harbor improvements in the Delaware river, resulting already in the transfer of two large steamships to another port; no money for a system of forest management which would have resulted in saving ultimately millions to the state, but large numbers of new places, with large salaries attached, created for the benefit of spoils camp followers; an educational bill killed, which would have brought Philadelphia's school system from the village to the municipal epoch, and have placed it on a level with the progressive educational systems of the country. An oil pipe line bill, framed wholly in the interest of the monopoly, and confessedly deadly to public interests. This, and much more legislation of the same sort, is the direct fruit of spoils and machine politics, and these are the outgrowth, natural and inevitable, of the spoils system. The spoils system can only be destroyed by the rigid and widespread application of civil-

service reform. The boss's strength lies in his ability to bribe with office. The application of the merit system alone can deprive him of his bribery fund. Take that from him and his whole fabric of power topples and falls to ruin, and with it venal legislatures and city councils, or boards of aldermen. The rich soil that the corporation lobbyist works to such abundant fruit has become, for capital without conscience, a sterile field. Can not all sincere, intelligent labor leaders see this truth plainly, and can they not see that it is the very first step along the path to better things? Let them be assured that among the so-called capitalistic class there are thousands of earnest men and women who are willing and anxious to join hands with them in redressing whatever real grievances they suffer, and in aiding them to attain a fuller participation in the varied fruits of this rich American land, and of this teeming modern civilization. It is quite certain that there is much strong ground as yet unoccupied which may be jointly held by the laboring man and this class of his friends with manifest advantage to both parties. It is also clear that the direct road leading to this common territory is the reform of the civil service, which will bring honesty, if not wholly honest, politics and the reform of great cities—after all but a branch of civil service reform—which will at once furnish a better, more economical, more commodious, and in every way more fitting home for all of us, but more especially for the laboring man. In this latter great problem, not only must there be eliminated what direct losses he suffers through dishonest or inefficient management of city affairs, but also those which he suffers through failure to receive the fruits of wisely expended revenues, a thousand privileges and opportunities of nobler and richer living which might be his were the coming higher ideals of municipal life and municipal functions realized, and were the now squandered city resources wisely husbanded to obtain them.

HOW THE MERIT SYSTEM IS MOVING ON.

Col. Silas W. Burt, who established his loyalty to civil service reform when naval officer of the port of New York, and is now one of New York state's civil service commissioners, sums up the late advances as follows:

Civil service reform is making more rapid strides than ever. It is winning victories and gaining ground in nearly every direction. Look at Secretary Herbert's action, confirming Secretary Tracy's courageous order extending the system in the navy yards. He has transferred an officer who failed properly to enforce the regulations, and has put another in his place who will enforce them. Look at the action of the commissioners of the District of Columbia, voluntarily seeking the extension of the reform in their department. Look at the action of Public Printer Benedict, joining with his subordinates in asking that his office be brought under the rules of the civil service board. Look at Secretary Carlisle, at last manifesting an interest in the reform,

and permitting the internal revenue department to come under its influence. Look at Secretary Morton putting the agricultural department in close touch with the civil service system. Look at the rapid extension of the scope of examinations in this state and city. Witness the remarkable conversion of Public Works Commissioner Brookfield, who wants all the offices put under the civil service rules. Only in Massachusetts has the cause met with a defeat. There the legislature has passed over the governor's veto a bill practically giving every veteran an office who brings a certificate of good character from two citizens, an act absolutely subversive of civil service reform and productive of bad government. Everywhere else the reform is growing. There has been no reaction against it, and there is no prospect of any. I believe that by the end of his term President Cleveland will have put under civil service rules every office which it is possible with the present law to subject to the system.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOSSES.

"I am a candidate for the chairmanship of the republican state committee, and I will feel greatly obliged to you if you will aid in sending friendly delegates from your county to the approaching state convention. If your delegates are elected, please do me the favor personally to see them and request them to co-operate with me in the convention. Any assistance you may render in this matter will be fully appreciated. I trust I may see you in Harrisburg a day or two prior to August 28, when I will have the opportunity to meet you personally."

"Thine very truly,

"M. S. QUAY."

Quay has challenged the republican party of Pennsylvania to an open contest as to whether he shall be recognized as its absolute dictator. Having bossed the legislature, he now announces his candidacy for chairman of the state committee. The present incumbent has made an excellent record, and is entitled to re-election. But he is a member of Gov. Hastings's administration, and as Quay has quarrelled with the executive, the boss insists that the governor's supporter must be "turned down." The issue is made as sharply and clearly as possible. It is simply whether Quay shall be invested with supreme control of the organization. The opponents of the boss show more readiness to fight than usual, and they seem stronger than ever before. Indeed, the surface indications at the start are most unfavorable to Quay. But he has wonderful resources for such a struggle, and he has won more than once when public sentiment in his party was strongly against him. Hitherto, however, he has usually kept more or less under cover, and he loses certain advantages when he makes the contest in an open field. If he does succeed, in the face of all the disadvantages that confront him, his victory will mark the lowest depth that Pennsylvania politics has reached.—*New York Evening Post.*

"One of the most striking and suggestive features of the present contest in this state," says the *Philadelphia Press* (rep.), "is the extraordinary zeal with which the democratic papers have espoused the case of Senator

Quay. They are unanimous, earnest and untiring on his behalf. They are his ablest and most eager champions, and both their editorial and news columns are devoted every day to promoting his success."

Unexpected opposition has developed at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., against Senator Quay. The two leading republican dailies—the *Record* and *Times*—came out in strong articles yesterday against him.

The meekness with which so intelligent a constituency as the republicans of Pennsylvania have long submitted to the dictatorship of men like Cameron and Quay has been a mystery to the country at large. That they retain their power is due to the strength of the party machine which has long existed in Pennsylvania. Describing the operations of this machine, the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* says:

"In Pennsylvania the system of practical politics has been established in every county and in every election district. The humblest political worker at each point knows what is expected of him. Every atom of official spoil is kept for distribution where it will do the most good. A laborer can not secure the whitewashing of a school-house fence without giving allegiance to the local representative of a higher political power. Men can not be elected to the smallest office until they have signed away their liberty and given solemn pledges that they will support those who assume to direct in all such matters. School directors, poor directors, and township, county and borough officers are all thus kept in line. No man thinks of making a successful effort to reach the legislature until he has received indorsement as a candidate. So it is all the way through, the people meanwhile going through the performance of their duties at the primary and general elections in a perfunctory way."

Quay's system of politics has been founded on a purely commercial basis. *He deals in a wholesale way with men who can control large numbers of men or large sections of territory. He introduced the principles of the trust or combine into politics. He did not, like the Camerons, build up a personal following. He purchased the support of the leaders or bosses of cities and counties, and as long as the funds of spoils, patronage, and privileges held out his leadership was never seriously disputed.*

* * *

Senator Quay had undisputed control in the recently adjourned legislature, and he used it to increase salaries and offices to an extent unparalleled in our history, little thinking that he was thereby placing powerful weapons in the hands of those who would use them for his undoing. *When these plans on the state treasury were being put through, the senator and governor were on good terms. Some of the more flagrant instances of this extravagant and uncalled increase are to be found in the creation of a superior court with seven justices at \$7,500 per annum each; the new department of public grounds, with a superintendent at \$3,000 a*

year, and a number of new assistants, taking the place of a small body of men who had efficiently looked after the capitol grounds for a comparatively small outlay. Now we have a new department of agriculture, which will take \$98,000 to run for two years. The Auditor-general had to have a new deputy at \$3,000 not because he required more help, but because a place was needed for a politically useful man. The secretary of internal affairs secured a new deputy at \$3,000 a year. Contrary to the constitution (which is said not to count between friends "on the hill"), the adjutant-general's salary was increased from \$2,500 to \$4,000 a year. And so we could go down the list until an increase of a million dollars in appropriations for two years could be accounted for.

Among the beneficiaries of this prodigality was B. F. Gilkeson, who had been state chairman for several years, and was generally regarded as a loyal Quay man, inasmuch as he had been a persistent office-holder by the grace of Quay. Now we find him pitted against his benefactor, who has become a candidate for his position as state chairman. *All the men placed in office by the governor under the authority of these various bills, all of which received his executive approval, have with few exceptions come out on the governor's side, he having just entered on his his four years' term, and having that many years of power and favors before him. The governor has been making the most of his exalted position and extensive powers, and, guided by the adroit Magee of Pittsburgh and Martin of Philadelphia, has opened a warfare upon Quay and his control that bids fair to be successful.*

Philadelphia and Pittsburgh will send practically unanimous administration or anti-Quay delegates to the convention. Bank-Examiner Gilkeson is expected to deliver Bucks county; Adjutant-General Stewart, Montgomery county; Adjutant-General McCormick, Lycoming county and some of the neighboring counties. Superior Court Justices (just appointed) Rice, Willard, Orlady and Reeder mean Luzerne, Lackawanna, Huntingdon, and Northampton counties in the administration column, and so we could go on down the list and show how every gubernatorial appointee has been brought into line and received orders for the delivery of the needed delegates.

Quay is handicapped in that he has no federal, state or municipal patronage at his disposal. He has only his great experience, prestige, and undoubted power as an organizer to rely upon, and his strength among the protected manufacturers.—*Philadelphia dispatch New York Evening Post, July 4.*

Boss Quay's telegram concerning the conduct of an ex-state senator, who had long followed in the Quay procession, is an apt expression of his sense of what is due to a boss. This state senator, having decided to support certain candidates before the next republican convention who are not supported by Quay, wrote a very friendly note to the latter announcing the fact. On receiving it, Quay was so shocked

at this exhibition of human depravity that he immediately telegraphed: "This is the coldest-blooded mercenary stab I have encountered in this campaign of assassination." According to Quay's ideas this man was disloyal. It is rank disloyalty to disobey a superior to whom allegiance is due. Quay considers himself the superior, and all other Pennsylvanians who are not democrats his vassals.

When Mayor Warwick declared that he was with Governor Hastings in the contest against Senator Quay he evidently meant that he would give the anti-Quay people more than mere passive support. The mayor has been active in politics for nearly a score of years, and he knows if a leader in a fight does not use all the influence at his command his opponents will, and he will run the risk of defeat.

In summing up the standing of the various wards in the contest between Quay and his opponents the twenty-third and thirty-fifth wards, which form the twenty-third district, have by some been placed in the doubtful column. *Yesterday Select Councilman Byram, of the twenty-third ward, said he met David Martin and Mayor Warwick in the latter's office by appointment. According to his story, he told them that if they expected the delegates from that district to the state convention to oppose Quay he would have to be recognized as the leader of the twenty-third district, and his ward committee recognized by the city committee, and he should hereafter distribute the patronage.*

He said Mr. Martin, speaking for the organization, promised him the first two demands, and Mayor Warwick assured him that no appointments would be made from the twenty-third ward without his approval. This was satisfactory to Mr. Byram, who named as delegates from the twenty-third himself and Dr. Samuel Bolton, and he said that George A. Castor, of the thirty-fifth ward, could name the third delegate, who will be Select Councilman Joseph H. Brown. Shortly afterward the mayor approved the appointments of Assistant Foreman John Duffield as foreman of engine No. 14, and Thomas Dyson, hoseman, to succeed Duffield as assistant foreman. *"I have been trying to get these appointments since January," said Mr. Byram after they were announced, "but I have them now. I would not deal with any one else but the mayor."*—*City and State, July 4.*

Quay is looking to the national convention and that is why he is so anxious to get control of the party machinery. Hastings and those back of him also have an eye on the next presidential race, and that's the milk in the cocoanut. Each is playing for higher stakes than the petty chairmanship of a state committee.

There has been a great deal said during the present struggle about the ingratitude of Governor Hastings toward Senator Quay. This sort of talk emanates from sources ignorant of the political history of the last decade, or so blinded by zeal in the Quay cause as to be unable to

see the facts as they stand out on the record of the times. No man in politics in Pennsylvania is less indebted to Quay than the governor. Previous to the Delamater disaster (which thousands of republicans have a habit of recalling) Quay played fast and loose with Hastings, and gave him to understand that he (Quay) had no preference, and that Delamater had no more claim to the nomination than Hastings. Thus encouraged, the Bellefonte man went vigorously into the canvass, and secured the popular indorsement for the high and honorable office which he now fills. In the meantime, however, Quay was planning to "own a governor," and the forced nomination of Delamater was the result. Subsequent history is too recent to need recounting. Last year the nomination and election of Hastings could not have been prevented by a hundred Quays, but the followers of the Beaver man would have the thoughtless citizen believe that it was all due to the favor of their political idol. As soon as Hastings was elected the fawning of his enemies commenced that thrift might follow. In the bigness of his heart he overlooked their transgressions and permitted them to enter the land which their deeds should have forever excluded them from. They were given of the fat of the land, but the Quayites were not content. They wanted the earth. In their minds Hastings was not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath as the great man from Beaver, and so they plotted to dethrone the governor who was placed over them by the largest popular vote in the history of the state. For several weeks and months they conspired together to bring odium upon the official head of the party, and neither day nor night did they cease their plotting. Finally they became bold in their scheming, and the investigation of the alleged wrongs of Philadelphia was agreed upon as a clever way to attack the administration through its supporters in the metropolis.

Frank Willing Leach's resignation of a six-thousand-dollar position in order that he might be free to help Senator Quay is commendable. His example is not being emulated with that alacrity that one might expect to see by the Quay appointees of the governor at the capitol. On the contrary, the Quay politicians who owe their political jobs to the governor are holding on and secretly doing all they can to discredit the administration. Of course, there is no ingratitude in this! It has been suggested here that Mr. Leach's anxiety to engage in the fight against the governor comes from his failure to land in the position now filled by Secretary Reeder.—*City and State*, July 18.

Reviewing the Quay-Hastings conflict, the *Philadelphia Press* (rep.) says: "The results up to date are decisive. The campaign has gone overwhelmingly for Governor Hastings. Since the announcement of Senator Quay's candidacy for chairman every delegate elected has been against him."

District-Attorney Graham is a much overworked man, according to his own account, for whenever he is criticised for delaying the prosecution of criminals who have influential political friends, he excuses his remissness by pleading the pressure of work in the district-attorney's office. But he is never too busy about public business to prevent his undertaking any private practice that offers profit. While he may not have time to discover long-suspended indictments in the capacious pigeon-holes of his office, he has had abundant time to attend to the receivership of the Iron Hall, an office whose fees are greater than many leading lawyers can earn, and within the past ten days he has not found his official duties too onerous to prevent him from giving very influential assistance to the Pennsylvania Steam Heat, Light, and Power Company in obtaining exceedingly valuable franchises from the city without cost. Perhaps it was this addition to the demands upon his time that prevented him from finding time to take up the De Camp matter until he found himself forced to it by citizens who felt that they had some rights as well as the politicians. District-Attorney Graham is a man of singularly diversified abilities. He is equally able to address a Sunday-school or nominate a ring candidate in a political convention; he can prosecute an obscure criminal as skillfully as he can pigeon-hole the indictments against those whose political friends are known to him, and he can make a rousing speech against corrupt municipal government as effectively as he can lobby for a franchise-grabbing corporation. Lest the people of Philadelphia should fear the loss of such an accomplished public official, it is well to mention that Mr. Graham has already announced himself as a candidate for re-election upon the expiration of his present term in January next.—*City and State* June 27.

Philadelphia's experience in lighting its streets by electricity has been thoroughly typical of current American methods of dealing with important municipal problems. From time to time, important and valuable franchises have been granted to various local electric lighting companies and extensive contracts given to them for public lighting. Then these companies have since combined and formed a trust for their mutual aid and protection, which trust controls all the electric lighting in the city and charges Philadelphia a higher price for its electric lights than is paid in any other city in the country.

While nominally and ostensibly these companies are independent of each other, actually they have reached an agreement or understanding by which no one company will bid in the territory of any other company, its territory in turn not being invaded by any of the others.

It may be interesting to the readers of *City and State* to study the personnel of these companies and see to what extent bosses and beneficiaries control them. The following facts

are from the last volume of *Pennsylvania Securities*, a standard work published from year to year, giving such detailed information regarding the various corporations doing business in the state of Pennsylvania as can be obtained.

The principal electric lighting corporations of the city are The Manufacturers', The Southern, The Powelton, The Diamond, The Northern, The West End, The Suburban, The Columbia, The German-town and The Wissahickon.

The president of the Manufacturers' Company, according to our authority, is James Work, assistant commissioner of highways. The secretary is William J. Roney, receiver of taxes. The board of directors is composed of James Work, William Emsley, David Martin, Charles A. Porter, James Richie, Jr., William Bardsley and James McCormick.

The personnel of the officers and directors of the Diamond Electric Company is interesting. It has for its president Hon. Charles A. Porter, state senator and contractor-in-chief of the city of Philadelphia and, until recently, chairman of the republican city campaign committee. Mr. Porter enjoys with David Martin the distinction of being a potent influence, if not the most potent influence at present in Philadelphia politics, and during the past few years he has been so successful in bidding for public contracts that nearly \$5,000,000 of work has been awarded him within that time. Associated with Mr. Porter on the board of directors of this company are William J. Latta, the Pennsylvania Railroad legislative agent, and in whose offices the conferences about the Pennsylvania Steam Heat and Power Company ordinances were held; George A. Castor, the thirty-fifth ward political leader, and aspirant for congressional honors, and David Martin, who during the last five or six years, without any known occupation other than politics, has had transferred to him \$150,000 worth of real estate. How much personalty he has acquired within this period we are not informed and have no means of ascertaining. Henry J. McCarthy, just appointed to the superior court bench by Governor Hastings, is also a director in this company.

The Powelton Electric Company is officered by William J. Latta as president and John B. Stauffer as secretary and treasurer, Mr. Stauffer holding a similar position with the Diamond Electric Company. Among the other directors of this company Senator Porter, State Representative Samuel Crothers, William S. Kimball, C. H. Clark, Jr.

Select Councilman Henry Clay, who is also a leading member of the Electrical Committee of Councils, is president of the Northern Electric Light and Power Company, and Charles O. Kruger, who is the treasurer of the Electric Trust, is the transfer agent of this company. This company's forces in addition to these officers is managed by a board composed of Henry Lewis, Peter A. B. Widener, A. J. DeCamp, John Lowber Welsh and S. Y. Hotchkiss.

About the Germantown and Wissahickon companies our authority, *The Pennsylvania Securities*, gives us no information and but very little about the Southern Electric Light Company, further than its president is James Mack, the well-known contractor.

After giving the name of Thomas Dolan as its president, and A. J. DeCamp as general manager of the Brush Electric Light Company, our authority says:

"The board of directors in 1881 was as follows: Henry Lewis, William Wood, J. N. Williamson, J. B. Altamus, John Lowber Welsh, John Wanamaker, Thomas Dolan, A. J. Juillard, A. G. Payne and William Arrott, the names of the later boards having been refused."

The president of the West End Electric Company is Albert Baltz, and its secretary ex-Councilman John Q. Taxis. Senator Porter is a member of the board of directors of this company.

Common Councilman Peter E. Costello is president of the Suburban Electric Company. Associated

with him on the board of directors we find Magistrate T. W. South, Editor Hugh A. Mullen, of the *Sunday World*, Hamilton Disston, Senator Porter and William J. Latta.

A. J. DeCamp's office, at the southwest corner of Tenth and Chestnut streets, is the headquarters of the electric lighting interests of the city, for we find located here the offices of the following companies: The United States Electric Light and Power Company, The Penn Electric Light Company, The Brush Electric Light Company, The Philadelphia Electric Light Company, The Underground Electric Conduit Company and The Underground Electric Light and Power Company.

Concerning the first-named, our authority says: "Its capital is \$1,000,000, with \$100,000 paid in," and that "A. J. DeCamp is general manager," all other information being refused. It is generally believed that the Penn Electric Light Company, of which A. J. DeCamp is president, is controlled by the Electric Trust. On its board of directors are Select Councilman Henry Clay, Common Councilman A. J. DeCamp, twentieth ward leader, and traction agent, David H. Lane, James McManes, William D. Marks, president of the Edison Electric Light Company, and Amos R. Little. This company owns the electric conduits used by the Electric Trust. The statement for June 29, 1892, shows a deficit of \$34,934 after the deduction of all available assets.

All we can learn about the Philadelphia Electric Light Company is that its capital is \$200,000, all paid in, and that its president is W. S. Pettit; its treasurer, Clement Newbold, and its general manager A. J. DeCamp. Concerning the Underground Electric Company and the Underground Electric Light and Power Company, all information is refused.

In looking over the boards of these various companies we find that Senator Charles A. Porter is president of the Diamond Electric Company, and a director in the Suburban, Powelton, Manufacturers' and West End Electric Companies. William J. Latta is president of the Powelton Electric Light Company, and a director in the Diamond and Suburban Companies. David Martin is a director in the Diamond and Manufacturers' Electric Companies.

Councilman A. J. DeCamp is general manager of the Brush Electric Light Company, general manager of the United States Electric Light and Power Company, director in the Northern Electric Light and Power Company, president and director of the Penn Electric Light Company, general manager of the Philadelphia Electric Light Company.—*City and State*, July 11.

PLATT'S MACHINE.

According to the announcements of appointments made recently by the capitol commission, two architects, two time-keepers, and one clerk have been given office in violation of the civil service law.—*Albany Dispatch*, *N. Y. Evening Post*, June 24.

* * *

With a brief intermission for luncheon, the capitol commission held a session lasting from 9:30 o'clock this morning until 7 o'clock this evening. The time was given up to scrutinizing the names of persons urged for appointment on the capitol construction, under the \$400,000 which the Aldridge republican machine has to expend before the contract work goes into effect. *Never have the reins been drawn so tightly, even laborers and tool-boys being required to have strong political indorsement of the right stamp.* As a result of to-day's labors, 175 men were appointed, swelling the total to 600.

Action was also taken to divest ex-Commissioner Perry of every bit of power. Under the law he is to continue as superintendent. *Nothing is said of a deputy, so, to get around the law,*

Harry Stevens, one of Superintendent Aldridge's Syracuse workers, was appointed general foreman. To further hamper Mr. Perry, Col. L. V. S. Matteson, of Oswego, was made foreman of laborers. It was Col. Matteson who proved to be so valuable a witness against Mr. Perry at the investigations by the republican legislature last winter.

The state canals, the capitol construction, and the capitol maintenance departments are all now in complete control of the Platt machine.—*Albany Dispatch*, *New York Times*, July 18.

* * *

The first hand-to-hand tussle between the Platt and anti-Platt forces inside the republican party, which has come off in the preliminary campaign for the control of the next republican state convention, resulted in a Platt defeat. It occurred in Washington county a few days ago. Both sides fought nobly, the Platt forces having the assistance of a special force of deputy sheriffs sworn in for the occasion. Several leaders on both sides, one weighing 265 pounds, were tumbled off the platform in the convention hall during the opening exercises, in the eagerness of the two sides to obtain possession of the chair; and when the table which was to serve as the chairman's desk was smashed, the deputy sheriffs promptly seized the legs thereof and wielded them vigorously on the heads of the anti-Platt forces as symbols of their office. One man's hair and whiskers were plucked freely from him, and one leader who "lit on his head" from the platform was taken out for medical aid. This opening scrimmage was brought on by the conduct of the leader of the Platt forces who was holding the hat in which the ballots for chairman were to be deposited. He attempted to keep the hat behind him when an anti-Platt delegate sought to deposit a ballot, and to hold it in front of him when a Platt delegate approached. This method of "regulating the count" was not allowed to succeed. After a struggle of many hours a vote was finally recorded, when it appeared that the anti-Platt faction had a majority of 6 votes in a total of 120. An anti-Platt delegation was chosen to the state convention, and with tattered clothing and bandaged heads the convention adjourned. The Platt forces fought nobly, and the boss ought to reward them for their pluck and ingenuity in holding high the banner against numerical odds.—*New York Evening Post*, June 22.

* * *

One of the politicians who called on Ex-Senator Platt at the Oriental Hotel yesterday was State Committeeman William Barnes, of Albany. Mr. Barnes had encouraging news for the Tioga man, for he thinks the republican factional troubles in Albany have been settled, and settled in such a way as to leave the Platt men in control of the political situation there. *In bringing about this situation, it became necessary to give the superintendency of the Albany penitentiary to a man who had formerly been opposed to the Barnes element, but this was done on a*

compromise basis, by which the Platt men get the patronage—about 200 places.—*New York Times*, July 15.

* * *

Supreme Court Judge Herrick to-day denied the motion of John W. McClelland for a mandamus compelling the comptroller to pay his salary as clerk in the canal collector's office. McClelland was an appointee of Superintendent of Public Works Aldridge. When he applied for his first month's pay Controller Roberts refused it upon the ground that he had not complied with civil service rules and had failed to pass an examination. The mandamus was then applied for. Justice Herrick holds that the employees in the department of public works, the state prison department, and also clerks of the prisons, who are appointed by the state controller, come within the provisions of the civil service laws.—*New York Times*, July 13.

FAMILY REVELATIONS.

MILHOLLAND.—"Who is Jake Patterson, this so-called republican? Jake's record is closely allied to that of Tammany. Why, I could specify things in his career which every one who knows anything about politics would recognize as familiar. His name is a sufficient by-word not to descend to sickening details. In this matter of fighting the major, Jake has shown his characteristic cunning and effrontery. As I said, his record stands out boldly and conjointly with Tammany's."

* * *

The *Buffalo Express* (republican) of the Platt Fassett contest in Chemung county:

It will show to what extent Platt's democratic allies are able to help him in his efforts to disrupt the republican party. Help from these Hill-Tammany sources is the direct result of Platt's course last winter in aiding the Tammany democrats in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the confirmation of Silas W. Burt, an anti-Tammany democrat, as state civil-service commissioner. It explains why Platt brought discredit upon the republican legislature in order to defeat the police-magistrates bill, because his Tammany friends didn't want it. It explains why he tried to have a new election in the Greater New York next fall, so that Mayor Strong would be legislated out of office, and Tammany would have a chance to get control again two years sooner. It explains why Platt's puppets in the senate helped the Tammany men to kill the bill which took from the Tammany surrogate of New York some important appointments which properly belonged with the state controller. It explains why police reorganization was prevented by a combination of Platt and Tammany senators. It explains why the Tammany district attorney, John R. Fellows, was given the appointment of two more assistants, at \$7,500 a year each, so Colonel Fellows would have more time to repair Tammany fences.

* * *

CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Chairman Republican

State Committee.—The present methods of government of the party in the Empire State practically prohibit any voice to the great body of republicans in party councils. The private party man is expected to contribute to campaign funds, to vote for candidates assigned for his support by prearranged conventions, and otherwise to hold his peace. There is no mistaking the sentiment which now prevails, *i. e.*, that republicans demand fair and open discussion within party lines; the election of representative conventions; and the nomination of proper candidates, who shall be free from the control of individual bosses. The indefensible action of certain members of the state senate, who are known to have been under such control during the last session of the legislature, has given emphasis to the demand of the masses.

* * *

From Address to Republicans by State Republican Club, July 31.—Party control confined to a few individuals creates an oligarchy. When that control is reduced still further to the will of a single person, it is simply an autocracy. Neither of these has any place in our system and form of government, and both are in deadly hostility to the spirit and purpose of the republican party. Under the restrictions imposed by such leadership and control patriotic enthusiasm dies away in indifference, and, instead of healthy growth and a widening area of influence, the party falls into corruption and decay.

It is because this tendency to the centralization and concentration of power in a few hands is a constant factor in all political organizations; because in the republican party it grows and develops only as the voting masses are indifferent to the details of party management, and because it can be checked and repressed only by the awakening of the voters from such indifference, that the Republican State Club of the state of New York has been organized upon a permanent foundation with the single view of enlisting the interest of the great body of voters in everything that concerns the welfare of the party or the administration of its affairs.

With the whole party so interested, with a common cause and a common meeting-ground for republicans from all parts of the state, there will be neither oligarchy nor autocracy; no deals nor dickers with the enemy for corrupt purposes or personal aggrandizement; no usurpation of the party's prestige nor prostitution of its power.

* * *

Commissioner of Public Works Brookfield.—A single incident during the closing days of the canvass indicated to me the tremendous enthusiasm the state organization, as represented at the Fifth Avenue hotel, had for the success of the county ticket. It occurred when, in my capacity as president of the county committee, I called upon the chairman of the state committee and asked for assistance. His reply was: "Oh, Grace has control of this whole situation."

"That is the situation of affairs, is it?" I asked. "Then you have no money for us?"

"Not a cent," said he.

I then said: "Hackett, we will elect this county ticket and give the candidate for governor the largest vote ever polled for a republican in this county, and we will not owe anything to the state committee, either, will we?"

From this view he did not dissent, and my visit ended.

I have also read several times that Mr. Platt "consented" to the nomination of Mayor Strong. This would be ridiculous if it were not impudent. I was president of the republican county committee at the time, and feel that I know something about the circumstances that led up to the union movement and the nomination of Col. Strong. In my judgment there was no time when Mr. Platt and his followers could have defeated the nomination of any one recommended by the committee of seventy. At the first general conference an effort was made by those allied with Mr. Platt to break up the conference. It did not succeed. This fact can be testified to by at least twenty-five men who were present.

* * *

Although no caucuses have yet been held in Monroe county the politicians of both parties have been on the alert for weeks, and midsummer sensations have not been lacking.

The coming contest will be of state as well as of local interest, *because it will be the first serious effort of the opponents of Superintendent of Public Works Aldridge to wrest from him the leadership of the republicans of Monroe, over whom he held an almost undisputed sway for half a dozen years before Mr. Platt promoted him to be dispenser of canal patronage at Albany.*

It is worth noting that this fight against Boss Aldridge is not confined to the republican ranks. This issue will be largely the same in the democratic caucuses, where the younger members of the party, united in the Flower City democracy, *are preparing to make another effort to gain control of the party organization, which has too often been used as an aid to Mr. Aldridge's own machine.* * * With this state of affairs, the interesting rumor is gaining circulation that Mr. Aldridge expects his democratic friends to win their caucus battle and nominate J. Miller Kelly for mayor. In this event it is believed by many that Aldridge might secretly throw his strength to Kelly, who has always been an Aldridge democrat, receiving in return for his treachery to Lewis continued control of the executive board, to which two out of three members are to be elected. Both Aldermen Tracy and Kelly represent democratic wards, and their wards gave Aldridge handsome majorities for mayor over Col. Greenleaf at the spring election of 1894. This betrayal of Greenleaf was abundantly rewarded when Superintendent Aldridge appointed the Rochester bridge tenders and other canal employes this spring, for a dozen of the democratic henchmen of Tracy and Kelly were re-appointed in preference to republicans who were clamoring for jobs.—*Rochester Dispatch, New York Times, July 28.*

The warfare in the republican ranks in New York county is growing more bitter as the time for the selection of delegates to the state convention approaches.

The machinery for calling the primaries, for selecting election day officers, and for doing the great bulk of the other work of the county committee is in the hands of the Platt men.—*New York Times, July 14.*

* * *

It is evident that Platt and his followers are now devoting themselves to controlling nominations, and are paying no attention to the mass of voters, who will be called upon to support candidates. They are assuming that if the candidates are theirs, they can command the party vote, which will be sufficient for their purpose. There seems to be no hope of a defeat of Platt's bossism through opposition in his own party. That opposition is vigorous only in spots; elsewhere it is timid and time-serving. In sentiment it probably includes a majority of the party, but it is the inactive majority, while the active and aggressive minority runs the organization and makes nominations, and when these are made the majority is expected to lapse into "loyal" acquiescence.—*New York Times, July 30.*

TWEED AND HIS RING.

The history of the bold and unscrupulous municipal robber and Tammany ringmaster who died in disgrace in Ludlow Street jail, this city, about twenty years ago, is reverted to by Mr. E. J. Edwards in an article, in *McClure's* for July, on "The Rise and Overthrow of the Tweed Ring." Mr. Edwards has grouped in this sketch all the scoundrels and all the appalling incidents of that villainous reign of corruption with dramatic effect, tracing the life of the execrably famous "boss" from the early fifties, when he was a loafer in the engine-house of one of the old volunteer fire companies, where he first learned the tricks of the primary and came to know what could be accomplished with a gang of roughs in what was called "politics," until, a fugitive from justice, he was captured in Spain and brought back to his prison cell.

Tweed made office "pay" from the very start. In 1863 he was a poor man. In 1868 he was a millionaire; and this was before the formation of the Tweed ring. He was then a member of the board of supervisors, which had the power of auditing accounts, and he was thus able to secure privileges which were frauds upon the city. Mr. Edwards thus recounts some of his acts:

"He got control of a little newspaper, and he secured the passage of a bill by the legislature making this obscure sheet the official organ of the city government, and it received over a million dollars a year for simply printing the proceedings of the common council. He established a printing company, whose main business was the printing of blank forms and vouchers, for which in one year two million eight hundred thousand dollars was

charged. Another item was a stationer's company, which furnished all the stationery used in the public institutions and departments, and this company alone received some three millions a year. On an order for six reams of cap paper, the same amount of letter paper, two reams of note paper, two dozen pen-holders, four small ink-bottles, and a few other articles, all worth not more than fifty dollars, a bill of ten thousand dollars was rendered and paid. Tweed employed certain persons as the executive heads of these companies who were also upon the city pay-rolls, some receiving money for work never done."

The Tweed ring was formed in 1869, and that it immediately began operations was made evident by the subsequent celebrated investigation. The earliest in the list of county warrants bearing indication of fraud bore date January 11, 1869; and of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of fraudulent warrants afterward discovered, three million eight hundred thousand dollars were issued in the year 1869.

Under the sub-heading of "the Americus club," Mr. Edwards writes as follows:

"Tweed and his associates were now living, with vulgar display, in the most princely fashion. Tweed himself maintained two costly houses in Fifth avenue, and kept expensive stables. He had organized within Tammany hall, for social purposes, what was called the Americus club. A summer home for the club was established on Long Island sound, at Greenwich, Conn., and money was spent like water in building and furnishing. Tweed ordered from Belgium a great carpet, all woven in one piece, of exquisite design and workmanship, so perfectly made, that after twenty years, and under the tread of thousands of feet, it is scarcely worn. For it was paid the highest price the Belgian manufacturers ever received for a single product of their looms. One of Tweed's followers, a man who a few years earlier had been a laborer upon the streets, said, as he walked upon it, 'Why, it is as thick as a beefsteak.' In this clubhouse feasts, costing thousands of dollars, were held, the wines, the most necessary item, being the choicest to be found in the markets of the world. * * *

"In another part of the town of Greenwich, Tweed discovered what he regarded as a perfect place for a summer home for his family. But the owner had no disposition to sell. A fair price for the property would have been five thousand dollars. Tweed offered three times that, and still was refused. Tweed said to his friends that he proposed to have the place even if it became necessary for him to buy up the whole Connecticut legislature, a body in which his influence was already felt. One day he met the owner and said to him, 'Why do you object to selling me that place?' 'Because it seems like selling myself out of house and home.' 'But if I give you enough for it, you can buy yourself another home.' 'But you won't give me enough for me to do that.' 'How much do you call enough?' 'I'll

name a figure so big that it will scare you away, and that will be the end of it.' 'Name your figure, and let's see whether it will,' said Tweed. 'Well, suppose I say sixty thousand dollars?' 'Would you take sixty thousand for it?' demanded Tweed. 'Nobody would be crazy enough to give it.' 'Well, we'll see about that,' said Tweed. He took out a pencil and made a memorandum, setting forth that the man agreed, within thirty days, to give a title to that property upon the payment of sixty thousand dollars; and then, handing the paper to the man, said, 'I'll give you a dollar if you sign that.' It was an easy way of getting a dollar, the owner thought. He signed, and took the money, and within the month Tweed compelled him to live up to the memorandum, and thus became the owner of the place."

It is said to be impossible to make an accurate estimate of the total amount of money stolen by the ring. Fourteen million dollars is believed to be an under estimate. The fraudulent accounts published footed up eleven and a quarter millions, and Mr. Tilden became satisfied during the investigation that the ring had in near prospect some eighteen millions more. The frauds upon which the conviction of Tweed was obtained consisted in the payment of enormously increased bills to mechanics, architects, furniture makers, and, in some instances, to unknown persons for supplies and services. It was the expectation that an honest bill would be raised all the way from sixty to ninety per cent. in the first months of the ring's stealing the increase was about sixty per cent. Some of the bills were increased by as much as ninety per cent., but the average increase was such as to make it possible to give sixty-seven per cent. to the ring, the confederates being allowed to keep thirty-three per cent., and of that thirty-three per cent. probably at least one-half was a fraudulent increase.

After Tweed was brought back from Spain and returned to jail, he never went forth again alive except on one occasion, when he was taken to court as a witness in a case in which testimony as to the ring frauds was necessary. For six days he was examined in great detail Mr. Edwards says:

"It was evident at this hearing that Tweed's health was shattered, and that he had probably but a short time to live. He failed rapidly after the hearing, and a few months later died in prison. He had been in power less than six years. He had enjoyed wealth less than ten. In his last days, when reviewing his career, he said that he was satisfied of one thing: that until the officers of the city of New York, meaning the great body of subordinate employes, were protected by some sort of civil service system, so that they would not be the creatures of political favor, there would be corruption in the administration of the city government. 'Human nature,' said he 'can not resist such temptations as are offered to men who are in power here, so long as they have the disposition of the offices of the city at their command.'"—Literary Digest, July 13.

LATER DAY TWEEDISM IN CHICAGO.

Thirteen alleged members of the city hall payroll stuffing crowd were indicted by the grand jury to-day, for defrauding the city of \$100,000. Their indictment was secured on the testimony of detectives, and of persons whose names appeared on the pay-roll who never worked for the city, and who were not aware that their names had been used in the conspiracy until after the recent investigation had been started. The men under indictment were employed as foremen and timekeepers in the water pipe extension and streets and alleys departments of the city.

MR. TILDEN AS A REFORMER.

The story of Mr. Tilden's career in the field of reform is admirably told and of thrilling interest. He grasped the whole problem of reform, municipal, legislative and judicial, while the sagacity and energy he had displayed as a lawyer were here brought into full play. With a view to the accomplishment of his great work he accepted the chairmanship of the state democratic committee in 1866 and was elected to the constitutional convention the year following. In 1869 he took the lead in organizing the bar association of New York, which became a formidable auxiliary in the great cause, and in 1871 he was elected to the legislature. In speaking of the action of the state convention that year Mr. Tilden said:

"It is but fair to admit that what I asked the convention to do was more than any party was ever found able to venture upon. It was to totally cut off and cast out from party association a local organization which held the influence growing out of the employment of twelve thousand persons and the disbursement of \$30,000,000 yearly, which had possession of all the machinery of local government, dominated the judiciary and police and swayed the officers of election. I still think that, on such an occasion, the greatest audacity in the right would have been the highest wisdom, and, in the long run, the most consummate prudence. If the convention could not reach that breadth and elevation of action, it nevertheless did help to break the prestige by which the organization expected to enthrall the local masses. For myself, I at no time hesitated to avow as my conviction of duty and my rule of action that a million of people were not to be given over to pillage to serve any party expediency, or to advance any views of state or national politics."

This was the spirit in which Mr. Tilden waged his warfare against the Tweed ring. He rose above party and directed his blows at the rogues of the state without the slightest discrimination as to their political affiliations. The result was the arrest, imprisonment or flight of the thieves who only a few years before seemed to hold the wealth and power of the state in the hollow of their hands. His fight against the canal ring a few years later when governor, was equally unsparing and vigorous. The odds seemed to be hopelessly against him, but he never faltered in the conflict, because he had thoroughly studied the character and methods of his enemies and believed in the power of his ideas and the honesty of the people. For sixteen months he surrendered his private business, gave his days and nights to the most exhausting labors and expended considerable sums of his own money; and it is not strange that his magnificent triumph made him the leader and the hero of people.—From the review of Bigelow's *Tilden* by George W. Julian, *Indianapolis Sentinel*, June 19.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 31.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

IN this city the street commissioner's clerk examined the list of registered laborers in the office of the clerk of the civil service board and he picked out certain names not in the regular order and wanted those certified for employment. Being promptly refused, no requisition was made for laborers. Mayor Denny can not afford to let this transaction go by without investigation. If the street department is in the hands of sharpers who are trying to beat the law, it is time it was got out of such hands. The clerk who tried to get a dishonest certification should be dismissed from the city service, and if the street commissioner knew of the transaction he should be dealt with in the same manner. The board of public works should check-up the street commissioner by requiring proof that every laborer has been duly appointed under the rules before approving the pay-roll.

THERE has since been an investigation of the street commissioner, one Fisher, of this city. Some months ago he was overhauled and given a warning. Later, as is noted in the CHRONICLE, his clerk went to the secretary of the civil service board and tried to get particular names certified for employment, which was refused. Fisher evidently feels that he is a "bigger man" than the mayor, for he went ahead and employed men without regard to the rules. When recently brought up for this he brazenly confessed it. If Mayor Denny wants to have any reputation left, it is about time that he began to display some executive back-bone. He should have punished Trusler by dismissing him for sending that assessment circular, but he was afraid of Trusler. Ever since the civil service rules have been adopted they have been honey-combed with violations, but no one has been punished. Mayor Denny does not seem to understand that in an administrative reform there is no room for conciliation. An officer who undertakes it must do so with all his might, and without asking or giving quarter. He will then be obeyed, and he will be respected by the community,

and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred his reform will be successful. The mayor can do something toward showing his sincerity by now removing Fisher. We ought not to omit to state that the labor service system, which has been found in practice to be perhaps the greatest single administrative improvement of this generation, has been discovered by Fisher to be a nuisance. It is a nuisance to men of the Fisher stripe, and this and other reforms will happily drive them out of public place.

FROM present appearances the approaching election in this city will afford no indication of the temper of the people upon any leading public question. Although the republicans had plenty of good men, yet they nominated a man who as comptroller of the city openly opposed the adoption of the present civil service rules, and whenever he has declared himself since it has been along the same line. The inference is irresistible that if elected he will ignore these rules. From his comptroller's office he sent out an assessment circular to policemen and firemen demanding a certain percentage of their pay to be used in a state campaign. Men getting \$1,200 were asked to pay \$24, a most inordinate and outrageous demand in any view. In this connection he declared that all appointive offices should be paid for by those who get them. There is every reason to suppose that in case of his election the assessment evil, in its worst form, would flourish openly. As comptroller he has had the appearance of harrying offices held by democrats with an appearance of vindictiveness, and his own repeated declarations make it clear that instead of working the city business out of politics he would do his utmost to work it in. It is undoubted that he was the chief mover, some years ago, in securing the dismissal of a most efficient chief of the fire department, and that the real reason was that the chief had refused to dismiss the dozen or so democrats left in the department. The dismissed officer, in answer to a public demand, was afterward restored by the democrats, and is now in that position. It seems certain that if the republican candidate is successful there will be a repetition of the decapitation, with all of its attendant dangers and evils and under decapita-

tions. The only thing which the republicans claim for their man is that he has been an extraordinary comptroller. His technical record as comptroller in that office is only fair, and his accompanying conduct has been most reprehensible. It is impossible to tell what such a man will do, in any given case, as mayor. If we turn to his record as councilman, only discouragement is added. If a man can be judged by his acts, he was there the tool of a gas corporation.

TURNING to the democrats, they have nominated the chairman of their state committee, a man who has held office until the emoluments have made him, for Indianapolis, rich. He is an exceeding good fellow, and very popular. We do not believe that he has any serious political convictions. He does not claim to know anything of administrative reform, and with all the great influence which he has had in this state, in patronage matters, he has never been known to do an act to help that reform forward. He believes in assessing office holders for campaign expenses. It seems probable that he would, if elected, ignore the civil service rules. His party, for a long time, debated whether, in convention, it would declare for civil service reform; and it even considered trying to have a non-political judge, but it concluded that it could get control without making any such display of virtue.

In view of these considerations, as matters now stand, the coming election will be neither a sanction nor a condemnation of the present city administration. The struggle is simply that of two party machines grasping for the extensive patronage which they believe that the city offices will afford, and where it is hoped to quarter favorites and henchmen. There is no enthusiasm, whatever, nor is there likely to be. City government is universally admitted to be the worst government in this country, and in common with other cities the people of Indianapolis would like to share in administrative reform. The root of the evil is partyism, and these nominations give us partyism in its worst form. How can voters be enthusiastic when either case offers only retrogradation? To vote for either candidate is to vote into the mud.

THE misfortune of being what a disgusted letter-writer in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* recently called THE CHRONICLE, "a little 8 by 10 paper," is the reason why its space is not equal to the demands upon it in the recent battles of the bosses. The boss of bosses, Quay, has been crowded out. There has been nothing more illuminating for years than the revelations of the processes of his boss-ship—the bribery, the thugs, the knavery which Quay and his former henchman, Martin, let out in their brief lifting of the lid of their strong box of political history. Now it is again closed, the late warring braves both holding it down, the queer Philadelphia press again muzzled and likewise the queer Philadelphia conscience.

WILL the good citizen who despises the mugwump and who always "reforms within the party" and between elections compel himself to read the records of the ways these bosses, named for convenience democratic and republican, have been working? Will they particularly note that a cornered republican boss has democratic assistance in his primary and vice versa? That a defeated little boss "bolts" and "knives" and later can return to the party and to his old post, even as a favorite son. It is otherwise when a man leaves party for conscience's sake. Only the other day a good minister was turning over the leaves of Lowell's Letters in an Indianapolis bookstore and his pitying comment was, "I can not understand how a man like Lowell could have been a turncoat." Think of it, American citizens, Lowell called by a presumably moral minister of the gospel, a turncoat, and Mike Dady, a patriot still, returns to the Brooklyn republican bosom as the late reform waves recede. How to penetrate the rhinoceros hide of stupidity that encases the besotted partisan good citizen the CHRONICLE confesses itself entirely at sea. If it had riches it would offer prizes for suggestions as to ways and means to compel the reading of the facts of the brotherhood of bosses. It would begin with the clergymen of the Methodist church.

WHAT politics and pulls will do for the public is again illustrated by the discoveries now being made in New York. Some two thousand indictments and one thousand police court complaints have been found snugly stowed away in the attic of the court house. Enough is known of the way business was done in New York to make it certain that every one of these papers was hidden for a consideration proportioned to the crime. The story seems well authenticated that under a former chief clerk of the district attorney's office there was a regular price for the "loss" of each

paper, the average rate being \$300. When that clerk died a number of his friends went to his house and there burned up some five thousand lost indictments and complaints.

IN the New York democratic state convention just held, the committee on credentials, whose action was later approved by the convention, adopted the following:

"Tammany Hall is entitled to recognition in all future conventions as the regular organization, and its delegates are to be placed upon the preliminary and other rolls thereof, and in the appointment of inspectors of elections, the use of the party emblems, and in every other way in which the question of party organization may arise, said Tammany hall organization shall be recognized as the regular organization of the party in New York county, but in the interest of harmony, at this time, the committee recommends, subject to the aforesaid conditions, that the sitting delegates, as well as the delegates known as the state democracy, be admitted to the convention, with one-fifth of a vote to each state democracy delegate and four-fifth of a vote to each Tammany hall delegation."

The party which thus exalts Tammany Hall knows that it is largely an organization of thieves and plunderers, and that it has protected robbers, blackmailers, counterfeiters, and all sorts and conditions of criminals, in carrying on their operations for years in New York. This is not mere assertion, but it is a statement known to the whole world to have been conclusively proved. The organization should be ostracized and unrecognized, and hounded to destruction by every democrat and democratic paper. Yet it is made the corner-stone of democracy.

THE President has just made a curious order relating to the consular service. Under this order all offices in that service where the compensation ranges from \$1,000 to \$2,500 shall hereafter in case of vacancy be filled in one of the three following methods:

(a) By a transfer or promotion from some other position under the department of state of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled; or (b) by appointment of a person not under the department of state, but having previously served thereunder to its satisfaction in a capacity tending to qualify him for the position to be filled; or (c) by the appointment of a person who, having furnished the customary evidence of character, responsibility and capacity, and being thereupon selected by the President for examination, is found upon such examination to be qualified for the position.

Under the first rule the appointing power may select at will any one in the state department, under the second any one who has ever been in the state department, and under the third the appointing power may name the persons who shall be examined. Any place may be filled under any one of the rules which the appointing power desires to make use of. If these rules in any manner hinder the Gormans and Quays and Josiah Quincys from getting in their work, we should like to have some

one point it out. We were dumbfounded that the President, after a succession of orders which stamp his name permanently on a great and lasting reform, should make such an order as this until we learned that it was Secretary Olney's plan. Olney's reasons for this plan are "that the President may protect the service to some extent from the dangers sure to follow absolute reliance upon purely academic tests." This is the sum of Olney's knowledge. It is the same talk that went on among Cleveland mugwumps in the early part of Mr. Cleveland's first administration. Everybody but Mr. Olney has grown out of it. He knew nothing about administrative reform, but, like other new officeholders, he thought he could teach upon that subject. He came upon an old and exploded rule of 1873, and puts that forward as the sum of experience in this reform. It failed utterly twenty years ago and will fail again now. There is now known but one good way of filling consular places, and that is by open competition to the lowest places, succeeded by competition within the service step by step to the top, allowing in the highest places more latitude for the discretion of the appointing power. Olney's method will put in democratic favorites when the democrats are in power, and republican favorites when republicans are in power, and that is all there is of it. The *Springfield Republican's* candidate for the Presidency makes a sorry appearance.

THAT there should be talk of the feasibility of removing the fourth-class post-offices from politics without an act of congress shows how easy it is for a public officer to find a way when he desires to do so. We are not familiar with the proposed plan, but the administration seems to have no doubt but that it would work. Mr. Cleveland hesitates, it is said, lest he should be criticised for removing these offices from politics after they have been filled with his partisans. There is no question about that. It will seem very unfair; and it does not help the matter that this condition of affairs is utterly inexcusable. That the fourth-class post-offices so late as the beginning of the present administration should have been allowed to be looted by congressmen is irrefutable testimony to the statesmanic shortness of both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bissell; and no fair man can view their action without just anger. If a definite plan for removing these places from politics had been matured, a rough preliminary equalization of them among parties would have commended itself as fair, even if done on the spoils plan. Mr. Cleveland ought to be statesman enough to make that equalization now, but he will probably not do it.

It becomes a question then whether this last great work in the reform of the federal service shall be left undone because the offices are filled mostly with democrats. Because Mr. Cleveland did a bad act in this respect is no reason why he should not do a good act now. It is true that his order by the exasperation it would cause would put the hardest possible strain upon the reform. But the reform has always had to bear that strain. No president has seemed to think that he could place an office under the civil service rules until he has filled that office with his partisans. Much trickery, dishonesty and law breaking have resulted when the opposite party came in, but the reform has withstood them all and it can and will withstand them in the fourth class post-offices.

UPON this phase of the question the *Indianapolis News* says:

The fact that the men now holding these positions are partisans, appointed for partisan reasons, is not a valid argument against the reform. This will always be the case. The only question is whether democratic or republican partisans shall be protected. If the old system continues, the next president, if he be a republican, will doubtless fill the offices with men of his own political faith, and there will then be the same argument against his making the change as there is now against Mr. Cleveland's making it. In a word, it is impossible to redeem any branch of the public service from the spoilsmen without benefiting the men who happen to be in office at the time. If we are to wait until the fourth-class post-masterships are filled with non-partisans before we extend the civil service rules to them, we shall wait forever. The present officers are, of course, entitled to no consideration. But they cut a very small figure in the case. The main party in interest is the general public.

It is said that the republicans will oppose the proposed change, and that their national convention will adopt a plank pledging their candidates to the revocation of all civil service proclamations placing under that service officers who have been put there while holding offices solely as a reward for political services. We do not believe that any president whom the republicans are likely to elect would consent to be bound by such a pledge. There are hardly any places now under civil service rules which were not put there while filled by men "holding offices solely as a reward for political services." The railway mail service is a notable illustration of this truth. When Mr. Cleveland went into office in 1885 he found the railway mail service filled with republicans. By the close of his administration the service had been almost totally recast, whereupon he extended the civil service rules to cover the new men. Mr. Harrison postponed the date for the taking effect of Mr. Cleveland's order, so as to give ample time to replace the democratic clerks with republicans. If, therefore, the republicans propose to revoke all orders which have had the effect of protecting partisans in their places, they will have to turn the railway mail service over to the spoilsmen, for it was placed under the civil service law when it was filled with partisans.

TAKEN all together Chicago probably has the best and most advanced civil service rules in the country. The revo-

lution in the manner of obtaining public employment is complete. It was not to be expected that such an improvement would be let to pass without assaults from the leeches who see themselves cut off from the public treasury. These assaults have begun. The county attorney has decided that more than half of the county service is not within the civil service law, which opinion is understood when it is remembered that any kind of an opinion can be obtained from a political attorney. Another assault has been made in the shape of a unanimous vote of the common council, declaring that it alone may decide how the offices shall be filled and appointing a committee to inquire "what is necessary to enable all citizens of Chicago to apply for and receive appointments." To the ordinary mind the answer is that nothing in the world could be better than the present competitive system. This suggestion, however, drives the average councilman wild. What is to become of "pulls" or "influence," or the thousand other councilmanic resorts to grease the wheels? Chicago reformers are now called upon to show what they are made of.

In the course of an article published in the *Grand Army Record* of Boston, intending to appeal to the self-respect of the soldiers of the rebellion in relation to the exemption bill recently passed by the Massachusetts legislature, Mr. Richard H. Dana, says:

The veterans' exemption bill passed by the last legislature puts the great bulk of appointments under the "spoils" system. When several veterans apply for the same place there are no established means of making impartial selections. It is all left as a matter of political favoritism and the veteran must be subservient to the political boss to get the position.

Besides this main objection there is another, which to my mind however, though important, is quite secondary to the one I have named. It is that the veteran has not to show his fitness by any tests or even by satisfying the appointing officer. He has only to take his own affidavit of fitness and file the certificate of three reputable citizens that he is capable of performing the duties of the position sought. Any one acquainted with practical politics, knows that under the "spoils" system very incompetent and unfit persons have been able to get endless recommendations from influential politicians, and in the ordinary affairs of life experience shows the more unfit a man is the less he appreciates his want of ability to do any important work. Who would think of compelling railroads to employ as an engineer any man who thought he was fit without any proof of experience, and yet there are positions covered by this new law which are quite as important to the health and lives of our fellow-citizens, as that of locomotive engineers.

We should say that the place to appeal to the self-respect of ex-soldiers is not in the papers usually published in their name and we do not think the *Record* is an exception. In its rather flippant, not to say vulgar, comment upon Mr. Dana's letter, it says:

What patriotic citizens in Massachusetts desire to have practically crystallized into the statutes of

Massachusetts is this: *That if an honorably discharged soldier or sailor of the great rebellion is both mentally and morally capable of performing the required duties of any civil office in the commonwealth, then he shall be appointed to that office on his application therefor.* The Union soldiers and their surviving friends only ask that.

There ought to be some way of disgracing the writer of such sentiments in his position as an ex-soldier. When the war began the pay was \$11 a month; but if it had been \$5 a month not a man less would have gone. The pay was soon raised to \$13 a month, but it was done without any request whatever from the soldiers, and they would have viewed a reduction of \$2 a month with the utmost indifference. The reason was that it was a man's duty to serve his country without any regard to reward, and the soldiers of that time so understood it. They did their simple duty and they neither asked, nor expected, nor thought to be made a specially privileged class. They have been all the time more than liberally dealt with. Beyond that liberal dealing we shall never believe that the ex-soldiers have become so debauched that they now claim that the patriotism of 1861 must be paid for and that too at the risk of wrecking the public business.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BOSSES.

We have given much space this month to the remarkable triumphs of the bosses. We mean to do them full justice and to omit nothing which will add to the glory of their victories. In these curious phenomena, the most marked characteristic is the absence of what are known as political principles. There has been no manner of question whether certain policies should be pursued or certain principles advocated. The one question has been whether Platt and Quay, and Gorman and Brice and all the lesser bosses should dictate the platform and name the nominees and appoint the official members of the party machine. Without exception we believe the decision has been in favor of the boss. It will seem to many that very much had to be sacrificed in aid of the successful end. Considering Brice and the Wilson tariff bill, the sacrifice in Ohio was ridiculous and contemptible. The like applies to Gorman and Maryland, but to this is to be added all the years during which he has already deprived Maryland of free government. For years in New York Platt has had a system of collecting money from corporations and others and binding politicians and party workers to him by dividing it among them. In Pennsylvania Quay has been repeatedly charged by great newspapers of undoubted financial responsibility with robbing the public treasury, and his conduct under this charge leaves no reasonable doubt of its truth; and Pennsylvania also for years has

had no free government, Quay having been her absolute dictator.

All this is not hard to understand, nor when it is understood is this wave of bossism invincible. Term after term brought about a clean sweep in the federal service. People deprecated this but shook their heads and said it would always be so; it was politics. Yet the clean sweep in the federal service is to-day on its last legs. Wherever these bosses have triumphed there has long prevailed a system of rewards, and the recipients have made up the party machines in their respective localities. They largely compose and absolutely control the primaries and conventions. Most of them have faith that the Quays and Platts can continue the system of rewards, and those who have doubts, work on the rule or ruin plan; they want no party success which is not to be followed by addition, division and silence. Under such circumstances it is easy for a boss to control delegates. This will be so while a system of rewards is possible. When that is broken up part of the heelers will turn into decent citizens and the rest will take no interest in politics. It will be broken up, and more surprising things have happened than that this overwhelming victory of mere buccaneers should be but the darkness before the daylight.

THE BATTLES OF THE BOSSES AND THEIR TRIUMPHS.

"Well, I tell you, the crowd whooped it up for Quay and Platt in a way that shook the rafters. The applause their names received made that which was given the names of Lincoln, Grant, and Blaine seem like a period of comparative silence."—Interview of Otto Irving Wise regarding National League Convention of Republican Clubs at Cleveland, June 24, 1895, *New York Times*.

We shall not be safe, whether the authorities are in Tammany or out of Tammany, until the entire system of boss-rule is torn up. In order that that may be done we must conscientiously avoid the elevation to position of official trust of any man of whatever political complexion who will consent to serve a boss. The existence of tools as well as of bosses is a disgrace to American citizenship.—Dr. Parkhurst, Sept. 19.

BEFORE BOSS PLATT'S VICTORY.—Mr. Warner Miller has never done a better service to his party than in his outspoken letter protesting against the renomination of Senator Coggeshall. Of that legislator's character and record he writes with refreshing directness and offensive particularity and personality.—*New York Evening Post*.

AFTER BOSS PLATT'S VICTORY.—As everybody anticipated, Warner Miller's trumpet-

blast for reform within the party and rebellion against Platt dies away into a pitiful squeak about harmony. "One man claims to be a Platt man," he says, "and another says he is anti-Platt, but they all support the ticket once it is nominated." That is the true way to fling defiance at an odious boss.—*New York Evening Post*.

Platt Punishes His Disobedient Henchman.

Whoever is elected to succeed Henry J. Coggeshall as senator from the Oneida district, the party at large has a right to expect a full investigation into the bribery charges so much heard last week. *If any representative of Senator Coggeshall, authorized or not, attempted to bribe a delegate to the senate convention, he should be exposed and prosecuted.*—*Buffalo Express*.

Coggeshall was supported by "Tom" Wheeler, and every one of the canal employes. It was not until the last two or three days that they have come out openly for him, and it was expected yesterday that they had succeeded in stampeding the county in Coggeshall's interest.—*Utica dispatch*, August 10.

Senator Coggeshall to-day bolted the regular republican convention. Platt is said to have directed that no compromise be considered and that Coggeshall be killed off effectually and forever.—*Rome dispatch*, August 17.

The trouble is likely to remain in Oneida county, and be a serious thing for the party, because of the notoriety into which Coggeshall came last winter. The fact that he was made to figure prominently in the scandal in connection with the New York firemen's bill will be kept before the public just so long as he stays in the race. His general record, as a senator, for the last ten years is being overhauled by the supporters of Mr. Weaver in their attempts to defeat him.

Weaver's friends apparently forget that Coggeshall, whatever may have been his record, was the republican representative of that senatorial district term after term, that it was well known and thoroughly understood that he was one of Thomas C. Platt's lieutenants, and that however unscrupulous he may have been, his course was indorsed by them time and again.—*New York Times*, September 17.

Platt's Subservient Henchman Wins.

It is a tooth and nail fight that Senator Raines has on for renomination. As for Wayne, the Raines people claim that they have an understanding with Dunwell of Lyons, candidate for the republican nomination for supreme court judge, by which Wayne receiving that nomination the Ontario delegates are to be allowed to name the candidate for senator. It looks, therefore, as if Raines will carry the day.—*Canandaigua dispatch*, August 9.

As foreshadowed in the *New York Times* two weeks ago, the contest in this senatorial district has ended in a victory for John Raines. In spite of his high-sounding fulminations against Raines, Lieutenant-Governor Saxten absented himself from the convention, and allowed three Raines men to be substituted as delegates from his own town of Galen.

For his subserviency in the last few days of the canvass, the lieutenant-governor is permitted to head the Wayne delegation to Saratoga, composed exclusively of Platt's supporters.

In Little Seneca the old Platt-Mongin crowd is now in full control, the Patterson faction having laid down its arms after many years of unsuccessful fighting in party conventions and the courts.—*Geneva dispatch*, Aug. 19.

As it was, the machine held the caucuses five weeks before the state convention, and at a time when many republican voters were unable to participate because of the harvests. Their places were taken in many instances by machine democrats, who were glad of an opportunity to help out fellow machinists in distress.

Over in Phelps the other day a couple of local democrats met in a store. "Did you stand by Raines in the caucus?" No. 1 asked.

"Yes," said democrat No. 2.

Before the caucuses last month Senator Raines was very liberal in his promises of office to those who would support him. As one man said to day: "Raines promised offices for the next twenty-five years to some of those who stood by him, and he seems to have promised each office to at least twenty-five men."—*Buffalo Express*, Sept. 4.

Platt Uses Canal Patronage.

"Jake" Snell bargained to deliver enough votes to nominate Platt's man. He is the superintendent of Section 3 of the canal.—*Amsterdam dispatch*, Sept. 10.

Tom Platt's whipper-in, Frank Seeley (canal), came up from Albany yesterday carrying a long lash in his pocket. Superintendent Seeley had learned that there were wars and rumors of war in Albion, and he came up to straighten things out to the satisfaction of his master.—*Albion dispatch*, Sept. 10.

Congressman Rowland B. Mahany, the leader of the Platt forces, failed by sixty votes to carry his own ward. The only ward which went for Platt was the Thirteenth, where John Kraft, deputy superintendent of canals, was elected without opposition.—*Buffalo dispatch*, Sept. 9.

Mr. Mahany is said to have received \$1,000 from the Platt machine last fall, when he was making his canvass for congress, and he proceeded to even up the account by talking.—*Buffalo Express*, Sept. 15.

Commenting on the reported dismissal of William Carberry, committeeman from the fifth ward of this city, from his place on the canal by Capt. Kraft because he refused to join the Mahany crusade, the *Albany Argus* observes. "Yet Gov. Morton was elected upon a platform which expressly condemned politics on the canals in hypocritical but high-sounding terms, and Gov. Morton's near relative is assistant superintendent for the Buffalo division.

The first ward will have three delegates in the first assembly district convention, and ex-Ald. John White, Jeremiah J. Donovan and Thomas Delehanty have been selected to make the race for the regulars. They are opposed by the district committeemen, James Burk, John Devine, James F. Loftus and Michael Hughes. It

seems that in the first ward the canal machine has secured a family annex to its outfit, the family annex being supplied by the four district committeemen.

Going into the details of the opposition to the regular organization in his ward, the ex-alderman said that Committeemen Devine, Loftus, Burke and Hughes went to the general committee two months ago and asked the privilege of naming the caucus inspectors, the election inspectors, the registrars and the places for the district caucuses. The general committee decided that Messrs. Devine, Loftus, Burke and Hughes already had received their share of favors from the party, and agreed with ex-Ald. White that it would be better to retain the old inspectors, who were experienced and had proved trustworthy. Mr. White said that four of the Devine and four of the Burke family are provided with places through the party, and that the Hughes family is indebted to it for three places, and the Loftus family, which still has one place left, until recently had three. When the general committee declined to allow them everything in sight, according to the ex-alderman, they went over to the enemy, and that is why they are now trying to deliver the first ward into the hands of the Plattites.

It is in the fifth ward that William Quirk (canal) of the Aldridge brigade has undertaken the contract of bossing things. Quirk has been walking the ward, threatening all sorts of things. Quirk already has discharged one man employed on canal work because he attended a republican gathering on Seneca street last week and refused to turn against the organization. The Plattites had a spotter at that meeting, and other canal employes are being threatened with loss of their jobs if they do not step quickly to the music of the machine and help to down the organization.—*Buffalo Express*.

Platt's Henchman, Aldridge, Superintendent of Public Works.

Commenting upon a proposal to conduct the city government of Rochester on business principles, the *Rochester Herald* (Dem.), says: "Two things must be done before that commendable project can be carried out. One is the overthrow of Mr. Aldridge. As is well known, he is the uncrowned ruler of this city. Although he has become superintendent of public works, he has a grip on us as unrelenting and merciless as when chairman of the executive board or the occupant of the mayor's chair. Nothing is done without consulting him. He dictates all appointments; he controls the action of the common council."

On a current of water and rum "Boss" Aldridge has floated to the republican citadel in this county and captured it. The water is in the canals, which the ex-mayor as superintendent of public works has "worked" for all they are worth. The rum is sold by saloon keepers, who, to keep in the good graces of Mr. Aldridge when he was mayor, gave support to him politically.—*Rochester dispatch*, September 7.

"To fully understand the situation there it must be remembered that Aldridge built up

his power by the aid of his control of the executive board. This board of three members has long had more power than the mayor or any other county or municipal officer. It had full control of the appointment of employes of streets, gas, sewers, fire department, and water. The mayor's powers and prerogatives alongside of this aggregation are insignificant. One of its three members must be of opposite politics to the majority, but he has long been a creature of Aldridge and simply did his bidding.

Yesterday *The Express* told an interesting story of the way in which George W. Aldridge, the Platt boss of Rochester, bolsters his waning power by making deals with Hill democrats. Yesterday also the *Courier* had a special dispatch from New York giving an interview with ex-Representative Van Voorhis, one of the Rochester republicans who are trying to overthrow Boss Aldridge. Mr. Van Voorhis made these startling charges as to the way in which the Aldridge men carried a primary recently:

It is well known just how much money was paid for votes, and there is no secret about it whatever. The caucus was held in the town of Perrinton, and it was disgraceful and shameful the way Aldridge carried it by 80 majority. He did it in grand style, I must admit. His superintendent in that section, James K. Burlingham, had all the barges, floats, boats, mud-scoops and all manner of craft landed at Fairport, which is a part of Perrinton, and all this was done for effect. Then the shameless vote-buying commenced on the present Aldridge crowd. The price of votes ranged from \$3 to \$5 apiece, and the buying went on almost openly. It has been established that \$1,500 were spent to carry the caucus. One other caucus has been held, and the boss lost it. These caucuses are to name delegates to the state convention, and the assembly and senatorial district conventions. Aldridge is now holding back the caucuses through the ward men whom he controls. These ward men can be and have been bought for \$100 each and some have demanded in bulk \$500. These are the men that Boss Aldridge controls.—*Buffalo Express*, August 22.

Aldridge Uses Democrats

The attempt of Martin J. Calihan, chairman of the republican committee and "king" of the second ward, to capture the democratic county committee, proved a singularly fortunate thing for the democracy. So evenly were the factions divided that the balance of power was held by two men known to be friendly to Calihan and Aldridge. One of these men holds his place as the representative of Calihan's own ward through the active interference of Calihan, whose democratic followers captured the second ward caucus from both the regular factions. The other Calihan democrat was Felix O'Hara, a bar-keeper in an Exchange street saloon, who demanded the chairmanship of the committee as the price of his support. Through the refusal of both Frederick W. Smith and William C. Page, leaders of rival factions, to dicker with O'Hara, the Hinkley sub-committee of the state committee was able to defeat this outrageous deal and the chairmanship was given to an outsider, Henry D. McNaughton.—*Rochester dispatch*, Aug. 31.

The republican caucuses for Monroe county were held on Saturday, and George W. Aldridge, Platt's local agent, won out. He carried

every assembly district, and will succeed himself as state committeeman.—*Sept. 2*.

The Rochester papers, for reasons not difficult to guess, have been very wary in telling of last week's caucuses. It was to Boss Aldridge's interest that the facts be suppressed. In the twentieth ward the friends of ex-Mayor Curran won the preliminary fight against the machine by electing J. J. Hayes as chairman of the caucus. This defeat so angered the Aldridge men that they resolved to carry the ward by hook or crook. The republican voters showed so decided a preference for Curran ballots that the machine gang finally took Chairman Hayes and threw him out of the window. Hayes, desiring to act as chairman inside rather than from a distance, returned to his post, only to be again put out through the window by the Aldridge men. Schwing is also suspected of having had a part in the theft of the ballot-box, which followed soon after the regular chairman had been thrown out.—*Rochester dispatch*, Sept. 2.

Jimmy Laird, who gets \$4 a day from the state through a job Superintendent Aldridge gave him, was chairman of the caucus in the fourth ward. Among his other accomplishments, Laird is so versatile in politics that he is said to have voted at the recent democratic caucuses here, besides bossing the republican affairs in his ward. Laird is charged with deliberately tearing up Curran ballots and seeing that but few machine tickets got into the box. The machine here had formed a long line of adherents, among them being numerous democrats. Whenever an Aldridge republican appeared he would be shoved into some democrat's place in the fore part of the line, while anti-Aldridge voters were compelled to fall in at the rear and stand in lines so long that many were thus kept from the ballot box until the hour for closing the caucus came.—*Rochester dispatch*, Sept. 3.

Platt Selects His Judges.

There is no more interesting political contest now going on in Western New York than that in the eighth judicial district. Unfortunately the republican party has fallen of late into the bad habit of awarding places on the bench to men who have acquired more reputation as manipulators of caucuses than as students of the law. The fruits of such a policy are already evident in the fifth, seventh and eighth districts, in which are, respectively, the important cities of Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo. The use of money in large sums in the canvasses for delegates to the republican judicial conventions of these districts is an admitted evil, and one that is severely condemned by right-minded lawyers of Central and Western New York.—*Albion dispatch*, Aug. 26.

The people of the Seventh judicial district are about to be given an instructive object lesson in the way judges are made by Thomas C. Platt. The republican judicial convention is called to meet in this city to-morrow to nominate two justices of the supreme court. Time was when such a convention was composed of

the best lawyers of the district, intent upon securing capable men for the supreme bench, but all this is changed now, and the rural counties will simply send wire-pullers to Rochester, men selected by Platt's local lieutenants to make the selections desired by him.—*Rochester dispatch*, Sept. 6.

There has been a scurrying all day among the friends of four or five men, each of whom wants to be the candidate for the place on the court of appeals bench. *This has been the only place for which any canvass has been made.* Mr. Platt's candidate, Judge Martin, has a big staff of workers. They are headed by State Committeeman George W. Dunn, of Binghamton, and the list includes a squad of Broome county politicians who are expert at the business and are all strong Platt men.—*Saratoga dispatch*, Sept. 16.

Platt's Primaries in New York.

Thomas C. Platt walked leisurely up Broadway about 8:30 last night in a full dress suit. He looked as cool as any man on Broadway. At the same hour, in various assembly districts in the city, Platt followers were sweltering in cellars and small halls, struggling and fighting in the ugliest, liveliest, and altogether most exciting assembly district conventions ever held.

The conventions were held in all the thirty-five assembly districts for the purpose of electing delegates to the republican state convention and to the republican county convention. As was indicated by the primaries of Tuesday night Platt won a decisive victory last night.

Perhaps the hottest fight of all was that in the twenty-fifth assembly district, where the friends of the mayor's secretary, Job E. Hedges, tried to secure control against the Platt forces, headed by Thurlow Weed Barnes and James W. Auten. This convention was held in the basement of the "Chimney Corner," at Twenty-fifth street and Sixth avenue. The meeting room was at about the temperature of a Turkish bath.

Delegates were hauled and mauled from side to side, until they scarcely knew where they stood. This was all before the convention met, and so when it did meet the excitement was at the highest pitch.

In the over-heated basement the delegates gathered about 8 o'clock, and were at first, apparently, peaceful and quiet. Nothing unusual happened until Delegate Ludwig suddenly jumped to the table, rapped upon it with his cane, and tried to call the meeting to order. Immediately John C. O'Connor, representing the anti-Platt forces, and Michael J. McCann, the Platt forces, made for the table. Their adherents tried to push them on top of the board. The language used is not printable. A Tammany primary was never so indecent in its use of expletives.

Ludwig was thrown about from right to left. Now and then his body seemed to be passing through the air over the heads of the crowd. McCann gained the top of the table and tried to make a speech.

"Come down out of that!" yelled an anti-Platt man.

"Let him speak! Let him speak!" yelled the Platt men.

McCann was hauled down. All was then confusion. It was just like a college rush, only more bad language was used. There was apparently no striking of blows, but the feeling ran about as high as if there had been.

"Clear the room! Clear the room!"

There was only four policemen present at the beginning of the row. Sergt. Corry, who was in charge, telephoned for the reserves to the Thirtieth street station. They came. Capt. Pickett in citizen's clothes came with them. They quickly cleared the hall of all but the reporters. Then the delegates were allowed to return, and when the place was pretty well filled again Mr. McCann wrapped for order, and said he was authorized as a member of the county committee to call the meeting to order. Then came another hubbub.—*New York Times*, Sept. 13.

Nearly all the old district leaders who now follow Platt won in their districts, however. The methods they employed were the same as those that prevailed at the Tammany primaries. According to the statements of the Brookfield men, the Platt leaders voted dead men, democrats, and republicans who lived outside of the districts in which they voted. It is alleged, too, that Tammany men, in considerable numbers, helped their old allies at the polls. In the old days the Tammany leaders used to send batches of men regularly to the republican primaries to assist republican leaders, who in return helped Tammany on election day, and now, it appears, the old days have come again. A Brookfield leader said to-day that some men might go to jail in consequence of their voting last night. The primaries were held under the primary election law, and offenses against this law are punishable in the same way as offenses against the election laws. The greatest frauds, it is alleged, were perpetrated in the Twenty-fifth district, where the Platt men made a mighty effort to defeat Mr. Hedges. He says that in the thirty-seventh election district 105 men were enrolled, and that of this number two are dead, and forty-eight do not live in the district.—*New York Evening Post*, Sept. 14.

Platt Tries to Punish a Former Lieutenant, Fassett.

J. Sloat Fassett, in his fight against Platt in Chemung county, is hampered somewhat as Coggeshall was hampered in Oneida, by the selfish personal element in the contest. Fassett has by no means the unsavory record of Coggeshall, but he employed what are known as "machine methods," and was subservient to the bossism of Platt so long as it served his own ends. He was the Platt candidate for governor in 1891, and his fierce antipathy to the "boss" springs from his failure to retain his support for the nomination last year.—*New York Times*.

Tom Platt, boss, showed his full hand in his game against ex-Senator J. Sloat Fassett in

Chemung county at the meeting of the appellate committee this morning. The names of men known to be favorable to Fassett have not been allowed upon the enrollment books. And where, after the day of registry, it was suspected that the name of a Fassett man had been placed upon the books, it was stricken off and a card sent notifying him of the fact and referring him to the appellate committee of the county committee. This morning the appellate committee met in star chamber session. The committee organized in secret and went into secret session. Had not the straight republicans of Chemung county got onto the fact on time, the committee would have adjourned without listening to a single case on appeal. However, when it was made known that the committee was in session, the Fassett republicans whose names had been stricken from the enrollment books flocked to the committee room in great numbers.

No case was settled. The story of the maneuvering of Platt's men in stuffing the enrollment books discloses one of the most high-handed pieces of rascality in the political history of the state.—*Elmira dispatch Buffalo Express*, Sept. 6.

Fassett Lets Out Some Facts About the Boss.

Who has been since 1881 the greatest "mischief maker" in the republican party? Who resigned from the United States senate the fatal year Garfield was shot? Who precipitated upon the party for merely personal ends the bitterest factional fight this state has ever known? Who was identified with forged proxy scandals and the awful Folger campaign? Who stood in the pathway of long-promised reform legislation at Albany all last winter? And lastly, who has imperiled republican success in the state and made democratic success in New York City inevitable this fall by his vicious assaults upon Mayor Strong for attempting to honestly carry out his ante-election promises?

To ask these questions is to answer them. There is but one name which comes at once to the lips of every intelligent republican, and that name is Thomas C. Platt.—*From the Elmira Daily Advertiser*.

Caucuses are to be held Thursday night in many parts of the city, and it would cause no surprise if broken heads were one of the results. It is charged by the anti-Platt men that the republican machine is spending money with lavish hands, and they say the only question now in the fight is, "How much is to be sent here?"

"If they make it \$20,000 they will win. If the figure is \$15,000 the chances are even. If it is limited to \$10,000 they are defeated," said one of the most prominent republicans in the county to a correspondent of the *New York Times*. "All decency has been abandoned by the machine. It is a question of dollars and cents with them."

Mr. Fassett is devoting his entire time to the canvass.—*Elmira dispatch*, Sept. 9.

The republicans of the city of Elmira and the county of Chemung achieved a notable victory to-night. Despite all the powers the

Platt-Flood-Tammany alliance could bring to bear against the solid, honest-minded republicans of the county, the party, as represented by ex-Senator J. Sloat Fassett, won a decisive and significant victory.—*Elmira dispatch*, Sept. 12.

The Brotherhood of Boss Platt, Republican, and Boss Murphy, Democrat.

The regular organization is being fought in Troy bitterly as it was here. The chairman of the county committee is Frank S. Black, who was a leader in the committee of safety, organized after the Ross murder, and who was elected to congress last fall. The delectable method of attack upon him by the republican allies of Murphyism and Bat-Sheatism may be judged by the following from the Troy Telegram, Platt organ: "Why, this Black was nominated as a joke. There was not a republican in the whole district who believed that he could be elected; he would never have come within ten miles of a nomination if success had been thought possible. In the words of Lou Payn, a yellow dog could have been elected last fall. But whether yellow or Black, this district did elect a dog, a sneaking, worthless, ungrateful cur."

* * *

Mike Dady, one of the old-time republican "boys" in Brooklyn, who deserted his party when it nominated a reformer for mayor two years ago, is back again, now that the machine element is on top, and, as one of Jake Worth's lieutenants (Platt's man), is once more installed as boss of his ward.

* * *

Mr. Lauterbach, like his master, Platt, makes his political influence serve his business interest. He has just secured the adoption by the New York board of aldermen of a resolution giving a street railroad in which he is interested a valuable extension of route. *He did it with the aid of the Tammany members, too.*

* * *

The Sham Convention.

Few men of importance came to the city today. Trains were infrequent. Those who came last night, however, were a busy lot. Mr. Platt's rooms were occupied all day by men prominent in the party, who came to wind up what he wanted done. Every one, almost, who had had a little difference with him went over to his quarters and took a bit of an olive branch which hung over his door.—*Saratoga dispatch*, September 15.

* * *

At 12:20 o'clock Mr. Platt entered the hall and there was an uproar that was astonishing, men standing on the seats and cheering vociferously while the band played "Hail to the Chief."

* * *

Mr. Platt is not working covertly or through emissaries this year. The only question in regard to delegates in the preliminary canvass was whether they were Platt or anti-Platt men, and he promptly claimed his own as fast as they were chosen. *He has gone to Saratoga with the distinct understanding on the part of everybody that to-morrow's convention is his and will do his bidding, and he takes no pains to conceal his own assurance of the fact.*—*New York Times*.

BOSS SHEEHAN.

Wm. H. Cuddeback, the new chairman of the democratic general committee of Erie county, is a Sheehan man. Charles N. Brayton, the new treasurer, was a Sheehan man in the last days of his term as county clerk. Frank T. Reynolds, the "new" secretary, is the same old Reynolds, the reputed author of the infamous Reynolds rules, Mr. Sheehan's most willing tool and one of his principal beneficiaries. A majority of the members of the advisory committee are Sheehanites. This is the old gang under new names.

BOSS BRICE.

Cuyahoga county is entitled to 59 votes in the democratic state convention at Springfield. Twice that number will apply for admission on Tuesday as a result of the exciting convention held here to-day at which the Brice men revolted against the action of their opponents, and set up a convention of their own. The contest between the two factions began early in the session, when Alfred Whittaker, a pronounced free silver man, was elected chairman over ex-Attorney-General Lawrence, a Brice leader, by 227 to 189. This victory on the part of the anti-Brice leaders led to the appointment of a committee of three to select delegates to the state convention. The Brice men opposed this motion, and a stormy scene followed. Personal collisions were frequent, and all manner of epithets were applied to the chairman. Chairman Whittaker was struck in the face with a hard ball manufactured by an enemy out of a newspaper.

J. J. Greaves mounted a chair and shouted: "All in favor of an honest convention come this way!" He led the way, followed by the Brice delegates. A procession was formed, and the Brice people marched out to hold a convention by themselves.—*Cleveland dispatch New York Times*, August 17.

Col. Kilbourne received a letter from Senator Brice yesterday, urging him to be a candidate and assuring him that he could be nominated by acclamation and unanimously. There is no doubt that the senator will control the convention. The Chicago coinage plank will be indorsed with some opposition. The anti-Brice element is likely to make a fight upon him, but no resolution hostile to him can be adopted.

L. P. Ohliger, revenue collector at Cleveland and a friend of Senator Brice, is here to-night, on his way to Springfield. *He says the Brice delegates from Cuyahoga will be seated in the state convention.*—*New York Times*, Aug. 19.

* * *

Warner Miller: "Senator Brice has again shown that he has control of the Ohio democracy. I'm glad of it, very glad." And the ex-senator rubbed his hands as though he wished there were Brices all over the land.

* * *

It seems that Senator Brice has won a great victory in the struggle for the control of the democratic convention of Ohio. He has control of the organization and of all the im-

portant committees as well as a majority of the delegates. This means an indorsement of the administration and of Brice, and the adoption of a sound money platform. It is not often that the Ohio senator succeeds in getting his name identified with a good cause, and if he must win, it is some comfort to know that his triumph involves something more than his own personal fortunes. But after all is said, we think the country could have stood a free silver convention better than it can stand another six years of Calvin S. Brice in the United States senate.—*Indianapolis News*.

* * *

Seldom, if ever, has the convention of a great party been more completely owned by a single man than was the democratic convention in Ohio, which adjourned yesterday. And the most remarkable thing about it all is that the sole force which this man represents in politics is money. Calvin S. Brice entered politics as a millionaire who had plenty of money and was willing to spend it. He was and is a New York business man, having only a nominal residence in Ohio. Yet the Ohio democrats not only have honored him with one of the highest offices in the gift of the people of any state, but have finally placed themselves completely at his disposal, allowing him both to write their platform and pick out their candidate. It is true Brice has done all this by the active aid of the administration at Washington and in its name. In congress he was considered a very lukewarm administration man. During the pendency of the Wilson bill he made a speech reflecting severely on the President, charging him, among other things, with being responsible for the infamous sugar schedule.—*Buffalo Express*, August 22.

BOSS GORMAN.

The fact that Gorman retains the whip hand in Maryland democratic politics is ascribed largely to his success in weaning Boss Rasin away from his alliance with Governor Brown and the independents under the leadership of Representative-elect J. K. Cowen. The independents a short time ago were working openly together to overturn Gorman and capture the state convention. They were operating in every part of the state, and actually had succeeded in carrying the counties of Garrett, Alleghany and Dorchester, and were in a fair way to win in other strongholds of Gormanism when the return of Mr. Rasin to his former alliance with the senator put a new face on matters, and the fight practically was given up.—*New York Times*, July 30.

* * *

Frauds are alleged in balloting at the primaries in the Sixth district, St. Mary's county, Md., last Saturday. One ballot was challenged and a pin was stuck through the paper as a marker. When the box was opened three Gorman ballots were found folded in one. Other similar evidence of fraud was found, and the number of ballots cast exceeded the number of names on the check-list.

There is lively anxiety to know what Senator Gorman will do at the democratic state convention on Wednesday next. Nobody knows, and many even doubt whether the senator has yet made up his mind, although the majority of the newspapers insist that he will nominate State Senator Thomas G. Hayes for governor and will make an unequivocal declaration in favor of reassessment.

It is one of the tightest places he has been in during his political career. He controls "the machine," but the people and the papers are against him.

But, uncertain as everything is, the senator is calm and unruffled. He came to Baltimore this week and dictated the delegates to be voted for at the primaries, but the vote was a keen disappointment to his supporters, for of the 55,000 democratic voters of the city only 8,567 took the trouble to go to the polls. In no convention have the senator's friends attempted to offer a resolution indorsing his course, and it is announced that no effort of that kind will be made at the state convention. The fear, of course, is that it would be rejected. On the other hand, resolutions indorsing President Cleveland are passed at all the conventions, and they never fail to bring forth earnest enthusiasm.

It may be that at the last moment Senator Gorman may do as he has done in other tight places—turn around and nominate an anti Gorman man, so as to placate his enemies.—Baltimore dispatch New York Times, July 27.

* * *

In trying to avoid Scylla, Boss Gorman of Maryland seems to have plunged into Charybdis. He turned down the candidate with whom he had won the primaries, Senator Thomas Hayes, and took up a dark horse, in the hope of mollifying the Cleveland men.

* * *

It was a Gorman-Rasin victory.

These two men agreed upon the candidates and then they issued orders to their followers in the city and counties to fall in line.

Many personal pledges had to be broken, but, like a thoroughly disciplined army, most of the delegates obeyed the commands and carried them out with such machine-like precision that even the old-timers had to smile.

Here is the way the nomination for governor came about:

Senator Gorman had said in effect to Mr. Rasin: "I will not accept as a candidate Governor Brown, Judge Robinson or Judge Fisher."

Mr. Rasin had said in effect to Senator Gorman: "I will not accept as a candidate Thomas G. Hayes, Spencer C. Jones or John Walter Smith."

Then came the question: "On whom can we unite?"

Several gentlemen were considered and finally Mr. Hurst was decided upon. Friends of Mr. Rasin and friends of Senator Gorman were sent to Mr. Hurst separately, so as to

make the offer of the governorship look like a spontaneous movement. Mr. Hurst consented. Gorman and Rasin did the rest.

At a gathering of State Senator Hayes's friends at the Carrollton hotel there was apparent the bitterest feeling against Senator Gorman for his treatment of Senator Hayes. The presence of Mr. Gorman would no doubt have precipitated a scene which would have been not very pleasant to him.

One of Senator Hayes's friends, in speaking of his candidacy, said that "Senator Hayes was induced to enter the contest at Mr. Gorman's suggestion. The reason assigned by him was that he was the only available candidate, because re-assessment was the only issue which could unite the party and that a provision in the platform without Senator Hayes's candidacy would be mistrusted by the people."

Continuing, he said: "*There is no baser treachery on record than Gorman's to Hayes. Mr. Gorman led Senator Hayes and his friends up to two hours before the convention met to believe that he was to be nominated. The delegates to the convention were elected in many counties without opposition, because they were told they were to vote for Hayes.*"

The discussion then led to the famous interview at 10 o'clock yesterday morning between Gorman and Hayes, and one of the gentlemen present from southern Maryland said he had tried to get the facts from Senator Hayes but failed, as Mr. Hayes declined to discuss the scene. Another said he had a version of the interview from a member of the city delegation who was in an adjoining room and overheard it. As given by this delegate the interview was opened by Senator Hayes saying to Senator Gorman: "I now discover your baseness. What the people of this state believe of you is all true. You have posed as in favor of re-assessment and have used me for your base purposes. If you had given me a few more hours to expose your nefarious schemes I should have let the people of Maryland know of your deception. I despise your methods and do not fear you or your henchmen. I am determined that if I can prevent it that your grip on the democratic party shall end with your nomination of Hurst."

Senator Hayes then, taking up his hat, left, saying as he opened the door: "We this day part forever and my life's work shall be to help dethrone you from the dictatorship now held by you over the party." It is said Mr. Hayes shook his fist in Mr. Gorman's face.

Throughout the interview Gorman remained silent. He did not say a word.—*Baltimore Sun, August 1.*

* * *

The Revolt.

The republican state convention at Cambridge yesterday nominated probably the strongest ticket that it could have put in the field. Personally the nominees are above criticism. They are all gentlemen of high standing and of undoubted character and worth. Mr. Lowndes, the nominee for governor, is a man of fine business ability and

varied practical experience, thoroughly conversant with the needs and resources of the state.

There is another point upon which the republican party has the right to congratulate itself in connection with the ticket nominated at Cambridge yesterday, and that is that it was nominated by the republican voters of the state, and not by bosses or machines. There was a spirited and earnest rivalry between the friends of the aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination, but it was a contest of the people and among the people. The primaries were fair, free and unfettered, and the will of the people as recorded at them was expressed in the convention. No boss undertook to step in and override the popular will, or to force the convention to drop the candidates the people wanted and nominate those he had determined upon.

Besides pledging itself to re-assessment, the platform pronounces in favor of annual registration in Baltimore, of giving places on the official ballot to independent nominees as well as to those of regular party organizations; of making the supervisory powers of courts over registers effective. * * *

Another plank in the platform is one which is especially worthy of commendation. It is as follows: "That all public offices exist for the good of the people only, and it is the right of the people to have them administered with an eye single to the public interests; and we therefore pledge ourselves to the enactment of such legislation as shall permit the people of the several counties and municipalities of the state to decide for themselves by popular vote whether appointments to the police, fire and all other departments of public service shall be in accordance with the principles of the merit system."

The *Sun* has advocated the application of the civil service system to state and municipal administration for many years, and it is glad to see that it has at last secured the indorsement of two political parties in this state—the republicans and the prohibitionists.—*Baltimore Sun, Aug. 16.*

* * *

Mr. Lowndes, republican candidate for governor:

"I have read with interest the platform adopted. It is clear enough for everyone to understand, and broad enough, not only for republican but for independent voters to stand upon. It speaks in no uncertain terms as to re-assessment, registration, fair elections and public schools. It comes out boldly for the merit system, and civil service, by the way, is here to stay.

"Wherever it has been honestly tried the people have sustained it. Chicago adopted it by an overwhelming popular vote, and I believe it has given satisfaction to everyone except those who seek office for the spoils.

"I believe that when my party comes into power it will fulfill the pledges made at Cambridge yesterday."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 32.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE methods of Boss Gorman in the desperate fight he is making to retain his supremacy are indicated by the following from a correspondent exceptionally well-informed and dispassionate:

"We are in the midst of an extraordinarily active and interesting campaign, and are doing all that we can to prevent our senator and his satellites from simply stealing the state again, as they did in 1875, and as they stole the city in 1885, such being, beyond all question, their present intention.

THE republican party of Indianapolis is entitled to the great weight of the congratulations upon the result of the city election of October 8. Its candidate, Trusler, as we have often stated, had an unsatisfactory record in the city council, which he capped by being the leader in the movement forcing the fire chief out of his place, because the latter would not dismiss a few democrats. As comptroller, he levied an assessment upon policemen and firemen and boldly declared that all appointive offices were political offices and should be paid for by those who received them. On his motion the rule forbidding assessments was stricken out of the civil service rules and he was openly opposed to adopting any civil service rules whatever, although the charter plainly requires it. He went about securing the nomination in the most approved boss style, having his captains of tens and captains of hundreds. His nomination was forced by his party machine avowedly because he was the kind of man he was and particularly because he was opposed to "civil service." That such a man can not command the votes of the republican party of this city, but, on the other hand, that he should go headlong to defeat must redound to the credit of that party. It is the stronger and better to-day because of this defeat. It had any number of men who would make good mayors of this city and and if it had nominated one such, there would have been no difficulty in electing him. There is a great movement throughout the country for better municipal government and the republican party of Indianapolis will have to join in that movement if it wants to govern this city.

THE democrats now have all the rope there is and it is for them to decide whether they will, as usual, hang themselves. They were beaten by 3,000 two years ago; they have gained by 3,700 now and can just as easily be beaten by any number of thousands two years from now. Happily that is the way the voters of this town are constituted. The demand of the times is to exclude party politics from city affairs, and to this end the merit and labor service systems are the first indispensable steps. The democrats will find already in force a set of rules covering both of these systems and in the main good. A rule forbidding assessments should be added and there should be some further slight modification in the way of excluding favoritism. These rules have been adopted under the charter and are a part of the law of this city. The people want them strictly enforced. The pensioners upon the democratic party will be violently opposed to them and there will be presented the most important problem with which the new mayor will have to deal. It will be very bad for his party should he decide that Indianapolis can go without municipal reform.

IN his final report which Mayor Denny made a few days ago, while he congratulates himself upon having secured the adoption of civil service rules for this city and takes it for granted that they are permanent additions to our methods of city government, he nevertheless says that their working has not been entirely satisfactory. Of course not. When a mayor permits a rule forbidding assessments to be struck out on the suggestion of his comptroller and then permits the comptroller to make a bold, barefaced assessment upon policemen and firemen, and when he sees all through his administration repeated violations of the rules and punishes nobody because he is afraid, he can not expect such working of rules to be satisfactory nor can he expect to enhance the good opinion of himself in the public mind. Mayor Denny made the fatal mistake of wanting to be a reformer without having the nerve to carry his reform to a complete victory. He has fallen between two stools.

EVEN SECRETARY CARLISLE is beginning to reap his reward. Congressman Maguire, of California, is in Washington pressing complaints against Superintendent Daggett of the San Francisco mint. Maguire charges that Daggett has used the

patronage of the mint for his own private ends, namely, to help his election to the United States Senate. That he has boasted of having used the patronage to control the last democratic state convention. That he has been absent from his post twelve months out of the last eighteen. That he has, while in office, organized a mining company and sold the stock at a dollar a share, to to the employes of the mint, and admits that he has collected thereby \$2,400. This Carlislean office holder is best understood when his own words are quoted, as is shown by the following from the *San Francisco Call*, of April 8th, in which he is referring to his senatorial candidacy:

"Senators Biggey, Fay, and Gessford, came to me and made a strong plea for the laundry work in the mint for Biggey's brother, and in return for this favor Biggey promised to vote for me. Gessford promised the same, and I gave his sister a place in the mint. She is out of it now. Senator Fay secured his brother's appointment through promises of doing the same thing. Well, he did not do it. Of course, I am going to discharge Biggey's brother, and Fay's brother, too. I do this in justice to the democratic party, which I consider has been buncoed out of patronage."

THE entire misunderstanding which the country has obtained concerning the new consular rules is proved by the fact that applicants, believing the opportunity to be competitive, have swarmed forward, asking a chance to compete in such numbers that the state department has been obliged to notify the public in effect that there is no open competition, but that the new system is still the rankest kind of a spoils system, with a few by-laws. Even Josiah Quincy's explanation before the Massachusetts state democratic convention the other day leaves the system as lame as ever. Quincy is evidently very sore over the universal public reprobation of his disgraceful loot of the consular service and he has good reason to be. It is useless for him to try to explain—just as useless as it would be to try to explain his connection with that bureau of engraving and printing contract.

IT is gratifying to see that the good sense and honor of the post-office employes at large have recognized that the recent secret investigation of them could do no injury to those who were conscientious and capable. At the late national association of letter carriers, Postmaster-General Wilson carefully explained what had been done and how and why it had been done, and there was a general expression of approval. In Philadelphia where

the civil service law was for years tricked and where pulls and politics have dominated, one hundred men have been dismissed. One instance given by the Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, illustrates what this paper has claimed, that while every employe should be certain of his tenure if he is competent and faithful, he must be held to the most exacting standard:

"One of the best-backed men who has been brought to book and discharged from the service is a veteran soldier who has been in the government employ twenty-six years. When the first report came in about him, it seemed too bad to be true, and his route-card was turned over to another pair of agents, who were strangers to the whole matter. The first report had described him as loitering so many minutes in so many saloons, in each of which he drank a glass of beer or spirits. The second described him as not only repeating this round of visits and drinks, but of stopping in the street, throwing his bag of letters on the sidewalk, and watching a circus procession for nineteen minutes. When called to account, the man admitted that he had taken one drink as a remedy for an attack of the cramps, but denied all the rest of the indictment, and produced affidavits from various barkeepers on his route that they had not served him with anything. Then the Grand Army of the Republic took up his fight; but when minutely detailed evidence produced by the secret agents had been not only carefully sifted but solemnly sworn to by the agents themselves, the defense had to surrender at discretion, and the carrier went out."

As an indication of the way the investigation was carried on, the same paper gives the following instance:

"A generally efficient carrier was threatened with suspension for remaining ten minutes in one office where he went to deliver mail, seven minutes in another, and so on. He came forward at once and met the charge with an admission that it was entirely true. But he then produced his registered-letter book to show that in one office he had had to wait for something like 100 signatures by the clerk whose duty it was to receive the registered mail, and in another for sixty-odd signatures, and so on. The date and hour agreed precisely in every instance with the report of the secret agents, and the carrier was exonerated on the spot. The department derived much satisfaction from the fact that the very evidence which cleared the record of the carrier proved also the correctness of the secret agents' statements."

In the October *North American Review*, Dr. Henry Smith Williams has an article on "Politics and the Insane," which goes straight to the mark. He points out that from Kansas to New York the almost universal rule of treating the insane is to turn them over to the tender mercies of politicians and heelers. It is one of the most disgraceful facts of American civilization. New York city is a typical instance. The state cares for its insane and cares for them well. It was proposed to bring under the state care the six thousand insane patients of the city, now housed in accommodations for about four thousand, a large share being very unfit accommodations. To this end the State would tax the city \$750,000 a year in addition to the present tax. But the plan, if

carried out, would have taken the spoil of the institutions from Tammany. Therefore Tammany compromised with the legislature by letting the city be taxed the extra \$750,000, which all goes into the state treasury, and in return the city kept its insane, to be continued to be spoiled by the spoiler. It seems incredible that Americans will submit to such a barbarous travesty of government; but they do submit to it. In Kansas, the populist reformers displayed their entirely mercenary character by looting the Topeka hospital for the insane, from cellar to garret, in which Dr. Williams says they were headed by a woman. Then this band of freebooters fell to quarreling among themselves, until at the end of the year they had such a pandemonium that they were obliged to re-call the old superintendent.

City and State is a paper forced into publication because Philadelphia reformers found themselves unable to get facts before the people through the regular press. While it calls a spade a spade, it performs this office in what may be called a very gentlemanly manner, too gentlemanly the CHRONICLE thinks for the ruffianism it has to deal with. It has been for some months giving its readers facts concerning Boss Quay's "Fight for His Life." But since the boss's victory it has evidently been taken to task by a lot of reformer apologists for its attack on Quay, and for not taking seriously Quay's reform platform at which his henchmen in convention openly laughed. This peculiar condition of Pennsylvania reformers themselves infected with Quayism is what outside of that state is a marvel to the country. Some years ago in one of the revolts against Quay, several men from other states were invited to address a great audience of reformers in Philadelphia. New York papers of financial responsibility had been boldly printing the facts of Quay's infamous career, and in particular the instance of his embezzlement and of his rescue from a felon's penalty by Cameron, who replaced the stolen money out of his own pocket. Quay had been silent under these repeated charges. Surely a reformer addressing reformers might mention such facts in plain English and expect a ringing response. When one speaker thus spoke of Quay that evening, he instantly felt in the anti-Quay audience a chill of disapproval. His speech fell on disapproving reformers' ears. It seemed curious to him then that over such a career, and such a man, one must tread softly. He did not then know of those silken fetters, of intricate business interests, that have so many times laid curious meshes around and about the reformers of that great, historic, rich, and boss-ridden state.

It is the duty of *City and State* at whatever cost of disapproval to continue to print names and facts; it is its duty to expose to public view all Quayized reformers. It is entirely possible that as *City and State* has no financial interests to be stabbed, certain reformers may decline to read its facts. It must then speak the truth for the rest, and surely the regeneration of Pennsylvania will finally come from its humiliating and degraded position before the bar of an inexorable public opinion, outside the state. Free government must be restored to Pennsylvania. How abject its condition is indicated by the following:

"To-night Senator Quay is the hero, as well as the idol of Pennsylvania politicians of all degrees of prominence. His rooms at the Lochiel Hotel have been constantly besieged since the convention ended, by men anxious to pay homage to his matchless leadership. The senator takes all of the praise and congratulations that are being showered upon him with his usual stoicism, and so far as outward appearances go, his demeanor is just the same as when the fight seemed to be going against him."

The signal success of Senator Quay in the political field this year has suggested to the people of Dillsburg, this county, where he was born in a log cabin, sixty-two years ago, that they ought to celebrate the anniversary of that event on the 30th of this month.

And most astounding of all is this obeisance of the highly respectable *Public Ledger* that had opposed Quay. Referring to Quay's chairmanship, it says:

"No exception can properly be taken to this, even by those who do not like Senator Quay nor his methods; there is something gained in having the real and nominal leader one and the same man."

TWO VIEWS OF THE CONSULAR REFORM RULES.

President Cleveland is certainly deserving of great credit for the steady advance which he has made in the inclusion under the classified service of federal offices, which have hitherto been within the grasp of spoilsmen; but all the newspapers, even of the republican party, seem to have been misled as to the praise due the administration for the recent executive order intended to reform the consular service. Mr. Olney's plan, for it is peculiarly his—instead of requiring a free competitive examination open to all applicants, and, as naturally would have been the case, to be conducted under the civil service commission, is only the long-discarded, pass-examination system in disguise. This never has succeeded and never will succeed in getting the sound practical results aimed at by civil service reform, as has been abundantly proved in England and in this country. Under Mr. Olney's plans, the secretary of state, who is the appointing officer, first chooses his man and then examines him, not on a basis of competition, which insures fairness to all and opens appointment to the best man, but by a standard which he fixes, which, if disposed to favoritism and partisanship, he can arrange to suit the capabilities of persons whom he has determined upon for appointment. In a word, Mr. Olney's plan of pass-examinations puts no real restraints upon the bad purposes of a partisan appointing officer, and does not afford free competition, two things which it is the primary purpose of genuine reform to secure. It leaves the whole machinery of examination in the hands of the appointing officer who is the

very man from whom they should be completely removed. Sooner or later the inadequacy of Mr. Olney's plan will be demonstrated to the public, as it is now to every civil service reformer who has examined it. Mr. Olney, like all other wise men, who refuse to avail themselves of the garnered wisdom of experience, might readily have avoided the error into which he has fallen. But he wanted to have a reform which was of his own peculiar manufacture, and so has repeated an old mistake. We must look for any real relief from the grave abuses under which our consular service has long suffered to the passage through congress of the Lodge or Morgan bill. — *City and State*, September 26.

The above is the moderate expression of what every moderately informed civil service reformer would be supposed to think of Mr. Olney's consular reform. On the face it lacks every fundamental principle of reform, because it leaves untouched the key-stone of the arch of the present spoils system—favoritism. It is still favoritism that may and will guide Secretary Olney and his commission made up of his own subordinates. The regular civil service commission is ignored. Secretary Olney's plan will be of material assistance in relieving himself from undesirable democratic pressure. That is all. Otherwise it is really worse than no reform, because it is in fact a bogus reform that will act as a deterrent to the real reform that was covered by the Lodge or Morgan bills. Congress seeking excuses to retain spoil will inquire why interfere with the measures adopted by the Massachusetts reformer, the secretary of state?

In the first administration of Mr. Cleveland, civil service reformers in certain parts of the country were for a time uncertain whether or not they had gone mad. They saw what seemed as gross acts of spoils vandals as had ever occurred. But there arose among distinguished Massachusetts reformers such curious apologies and explanations, such paralysis of eyes and ears, that for a time it was pertinent to inquire who were the sane, and who had the normal organs of sight and hearing. Those were days when the reform ship was perilously near the rocks, and driven there by its own pilots. Later, in the present administration we had the spectacle of the barter of offices to secure certain legislation. Nothing seemed plainer than that such a course attacked the foundations of free government, and that it was in all respects as immoral as to sell the offices for money which might be devoted to the best of purposes. Again from Massachusetts arose distinguished defense. The CHRONICLE has never doubted the moral sincerity of those who have taken what has seemed these most preposterous reform positions. Now comes the latest instances of this interesting reform strabismus in the *Springfield Republican's* view of Olney's consular reform. The CHRON-

ICLE desires to emphasize its belief that the *Springfield Republican* has always been a hater of all spoil in public life, an unremitting worker to break down that system, that no paper knows better what constitutes real reform, and that it conscientiously believes its course in lauding Olney will in some devious, mysterious way, assist reform. We print the following extract from its comments as a most interesting study in modern casuistry:

"The administration of the United States consular service on the spoils basis has long been a scandal and a serious detriment to the nation. It is difficult, therefore, to overrate the importance of the step just taken by President Cleveland in lifting more than one-half of these offices out of the mire of politics. It will be seen by the President's order that hereafter persons are to be selected for the specified posts from among those occupying or who have occupied places in the state department calculated to qualify them for consulate service, and others whose qualifications have been determined by non-competitive examinations conducted by a special board of the state department.

"This step has been taken under the general laws of the United States, without a special act of congress. Congress has fiddled over the question for some time without making any progress or giving sign of doing much of anything. The last congress took up the matter, and the senate committee on foreign relations made a report strongly criticising the present system of appointment to the service as a reward for party work, but nothing more came of it. Now the President has gone ahead without congress, finding its laws previously enacted and in precedents established under Grant's administration, abundant authority for the departure. * *

"And now we are to have some measure of this reform. It is primarily Secretary of State Olney's work. He is the one who has studied out the way of meeting the demands of the situation without a special act of congress, and to the sympathy of the President with civil service reform and his courage in giving it practical expression is due to the promulgation of Mr. Olney's plan. We have further proof in this of the existence of a man in the democratic party fitted to succeed Mr. Cleveland if the party and the country want such a man."

HAPPILY we have a distinguished example of a reformer who follows a diametrically opposite plan. It is the plan of pursuing reform by a perfectly direct and simple course and courageously trusting the future consequences to the common sense and moral sense of the American people. Since Theodore Roosevelt became a civil service commissioner down to the present time he has not deviated from this apparently simple course. He has attained his ends always by direct, uncompromising, straightforward means. To see straight first and then to possess the courage to go as he sees, never to shift and wobble, or be smitten with panic, constitute his political greatness. For Theodore Roosevelt has been so tried and tested that even the skeptical must feel sure not only of his absolute sincerity and courage, but of his statesmanship. His plan of reform by the direct method is suited to the American people and to the age we live in. Since the war we have had no man in public life so like the Charles Sumner type. His directness,

his courage and his candor ought to be an inspiration to other young men entering public life. There is nothing better to be said of it than that it has noticeably affected the standard of manliness in a police force besotted with Tammanyism.

EX-BOSS MAHONE.

Recollections of his methods as a political boss are recounted at every gathering of politicians in this city. He used to swing party patronage with a long arm in the early eighties. He used to leave lying on his table, as a means of impressing the casual visitor of the sense of his power, in his palmy days, a printed blank reading in this way:

[Form No. 5.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., — —, 188—.

GENERAL: Please appoint — — postmaster at — —, in the county of — —, Virginia.

This is at the request of those interested in the office, and for the good of the service, as I am advised and believe. Yours truly,

WILLIAM MAHONE.

To the first assistant postmaster-general, post-office department.

This document was indorsed, also in print, in this way:

Senator Mahone, — —, 188—, recommends the appointment of — — for postmaster at — — in — — county, Virginia.

Mahone worked diligently in conjunction with Jay Hubbell, assessing all the federal office-holders within reach. Once in a while his mechanical methods brought him to grief. The story is told of a democrat who had deserted his party and done a great deal of work for Gen. Mahone in one of the southwestern counties of Virginia, and had received a country post-office in return. The neighborhood was not thickly settled, or the people very much given to letter-writing; and the result was that during the first month of his office-holding the postmaster took in only four cents in cash—the price of one three-cent postage stamp and one postal-card. A campaign was just coming on, and the postmaster had hardly time to figure up his profits from his office when a circular arrived from Hubbell demanding 5 per cent. of his official income for campaign purposes. This was quickly followed by one from Mahone calling on him for 10 per cent. of the same income. The postmaster concluded that, after handing over 5 per cent. and then 10, the remainder of the four cents was not likely to lay the foundations of a fortune, so he threw up the post-office and his membership in the readjuster party at the same time, and went back to his old love among the democrats.

Mahone could be very small in certain ways when he had vengeance to gratify. An old negro, who had been a servant in President Madison's family, had received an appointment as an employe of the United States Senate at the instance of Ben Hill, of Georgia. The place was worth only a few hundred dollars a year, and the old man was abundantly able to perform its duties in spite of his advanced age. He was a favorite with all the senators who came in contact with him. Mahone wanted a place for one of his bankrupt

heelers, and, learning that the negro had been appointed through the influence of Hill, who had recently given him a terrible drubbing in a speech in the senate, he went to the sergeant-at-arms and said:

"I want that nigger's place!"

"Why," remonstrated the sergeant-at-arms, "that is Robert Steward. He was one of President Madison's servants. He has been here—"

"Yes, yes, I know; but you might as well make him out one of Washington's servants while you are about it. Perhaps that would help him to get another position. I want his place!"

As the senator insisted, the sergeant-at-arms complied, for that was the period when the readjuster chief held the balance of power in the senate.

In 1884 a commander who had been in the navy twenty-three years was superintendent of the fifth lighthouse district. He dismissed a notoriously incompetent negro who had been appointed by order of Mahone. The senator ordered his henchman back again. The commander refused to obey. The senator went to Washington and demanded that the commander be disciplined. It took the secretary of the navy four weeks to bring himself around to the point of carrying out this behest, and then the officer was put on waiting orders with the reduced pay incidental to that condition. —*From the New York Evening Post.*

ANOTHER REPUBLICAN EX-BOSS— STEVE DORSEY.

"I remember," said a territory official, "that one time when court was in session at South Las Vegas, Senator Dorsey invited us out to his place to stay over Sunday. Naturally, we all accepted, and in the party was Judge Vincent, whom President Cleveland summarily, and, as we all thought, unjustly, removed for appointing Dorsey one of the jury commissioners of the county.

"The senator received us in the dining-room. I will never forget that banquet. There wasn't a drop of whisky on the place. Not a glass of beer was to be had. But champagne of the costliest brands was pressed upon us. Champagne was good enough for Washington, but it wasn't the right thing for a New-Mexican crowd, and one after the other of us slipped away from the table and got out of doors. I can remember to this day how thirsty we were and how we longed for a little of the whisky to which we were accustomed. And all of the time the fresh bottles of champagne were coming on the table to mock us. The senator was prodigal. He wouldn't let the bottles stay to be emptied. A single glass, perhaps, would be poured out. In a few moments the senator would waive the open bottles away and order fresh, saying the wine was flat. I wouldn't pretend to say how many bottles came on that night. As soon as we could we got out of doors, all of us but one of our party, and the senator. They remained at the table engaged in a political argument. The senator was suave. His opponent was em-

phatic. I slipped back to the door and listened.

"Now let us consider this question calmly," I would hear the senator say. And then he would add, 'by the way, my friend, your wine is flat. Waiter, here, bring us a fresh bottle.'

"And so it went on until our representative suddenly lurched and slid off his chair literally under the table. He didn't arise. I saw Dorsey look steadily toward the vacant chair and heard him say to himself:

"Where is my adversary? He seems to have fallen early in the combat." *From Santa Fe (N. M.) Letter to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

THE CINCINNATI REPUBLICAN BOSS—COX.

Without condemning him for adversities of fortune or disadvantages arising from his circumstances, it has been shown that his schooling was limited; that his business career was brief and not at all brilliant; that when he entered politics he was comparatively poor; that he is now worth over \$400,000; that his alleged successful "speculations" did not begin until he became a power in ward politics; that he has stock interests in the chief concerns which ask rights, franchises and favors of the boards he appoints by proxy, and that all "his" companies get what they want without trouble or friction.

His public record is public history. His control of primaries and conventions; his defeat of good men because they would not blindly bind themselves to obey his orders; his wasteful administration, through officials elected by him, of the affairs of the city and county; the inauguration of a constant espionage of each other by his lieutenants; the removal of the real seat of city and county government to an over-the-Rhine resort; the necessity of "seeing Cox" before attempting to secure any office, be it that of garbage-wagon tender or congressman; the creation of new, high-salaried and unnecessary offices to satisfy the demands of his hungry henchmen, and the constant cry for "more"—more money to spend—more power—more patronage; these things have been freely published in the news columns of the *Post*. —*From the Cincinnati Post.*

*

The county convention was held last week, and the *Tribune*, a republican newspaper, says that Cox "dictated every nomination that was made, controlled the vote of every delegation present, and the convention itself simply ratified the ticket which the supreme dictator of the party carried in his pocket when he entered the hall where his servants were assembled." The Cincinnati boss does not keep in the background, as is the habit of McLaughlin of Brooklyn, but attends conventions himself, and the *Tribune* says that in last week's gathering "from his usual place upon the floor at the right of the platform, where he could command the eyes of every delegate, this man, whom not a precinct in Hamilton county would have elected a member of the conven-

tion, dominated the entire proceedings and awed into silence every protest against the slate." —*New York Evening Post, Sept. 30.*

"QUAY TAUGHT THOSE PENNSYLVANIA POLITICIANS ALL THEY KNOW ABOUT POLITICS, BUT IT IS QUITE EVIDENT THAT HE HAS NOT YET TAUGHT THEM ALL HE KNOWS."

—Boss Gorman.

WHAT HE TAUGHT HIS FORMER HENCHMEN.

"I have been hearing instances of attempted bribery of delegates friendly to me all day. As the facts come to light they fully justify my warning to my friends, telling them everything is over, except explanations. The combine is making a last desperate charge all along the line. They are offering sums ranging from \$7 to \$3,000, for delegate votes. This is not true of any particular local territory, but appears in all parts of the state. A careful watch is being maintained in every county by my friends, and I am promptly advised of whatever occurs of this nature. No bribery can be successfully consummated without my full knowledge immediately, and I shall make a full investigation into each case and lay the facts before the public. Delegates have been met with offers of money in some instances and positions in others. These are not idle rumors, but are fully substantiated by facts." —*Quay at Harrisburg, September 25.*

The Hastings-Quay contest has done more to debauch the politics of the state than any campaign in its history. It is estimated that not less than a million dollars was spent in the primary elections and in the corruption of delegates. Both sides were well supplied with money, and it was expended liberally wherever it was thought its use would accomplish results. One of the stories since the convention is that, as soon as the fight was declared on, a prominent Western Pennsylvania steel company contributed a check of \$25,000 as a nucleus for the campaign fund which the manufacturers of the state rolled up for the man from Beaver. —*City and State, September 12.*

Brief extracts of an account in the Pennsylvania *Methodist*, given by its editor, the Rev. Dr. Swallow, who is also pastor of a prominent Harrisburg church, of the recent Quay-anti-Quay convention which met in that city, are herewith given:

"The first advantage was gained by the Hastings faction buying out an opera company, billed for a show at the opera house on the night preceding the convention, and placing therein—nearly twenty-four hours in advance of the convention—over a hundred thugs, most of whom weighed from one hundred and eighty to two hundred and fifty pounds each. They certainly had the appearance of 'hard hitters.' Soon beer by the keg and whisky by the demijohn began to be carried in to supply their thirst, and better equip them for the work they were expected to do. They garrisoned the building from that time

until the meeting of the convention next day, and could now admit if they chose only the 'rounders and heelers' of those who had employed them, and so it seemed as if Quay stood a poor chance of dominating the convention by the force of numbers.

"Property-owners near the opera house spent a sleepless night, some of them being on watch till the morning of Wednesday dawned, not knowing at what moment deeds of violence might lead to the destruction of their property. Nearly all night the places where liquor was sold were crowded with a drunken, smoking, swearing, vulgar crowd, who staggered from one saloon to another, making the night hideous with their yells and curses mingled with street dancing and snatches of lewd songs. This continued most of Wednesday. For two days it was considered unsafe for a decent woman to attempt to make her way alone for single square in the vicinity of either Third, Fourth, or Market streets. Many who did so were openly insulted in broad daylight by drunken strangers. * * * All the stores except those dealing in food and drink and tobacco were nearly abandoned. The popular shopping places reported the smallest sales in their knowledge and accounted for it by saying 'women are afraid to venture from their homes, and we fear to go to ours, even for our meals.'

"Wednesday morning found the situation relieved by the reports of the compromise having taken place during the night, which was simply a surrender of the Hastings faction and a yielding of everything that had been at any time seriously demanded by Quay * * * These men were ready and willing to do the bidding of the men who had hired them to do their slugging, and a riot would probably have given them more satisfaction than the announcement that a truce had been declared. But ready as they were for a fight, they were not aware that over their heads, ready to drop on them at any moment, were the heelers of the Quay people, who had been smuggled into the building by a secret roof entrance and who had a great advantage by reason of their position. *City and State, September 19.*

As an echo of the hotly contested republican primaries of Tuesday night Wade Auday, William Ware and Frank McDermott were arraigned before Magistrate South to-day on the charge of intimidating voters. *The accused and henchmen in the first ward of Magistrate Fulmer, one of Senator Quay's lieutenants, and, in addition to the alleged intimidation, McDermott was also charged with assaulting Edward Lutz, a judge of election. The accused were held in \$500 bail each for court. Magistrate Fulmer became their surety.—Philadelphia dispatch, New York Times, August 22.*

The latest news from Harrisburg is tinged with prospective riot. Whether blood will flow or not is uncertain, but some of the coolest-headed observers say it may, and the mayor of the city, expecting a fight, is swearing in

extra policemen. Congressman Robinson says he shall not be surprised to see the "worst kind of a row on the floor," when the convention meets to-morrow; that "both sets of delegates will insist upon going upon the preliminary roll, and somebody is going to get hurt." The war fever grew steadily all day yesterday, and both Quay and anti-Quay factions slept on their arms last night. When the record of developments closed on the previous night, Quay was resolved to bring the Gilkeson faction to terms by "having the law" on Gilkeson. *He was going to apply for a mandamus compelling Gilkeson, as chairman of the state committee, to produce his accounts and show what he had done with \$90,000 said to have been contributed to party funds last fall. As a means of arousing interest in this mandamus proceeding Quay had a lot of orange-colored badges prepared, with the inscription, in bold, plain text, "What Did He Do With It?" These were swung out on the breasts of the Quay delegates yesterday morning, and the effect upon the Gilkeson faction was naturally irritating.—New York Evening Post, August 27.*

In Philadelphia in each election division the registration is made by a single election officer, called an assessor, who is always of the party dominant in his district and generally an active local politician. Personal registration is not required, and the assessor makes up his voting list six months before the election, the day for "correction" being two months before the election. The same officer who does the original registering adds or removes names. Then if any one appears at the polls who is not registered, he is allowed to vote on swearing to his qualifications.

That such a system is open to almost unchecked fraud is evident. Suppose a single Tammany officer, or a single representative of any political organization in this city, had the making up of the voting list in each election district, without the personal appearance of the voters being necessary, what would be the chance of an honest registration? What we know of Dave Martin and his methods does not lead one to believe that local politicians can be any more trusted in the conduct of elections in Philadelphia than in New York. There is a hint of the grotesqueness of the Philadelphia system in the statement that in a "correction" of the registration lists last fall, 3,000 names were struck off, "merely as a matter of agreement between party leaders. One of the names registered happened to be that of a pug dog." How many were those of non-residents or deceased persons, and how many such remained on the lists, there was no means of knowing.—*New York Times, August 19.*

BOSS GORMAN.

A Trying Ordeal.

Mr. Bernard Carter nominated Mr. Hurst, and his position from the time he began to speak until the close of his remarks was a most unenviable one. He was constantly interrupted by the democrats in the galleries, and all sorts of terminations were put upon his sentences.

"I present to you," said Mr. Carter, "the name of one who, by his unimpeachable integrity, by his excellent business capacity, by his untiring patience, by the firmness and decision of his character and by his honorable and kindly bearing toward all men, has won the highest respect and the warmest esteem of all who know him. ['Particularly Gorman,' cried a voice.] Those qualities have placed him at the head of a commercial house which, for its success and for the extent of its business relations with all those parts of this great country with which Baltimore has business relations, stands second to none in this city."

"OH, MY! OH! OH!"

"The same qualities which have made Mr. Hurst what he is and what those who know him know him to be eminently qualify him for the high position of the chief executive of this state, and while bearing friendly and honorable relations to all the eminent public men of this state, with hostility in his heart to none, under no obligations of any kind to any one"——

"But Gorman," yelled the crowd, putting a termination upon Mr. Carter's sentence that he had not intended and creating a great deal of laughter. And then the crowd broke loose again, and cries of "Come off, come off," "Oh, my!" "Oh! Oh!! Oh!!!" The hubbub continued for some time.

"Now, gentlemen of the galleries," resumed Mr. Carter as soon as he could be heard, "no matter what you may think of Mr. Gorman, you ought to be gentlemen in this assembly and not interrupt the speaker on the floor. [Applause.]

"I repeat it, bearing friendly and honorable relations to all the public men of this state, under no obligations to any man"——

"But Gorman," broke in the same voices again, and the cries of "Gorman's man," "Gorman's man," were resumed, together with groans and hisses.

Mr. Preston, the acting chairman, rapped vigorously for order and threatened to have the police clear the galleries. This announcement was greeted with cries of derision and of "Sit down, Preston."

Mr. Carter, resuming, said: "I say without fear of contradiction that if he is elected chief magistrate of this state, he will be in the fullest import of the word"——

"Gorman's man," sung out a voice.

"The governor of the state himself," continued Mr. Carter, not heeding the interruption. More applause and more groans followed this statement, and cries of "He can't be, for he can't be elected."

"And while, like all other sensible people," continued Mr. Carter, "he will at all times be ready to listen and weigh the views presented to him"——["By Gorman," shouted his tormentors again.] "When they have presented conclusion Mr. Evans says: 'The traditional policy of the democratic party is for Washington to keep hands off and let people manage their own affairs, whether at the polls or in their conventions. I believe in your integ-

rity, Mr. President, and that you earnestly desire civil service reform; that you will not and weighed he will then be"—

"Gorman's man, Gorman's man, Arthur P. Gorman's man," sung out several voices in the galleries, while others cried, "He stabbed the administration."

Mr. Preston again declared that he would have the galleries cleared if the interruptions did not cease, but it had no effect.

"I repeat," resumed Mr. Carter, "that while, like all sensible people, he will listen to and weigh the views of others, when he has listened to them and weighed them he will exercise his own untrammelled and independent judgment with manly courage and fidelity to"—

"Gorman, Gorman, Gorman!" cried the men in the gallery.—*Baltimore Sun, August 1.*

* * *

The chief objective point of our fight against bossism has been to get Baltimore's government permanently established on a business basis. The *News* has kept a watchful eye on the city hall, as well as other departments of government, and its exposures of abuses as they were practiced have done much to arouse public sentiment and make it effective in the affairs of Baltimore.

It is a notorious fact that the present election machinery was framed to perpetuate the Gorman-Rasining and to prevent a free expression of the public will. The republicans pledge themselves to the enactment of a fair election law, and they say that registration shall be "annual in Baltimore city, and quadrennial, with annual revision, in the counties; the supervisory powers of the courts over the action of the registers made effective and not illusory, and the right to places on the official ballots secured to the nominees of independent citizens as well as to those of the regular party organizations."

The civil service reform plank, we believe, will prove the strongest in the platform.—*Baltimore News, Aug. 11.*

The Brotherhood of Bosses.

A characteristic story of Gorman, illustrating the methods of this consummate politician, is told here. When Harrison was President, Gorman walked one day into the office of the first assistant postmaster-general. "Clarkson," said he, "I want to ask a favor of you. I want to control the appointment of postmaster in my town of Laurel, Md." The audacity of this request, coming from a democrat, astonished Clarkson, but one thoroughbred likes another, and he looked his visitor in the face a moment or two and replied: "You shall do it."

Of course, Clarkson kept his word, and, of course, there was an awful row about it. The republicans of Maryland discovered their democratic enemy was controlling the appointment of an important office, and they descended on the capital by train-loads. They appealed to Wanamaker and soon had that gentleman crazy. Then they went to Harrison. Clarkson was called to the White House.

"Is it possible, Mr. Clarkson, you have promised Senator Gorman this office?"

"Yes, it is his home town. He is a United States senator, and some courtesy is due him. Besides, Mr. President, an administration can well afford to have a friendly senator in the opposition."

But Harrison was not appeased. He said it would not do to permit Gorman to control the appointment. "Then you will have to get a new postmaster-general," said Clarkson quietly.

"Do you mean to say you will resign because of a little postmastership?" asked Harrison.

"No, but I will resign rather than break my word," said Clarkson.

Gorman's man was appointed.

It is strange how one thing leads to another in this world. So it proved in this case. Some time later President Harrison was in distress about the collectorship at New Orleans. He wanted Warmoth to take it, and that gentleman demurred. Harrison asked Clarkson to help him out. Clarkson telegraphed for Warmoth and succeeded in coaxing him into acceptance. His name was sent to the senate. That business appeared to be nicely settled. But it was not. They had forgotten John Sherman, the big man with many little revenges to wreak.

THOUGHT HE WAS RUINED.

Late one night Warmoth rushed to Clarkson's house. His eyes were ablaze and his tongue thick.

"I'm ruined," he exclaimed. "They are going to defeat my confirmation. John Sherman is after me to settle an old score. Defeat will ruin me, disgrace me. It will cost me my home. I will never dare live in Louisiana again. What in God's name shall I do?"

Clarkson calmed Warmoth's fears. "Go to bed and sleep. I promise you you shall be confirmed."

Early next morning a messenger from Clarkson was on his way to West Virginia, where Senator Gorman was on business of great importance. The messenger told the senator he was needed back in Washington the next day, when the judiciary committee was to meet. Sherman, Hoar and their friends had all arrangements made for rejecting Warmoth.

"But it is impossible for me to go," Gorman declared. "If I leave here now I will have to sacrifice \$50,000 or \$60,000, and I can't afford it."

"Well, Mr. Clarkson will be much disappointed if you don't help him out," said the messenger, sadly.

"Did Mr. Clarkson send you to me?" asked Gorman of the messenger.

"Yes."

"Why did you not say so in the first place? That makes quite a difference. You go back and tell Clarkson I'll be at the committee meeting to-morrow. You tell him for every vote John Sherman gets against Warmoth I'll get two democratic votes for him, and, if nec-

essary, will throw the whole democratic strength in executive session."

Gorman kept his word. He saved the administration from defeat at the hands of revengeful John Sherman, averted the humiliation which Warmoth had bitterly declared would cost him his home, and paid a political debt at very great financial sacrifice to himself.—*Washington cor. Chicago Times-Herald.*

OFFENSIVE PARTISANSHIP OF OFFICEHOLDERS.

DEMOCRATS.

Office-holders at the democratic convention at Syracuse, September 24: Valentine Fleckenstein, collector of internal revenue for the Buffalo-Rochester district. Assistant District Attorney John F. McIntyre, one of the Tammany delegates, said he was against admitting the state democracy to the convention. Following him closely was George W. Meeks, the natty superintendent-in-general of the post-office delivery, coatless and vestless, wearing a high silk hat, his trousers turned up at the bottom. Then came Dr. Senner, the commissioner of immigration, and after him was Internal Revenue Collector Edward Grosse. The Erie county delegates professed, at a late hour, to be as hopeful as ever regarding Mr. Scheu's chances. Gen. Peter C. Doyle, collector of the port of Buffalo, reached the city this afternoon, and to-night he is doing his best to advance Scheu's candidacy.

* * *

The Wayne county democratic county convention held here this afternoon was one of the most turbulent political assemblages ever convened in this county. The democratic party here has been all split up into factions.

The convention reached such a stage at one time that *Postmaster Delaney Stow* of Clyde took the floor in the interest, as he said, of decency and harmony and demanded, "Are we men or are we lice?"

A prominent Hill delegate, when approached by *Postmaster Daniel V. Teller* of Lyons, jumped upon a seat as a woman would when a mouse is near, and shouted out: "Go away, you are too dirty to associate with; I repudiate men of your caliber morally and politically."—*Lyons dispatch Buffalo Express, September 20.*

* * *

At the conclusion of the reading of the address postmaster Dayton said: "The republican party has always seemed to be a party of hypocrisy, and it is well to show plainly and distinctly what its late actions have been. The power that the republican party now has will be taken from it at its polls this fall if the people are properly informed of the manner in which it has legislated for its own interests, and not for those of the people."

Collector John A. Sullivan seconded Mr. Dayton's remarks.—*New York Times, Aug. 1.*

* * *

Strictly speaking, it is no longer a Cleveland-Hill fight, but rather a battle in which the "old war horses" are nearly all arrayed on one side against the robust young Flower

City democracy, which they can not control. Thus men like George Raines and William Purcell, Thomas Brown, jr., and William H. Tracy, J. Miller Kelly and *Collector of Customs George H. Houck*, some of whom have been bitter enemies in years past, are banded together to defeat the men who have supported the Cleveland administration and fought Aldridge through thick and thin. *Against them, however, is a well-drilled and coherent body of energetic workers, led by Collector of Internal Revenue Valentine Fleckenstein, Frederick W. Smith, James S. Havens, George P. Decker, George F. Slocum, Postmaster George H. Perkins, Editor John B. Howe, and L. M. Antisdale, of The Herald, and other well-known democrats.—Factional fight in Rochester (N. Y.) Dispatch, July 28.*

* * *

S. B. Evans, President Cleveland's postmaster here in his first term, and who was appointed by Mr. Cleveland consul to Nicaragua, is out in an open letter to the President, saying that "over 100 of these Federal officers, including revenue collectors, United States attorneys, marshals and postmasters," were in attendance as delegates in the convention, and were most perniciously active in securing the defeat of the free silver men. He reminds the President of his former orders in regard to the participation of officeholders in political meetings, and asks him to make a public expression of his disapproval of such actions. In approve of the indecency of the men who, at Marshalltown, armed with your commissions, took advantage of their places, triumphed over their fellow democrats, and then, in stinging words, taunted them with the humiliation of defeat. This letter is made public because the subject is of public concern, and with the hope that your disapproval of such methods will be so expressed as to prove a lesson to those who, temporarily clothed in authority, would make your administration rules a farce and democracy a sham in the sight of decent men."—*Ottumwa, Iowa, dispatch, Aug. 12.*

* * *

"Will Tom Taggart be nominated?" said Mail Clerk Tom Hedian, yesterday, in speaking of the democratic candidates for mayor. "Well, I should say. He's as good as nominated now. Nothing too good for Tom."

Mr. Hedian is the chief of the Taggart "push," and is working for him with all his powers. He has a supreme disregard for the rules governing the civil service. When asked about the matter he said:

"If I haven't influence enough to hold my job at the depot, why the government can have it. But maybe I will hear from Cleveland about it yet."—*Indianapolis Journal, June 26.*

They Did Not Gore the Right Ox.

W. T. Lyon, presidential postmaster at Selma, Cal., was removed yesterday because he recently published in his paper, the *Irrigator*, an article reflecting on President Cleveland. Lyon was a democrat, and was ap-

pointed about a year ago.—*Washington dispatch, Aug. 21.*

* * *

Leonard B. Plumlee, national bank examiner for Tennessee, has been asked to resign by the treasury department by order of the President, because he dared to have currency views differing from those of Mr. Cleveland.—*Buffalo Express, September 21.*

* * *

John L. Parker, deputy internal revenue collector for the district of Marblehead, was dismissed, last week, from his position, and the reason assigned was "offensive partisanship." He is the publisher of a Lynn daily paper, which recently criticised the administration.—*Adams Freeman.*

Bosses, Platt and Anti-Platt, Bully New York Officeholders.

The republican caucuses to elect delegates to the eight assembly and judicial conventions will be held to-night, in the city from 6 to 8:30 o'clock, and in the towns from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. *Despite the activity of the canal ring, an anti-Platt victory all along the line is likely.—Buffalo Express, Sept. 9.*

* * *

Abraham Gruber, a Platt republican and one of the first lieutenants of the Tioga chieftain, has a "rod in pickle" for the department of public works, as it is conducted by Commissioner Brookfield.

Mr. Gruber said that he had a story about the department of public works that might interest the reporters. He said that a great corporation had been obliged to permit an official in the department to distribute its labor tickets before it could get any permits to open the streets.

"Why," said Mr. Gruber, "Tammany, when in control of the department, never did anything as bad as that."

"What company do you refer to?" Mr. Gruber was asked.

"It is the subway company—the Metropolitan Telephone and Telegraph company. Gen. C. H. T. Collis, the deputy commissioner of public works, is giving out the company's labor tickets through his friends."—*New York Times, June 25.*

* * *

Edward Grosse, collector of internal revenue for the Third District, actively opposing the enforcement of the laws by Mr. Roosevelt and his colleagues, is thus set off in a letter from Dr. Parkhurst, in Switzerland, to A. W. Abbott, secretary of the City Vigilance League:

He is said to have declared before the members of the Columbia Club: "For my part, I don't consider the selling of a glass of beer behind a curtain and behind a closed door a crime, although the law says it is a crime." If this "Grosse" orator understands the words he uses, he knows that a crime is a crime because the law makes it such and determines it to be such. What Grosse thinks, or any other man like him, has no bearing on the question. He says, in effect, that his opinion is above law. In other words, he spits upon the law, grinds his heel into the statute, and gives the Columbia Club and the New York public to understand that to respect the ordinances of the state

indicates a stage of puerility that he, Grosse, has outgrown.

And he is a federal officer! Some of the pressure of the dignity of our country rests upon Grosse's shoulders. Some of the hope of the perpetuity of American institutions is staked in this ranting, treason-spitting Grosse. The federal government would honor itself by promptly removing him to the ranks.

* * *

Complaint is made in this week's *Wine and Spirit Gazette* that the liquor dealers in the old eleventh assembly district were forced to buy tickets for the picnic of the Blaine Club, which occurred last Wednesday. *Job E. Hedges, the chief man of this club, is Mayor Strong's private secretary, and the treasurer of the club, William H. Coyle, is secretary of the excise board.*

* * And now the republican section of the board is imitating the old Tammany methods. The excise department is a pest hole of corruption. Its total abolition is the first step in the direction of taking the saloon out of politics and a most important move in the interest of true reform.

* * *

The jolliest row in the republican ranks in this city is in the old eleventh district, where Mayor Strong's private secretary, Job E. Hedges, is accused of working his position to establish himself as a "petty boss."

The letter which was sent to the mayor reads as follows:

The Hon. William L. Strong, Mayor of the City of New York:

DEAR SIR—We, the undersigned, republicans and voters in the eleventh assembly district (new twenty-fifth), New York City, beg to call your attention to the partisan activity of your private secretary, Mr. Job E. Hedges, who has made himself obnoxious in that he has interfered in the distribution of patronage, rewarding his particular political friends with places, and making promises himself, or through his agents, and in many ways using his position of private secretary as a means of controlling and distributing patronage in this assembly district in a manner that is thoroughly partisan. In his machine methods and practice he far exceeds the old machine in its palmy days, evidently with the purpose of trying to establish himself as a petty boss. We believe that his undivided attention to the duties of his office, which the taxpayers of this city pay him for, would be more conducive to better government for all, and would be in strict accordance with your professedly non-partisan administration.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES W. AUTEN,
122 West Thirty-fourth street.
J. J. SPIES,
102 West Thirty-fourth street.
EDWARD S. FLOW,
129 West Twenty-seventh street.
GEORGE C. LAGRANGE,
128 West Thirty-fourth street.

* * *

Several members of the Phoenix Club charged Gen. Collis yesterday with threatening to dismiss from the service of the city members of the club who are office holders in the public works department if they did not cast their votes in club matters in accordance with his instructions. * *

"Why did you and Gen. Collis fall out?" was asked.

"Well," said one of the members, who had not previously spoken, "we expected some patronage, and we did not get it." The General

thought he carried the club in his waistcoat pocket and did not find out his mistake until he wanted us for the primaries. All he succeeded in doing was to lose a member on the county committee.

* * *

"It used to be three Platt men against two Brookfield men. Now he has only his own son to keep up his end on the county committee. He lost the Hell Gate Club about a month ago, and he is sure to lose the Yorkville Club. When you promise patronage it is a good thing to be a man of your word."—*New York Times*, August 7.

THE COMPLAINT.

The life tenure of office under the civil service law is not the end of the outrage along this line upon the people of the country. The office-holding class, once secure in their positions, will soon be clamoring for pensions, and the people who are debarred from any choice or participation in the government will be subjected to additional taxation to pay these pensions. Already the letter carriers have agreed upon a pension bill, which is to be presented to the approaching session of congress. Government of the people, by the people and for the people will soon be at an end in this country if this thing keeps on, and government by a mugwump board substituted. Are the people willing that the principles of this government shall thus be subverted?—*Brookville (Ind.) American*, September 12.

The Answer.

The *Kokomo Tribune* charges Center township assessor, Alvin Coffin, with extorting from his thirteen assistants 25 per cent. of their legal salary of \$2 per day. It is said that Coffin hired his deputies on the express condition that they give him a "royalty" of 50 cents a day, and that after the county commissioners allowed the men the full legal compensation, the latter gave the assessor a "rake off" of 50 cents a day each, for the sixty days' service, a totalsqueeze of \$261 out of an allowance of \$1,044. Besides the grab of \$261, Coffin received his regular salary of \$120 for the sixty days' work, making him a salary of \$6.33 per day, while the assistants received but \$1.50, whereas the statute provides that the assessor and helpers shall receive the same pay—2 per day. Coffin, whose term expired today, admits that the charges against him are true, but pleads "customs of the country," alleging that his predecessors did the same thing.—*Kokomo dispatch*, *Indianapolis News*, August 5.

* * *

Mrs. Fisher was murdered by spoils politics. She had given eighteen years of faithful, devoted and able service to the Oakland public schools. In all that time she had never missed a day. She loved her work and identified herself so completely with the schools that she could not think of herself as separated from them. One day the board of education dropped her from the roll. Nobody pretended that

there was any cause for complaint in her work, but her place was wanted for a friend of one of the members of the board. Paralysis followed the shock, and now she is dead. * *

The corruption of the spoils system is generally understood, but the people who amiably tolerate that feature of it do not realize its heartlessness. Every stroke of the "guillotine" means the wanton infliction of unhappiness on some family, without any corresponding benefit to anybody else. Even the winner of a place under the spoils system gets little satisfaction from it, because he knows that he may be compelled at a moment's warning and without any fault of his own to give it up. Under any civilized government the tenure of a subordinate public employe ought to depend entirely upon merit. Once in the service he ought to have an assurance of remaining as long as his duties were faithfully performed. With such an understanding the public would get the work for which it pays, but which is now more profitably given to the politicians who control the distribution of "patronage."—*San Francisco Examiner*.

* * *

Mr. Stroup, of Arkansas, has unwittingly made a "ten-strike" for the cause of civil service reform in his discourses concerning Mr. Spofford's management. Our honorable legislators are very jealous of their rights of supervision of the great stack of books, and as a result no attempt has been made to put the assistant librarians into the classified service. Mr. Stroup, of Arkansas, had been delegated by officials in that commonwealth to convey a certain convict to Sing Sing. On his way back he decided to get off at Washington "to see the town," and like all tourists was captivated with its beautiful avenues and urban attractions, and was loath to go back to Arkansas "any more." Stroup discovered that an appropriation had gone through for additional help in the library, and he accordingly persuaded Senator Jones of his state to secure for him an appointment there. This it was not difficult to do. What better preparation for library work could be desired than experience in transporting convicts?

* * *

One hundred library workers in the great national library must then be employed and the argument seems useless to show that these places should be filled through examinations and not to please congressmen, who are willing in return to "help along" library appropriations. The work of cataloguing and arranging books has in recent years become a good deal of a science, and the latest librarian employed in the departmental service, fresh from a training school of library workers, was selected through a competitive examination with very satisfactory results. So badly have some of the branch libraries been run that in one department a recent investigation showed in certain instances five or six copies of a single book, the result of sending outside to buy whenever the librarian could find no trace of the desired volume.

After fifty years of valuable scientific service for the national government, Prof. Davidson, at the age of 70 years, has been ignominiously dismissed, without cause and with no recognition of his able services.—*July 5*.

* * *

The undersigned astronomers of the Lick observatory respectfully call your attention to an act of great injustice done to one of the most active and efficient of our government employes, Prof. George Davidson, for many years connected with the United States coast survey, who has been removed from his position. Recently published scientific records demonstrate that he is still one of the most active workers in the survey. It would be an act of simple justice to re-instate him. We earnestly request you to cause this to be done.

The telegram is signed by E. S. Holden, J. M. Schaeberle, E. E. Barnard and W. W. Campbell.

* * *

The chamber of commerce yesterday passed resolutions requesting the senators and representatives from the Pacific coast states to exert their influence and best endeavors with the President and secretary of the treasury of the United States for the re-instatement of Prof. George Davidson, late of the United States coast and geodetic survey, believing that such re-instatement would best serve and protect the public welfare and shipping interests of this coast.

* * *

A sensation was created in Greene county (Ohio) democratic convention last Saturday, when a resolution was introduced calling upon the post-office department at Washington to investigate the alleged purchase of the Xenia post-office by L. H. Whiteman. It was charged that Postmaster Whiteman had paid \$500 for securing Senator Brice's influence, but rumor was not so definite in saying who got the money.

It is now declared that an insurance firm of this city—Frank Raymond and W. Clifton Long—got the \$500. Long came originally from Xenia. When the appointment of a postmaster for that place was under consideration, he, being an intimate friend of Senator Brice's secretary, was questioned as to the qualifications of the several candidates. It is alleged that Long, when he learned that Senator Brice was going to name a candidate, informed Whiteman that he could secure the place for him for a money consideration. Subsequently a contract was made between the two and it was stipulated that Long should receive \$500.

Whiteman was appointed postmaster. Last February, six months after the appointment of Whiteman, a complaint was made to Senator Brice that he or his secretary had sold the office for \$500. An investigation was made and Whiteman denied emphatically that he had entered into any contract. At the same time he was advised that if it were true that he had made a payment and had given his note for a balance, he had better cancel the deal, for it was a fraudulent one. Upon that advice, Whiteman declined to make further payments. Long placed the account in the hands of a lawyer of Xenia, who induced Whiteman to pay the balance of the claim, \$400, a day or two before the Greene county convention was called.

Clifford Long admitted to-day that Whiteman had paid him the money according to contract, on account of services rendered as an agent during the post-office fight. He exonerates Senator Brice and his secretary from any knowledge of the transaction prior to the appointment.—*Washington Dispatch*, Aug. 12.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 33.

INDIANAPOLIS, NOVEMBER, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE give elsewhere in full the report made by a committee of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association of their investigation of the present management of the civil service of Indianapolis. There is not a chance for a doubt but that the charter of this city directs the introduction of the merit and labor service system. Although it provides no penalties for disobedience of this command, yet no honorable office-holder would for a moment think of disregarding it. As a matter of fact it was disregarded through the entire first administration, under the charter, and through some months of the second when Mayor Denny caused a fairly good set of rules to be adopted. These rules were not always followed, but neither that nor the lateness of their adoption affords the least excuse for the conduct of the present administration. Mayor Taggart attempts to lean upon those props. On the same principle, if Mayor Denny had robbed the city treasury it would be a justification for him to do the same. Mayor Taggart's action has been brazen in the extreme. When he came into office he found a set of rules adopted under the plain direction of the charter, and because adopted under that direction they were absolutely the law of the city. He has completely disregarded them and has vacated and filled a large number of places upon the purely spoils plan of using the public offices for personal and partisan purposes. This is a very grave offense which he attempts to carry off in an airy, happy-go-lucky manner. Possibly he may succeed, but he would do well to remember that many a greater spoilsman than he is has been rolled in the dust. If the offense were not so grave, if there had been no rules, his course would still deserve everybody's contempt. These are not the times of distributing offices as personal and party rewards. All over the country there is a movement to rid the public service of the heeler and the striker. It seems that Indianapolis is not to remain in that advance because Tom Taggart wants to use her public offices for personal and party rewards. If there had been no rules, and if he were not a gross

violator of law, his course will still mark him, not as a progressive citizen having in mind the welfare of his own city, but as the cheap politician which he is. He has now in the city service a long list of men who are not there legally, and to whom no city officer has a right to pay wages. It is the duty of the tax-payers to stop this misuse of the public funds.

A COMMITTEE of ladies representing one of the charitable organizations have inspected our city hospital and found it an abomination. The high standing of the ladies and the reliability of their report are beyond question, and, indeed, are admitted by the superintendent of the hospital. The only explanation given or attempted to be given by the committee or by the authorities is "politics." The superintendent must be a democratic doctor or a republican doctor according to the party in control, and the welfare of the hospital must bend to that. The superintendents are changed about once in two years, a practice which would wreck any hospital. Receiving their places as a reward for partisan politics, they are not free agents, and they do not dare to inform the public of the true condition of affairs. The party leaders begrudge money to the hospital, because money there buys fewer voters than money spent anywhere else; it is therefore a good place to display a niggardly economy and keep the tax rate down. This has been the practice in Indianapolis under all administrations. People have known nothing of the real condition of affairs. It was the duty of the superintendents, if they found that their reports to the health board were of no avail, to appeal to the people through the medical societies or the public prints. The first step is to get rid of politics, but the prospect is not favorable. The preceding superintendent who had become most efficient was displaced for politics. The president of the health board, Dr. F. A. Morrison, highly praises the present superintendent, who is, nevertheless, to be succeeded January 1st, on account of politics. Dr. Morrison's stripe is indicated by the fact that, having discharged all but one of the sanitary officers without any right to do so, he went to work, on discovering his blunder, and hunted up excuses upon which to attempt legal dismissals, and such excuses are now called "morrison's." The

health board expressed the highest appreciation of the sanitarian, Dr. Wynn, and the following circumstances are interesting:

Dr. Wynn submitted a letter of resignation, leaving the board free to re-appoint him or another as it chose. He said, in addition, that he would hold the members in just as much esteem whether they appointed him or not. Dr. Morrison remarked that the resignation was made wholly without suggestion from the new members of the board, and Dr. Wynn assented to this. Dr. Morrison remarked that it would be well to make the appointment date from the beginning of a new term, and to last for two years, so that there could be no necessity for forcing a man to resign at the time of a change of administration. The board decided to accept the resignation, and consider the question of re-appointment or the selection of a new man at another meeting within twenty-four hours.

After going through the pretense of pondering the problem, a new man was appointed.

FOR more than a year it has been apparent that the battle of civil service reform has been won. It has been a long struggle since Charles Sumner, in 1864, began it by the introduction into the senate of a bill embodying the main principles of the system which was destined by its very honesty and practicability and its commercial and moral superiority to overthrow the modern feudal system under which we had lived for generations. For thirty years the merit system, by its own inherent good qualities, has conquered its way against a vicious and utterly unprincipled opposition which seemed unconquerable. Every day the completeness of the victory becomes plainer. It is now a question of detail, and of the substitution of new and improved machinery in place of old. There will still be opposition. Many an expiring pirate has tried to kill some one out of revenge. There are many states, cities and counties in whose local service the field is comparatively untouched, but it is only a question of time. Personal and party favoritism are to become unknown in the distribution of public employment. Those desiring places in the public service are to obtain their end not by setting up primaries and conventions, but by fair and open competition against all others.

THE greatest single step taken since the enactment of the civil service law, January 16, 1883, was taken quietly November 8,

1895, by President Cleveland in the following order:

Section 2 of postal rule 1 is hereby amended by inserting after the word "thereto" in line 6, the following: "And whenever by order of the postmaster-general any post-office shall be consolidated with and made a part of another post-office where free delivery is established, all the employes of the office thus consolidated whose names appear on the roster of said office approved by the post-office department and including the postmaster thereof, shall from the date of said order be employes of said free delivery office, and the person holding on the date of said order the position of postmaster at the office thus consolidated with said free delivery office may be assigned to any position therein, and given any appropriate designation under the classification act which the postmaster-general may direct."

The law gives the postmaster-general power to consolidate post offices, and every free delivery office is within the civil service rules. Any consolidation therefore, of even the smallest fourth-class post-office with a free delivery office, now takes the former out of the reach of spoilsmen by bringing it within the rules. The fourth-class post-office problem, which was the one difficult question left in the fight against the spoils system, seems to have been solved by a single stroke of the President's pen. It is but another instance that where a great reform is in charge of its friends there is no difficulty in finding ways to carry it out. The plan devised indicates real statesmanship. It is not proposed to carry it into abrupt execution, but to proceed in a thorough and business-like manner until the entire readjustment is completed. The effect of the order when completely carried out will be to throw the post-office system of the country into divisions, with heads much nearer and easier to reach than the department at Washington. At present the department deals directly with the 60,000 fourth-class postmasters, and the mails are burdened with errors and attempted corrections of errors and car-loads of irascible correspondence. A ruder and more expensive system of conducting public business could hardly be devised. Under the new system the fourth-class postmaster will disappear as the watch dog of his congressman. The fourth-class post-offices will be supplanted by stations, and the employes will be under the direction of a division superintendent, probably the head of a post-office in a large city. The possibilities of free delivery to farmers and in small villages are greatly increased, especially when the bicycle is remembered. The country is to be congratulated upon this great change. Inevitably there will come with it soon the disappearance of the practice of turning out trained postmasters in our large cities, who will be the heads of divisions, to make room for local politicians.

We do not know who the immediate

mover of this change was, but we take it that the civil service commission, Postmaster-General Wilson and the President jointly put their shoulders to the wheel, and we thank them accordingly. The system will have a struggle, but all the steps ever taken in civil service reform have been violently resisted, and this will succeed as they succeeded.

In this connection the current *Harper's Weekly* says:

"In our opinion this is the most important forward step in civil service reform since the first introduction of the merit system in the national service. It boldly goes beyond the mere clerical positions and strikes at spoils politics in the largest sense. The postoffice in the small town or village has been the omnipresent embodiment of the spoils idea. It has been pre-eminently the prize fought for by the local politicians. It has done more than anything else to give party contests the character of scrambles for plunder. It has been the gathering-place of the party hacks and wire-pullers. It has more than anything else accustomed the popular mind to the notion that a change of party in power necessarily means a partisan change in the minor offices. A measure of reform tending to take a large majority of the post-offices out of politics by putting them under the merit system thus strikes at the strongest bulwark of the spoils evil. We, therefore, most earnestly call upon friends of civil service reform all over the country to give this measure their attention, and to rally public opinion to a vigorous support of it."

ANY elections which defeat Campbell of Ohio by 100,000 majority and which drive Brice, Blackburn, Smith, Dave Hill and Gorman's tool Gibson out of the Senate are a source of deep gratification. It is true that we have some republican bosses quite as offensive, and who seem to have been triumphant, but their triumph was rather in the primary than in the election. This is one of the events in the fight against bossism. It is hardly ever possible to disable the bosses on both sides in the same election; but by taking them turn about they can eventually be so weakened that their own henchmen will no longer find it profitable to follow them in the primaries. If they can not carry elections and get spoils to divide, their following will melt away and their respective parties will drop them. We do not join in the expectation that Gorman is permanently used up. He still controls the Maryland democratic machine, and will for a time at least control its nominations. But the election is of inestimable value in showing that Maryland democrats have the spirit to defeat him at the polls. This same spirit should impel them to keep Maryland a doubtful state.

THE result of the election in New York city is a seeming drawback to the satisfaction with the elections elsewhere. How this result came about is well understood. The city for the first time in generations had a police board which regarded the

excise law as made to be enforced and their oath to see to the enforcement as an oath which they could not disregard. They thereupon enforced this law thoroughly and with absolute fairness. Nevertheless the triumph of Tammany was undoubtedly made possible by this action of the police board. This triumph interferes with the progress of municipal reform and in the same manner the excise question is likely to interfere with that progress in other cities. It is an overshadowing question and must be taken account of by reformers. There should be no excise laws upon the statute book which are not intended to be enforced. In many communities a prohibition of the sale of beer on Sunday can not be permanently enforced. Officers who temporarily enforce it will not be left in office, and those who will not enforce it will take their places, and the community will learn to look upon the non-enforcement of law as proper and unavoidable. Nothing is worse for public morals. The idea that one part of a community believing it to be wrong may therefore make another part of the community stop drinking beer on Sunday will have to be given up. The Germans, for instance, for more than two thousand years, have drunk beer Sundays and week days as Americans for a lesser period have drunk tea and coffee, and the Germans do not believe it is wrong and can not be legislated into such a belief. Connected with the sale, however, there are matters to be dealt with. A large class of persons engaged in that sale are but one remove from the worst elements of the community, and some not even that far. Another class of seemingly respectable men have no respect for law, and encourage its open violation. A considerable percentage of the places of sale are nurseries of immorality and crime. These are the matters which ought to be dealt with by legislation. In a word, the effort should be not to make the sale disgraceful, but to make it respectable. This is another way of saying that the sale should be regulated so as to maintain stringent public order, and to prevent every species of blackmail. In New York the mistake was undoubtedly made by the opponents of Tammany in not boldly and openly advocating an excise law which, under reasonable regulations, would permit Sunday sales. We do not diminish anything from our unqualified praise of Theodore Roosevelt, but we think that in talking in churches, and to temperance organizations and elsewhere, he should, in addition to what he did say, have advocated the change here suggested. Indianapolis has a lesson of this kind to learn. The signs seem unmistakable that the saloons are to be allowed to go in disregard of the law, after a period of strict enforcement.

It is every man's duty to work for a practical substitute for an excise system which leads to such a break down of public morals.

THE CHRONICLE will next month give in full, from the pen of an expert, the history of Gorman's career, and how, after repeated efforts, he has at least temporarily been overwhelmed.

THE annual meeting of the national civil service reform league will be held at Washington, at the invitation of the civil service reform association of the District of Columbia, Thursday and Friday, December 12 and 13, 1895. The rooms of the Cosmos club, Lafayette square, have been secured for the two days' meetings. The morning sessions of each day will be devoted as usual to the business of the league, and the afternoon sessions to the reading of papers. The annual address of the president will be delivered at Metzerott's hall, on F street, the evening of the 12th, and the visiting delegates will be entertained by the local association the evening of the 13th. The printed invitation and detailed programme, together with available information regarding hotel accommodations, rates of railroad fare, etc., will be furnished as soon as prepared. Aside from the object of this meeting, the place chosen will make this in other respects a delightful and profitable trip. Indiana, however, could not win medals for interest in civil service reform, were she judged by attendance at the annual league meetings. Besides the annual address of Mr. Schurz, the president, the following papers will also be read:

"The Recent Civil Service-Reform Movement in Chicago," John W. Ela, of Chicago.

"The Appointment and Tenure of Postmasters," Richard Henry Dana, of Cambridge.

"Superannuation in the Civil Service," Wm. Dudley Foulke, of Indiana.

"The Interest of the Workingman in Civil Service Reform," Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

"The State of Civil Service Reform Sentiment in the South," Herman Justi, of Nashville.

"The Important Function of Civil Service Reform," F. L. Siddons, of Washington.

"The Reign and Overthrow of Office-holding Oligarchy," Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore.

"The Necessity of Thorough and Permanent Reform in the Consular Service," Jonathan A. Lane, President of the Boston Merchants' Association.

To any one who has known enough of spoils system to understand its significance as a moral question the apathy of women in regard to it has been remarkable. So far as we know the first open alliance with the movement for civil service reform was the meeting of prominent New York women, at the residence of Bishop Potter, on November 20. They organized as the "Women's Auxiliary to the New York Civil Service Reform Association" with the following officers:

President, Mrs. William H. Schieffelin; vice president, Mrs. C. R. Lowell; secretary, Miss Chandler; treasurer, Mrs. Winthrop Cowdin; executive committee, the officers and Mrs. F. H. Kinneut, Miss Schurz, and Miss Margaret Morgan.

Among the women present were Mrs. Charles Haven Royce, Miss E. O. Butler, Mrs. H. C. Potter, Miss Potter, Miss Bishop, Mrs. William Chandler Casey, Miss Eleanor Jay Schieffelin, Miss M. M. Morgan, Mrs. F. Nathan, Mrs. E. Fales Coward, Mrs. Griswold, Miss Louis L. Schuyler, Mrs. J. W. Brannan, Mrs. Ben Ali Haggin, Mrs. Charles W. Watson, Mrs. K. W. Ward, Mrs. Reeves-Merritt, Mrs. E. L. Godkin, Miss Alice Pine, Mrs. M. F. Johnson, Miss Lowell, Miss Frelinghuysen, Miss Sibyl Kent Kane, Miss Willard and Miss Harriet Rogers.

ONE of the bright signs of the times was the recent completion of the decoration of the court of oyer and terminer in the new criminal courts building in New York. This decoration was the result of open competition, and a distinguished committee of New York artists and not Tammany were the judges. Following this comes the announcement from Philadelphia that \$5,000 has been appropriated to cover the expenses of a competition for sketches for mural and other decorative painting, in their new city hall. This competition is open to all American artists.

EVERY friend of Michigan university must sincerely regret that in the lecture course of its students such an unblushing scoundrel as Dave Hill should be allowed to appear. It is true that the government of the university had no control over the matter, but the circumstance indicates an unhappily low grade of political taste among the students. The faculty is in some degree responsible for this. It is no satisfaction to know the fact that this institution in political matters is not below its fellows. It emphasizes again the fact that politically the education of our colleges is a lamentable failure.

THE INDIANAPOLIS CIVIL SERVICE.

To the Executive Committee of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association:

Your special committee, appointed to inquire into the present condition of the classified service of the city of Indianapolis, respectfully report as follows:

Section 45 of the city charter provides as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the mayor to call together the heads of departments (except of assessment and collection) for consultation and advice upon the affairs of the city, at least once a month. * * * Records shall be kept of such meetings above provided for and rules and regulations shall be adopted thereat for the administration of the affairs of the said departments not inconsistent with any law or ordinance, which regulations shall prescribe a common and systematic method of ascertaining the comparative fitness of applicants for office, position and promotion and of selecting, appointing and promoting those found to be best fitted (except in the department of public safety) without regard to political opinions or services."

The heads of the departments of finance,

law, public works, public safety and public health and charities constitute the so-called "cabinet" to be called together once a month, whose duty it is to establish these regulations for admission to the civil service.

It will thus be seen that the city charter does not simply permit but it *absolutely requires* the adoption of regulations for admission. These regulations must prescribe a systematic method for ascertaining the *comparative fitness* of applicants. That is, the test must be competitive; and the rules must provide for the appointment of those found to be best fitted *without regard to political opinions or services*. All appointments, therefore, on the ground of political opinions or services are in violation of the rules prescribed by the charter. Any regulations which would allow such appointments or appointments without competition would be equally a violation of the charter. Section 48 provides in substance that no appointments or removals shall be made inconsistent with the civil service rules adopted by the cabinet. An additional check is made upon arbitrary removals by the provision that after the head of a department has been in office for thirty days, written reasons must be assigned for such removals.

In pursuance of the provisions of this charter, the "cabinet" of the late administration of Mayor Denny adopted on February 13, 1894, a series of rules classifying the civil service, providing for a board of examiners, for admission to the lower grades of the service by means of competitive examinations and for promotion to the higher grades by means of a comparative monthly record of conduct and efficiency. Clerks, engineers, assistants, inspectors, hospital internes and, in fact, all city employes, except laborers and teamsters, were to be selected in this way.

All examinations were to be practical in their character, so as to test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons to be examined for the service which they sought to enter. Those examined were to be graded according to their excellence, and those whose standing was more than 65 per cent. were to be placed upon a list of eligibles, and the three highest names upon this list of eligibles were certified to the appointing officer whenever a vacancy occurred which it was necessary to fill.

Applicants for labor were to be registered in the order of their application by the secretary of the board of examiners. And whenever laborers were needed, they took their turn in the order of registration. Soldiers, however, and those having the largest families dependent upon them were entitled to preference. If their service was satisfactory they might keep their places upon the register and be called upon again, if not they were to be dropped from the register. Any person in the service of the city who obstructed an applicant in his right of examination should forfeit his office.

It will be seen that these rules if enforced would exclude all political reasons for appointment to any place in the city service.

These rules were similar to those which have been satisfactorily applied for many years in the city of Boston, where they had done much toward the elimination of the more disgraceful features of ward politics.

The legality of these rules was expressly passed upon by the supreme court of this state in the case of *William C. Newcomb v. The City of Indianapolis*, where the rules were held to be valid and made in pursuance of the requirements of the charter.

It is clear that these rules are still in force and are part of the law governing the city of Indianapolis. Neither the statutes of a state nor the ordinances of a city become void because a new administration comes into power. The mayor's cabinet, for the purpose of making these rules, was invested with the same kind of power as a city council in respect to the making of ordinances authorized by the charter. The adoption of these rules was the corporate act of the city duly performed by those agents of the city who were authorized by its charter to do this very thing. They are therefore the law of the city, and neither the mayor nor any of the heads of departments had any more right to disregard them than to disregard the city ordinances or the provisions of the charter itself.

The board of examiners was composed of the mayor as chairman, Mr. Herrick, secretary, and Mr. White, all officers of the city, and Mr. Daniels and Mr. Pickens, citizens of Indianapolis not in the city service.

When Mr. Taggart became mayor, Mr. White, Mr. Pickens and Mr. Daniels resigned their places. Mr. Herrick, the secretary of the board, who has charge of the eligible lists still remains. If Mayor Taggart had been as anxious to carry out the provisions of section 45 of the city charter, as he was to distribute the spoils of office among his political supporters, he would have filled these three vacancies just as he filled the vacancies in the heads of the various departments in the city. But he has not appointed a single person, and the board of examiners is therefore without a quorum. But even in this condition the eligible lists remain and Mr. Herrick, the secretary of the board, could at any time furnish from these lists the records of persons duly qualified for appointment to most of the positions in which vacancies have occurred. No such appointments, however, have been made. The secretary of the board has not been called upon to certify a single name. Large numbers of employes have been removed and others appointed without the slightest regard either to the rules or the charter. For example, in the city engineer's office the field force numbers about twenty-five. There have been twenty removals for which no reasons have been assigned and the vacancies have been filled by democrats. A considerable number of men have passed examinations and are still upon the eligible list for appointment to these positions. No requests whatever have been made for the certification of any of these men.

The recklessness of the city's welfare in these dismissals is shown in the case of John Owen, an inspector. He had performed his duties with such zeal that it brought an attack from a contractor's men. For his course he was praised by Mayor Denny and was allowed police protection in the performance of his duties. He was dismissed as "incompetent."

In this connection we submit an extract from a letter written to your committee by Thomas Winsor, of Indianapolis:

"On or about the 10th day of last August, I made application for a position in the engineering department as an inspector, took the examination and succeeded in being placed on the eligible list.

"October 1st, received an appointment, served in said appointment to the best of my ability and to the apparent satisfaction of my superiors. October 29th, received a letter from Acting Engineer Jeup, requesting me to call at his office at a stated time, to which I responded. He informed me that my resignation would be accepted, or if I was not disposed to resign that I would be discharged at the end of the month. I asked him the reason, and he said there was nothing whatever against me, but that he had been directed so to do by those in higher authority than himself. I declined to resign under such circumstances, and on October 31st, received by special delivery mail a letter signed by the board of public works notifying me that after that date my services would no longer be needed.

"The next morning I called on Acting Engineer Jeup for my warrant, and asked him whether or not there were any vacancies in the engineering force, to which he said there were not. He also told me that he would like to have just such men as myself, but that he had to do as he was directed. I will state that I have had over nine years' experience in engineering work, and for three and one-half years was assistant engineer in a neighboring city.

"Being out of employment, took the examination for inspector with a view (if successful) of getting on the force, so as to be in the line of promotion. But it seems that a man's qualifications for work count for nothing with the present administration as long as his hair is not of the right political color. During my connection with the department I wholly refrained from discussing politics and conducted myself in such a manner that no one could charge me with 'offensive partisanship.'"

Again, five hundred and eighty-nine names have been entered upon the labor register, and a considerable portion of that number is still available for any requisitions for workmen, yet no requisitions have been made, and the labor service of the city has been selected wholly without reference to the rules, and largely, as your committee is informed and believe, from political considerations.

There are 143 laborers, including foremen, now in the service of the city, and all appointed in disregard of the rules. October 19th the board of public works notified the new foreman of street repairs that for lack of money he would have to materially reduce his force. This notice was sent him two days before his appointment took effect. He seems to have reduced the pay-roll by ceasing to assign work to laborers in the city employ. He has since hired other laborers until his pay-roll

has reached the dimensions which the board of public works regarded as quite inadmissible for lack of funds. Of the laborers now on the city pay-roll, Clerk Piercy F. Tall, in the office of foreman of street repairs, says: "They are all good democrats, I guess; if not, there's been a mistake made."

The board of public safety, which has charge of the police and fire departments and the markets of the city, is governed by other provisions of the charter. Section 95 empowers the commissioners to make rules and regulations for the appointment of members of the police and fire forces, providing that these forces shall be equally divided politically, and that members shall not be dismissed except for cause. They may be removed for any cause other than politics, (section 96), and the written reasons for such removal shall be entered upon the records of the board. Section 97 provides that upon conviction of a member of the city fire or police forces for any criminal offense, or neglect of duty, or of violation of rules, or neglect or disobedience of orders, or incapacity, or absence without leave, or conduct injurious to the public peace or welfare, or immoral conduct, or conduct not becoming an officer, or other breach of discipline, said commissioners shall have power to punish the offending party by reprimand, suspension without pay, dismissal, or by reducing him to a lower grade and pay. Upon any investigation of the conduct of any member of the fire or police force, or upon the trial of any charge preferred against any member thereof, the commissioners may compel the attendance of witnesses, etc.

The commissioners of public safety under the administration of Mayor Denny, in pursuance of their power under the charter, adopted a series of rules providing for admission to the police force and fire department by competitive examinations, which included reading, writing and arithmetic, together with such inquiries as would show the applicant's past experience and knowledge of local matters, and of the duties of the position sought. A physical examination by the police surgeon was also required. Eligible lists were made of those whose grading was not less than 65 per cent. in general efficiency, and appointments were made from the three highest on these lists.

These rules have never been rescinded nor altered by the board of public safety, and are as much a part of the law of Indianapolis as the civil service rules adopted by the cabinet in reference to the other departments.

Examinations were held under these rules and there are still a number of names upon the eligible lists of those who have passed examination. In order to comply with the provision that the police force should be half republican and half democratic, the eligible lists of each party are kept separate.

After the present board of commissioners of public safety came into office there were two resignations in the police force and the board discharged twenty nine men. But although

the charter required that the reasons for removal should be stated and made provisions for a trial of the charges against officers, yet these men were all discharged without other cause than the statement that the board found them to be "inefficient officers." No notice was given to them of the character of the charges or the evidence against them. They had no opportunity to exonerate themselves or to prove the falsity of the accusations against them. Some of these removals may have been warranted but no means were afforded of separating the innocent from the guilty, and your committee is satisfied that at least the spirit of the rule which requires these charges to be stated in writing has been wantonly disregarded. But even if the discharges of these men had been proper the appointment of their successors was undoubtedly irregular and illegal. On the democratic eligible list were the names of the following men who had passed examination with an average of more than sixty-five per cent. and some of them at least were entitled to appointments in case of vacancies: Chas. M. Halstead, Dan'l Donohue, Wm. E. Brooks, Chas. W. Quack, Martin Dougan, W. H. Bigger, Harlan B. Haskell, Augustus Hall, J. L. Byard. Not one of these men, however, was certified or selected. But in their places eleven new men were chosen and five men who had been on the force before but had been discharged under the former administration, were reinstated. There were eight men upon the republican list. None of these men were called for or certified, but it so happens that four of them were selected without certification and eleven new men were chosen without competitive examination. There was a physical inspection by the surgeon and the new men were required to write their names. This was all. According to this system a man may be appointed a policeman in Indianapolis who can not even read the warrant which he is to serve.

The present commissioners of public safety appear to have totally disregarded the rules established for the purpose of securing efficiency and impartiality in appointment to the police force.

Among the new appointees was one who had been dismissed from the police force under a charge of levying blackmail on fallen women; another who had been refused an appointment formerly on the ground that he had been running a crap game, and who had once been in the police court for assault and battery; another who had been arrested for assault and battery; another who was known as a drunkard; another who, while on the police force, had been charged with borrowing money from a keeper of a house of ill-fame, and who had afterwards been dismissed; another who had been dismissed from the police force for insubordination and for leaving his post when on duty; another who had been dismissed for sleeping while on duty; another who is ruptured and is physically unfit to be a patrolman, and others still, the reasons for whose appointment can only be found in their having

been active workers for the election of Mayor Taggart. One of the improper appointees is a relative of Police Commissioner Mack. Robert Campbell, a captain on the police force and regarded for many years as a capable and efficient officer, was forced to resign. Your committee has been unable to discover any reason for this action. Captain Quigley, a democrat, who, under the former administration, had been conscientious in obeying his orders, was attacked by a degraded class of saloon-keepers and only kept his place by showing that he acted under strict instructions.

Another curious violation of the rules and the charter appears in the changes made among the sanitary inspectors all of whom obtained their places through open competition. Four republican inspectors were removed and the only democratic inspector was retained. These removals were first made by Dr. Morrison, who had no possible authority to make them under the law. After discovering that his act was illegal he reported these men for removal to the board of public safety and they were removed upon various charges. James Shepherd was discharged upon the alleged ground that he had applied several years ago for appointment as a patrolman and had been rejected on account of insufficient height. The rules of the board of public safety require that the standard height for patrolmen shall be five feet nine inches, but this rule has no more reference to sanitary inspectors than it has to judges of the supreme court. Such a cause for removal is trifling and frivolous. M. W. Welling, undoubtedly a highly efficient officer, was removed on the alleged ground that he was over the age established by police rules. The police rules require that patrolmen shall not be more than forty years of age, but there is no such rule in regard to sanitary inspectors. It is to be noted that when vacancies are wanted the rules appear in very large letters; but when appointments are to be made, the page becomes totally blank. To fill the offices of the men so removed three men, Wesner, Champion and Kleine were appointed entirely without examination, although there were four names on the eligible list of men who had passed the examination for sanitary inspectors: Frank Adams, Harry Patton, Wm. Kuster and E. A. Tousey.

The foregoing facts do not cover all which your committee has discovered, but are illustrative of the treatment which the city civil service has received and independent of the admission of Mayor Taggart, they show to your committee that the best interests of the city are being disregarded for the benefit of personal and partisan considerations.

Your committee, through one of its members, made a personal inquiry of Mr. Taggart as to the reasons for removals and changes in the city administration, and for the failure to observe the rules regulating admission to the civil service. The mayor stated that he had never read the civil service rules at all; that he did not suppose that they were in force

under his administration, and that the changes had been made (except in the police and fire departments) for political reasons.

Your committee believe that these avowals show that there has been a systematic violation by the mayor as well as by the heads of the different departments, under which these changes have taken place, of section 45 of the charter of Indianapolis and of the rules made in pursuance of that section.

Your committee regard the conduct of the new administration in thus disregarding the organic law under which it exists as highly reprehensible. It signifies a return from the merit system to the spoils system, a retrograde movement from the reform which is everywhere making headway throughout the cities of the country to the unclean and corrupt methods of Tammany hall.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE,
DEMARCHUS C. BROWN,
HUGH TH. MILLER,
FREDERIC E. DEWHURST,
LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

Indianapolis, November 21, 1895.

CLERICAL POLITICS.

Mr. Davis, a presbyterian clergyman of Noblesville, this state, is reported in the Indianapolis News, of October 27, as having preached upon "The value of partisanship," and as saying:

The most dangerous instruments in American politics to-day are the independent newspapers and the independent voter. The doctrine that a man must eschew all parties and give allegiance to none is most dangerous and pernicious. Such a man is the most dangerous element in American politics. He is anchored nowhere, has no faith in anything, and is just drifting with the currents. They are mere expletives, mere ciphers, and the world is full of failures made out of just such timber. I admire a straight, clean, party man, and I love a devoted, consistent christian, whether he belongs to my party and church or not. But I despise the man who tries to spread himself out over all parties and to absorb all the good out of all parties, and then sets himself up as the independent voter—so much better and nobler than his fellow-men. And I abhor the christian who spreads himself out over the church and the world, and by compromising with evil tries to advance his political or business interests. The independent paper is in the same category, and its policy and support of men and measures usually smells of filthy lucre. Nothing in this country is entitled to so much respect as "party loyalty." The most admirable spectacle in American politics was the solid, firm stand of the 306 delegates in the Chicago convention for General Grant in 1880. Whether right or wrong, their faith in the great commander never faltered, and their support was true and unquestioned.

We might, perhaps, leave Mr. Davis to the following comments of the republican paper, the Richmond Item:

The Noblesville preacher who is appealing for more partisanship and less independence in both religion and politics is fighting against fate. He might as well pray that the corn should not ripen under the sun and rain, as to hope that man will not ripen under the benign influence of time and knowledge, and the more man ripens, the smaller does mere partisanship appear, whether political or religious. The reverend gentleman must be either a bigot, a demagogue or an ignoramus.

But while we do not apprehend that the man who glorifies the attempt to nominate

Grant for a third term is personally of particular importance, nevertheless, his cloth is of importance, and we should like to present a few practical problems to this teacher of public and private morals.

There is a considerable class of ministers whose party zeal gets the better of their discretion, and who enjoy the sounding flow of words of general denunciation of men who decline under some circumstances to wear a party yoke. These ministers never give any facts, but declaim wholly in generalities. We now present to Mr. Davis a number of questions to answer, which will require considerable historical knowledge, and we offer him space in THE CHRONICLE to make his answer.

Gorman in Maryland had literally seized the government, and for years had deprived that state of free institutions. The members of his party acting within the party were utterly powerless to restore free government and they tried abundantly. Was it their duty to submit their necks to the yoke or to vote temporarily with another party with the best candidates in order that Gorman might be overthrown?

A condition quite similar exists under Quay in Pennsylvania. No law can be passed and scarcely any person can get an office in that state without Quay's consent. He has many times and by papers of the highest financial standing been branded as a thief who stole money from the public treasury and he has never dared take up the challenge to come into court and test the matter. The republicans of Pennsylvania acting with their party are powerless. Is it their duty to submit or by acting as independents make it impossible for Quay to carry elections and thus compass his downfall?

There is a similar condition in the state of New York. The coming winter only such laws can be passed as Tom Platt, a private citizen doing an express business on Broadway, in New York city, will consent to. No man can be put on any committee in the legislature, except as Platt allows it. This has been the case for years, when his party have been in power. For years he has collected money of corporations and distributed it among the workers of his party until they have become completely bound to him and through them he can control the party-machine absolutely. The party at large although it has repeatedly tried can not shake him off. Is it the duty of republicans to submit or by voting independently make it impossible for Platt to carry elections, which failure will destroy any boss?

Again, Tammany hall is, by its party action in state convention, recognized as the official party organization for New York city. It is a combination of thieves and blackmailers, and by a system of robbery and blackmail it has had the funds to build up the best disciplined party machine the country has ever seen. It controls its party's action absolutely in New York city, and it desires to continue its career of robbery and blackmail. Individual

democrats, acting within the party, are buffeted as chips upon the waves. Are they to submit, or by voting independently make it impossible for Tammany to carry elections, and impossible for it to get its men into offices and places, and impossible for it to rob and blackmail, and therefore impossible for it to live?

An ignorant local party boss named Murphy is Dave Hill's colleague in the senate from New York. Murphy is the boss of the city of Troy, and by the usual boss methods he has bound to him the works of his own party and a good sprinkling of republicans, who are known as Murphy republicans. One of Murphy's henchmen, named "Bat" Shea, in his henchman zeal, committed a murder for which he is about to suffer the extreme penalty. The *New York Evening Post*, of October 11th, gives the following summary:

The city of Troy has long been notorious for election frauds. A democratic machine has for years been in the habit of returning its candidates as successful at the polls, and has resorted to every device of rascality required to produce such a showing. The outrages perpetrated in Troy elections have long rendered that city notorious, but their full enormity was never officially set forth until the court of appeals found it necessary to summarize the facts concerning the contest in the thirteenth ward on the 6th of March, 1894. On that day a mayor was to be chosen, and also a board of aldermen and supervisors. The most lively canvass for nominations had been over the republican candidacy for alderman in the thirteenth ward. At the party caucus in February the nomination had been vigorously contested for by Dunlop, a saloon-keeper who worked with the democratic machine, and Haneox. Bartholomew Shea, commonly known as "Bat," a young fellow of twenty-three, a moulder by trade but not a steady worker, was a friend of Dunlop and used to tend bar for him when politics required the absence from the saloon of the would-be alderman. A disturbance occurred at the caucus, during which Shea broke into the meeting-room through a window, brandished a revolver, went to a mutual friend of himself and Dunlop, McGough, who was chairman, received from him the ballot-box, marched out of the room with it, and gave it back to McGough some distance from the polling-place. Trouble then arose as to the regularity of the proceedings of the caucus, and Dunlop and Haneox both ran, each claiming to be the republican candidate for alderman.

Excitement increased as election day approached. On the evening before Shea provided himself with a revolver, for the reason, as he said, that he always anticipated more or less of a row on election day. Shea, McGough, and one or two other particular friends of Dunlop were very greatly interested in the latter's success, "and so far," says the judicial summary of the matter, "did they carry their interest that during election day they carried on, as leaders and conductors of a ruffianism, the most open, shameless, and reckless system of fraudulent voting, by means of repeating and by false personation of legal voters, that has ever come to our notice." These proceedings can not be more concisely or clearly described than in this passage from the court's decision:

"Fraud as a means or measure of concealment was not resorted to. The names and residences of reputable and well-known citizens were openly taken, called out to the inspectors of election, and voted on by these miscreants, while the citizens

themselves whose names were thus taken were in the booths preparing their ballots, and in some instances the citizen would come out of the booth to protest against his name being used by such person, but no weight was given to the protest, and when challenged these repeaters swore in their votes under the names thus taken. A line of legal voters, formed for the purpose of voting in their proper form, would be broken, and this 'bunch' of rascals would get to the polls and each deposit a ballot and retire, only to repeat the performance at the same poll in a short time. This was particularly the case at the first election district of the ward, and the defendant and friends acted as the captains and directors of the men who were personally doing the repeating, conducting them to the polls from a saloon near by and gathering them again in time for another raid."

The conduct of Shea and his friend impressed the judges of the highest court as "almost beyond belief," and the decision says that, were it not for the fact that it had been testified to by numerous witnesses, who were reputable business men and entitled to credit, they would have had great hesitation in accepting the narrative as true, since "the reckless audacity displayed in the commission of these offenses would of itself lead us to doubt whether any one would be willing to run such risks as to thus openly violate the law in the presence of so many reputable and decent men." But the facts were established "by evidence which is simply overwhelming."

Four brothers named Ross, all of them good citizens and engaged in the manufacturing business, had been deeply interested in this contest from the start. They represented the decent republican element in the ward, which opposed an alliance with the democratic machine. They had supported Haneox in the disorderly caucus, and they resolved to do all that they could to secure his success on election day. Like Shea, they expected trouble at the polls, and armed themselves with clubs, while some of their associates had pistols also. Early on election day the Ross brothers went to the polling place in the third district of the ward. During the forenoon Shea and some others of his party appeared, and on one occasion commenced to quarrel with one of the Ross party, and struck one or two in the face, "but nothing serious then occurred." About noon Shea, McGough, and half-a-dozen others returned, and on their way were heard to utter threats to "do them," that they were strong enough, and that they should "come on," "to hell with them," and such expressions. One of the party passed into the room, assumed the name of William Armstrong, of No. 51 Glen avenue, claimed the right to vote as such, while the real William Armstrong was preparing his ballot, and actually voted on that name. Other efforts to repeat were made by the Shea crowd, leading to an affray, during which McGough and William Ross came together, and the former shot the latter. Robert Ross started in pursuit of McGough, overtook him, they both fell, and while Robert was bending over, Shea walked up behind, deliberately shot him in the back of the head, and then walked around and fired at him in front, the first shot causing instant death.

These facts were conclusively established. The only defence was an obviously absurd claim that Boland, one of the Ross party, had fired the fatal shot at his friend, supported only by witnesses of whom some had served in the penitentiary, "and not one seems to have been a steady worker at anything other than frequenting saloons and passing his time in such pursuits as are usually followed there." Shea ran away, but was soon caught. His indictment for murder speedily followed. The local prosecuting authorities being distrusted, the case was placed in charge of an assistant district attorney, to assist whom an eminent lawyer was appointed. The jury

found Shea guilty of murder. The case was taken on appeal to the general term, which sustained the trial court. Appeal was then taken to the highest court in the state, which has just overruled all the objections and affirmed the verdict, so that the murderer must now be executed.

In the course of the decision Judge Peckham, who spoke for the court, said:

"It does not appear nor is it important to know to what political party the defendant belonged. Such men have no politics. As the soldiers of fortune of a bygone age fought, so these repeaters vote for the candidate who pays them. The repeater is the modern pirate, an enemy of organized and civilized society, and it is the duty of all parties to assist the officers of the law in the prompt punishment of the guilty."

Are the citizens of Troy to continue their submission to Murphy or are they in disregard of party loyalty to vote to overthrow him?

Further, shall self-respecting citizens be asked to vote for the candidates for the New York legislature, whose biographies we reprint from the New York *Evening Post*, a paper of financial standing:

Timothy D. Sullivan (Tam.)—Generally known as "Dry Dollar;" professional politician, formerly a liquor dealer; one of the very worst of Tammany's legislative galaxy; was elected to the assembly seven times, and elected to the last senate; has been a preposterous legislator, being regarded as a notorious lobbyist and an introducer of "strike" measures; was recognized leader of the "Black horse cavalry;" in 1893 the most audacious colonization frauds were practised in his district; at his own polling-place there were many warrants for repeaters; several were sentenced to prison for ballot frauds; Inspector Byrnes in 1889 charged that he was the associate of thieves; has been engaged in street brawls, and has been described by the city reform club as "a typical New York tough."

Alexander S. Williams (rep. and state dem.)—Ex-policeman, rising through the grades to an inspectorship; was retired at a secret session of the board; is a man of brutal instinct and known as "Clubber" Williams; was deeply smirched by the Lexow investigation; during his captaincy in the "tenderloin" precinct the system of police blackmail and protected vice, revealed by the investigation, attained its rankest growth; during his inspectorship, which gave him control of east side precincts, vice was never so open; during the investigation Capt. Schmittberger swore as follows: Q. "Did you give any part of 80 per cent. (blackmail money) to any one? A. I did. Q. To whom? A. To Inspector Williams. * * * I went to him and handed him the money. The first time it was \$50. I gave it to him at headquarters." He stands as the official candidate of the state democracy through a "deal" made with "Jakey" Kunzenman and "Fatty" Grote, but his candidacy has been repudiated by the state democracy.

Charles Smith (Tam.)—Liquor-dealer; known as "Silver Dollar" Smith; has served several times in the assembly, being one of the worst men ever sent there; he has been arrested four times, three times for brutal assault, once for bribery; was indicted for bribery, but escaped conviction by a disagreement of the jury; during the senate inquiry it was shown that he was a trafficker in bail bonds, and that he "ran things" at Essex market police court, having many poor victims at his mercy; was recently tried on a charge of wrecking a saloon of a rival and stabbing him, but was acquitted.

William F. Grote (state dem. and rep.)—Liquor-dealer; known as "Fatty" Grote; a man of absolute unfitness; has been arrested no less than nineteen times for various offenses, beginning with his arrest and conviction for burglary in 1868, and ranging down to arrests for stealing, assault and disorderly conduct; unsuccessful Tammany candidate for alderman in 1889; state democracy candidate for alderman in 1891, and state democracy candi-

date for assembly last year; made a "deal" for exchange of support with ex-Inspector Williams, republican, but was compelled by his organization to repudiate it, although the official indorsement stands.

THE GENTLEMAN IN POLITICS.

Tammany has understood the necessity of putting up an occasional "decoy" in office. Here and there it has set up as judge or as a single member of a board some notable figure with the backing of an honorable family, social distinction and great personal respectability. This "gentleman in politics" they point to when obliged to meet any charges of malfeasance or corruption, as *prima facie* evidence that the charges must be malicious. This decoy also makes himself useful in answering charges. His education and his respectability are extraordinarily valuable at these critical junctures. At a recent investigation of the late Tammany dock board the official stenographic records of their executive sessions were disclosed. The board consisted of Andy White and the "gentleman," Mr. Cram, the son of an eminent father, himself a graduate of Harvard college and a man of means, and "yet he has for two or three years been associating intimately, night and day, with a lot of thieves, cheats and ruffians. Moreover, whenever they were near being found out, they were in the habit of coming forward and saying, "Look at Cram. Cram would not be with us if we were doing anything wrong."

As is stated, these stenographic reports give a life-like and authentic picture of these Tammany worthies "at work" on the business of a great department of the municipal government.

"Session after session was given up mainly, not to a discussion of the best methods for caring for the water-front of a great city, but to wrangle about "pulls" and getting the "men" of Croker and other Tammany magnates upon the pay-rolls of the department. Mr. Cram, as the president of the board, was always the guiding mind in its deliberations. He declared under oath yesterday that "politics never influenced him in the discharge of my (his) duties," and that he was "perfectly satisfied" with his conduct in the board. He also remarked that he thought the citations from the records were "trivial," and that the examination to which the commissioners subjected him was "very foolish." Yet these trivial citations showed that Cram had no other idea of his position than to use it, absolutely without decency, for Tammany politics. The key to his official conduct was given by himself at a meeting of the board on June 22, 1893, when the board was "discussing" the usefulness of an employe named Dennis O'Brien, in whose place it was proposed to appoint some else. The record reads:

President Cram—Dennis O'Brien is my man. Why should you put on anybody?

Engineer—He is a very bad man.

President Cram—Ten days is all he will get; I don't care if he is the devil.

Engineer—Suppose we give him twenty days?

President Cram—I appointed him for Richard Croker.

On the same day a similar question arose about one Tracy, and the record proceeds:

President Cram—Give him \$15 a week; it simplifies the account.

Engineer—A good-for-nothing fellow; I want to get rid of him as soon as I can. He is one of the poorest men I have out there.

President Cram—I appointed him for Fox. Shall we lay it over a week?

Commissioner White—Yes.

Perhaps the most notable achievement of Cram in behalf of anybody was performed in the case of Patrick McCann. On January 21, 1893, the chief engineer formally recommended the discharge of McCann for "general inefficiency and worthlessness," and at the executive session of February 9 following, the subjoined "debate" occurred:

Commissioner Phelan—What about Pat McCann?

President Cram—Reinstate him.

Engineer—There isn't any place for him.

President Cram—Then you have got to find one.

Engineer—He is the most useless whelp there is on the water-front.

And at the executive session of November 23 following, McCann reappeared as follows:

Secretary—You won't forget McCann?

Commissioner Phelan—McCann? That is the worst man in the department.

Commissioner White—What is the matter with him?

Commissioner Phelan—It would take too long; he does everything.

Commissioner White—What did he do?

Commissioner Phelan—He is a laborer in the eleventh district.

Engineer—He used to get drunk and leave his gang, go up street and play polley; then you would have to hunt for him. We got so we could find him quick in the policy shops up street.

Commissioner Phelan—He used to have an association and compel all of his men to join and pay fifty cents a week to his association; levied assessments on his men.

Engineer—Mr. Cram has kept him in here for years against everybody's protest and everybody's request, except Mr. Docharty's.

These are accurate specimens of the usual executive sessions, and a perfectly fair sample of Cram's methods. He was always ready to recognize any Tammany man's pull, from Croker down through Comptroller Fitch, Jos. J. O'Donohue and Sulzer, to Mike Daly. When a question arose on June 29, 1893, as to why an unsatisfactory man was retained, Cram answered: "He was appointed for Michael Daly," and added that he had a "pull," * * * because "Daly is personally interested in him, and he is also in Dalton's district." At the same session Cram announced "frankly" that "Sulzer has brought into my room about 500 laborers," and added: "I move that Frank M. Donohue be given \$15 a week. He writes beautifully." No man was treated with more deference by Cram than Seannell, the murderer. On August 7, 1893, the records contain these passages:

President Cram—I think we will have to dismiss all of the employes of the department from the eleventh assembly district unless they bring letters from Seannell. Hereafter you must have a letter from Seannell before I will appoint anybody. I don't know whether he wants John O'Brien—he wants two or three men discharged. I hate to discharge laborers, except for cause; but he says that John O'Brien, who is a very decent old man, was appointed without his request.

President Cram—Hereafter, I won't appoint any one unless he brings a letter from Seannell. You can put Michael O'Keefe in place of John O'Brien.

Another great power was Senator Plunkitt, to whom the board could refuse nothing. He appeared on October 27, 1892, and asked the board to pay \$180,000 for some property which it was to take for the city. The manner in

which the board reached a decision is very edifying:

President Cram—I move that the offer to sell be amended by making it \$175,000, and then be accepted.

Senator Plunkitt—I think it is very cheap for the city of New York at \$180,000, I do. I have been in this section of the city all my life.

Commissioner ————What offer has been made by the department for that property?

Senator Plunkitt—No offer has been made.

Commissioner Phelan—The matter was referred to you and me. So far as I am concerned I am willing to refer it back to the board without any report.

President Cram—I move that the offer be accepted, with that amendment, making it \$175,000.

Commissioner ————We ought to have the boundaries of the property, knowing exactly what and where it is.

Senator Plunkitt—There is a map here, sir, which shows all of that grant. I think they ought to get \$150,000.

President Cram—Will you take \$175,000?

Senator Plunkitt—I think they ought to get \$180,000 upon my word; I don't think your people ought to crowd them, gentlemen.

President Cram—There is no use in asking more than the sinking fund will approve, and \$175,000 is a more symmetrical sum. I will have to go before the sinking fund and explain this, and where will we put the \$5,000 in?

His own view of the condition of the service of the department was given with great frankness at a meeting on June 1, 1893, when the following conversation between him and his colleague, "Judge" Andy White, is recorded:

President Cram—I tell you, really, judge, as I told Croker the other day, we have got about eight or ten masters who are neglecting their work—at least two-thirds.

Commissioner White—I don't think we have got but two or three of them in the whole lot that are worth a cent.

A similar conversation occurred on July 20, of the same year:

President Cram—Peter Snedden is a very good man.

Engineer—He won't stay on his work, Mr. Cram.

Commissioner White—I think you have got more statesmen in this department than anywhere I ever saw.

President Cram—Snedden is a very fine man.

Commissioner White—I gave you a very good man the other day, Foley.

President Cram—I put him in place of one of my men; I got the man in for Charles Dayton; Snedden put him back.

Engineer—He only watches Sunday; he is not a watchman.

President Cram—There is no objection to that; he will stay on. You will have to try him. Put him back. He is one of the very best statesmen.

We will close our extracts with the following samples of the general "tone" of Cram as the president of the board:

September 13, 1894. President Cram—I am willing to compromise, but Farrell can not go unless Hughes too. I would like to give him another chance. It seems rather hard if they only took a drink on a wet day.

Mr. Parker—They went off and left their work. You can't depend on that Farrell; he has been laid off a dozen times; he is fonder of

President Cram—That shows good taste; shows he is a gentleman by instinct.

September 25, 1893. President Cram—What pull has he got? There is nobody there that we want.

Engineer—We have looked over those men; they are all pretty good men; the best one is Mr. Murphy.

President Cram—Well, who in hell is Murphy? He may be a republican for all I know. Let him go to McClellan. The first endorser is from Croton, N. Y. Tell him to bring a letter from Mr. Purroy and Mr. Docharty. I move that it be tabled.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF BOSSES.

The republican county convention was recently held, and among the nominations made was that of W. P. L. Stafford for county judge and surrogate. How he secured the nomination is told by the *Albion Free Lance*, a republican newspaper, which says that at the republican caucus in that town Stafford's lieutenants brought in groups of half a dozen democrats, guarded them up to the box, and saw that they cast Stafford ballots; that "one of Stafford's hardest workers and closest adherents admitted to us that they were voting Democrats."—*New York Evening Post*, October 9.

The appeal of Kentucky republicans to the party at large to lend assistance in a financial way for legitimate campaign expenses was heeded in Indiana and some money was forwarded from a number of counties to the treasurer of the Kentucky committee. Joseph I. Irwin, one of the rich men and one of the party leaders of Bartholomew county, carried, personally, to the treasurer \$94, contributed in Columbus, by general subscription. Each donor received a lithograph receipt. Mr. Irwin says that when he handed over the money to the committee he was informed that Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, had forwarded \$1,000 by personal check, but that he had asked that no part of the money be used to defeat Senator Blackburn.—*Indianapolis Journal*, November 8.

The evidence taken before the Oneida grand jury issued to indicate that money was sent by Henry D. Purroy of Tammany Hall to Dave Dishler, Hill leader, and Thomas Wheeler, Platt leader, to be used in securing the nomination of Henry J. Coggeshall, renegade, by the Oneida republicans. If such a pooling of interests between Hillites and Plattites should be proved, it would be something for republicans throughout the state to think over.—*Buffalo Express*, October 23.

The *Mail* pointedly observes: The republican county committee is in the hands of incompetents, traders and self-seekers in politics. It does not now and, unless differently officered, never can command the confidence of the community.—*Buffalo Express*, November 18.

THE GRIND.

Warden Harley, of the Northern prison, says that his institution is now controlled almost exclusively by republicans. At a meeting of the board of directors Tuesday night all of the democratic guards were let out and republicans appointed to the vacancies.—*Indianapolis Journal*, September 6.

The Marion county institute passed resolutions this afternoon favoring the establishment of civil service rules governing the employment of teachers in the common schools. Superintendent Flick says that after many years' experience in looking after schools, he is convinced that nothing would do more to elevate the common schools than the establishment of rules of civil service.—*Indianapolis News*, September.

"To the Hon. A. H. Taylor, Petersburg, Ind.:

"DEAR SIR—Your communication of the—date, relative to the appointment of John Surrant as postmaster at Surrant, Pike county, Ind., has been received. On March 13, 1893, you recommended Felix G. Dearing, for postmaster at Surrant, Ind. Will you kindly notify the department which of the candidates you prefer?

Very respectfully,

"R. O. MAXWELL,

"Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General.

"Washington, D. C., June 21."

* * *

The New York civil service commission has granted the request of Mayor Green of this city to place Jamestown in the list of civil service cities. All the appointive offices of the city will now be filled after an examination, except the heads of departments and clerks who have the handling of public funds.—*Jamestown (N. Y.) Dispatch*, August 30.

* * *

The state civil service commission has written to the board of supervisors of Kings county in approval of the board's plan for providing a county civil service commission, to have jurisdiction over employes on the public works of Kings county. Over \$3,000,000 is to be expended on county works beyond the jurisdiction of the Brooklyn civil service commission. This is the only board of supervisors in the state to take such action.—*Albany dispatch*, *New York Times*, July 31.

* * *

Thirty consecutive years in the service as a letter carrier and not one complaint in all that time, is the record of Wm. H. James, of Rochester, N. Y.

He was appointed by Postmaster S. W. Updyke, on May 7, 1865. Rochester was a small city at that time, and but nine carriers were employed. Of that number Mr. James alone has withstood the ravages of time and removal, and can justly claim the title of being the oldest letter carrier in point of service in the United States. The fifty-eight years of a busy life rest lightly upon him, and there are few men in the Rochester post-office who answer more regularly to roll-call than he. Upright in character and of sterling integrity, Mr. James numbers his friends by the legion, and his pleasant home where he has lived for thirty-two years is filled with many interesting and valuable relics of Uncle Sam's postal service. It is needless to say that the letter carriers of Rochester are proud of him, proud of his record as a letter carrier and as a man, and sincerely hope that he may be granted many more years of life and usefulness.—*Postal Record for May*.

* * *

The printers of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, have expelled ex-President John L. Kennedy, for unbecoming conduct in writing an article for the Dayton, Ohio, *Journal*, censuring public printer Benedict for the adoption of civil service rules in the government printing office. The vote on expulsion was 184 to 66.—*Washington dispatch*, September 16.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 34.

INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER, 1895.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE Taggart administration in this city has continued its disregard for law with characteristic impudence. It has continued to quarter upon the public treasury a large number of men who are not legally in the employ of the city, and the payment of money to whom is an unlawful use of public funds. The quality of some of the men who are thus loaded upon the city was indicated in the following extract from the report of the committee of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, published in the CHRONICLE last month, the statements of which there has not been the least pretense of denying:

"Among the new appointees was one who had been dismissed from the police force under a charge of levying blackmail on fallen women; another who had been refused an appointment formerly on the ground that he had been running a crap game, and who had once been in the police court for assault and battery; another who had been arrested for assault and battery; another who was known as a drunkard; another who, while on the police force, had been charged with borrowing money from a keeper of a house of ill-fame, and who had afterwards been dismissed; another who had been dismissed from the police force for insubordination and for leaving his post when on duty; another who had been dismissed for sleeping while on duty; another who is ruptured and is physically unfit to be a patrolman, and others still, the reasons for whose appointment can only be found in their having been active workers for the election of Mayor Taggart. One of the improper appointees is a relative of Police Commissioner Mack."

DURING the month Mayor Taggart and his heads of departments met together and repealed the civil service rules. Nothing was substituted therefor except a general reference of appointments to the heads of departments. It is but fair to say that these men did not regard the matter seriously. They are wholly ignorant of the widespread movement for a revolution in the conduct of municipal affairs, and they

would not want to join such a movement if they knew of it. They regarded it as a good joke to kick all "civil service nonsense" out of the government of this city. There never was a more insolent and reckless disregard of law and public sentiment. The law requires that the mayor and the heads of departments, meeting together, shall adopt rules for the employment of persons by the city, except in the fire and police departments, and that such rules shall be competitive. They meet together and repeal a good set of rules then in force and substitute none in their place. There has been nothing like this since a member of the police board under a former democratic administration publicly declared for the toleration of open gambling-rooms because they brought business and gave a metropolitan air to Indianapolis. This action will doubtless help Taggart with the Indiana democratic machine in securing the nomination for governor next year, as a similar attitude enabled P. C. Trusler recently to secure a republican nomination for mayor of this city, but the Trusler incident shows that the voters at the election may differ radically with the machine at the convention.

When this matter is fully understood there is no occasion for surprise. The men in control of the democratic party in this city, with one or two exceptions, are, and have been, engaged in politics for the money which it directly or indirectly brings them. Mayor Taggart was a restaurant keeper and was elected auditor of this county, and held the place until it made him, in a small way, rich. In his first canvass for election, he was the constant political companion of John E. Sullivan, the candidate for county clerk, who was one of the most corrupt and corrupting politicians that ever lived in Indianapolis.

During all the years Taggart held the office of auditor, he probably did not give an hour a week to the duties of his office, but did the work by deputies. The office was to him simply a source from which to draw emoluments. It is not to be expected that such a man would have very high political ideas, nor has he. A study of the men who have influence with Taggart as advisers, or who, for one reason or another, have a pull with him, shows that there is not a single one who

has any desire for improved transaction of public business. Some of them have held good offices and made money out of them. Others have large financial interests which are affected by the way the laws are enforced. Others are looking to offices in the future and want to quarter henchmen upon the city. These men are ready to sacrifice everything in the way of good administration of the city to the particular ends of their selfishness. What is said here of the city, is true also of the controlling democratic elements of the state. They like the Voorhees stamp and do not want any better. There was a time when Mr. Morss first became owner of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, when it seemed that under the leadership of that paper there was to be a decided elevation of democratic standards. But Mr. Morss received an office and the paper has dropped back to a position little, if any, in advance of the old *Sentinel*, and views the treachery of Taggart in this city with complacency. Evidently, the democratic party in Indiana has not been drubbed enough.

INDIANAPOLIS has had recently a number of serious fires which led the board of trade to appoint a committee to overhaul the fire department. The committee found a lack of discipline in the department and recommended that the board give the chief more power. The remedy to be of any use needs to go much deeper than that. We have a system by which a man must declare that he is either a republican or a democrat before he can get employment. He then gets employment, not on his merits but by a pull. The system has loaded and loads the department with politicians and favorites and will continue to do so. If the board should make a rule giving the chief more power there would be a string to it, and the chief would not dare to exercise the power. Nothing may be expected of a city administration which brazenly and flippantly tramples the law under foot as the present one does. The committee should have recommended that the general assembly be asked to place the service of this city upon the merit system so that if any man desires employment in the fire department he may go and compete for it physically and mentally, and so that if he outstrip his competitors he may get his place without dependence upon the

petty politicians who now disgrace the government of this city. The law should further provide for the dismissal of any fireman by the chief for cause stated in writing, and by that is not meant a dishonest and tricky evasion by stating "incompetent" as the cause, such as our same city officials now resort to.

If the Springfield *Republican* wants the next democratic candidate for the Presidency taken from Mr. Cleveland's cabinet, it would be much better for the public if it dropped Olney, and took up Postmaster-General Wilson. In the latter's recent report, he comes nearer to rock-bottom in stating the principles which should govern the postal service and regulate the transaction of public business and in carrying them out than any other man who has ever occupied his office. It begins to seem strange that it has required argument to convince the people that two of his assistants, each charged with expending over forty millions annually, together with the management and discipline of tens of thousands of employes, should have a tenure not depending upon Gorman-Quay-Platt-Voorhees politics. Speaking of the recent order providing for the transfer of post-offices into the classified service, he says:

The order * * may be accepted as the beginning and foundation not only of a better postal service of the public, a better and more business-like accounting to this department, but also a wise extension of the civil service system to postmasters. It is my purpose to proceed under the authority of this order as discreetly as I can, and in the long run as far as experience will justify, so as to secure these commendable results.

It has been easy enough in the past to make orders, but here is a high executive officer intent upon execution. All this emphasizes what the CHRONICLE said last month, that the battle of civil service reform has been won and it is now only a question of putting the methods into operation. The report of the secretary of the interior, Hoke Smith, sounds a similar note of progress in the flat recommendation that the tenure of office of an Indian agent "should be conditioned alone upon the faithful discharge of his duties," and that "the classified service be extended over all the subordinate positions both at the agencies and at the schools." In the same line are the acts of Secretary Morton in putting everything in the department of agriculture under the rules. Is it not about time that the democratic party of Indiana shook off its Voorheeses and Taggarts and began to show some appreciation of the progress which its national administration is making?

Boston has just elected Josiah Quincy mayor by over 4,000 majority. Doubtless

Boston would warmly resent the insinuation that this was to be taken as an indorsement of Quincy's loot of the consulships, or of his unfortunate connection with a printing contract while he was assistant secretary of state. He went out of that office wholly discredited and, as Mr. Dana Estes says, with a national reputation as a spoilsman. It is more than probable that there was a large element of forgiveness in his election as mayor and a disposition to give him another chance. What he will do with this chance is now to be seen. If he should return to the course which his name and his former professions gave expectation of, he would radically disappoint the conference of Indiana democrats presided over by Mayor Taggart of this city, who the other day telegraphed him congratulations upon his election. Whenever a democrat achieves an ignoble notoriety in politics, any success which seems to "vindicate" him is sure of the warmest congratulations of the controlling democratic elements of Indiana. Their notion of a public official is one who goes in "for all there is in it" for himself and friends. If Quincy now honestly enforces the merit and labor service systems in the city of Boston, instead of deliberately breaking the law, as Taggart does, these Indiana democrats will say he is not the man they took him for.

In the *Chautauquan* for October there is a forcible illustration of the unhappy barrenness of moral teachers as to political morality, a fact often pointed out by the CHRONICLE. The *Chautauquan* has some pages of "Current History and Opinion," for the reading of which it offers a reward. In October a page and a half of these was devoted to Quay and consisted in setting out a picture of him with an editorial insinuation that in his recent struggle he was fighting the battle of his life over "the burning question of reform in city government." It follows this with fourteen extracts from newspapers over the country. These all give the impression that Quay is a patriot in the sense that George William Curtis was, and that added to this patriotism is a consummate skill as a political manager. In fact he is known to all men as one of the most dangerous and corrupt men that ever engaged in American politics. He has repeatedly been accused by newspapers of having stolen a large sum of money from the public treasury. These newspapers were of such financial standing that they would have had to respond to any amount of damages assessed by the jury and they challenged Quay to a trial and he has never dared to take up the challenge. What do men of ordinary judgment say of such a set of facts? It is not easy to decide whether

Quay or the clerical editor of these pages of the *Chautauquan* deserves the greater public censure and contempt.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League was held in Washington the 12th and 13th of this month and shows greater strength and vigor than ever. In his address Mr. Schurz again reached his highest mark and set the boss before the American people in a lasting aspect. His address has an added interest because it follows his recent stand against Tammany Hall in New York—a stand which required the highest civic courage and was a triumph which fittingly ranges with a long line of similar civic triumphs in Mr. Schurz's career.

It is to be regretted that the limits of the CHRONICLE permit only excerpts. The resolutions have not been received, but the CHRONICLE gives extracts from all of the papers which have reached it.

THE BOSS, THE MONARCH OF THE REPUBLIC.

[From Mr. Schurz's Address.]

There has actually been such a monarchy on a small scale in existence among us. I have seen it in operation and so have many of my hearers. We have witnessed in the greatest city of the United States one man wielding the powers of municipal government like a monarch, in some respects like an absolute monarch, too. Standing at the head of a pretended political organization ruled by him with autocratic power, he made appointments and dismissals in the public service of the city by merely issuing his orders. He determined what candidates for office should within his dominion be submitted to the popular vote, and his followers with prompt obedience enforced his pleasure. He gave audience to citizens having business with the municipal government, and either granted or refused their petitions like a sovereign. He ordered his agents in the legislature of the state to pass this bill or to defeat the other bill, and it was done. Citizens became accustomed to approach him as supplicants approach a king. Aside from the public taxes for his municipal government he levied a separate revenue, the payment of which could not be refused without danger—a sort of civil list, partly under the euphonic title of "campaign funds," partly without any euphony—for the use of which he never thought of accounting. He grew rich in a marvelously short time, and when a popular uprising against his rule broke out which threatened to become too formidable to resist, he abdicated and withdrew to his estates.

This was monarchy—not, indeed, a monarchy surrounded by the pomp of a court of nobles with ancient names, escutcheons, and

gold lace, and ribbons, and stars, and crosses—rather a very vulgar sort of monarchy whose vassals and high dignitaries were a mayor and police commissioners and heads of municipal departments, and district leaders and ward politicians, with names and antecedents and manners and social standing anything but aristocratic—but a monarchy for all that with most of the essential attributes. To be sure the title of this monarch was not that of king, but that of “boss”—but a boss clad with regal power which he exercised with arbitrary authority until, like some French kings, he had to yield to a popular upheaval amounting to a revolution. Such things happened, as every one acquainted with the history of Tammany Hall knows, in this very republic; and if we speculate upon the manner in which monarchy, not in name, but in fact, may rise up among us, here is the living example.

THE BOSS.

The development of political bossism into something like actual monarchy is, to be sure, an extreme case. But all political bossism has a tendency in that direction. When in a political party the selfish element obtains controlling influence, it will, for mutual benefit, naturally seek to organize itself into what we call a machine; and machine rule will usually, for the more certain attainment of its selfish ends through united and well-regulated action, drift into more or less irresponsible one-man rule—the one man to rule the machine for its and his benefit, to rule through the machine the party organization, and to rule through the party organization, as the case may be, the municipality or the state. And this rule he does not exercise by bringing his fellow-citizens, through persuasion, to his own way of thinking, if indeed he have any, with regard to principles or policies, or measures touching the public interest, but by distributing among the selfish politicians composing his organized corps of mercenaries, in the true feudal fashion, as rewards for services rendered, or as inducements for services to be rendered, things of value, such as public offices with their emoluments and opportunities, which things of value do not belong to him, but to the public, he doling them out among his henchmen, not for the benefit of the public, but for his and their own.

How far the aspirations of bossism, thus established, are already reaching, found recently a curious illustration in the newspaper report that some of the state bosses, not content with their local autocracy, met together in conference to agree upon certain persons to be put forward as candidates for the Presidency of the United States—just as in the old times of the German empire the princes wearing the high dignity and power of “electors” met together to agree upon a selection for the imperial crown. Equally striking was another piece of news going through the press, that when the boss of one state was hard pressed in an election by an uprising of citizens im-

pudently wishing to govern themselves, the boss of another state, although not of the same party, but inspired by a feeling of common interest and of comradeship, sent a strong troop of his own experienced and fearless repeaters to aid the struggling brother boss at the polls—just as the czar of Russia in 1849, when the emperor of Austria was in danger from the Hungarian revolutionists, sent his hard-pressed brother-emperor a Russian army to help him subdue the insurgent subjects and save the monarchical authority. Even if these stories had been wholly invented by newspaper reporters, yet it would be a significant sign of the times that they were generally believed as entirely natural occurrences. And as to their naturalness, given the premises, there can be no doubt.

THE CONGRESSMAN.

In this manner weeks and weeks pass after the incoming of the new administration, and still our friend has on his hands a formidable number of pursuers to whom he has promised “something equally as good,” and others, too, to whom he has promised nothing, but whom he thinks he can not afford to offend by blunt refusals. Some have left Washington, but flood him with letters. Others have staid and indomitably dog his steps. Some owe boarding bills in Washington, and have no money left for the home journey. In his despair he pays their bills, and buys them their railroad tickets, to deliver himself of the insufferable infliction, promising to move heaven and earth for them in their absence. But there are a few who still have funds and will not go, and from them the wretched statesman, jaded and disgusted, at last runs away himself and hurries home. But there he finds no rest. Incessantly he is pestered by the reproaches of the disappointed, and by the impatience of those who are still expectants. He begins to doubt whether the patronage business has not made him more enemies than friends. Fortunate he is if he does not find himself forced to run away once more without leaving his address behind, into some solitude far from the madding crowd. And yet he may have to fear that quiet solitude more than the distracting bustle he has escaped; for it will bring to him moments of self-contemplation, when memories will rise up before him of promises made to be broken, of confidence invited to be betrayed, and of honor and self-respect lost never to be retrieved. And yet, of the political debts which the spoils system seduced him to contract, only the most pressing have been paid.

So far he has gone only through the experience of the first months after the incoming of the new administration while Congress was not in session. The time arrives for Congress to meet, and now he thinks he will atone for it all by giving his whole soul to that duty for the performance of which he really was elected. But, alas! the old torment will not let him go. The men with claims who have not been provided for are still dogging his heels, or mercilessly pelting him with letters, and like,

an errand boy, they keep him running from department to department. Every new chance opening revives the pressure. The work is never, never done; and although it abates somewhat, it continues to trench most severely on the time, working power, and good humor which should wholly belong to the legislator's real duty.

Well, our friend tries hard to do the best he can under the circumstances, and flatters himself with the belief that he has at least this political home machine tolerably well arranged. But new complications arise. One of the office-holders appointed upon his recommendation so grossly misconducts himself as to make his removal imperative. There is no doubt as to the facts. But the delinquent public servant calls upon his congressional patron for protection. Has he not a right to do so? Has he not been appointed simply by way of reward for services rendered to the member of congress? Has he ever been expected by his patron to earn his salary by downright hard work for the public? Was he not rather to have “a good time” while in office, and to make out of it what he could? And now because he did so he is to lose the reward he had earned, and to be disgraced by removal to boot? Will the congressional patron leave his friend in the lurch? Our friend is a little puzzled at first. In spite of the many rebuffs it has suffered the old conscience speaks once more. Does his sense of duty permit him to endeavor to keep in office, to the evident detriment of the service and of the public interest, a man he knows to have proved himself unworthy? But there is also another voice speaking to him. Has not this unworthy public servant friends or relatives who exercise influence in his district? True, he ought never to have recommended this man for office, but can he now afford to make enemies of him and his clan? True, the integrity of the service and the public interest are entitled to consideration; but can he afford that consideration when one of his appointees is concerned, and he himself has so much at stake? Well, he seeks to have the removal recalled. He does not find a willing ear. He begs, he protests, he blusters, he threatens, he entreats, he implores the administration to do a thing which he knows it can not do without being false to its public duty.

But still other complications come to plague him. The administration follows some policy which he feels himself in conscience bound to oppose; or vicious practices are discovered in some government department which his sense of duty commands him to denounce. His first impulse is to obey that command. But has he not appeared before the President and before the department chiefs, as a petitioner for favors in the shape of offices for his friends? Will he not have to solicit similar favors again, and if he criticises and opposes the administration, will it not have the power not only to refuse further favors needed by him, but even to remove the persons appointed upon his recommendation? Nay, may not thos

very persons, his political retainers, the members of his home machine, if he opposes the administration, turn against him and denounce him as a mugwump and a renegade, for the purpose of winning the favor of the administration, and of thus saving their own necks? He keenly feels that here his moral independence as a legislator is at stake—that moral independence which, if he is to do his duty to his country, can never be surrendered. But can he afford to maintain it at the risk of losing all the dearly-bought results of the management of the patronage in his district, and even of turning his own handiwork against himself? No—unless there be in him some of the stuff of which martyrs are made, the moral independence of the legislator will die as a sacrifice at the shrine of that patronage. And to many legislators making that sacrifice, it will hardly occur that it bears all the features of a bargain essentially corrupt.

* * * * *

It was in a magazine article written by Gen. Jacob D. Cox, ex-secretary of the interior, that I first found a description of senators and members of the house of representatives personally introducing to a cabinet minister constituents of theirs as candidates for certain places, extolling the merits of those constituents in the warmest language, and with apparently earnest eloquence urging their appointment, while the cabinet minister had in his desk notes from the same statesmen cautioning him not to pay any regard to their recommendations. I must confess that this startled me. Being at that time a member of the senate myself, I inquired of two cabinet ministers then in office whether any instance of such duplicity had ever come to their own personal notice. The answer was that indeed they had, and they were by no means infrequent. But I have not to depend upon other men's testimony; for a few years later I myself, sitting behind my desk as secretary of the interior, looked into the eyes of senators and representatives who played before me the same ignoble trick, and into the eyes of their confiding victims—and I did not know whom to pity most, the deceiver or the deceived. If there is anything I have to be sorry for it is that I contented myself by disregarding their recommendations altogether instead of uncovering the dastardly fraud on the spot.

* * * * *

The post-offices scattered by thousands all over the land have done more than anything else to keep alive the spoils idea among our people. More than anything else they have been the prizes fought for in national contests by local politicians. More than anything else they have served to demoralize the public mind with the notion that a change of party in power must mean a partisan change in all the offices, and thus to turn our party contests into scrambles for plunder. It is no exaggeration to say that the post-office used as party spoil has been the bane of American politics. It has especially been the curse of the member of congress, hounding, tormenting, and degrad-

ing him every day of his official life. To be rid of that curse will be to him a true deliverance. Every post-office the disposal of which he loses will be so much gain to his working power, to his freedom and moral independence, to his usefulness and dignity as a legislator. He will, therefore not only do the utmost in his power to aid the postmaster-general in the work of reorganizing the postal service according to the President's order, but he will zealously promote the passage of a law bringing under effective civil service rules those post-offices which the President's order cannot reach. He will contribute to this result all the more gladly as, with the postal service taken out of party politics, the greatest citadel of the spoils system will have fallen.

A YEAR'S PROGRESS.

At our last annual meeting, I spoke of the remarkable strength the civil-service reform movement had gained in public sentiment. I am happy to add now that the growth of that strength has continued. It was strikingly manifested by the overwhelming popular majority by which the merit system was adopted for the municipal government of Chicago, and by its successful introduction. Efforts are being made in various other places to follow this great example. We have, indeed, to deplore two concurrences, which show that the spoils politicians have by no means given up the battle, but still strive to recover what they have lost. One of these occurrences is the passage by the legislature of Massachusetts, in spite of the governor's spirited resistance, of a law striking a vicious blow at the integrity of the merit system in the public service in that state, and at the same time to the honor and the true interests of the war veterans. And the other is the utterly lawless conduct of the mayor of Indianapolis, who has simply declared himself not bound by the provisions of the city charter prescribing the introduction of the merit system in the municipal service. Such things admonish us that militant watchfulness must still be the order of the day in the reform camp. I am glad to say that in Massachusetts the constitutionality of the obnoxious law is ably contested in the courts; and we all know that the champions of civil-service reform in Indiana are of too militant a spirit to let the refractory mayor sleep on his spoils laurels in comfort.

On the other hand, in the state of New York, and in its great cities, the reform system has made most cheering progress. The embodiment in the state constitution of the civil-service reform clause, and its faithful observance by the governor, the mayors of the great municipalities, and the respective civil-service boards, have caused a very large extension of civil-service rules and a vigorous enforcement of them. One of the most important features of that progress consists in the adoption and the successful operation in the large cities of the labor-registration system, which rescues the laboring men doing public work from the tyrannical control and the ra-

pace of political bosses and machines. And now in Maryland, too, the day of reform has dawned with unexpected brilliancy, and I trust that old state will step into the front rank of its champions. There are several others that promise to follow her.

THE APPOINTMENT AND TENURE OF POSTMASTERS.

Richard H. Dana.

It is a curious fact about our so-called "American" spoils system in politics that we spoil not a distant enemy, nor even some other race living in our midst as the Turks do the Armenians, but we despoil ourselves in making spoils of our own institutions. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the postal service of the United States.

Our post-office department is the largest department in the country and on its efficient management depends much of our material and intellectual progress as well as our daily convenience, and yet we have been letting our representatives strengthen their political fences by making frequent changes and unfit appointments, in a way to ruin any business exposed to open competition. As a result we have the worst postal service of any civilized country in the world. In Tokio, Japan, they have more frequent deliveries than in New York city and there are improvements adopted in England, France, Germany and Italy twenty and thirty years ago which we have not yet adopted at all or only partially and imperfectly. For example, in the large cities of those countries there are numerous branch offices, so numerous as to be for all practical purposes as accessible as letter boxes with us, where stamps or money orders can be bought, where parcels can be weighed and where matter can be mailed. When a note is dropped into a letter box here it lies untouched for one, two or three hours until the collector takes it out and it is not assorted until the collector deposits it at the post-office. When, however, it is mailed in one of these branch offices it is immediately canceled and assorted so that the time wasted in the letter box is utilized and the note is ready for direct delivery at the first call of the carrier.

This expedites the local city delivery so that a note mailed at a branch office is delivered almost as quickly as if sent by a private special messenger, and this again so stimulates the local use of the mails that the extra expense is reported to be more than made up by the increased sale of postage stamps.

For some twenty years or more we did nothing towards adopting this plan and not only was all the time lost while the mail was waiting in the letter boxes but a letter posted within a half mile of its destination often had to be carried two, three or even four miles to the central office to be assorted and then to travel all the way back, going over, perhaps, eight miles to accomplish half a mile. We have very tardily adopted in some of our largest cities a few branch offices, but so few and far between that they do not half serve their purpose.

This is only one of numerous instances that could be cited to illustrate how much our postal system has been spoiled. Not only in detail has it been thus spoiled, but so much have the postmasters-general and their assistants been occupied with the distribution of patronage that they have not had the time to attend to the organization of the department. For example, a business man appointed postmaster-general writes to some of the model postmasters to consult him on the business of the service. On account of the pressure of congressmen he is unable to fix a date before the June after his inauguration in March, but even then, these model postmasters get no further than his ante-room, where they vainly wait many valuable hours while applicants under the wing of members of congress pass in before them. At last, after about a week of waiting, one gets into the inner room and finds the postmaster-general engaged in a discussion with a negro postmaster of a small town in the south, over the question whether the appointment should not be revoked, not on the ground of unfitness, but because of a rumor that this negro had once attended a democratic caucus. After some quarter of an hour consumed over this question, so vastly important to the postal service, the postmaster-general has a moment or two to shake hands and explain that the business consultation must be postponed till the next August, as he is overwhelmed with the pressure for places. This story I tell not as illustrating the work of any one man, but of the heretofore usual duties of this cabinet position in general.

As a result the organization of the department is on the same basis that it was under Franklin, when there 75 post-offices in the country. When any ordinary business grows large it is subdivided. The express companies, for example, are divided into districts, with a superintendent for each. So with the great railroads, and with the post-offices in Great Britain; so with an army. But in the United States postal service, there is nothing between the bureau at Washington and the postmasters. It is like an army with no majors, no colonels, no brigadier-generals, in fact, with no officers between the general-in-chief with his staff, and the captains of the companies.

All the questions relating to the wants of the various postmasters have practically to be passed on by two clerks at Washington who are too far off to be able to judge of the circumstances. Apparently they have to decide by lot in most cases, granting one fourth or one-eighth of the requests, as it may be, in proportion to the appropriation. For example, from the Boston post-office is sent a request for a New England Directory, price, \$7.50. The request is denied. As a consequence a clerk at a salary of \$750 a year has to be detailed to go out and look over the directories belonging to some business men as a favor, and bring back the desired addresses, to the great loss of money to the office and delay to the re-addressed letters.

Again, here are two towns, one twenty-five and the other twenty-nine miles from Boston, and about four miles apart, with railroad connection between them. The letters from one to the other are sent all the way to Boston, there to be assorted and sent back to the other town, taking on an average about a day and a half. There is much correspondence between the two places. Who is to make the short cut? The only persons officially charged with changing the routes are in Washington. They have no idea of the merits of the case. The postmasters of these two towns may write to Washington, but it is supererogation on their part if they do, and they are usually told in reply to attend to their own business. The only way to have the change made is for the prominent men of both towns to bring pressure to bear on the department and to make the life of their congressman miserable till, after perhaps two years of agitation, at a great personal sacrifice, the change is at last made.

Indeed it is one of the greatest tributes possible to the versatility and natural business talent of the American people that, amid all these frequent political changes of postmasters and this utter want of organization, the business of the department is carried on at all.

That the people of the United States do not rise and demand a better service is because they have not seen any better and do not know of the possibilities of a really good post-office department. It is only a small portion of the small minority who travel abroad that have intelligently observed and compared our postal system and that of other civilized countries.

[Mr. Dana then discusses the necessity of taking the postmasters out of politics, reaching the conclusion that the recent order of the President, supplemented by the Lodge bill, will accomplish the object.]

SUPERANNUATION IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

William Dudley Foulke.

John Wanamaker, late postmaster-general, of happy memory, once caused a circular letter to be written to a number of civil service reformers throughout the country, asking why both parties should not discard their insincere professions for the law and have the patriotism to go back to the spoils system.

The devil himself can sometimes put an apposite question and this letter inquired what answer reformers made to the objections that a civil pension list was the logical result of their system, and that the efficiency of the departments would be seriously interfered with in ten or fifteen years by the old age of clerks who could not be removed. It was easy to answer that these clerks ought to be dismissed when they ceased to be efficient. It was easy to say that when they accepted employment they knew that no pension await-

ed them and that it was their duty to save in the days of their prosperity enough to support them in the infirmities of age. It is still true that permanency in office-holding, which the merit system encourages, makes even discretionary removals more difficult, and as men everywhere outlive their usefulness, this so-called tenure during good behavior does sometimes fasten "barnacles" upon the service. I use the epithet of another high authority in the camp of our enemies, the late Mr. Porter, who conducted with such impartial and disinterested fidelity the taking of the last census.

The competitive plan has indeed removed one great temptation. Men are not dismissed for the mere purpose of appointing to the vacant place a personal or partisan follower. But there are other temptations to retain the inefficient and some of these temptation spring from the best feelings of our nature. Men in prosperity do not always save up their earnings for the hour of need and the man who has served faithfully for twenty years may find himself when no longer able to perform his duties in a position where dismissal would make him an outcast and a pauper. We may say that the chief of the department or bureau ought not to consider this; that his duty is wholly to the state; that he must keep the best men only; and that if a clerk through the weight of years or infirmities becomes inefficient, he must be discharged. We may preach this sort of morality till doomsday, but no man with a heart will do it under the present system. The government service will continue to be a refuge for the helpless where these have not forfeited their rights by any willful act of their own. Many of those who are aged and incompetent, but who can point to a record of past usefulness, will stay in place and besides drawing pay for work which is not performed, they will injure the service in other ways. It was the old practitioner who most strenuously resisted the code. It is the old physician who is most reluctant to adopt the new methods recently revealed by science for the cure of disease and it is the old official who is often the greatest obstacle to renovation and reform in the public service. This proposition is too plain for argument. Furthermore, it is true that many a man, by mere length of service, comes to believe that he has an indefeasible right to his office. He becomes stubborn and opinionated. He is harder to manage than a new man. Even the judges of our federal courts sometimes become arbitrary and disagreeable largely on account of the life tenure upon which they hold their places. A certain insecurity in office is a great stimulus to urbanity. And politeness is an important virtue in public servants, especially in those with whom the people are brought into daily contact. [Mr. Foulke then discusses the feasibility of periodical examinations to be followed by promotions or reductions in accordance with the results.]

The extract from Mr. Jonathan A. Lane's paper will appear next month.

THE REIGN AND OVERTHROW OF AN OFFICE-HOLDING OLIGARCHY.

—
Charles J. Bonaparte.

The Pendleton bill was reported to the senate on December 12, 1881, just fourteen years ago. In the debate which followed, Senator Brown, of Georgia, expressed grave apprehensions regarding the effects of its enactment on our free institutions. His words were:

"I say it is not compatible with our very form of government. It is one step in the direction of the establishment of an aristocracy in this country, the establishment of another privileged class. * * * It builds up a powerful class supported out of the treasury of the United States, out of the taxes of the people, and places in their hands the power, if they choose to exercise it—and there is a great deal of human nature in man, so that they probably would exercise it—the power to do much to control the future rulers and destinies of the government.

"I am not very fresh from my reading of Roman history; but as I recollect it, there was a period in the history of that government when it became necessary to establish the prætorian guard to protect the ruler against the populace. It would naturally enough have been claimed that that guard would take no part in the politics of Rome, and yet in the workings of time that prætorian guard became the master of Rome, and assumed control of the government. As they protected the sovereign, they dictated who should be the sovereign, and for a large enough amount of money they would displace one sovereign to make room for another. How do we know that we may not build up a similar class here, when we build up a life-time aristocracy in office, or when we establish a life-time tenure of office? It is contrary to the very genius and spirit of our government."

The fears thus expressed by this eminent statesman had haunted many others of our public men from the time when legislation looking towards civil service reform was first suggested by Mr. Jenckes, the "old war horse," and "old wheel horses" who flourished in his day snorted suspicious defiance at a measure destined, in the language of one of the best known at that time of their number, "to create a pampered aristocracy." It is not my purpose to discuss how far these patriotic forebodings have been justified by the event; the dangers to our liberty lurking in the insidious proposals of Jenckes and Pendleton, have had every opportunity to become visible since the senator from Georgia depicted them in prophecy. In one of the Ingoldsby legends, the hero remarks: "I did not see my little friend, because he was not there." Such blindness as we may exhibit to these perils admits, perhaps, of the same explanation. I have lived, however, for some twenty or twenty-five years under a government marked by not a few of the characteristics which these sages saw in vision defacing that of our nation. In Baltimore we have had a powerful class supported out of the taxes of the people holding "in their hands the power, if they choose to exercise it" (and they most undeniably did so choose) "to do much to control the future rulers and destinies" of the city and state. We have had an organization by no means unlike a "prætorian guard" which

"protected the sovereign," at least the sovereign *de facto*, "from the populace" when this "populace" endangered his safety or continued rule at the polls, and it "protected" him, on the whole, very effectually. Moreover, this "guard," had occasion offered, would have readily "dictated who should be the sovereign," and, "for a large enough sum of money, displaced one sovereign for another;" indeed, it actually did these things whenever, and in so far as it had the opportunity.

In Baltimore that "first step towards the establishment of a privileged class," which Senator Brown saw in the Pendleton bill, and a good many succeeding steps as well, had been taken a number of years before that bill was heard of, or its author heard of as a civil service reformer; it is, perhaps, doubtful whether the late rulers of my native city could appropriately be called "pampered," for the adjective at least suggests indolence, and to charge them with this fault would be certainly unjust; nevertheless, they no less certainly constituted a "privileged class" in every sense of the term—a class of men in many respects *legibus soluti*, privileged to do wrong (or what would be wrong for others) with impunity and even with profit, superior themselves to the laws as well as able to make the laws for those of inferior station. In my trespass on your attention this afternoon I shall depict a few features of their rule, and describe briefly some of the causes and incidents of their downfall. * * * *

Now the government which has lately fallen in Baltimore was distinctly monarchical, at least in its tendencies. Under it power was not always, indeed it was never, quite concentrated in the hands of one man, but our rulers were never truly equal *inter sese*; their mutual relations rather resembled those of the several Augusti and Cæsars of the later Roman empire—they always tended towards, and within the past eight years had well-nigh definitely settled into, the dominion of a single ruler surrounded by a group of more or less powerful, sometimes more or less mutinous, but always distinctly subordinate, lieutenants. There were, however, already indications that in this case, as in those of all other privileged classes known to history, there would have been in time developed a theory of hereditary right to public office, as the nobility of the Roman republic was gradually formed of descendants of office-holders, claiming by custom a monopoly of all posts of trust and honor. Thus, in the seventeenth ward of the city, there bore sway a magnate whose merits as a "prætorian" had been proven by an almost incredible number of assaults, arrests and indictments for crimes of violence, whilst his influence was no less clearly illustrated by his prompt acquittals and the steadiness with which, throughout his eventful career, he retained the apparently modest, but really important, position of superintendent of street-cleaning for his district. However useful as a drill master for recruits, advancing years and frequent wounds had, in a measure, impaired

his personal prowess, but during the past year public attention has been called to three worthy sons, displaying at once their father's decided inclination toward public employment and his characteristic methods of deserving this. They "did good work" at the last election; unfortunately their services can hardly receive the recognition they expected, although it is not impossible that another may await them. * * * *

To understand the system of government which has existed for nearly a generation in Baltimore, we may glance at three departments only of the city's public service, those headed in the book respectively, "City Commissioner's Office," "General Superintendent of Lamps," and "Superintendent of Streets and District Superintendents." These were composed as follows:

CITY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.

One city commissioner.....	\$4,000
Three assistant city commissioners.....	2,000
One bridge engineer.....	2,400
One chief clerk.....	1,500
One assistant clerk.....	1,200
Five engineers, each.....	1,500
One clerk.....	1,200
Five engineers.....	1,200
Eighteen foremen of gangs.....	1,200
One sand inspector.....	1,080
Six draughtsmen, each.....	900
One clerk.....	1,100
Eight rodsmen, each.....	900
Three rodsmen, each.....	700
One keeper Belair lot.....	800
Twelve watchmen, each.....	720
Two superintendents of annex, each.....	1,000
One superintendent of Light Street Bridge.....	1,200
Six assistants at Light Street Bridge, each.....	500
Fourteen superintendents of cobblestone gangs.....	600
One paymaster.....	1,400
One assistant paymaster.....	900
Fifteen tally clerks, each.....	750
Twelve carpenters, each.....	900
Eighteen assistant foremen of gangs, each.....	600
Two thousand laborers, and other minor positions, when working full force, per week.....	10

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF LAMPS.

One general superintendent.....	\$2,000
One clerk.....	1,000
Two inspectors of electric lights, each.....	900
Two superintendents of repairs, each.....	900
Five general utility men, each.....	520
Five district superintendents for city, each.....	600
Two district superintendents for annex, each.....	936
Twenty-one lamplighters, western district, each.....	416
Twenty-two lamplighters, northwestern district, each.....	416
Twenty-two lamplighters, southern district, each.....	416
Twenty-two lamplighters, northeastern district, each.....	416
Twenty-four lamplighters, eastern district, each.....	416
Thirty-four lamplighters, annex, each.....	416

SUPERINTENDENT OF STREETS AND DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS.

One general superintendent.....	\$2,000
One clerk.....	1,000
Seven district superintendents, each.....	1,000
Four tally clerks at dumps, each.....	600
One foreman of street cleaning wagons, each.....	700
Five drivers of street cleaning wagons, each.....	550
Twenty-seven drivers of street and garbage carts, first district, each.....	935
Thirty-seven drivers of street and garbage carts, second district, each.....	935
Twenty-seven drivers of street and garbage carts, third district, each.....	935
Thirty-seven drivers of street and garbage carts, fourth district, each.....	935
Thirty-six drivers of street and garbage carts, fifth district, each.....	935
Thirty-eight drivers of street and garbage carts, sixth district, each.....	935
Nineteen drivers of street and garbage carts, seventh district, each.....	935

In these three departments alone there were employed, when that of the city commissioner was "working full force," and it is needless to say that such was always the case when elec-

tions were held, and might be, if needful, at time of primaries, 2,540 men; 95 per cent. of these discharged functions for which any ordinary laborer was qualified; all, except perhaps a dozen of those highest in rank, received a compensation greatly in excess of that paid for similar services by private employers; and all of them, without exception, were selected for reasons of political expedience or personal favoritism. * * *

I have said thus much of the special election of last March because, although otherwise of comparatively little importance, it serves to illustrate with special clearness one of the principal causes of the ring's long lease of power in Maryland; this is simply that, through its absolute control of the state and municipal patronage, it was able to maintain in Baltimore, at the people's cost, a small standing army of experts in election frauds and professional ruffians, unreservedly subject to its orders, and prepared to furnish any reasonable majority which could be required for its safety under normal conditions; whilst it could likewise assure them almost certain immunity from punishment for their crimes committed in its interest. But this alone would not have availed it much, even if we suppose the number of fraudulent votes cast at the special election to have been (as it very possibly may have been) twice as great as the reform league's committee reported, still, at least four-fifths of those received by the ring's candidate must have been legal votes, and with all its facilities for successful fraud, its reign would have been short-lived, but for its unqualified and, of late years, undisputed dominion within the democratic party. Indeed, it fell at last, not because it either couldn't or wouldn't cheat, but because, although it would, it couldn't cheat enough to overcome the widespread revolt within that party against its dominion. A few words then as to the instrumentalities which rendered that domination permanent and irresistible.

The Venetian oligarchy maintained its rule through a council of ten, that of Baltimore may have been said to reign through one of nine, bearing the modest and outwardly innocent title of city members of the democratic state central committee. There was one marked difference, however, between the bodies: in Venice the doge was a figurehead and not a member of the council; in Baltimore his analogue, the reigning boss, was a member of the council, and very decidedly not a figurehead.

THE STATE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN THE SOUTH.

Herman Justi.

When the letter of your worthy and zealous secretary was received, asking me to give "the status of civil service reform sentiment in the south," my first impulse was to decline the task, for the field was not only vast, but seemed uninviting. When one of our local wags, some time ago, was asked for his opinion of the financial condition of the people of a certain section of the south, he replied: "One-

half of the people are busted and the other half are insolvent." I am an ardent believer in the merit system, and yet I, like many others, often grow impatient at the apathy and indifference of our people regarding this vital issue, and I was almost tempted, in a fit of momentary despondency, to answer Mr. McAneny's courteous invitation, after the laconic style of my witty friend, with the simple statement that one half of our people are opposed to civil service reform and the other half are not for it. But this would be, I am happy to say on reflection, far from the truth. And yet, though the gains to the cause of civil service reform can not be easily specified, I feel certain that, whatever the casual observer may say to the contrary—whatever we may think in times of despondency—public opinion in the south is opposed to the spoils system. Strict party men and party leaders will stoutly deny this, but it is nevertheless true; and since political parties are subject to that superior power, the will of the people, the politicians must ultimately yield. We are, as yet, badly organized, our demands are not clearly stated and we have taken hold of the issue in a way so half-hearted, that the friends of the "spoils system" continue very bold, even presumptuous. As was so well said by the lamented George William Curtis, "party machines no more favor civil service reform than kings favor the restriction of the royal prerogative." Party leaders will not admit the growth of the civil service reform sentiment, because they try not to see it. They wish to ignore its growing power, because to admit it is to give it a tremendous sweep; but we must keep up the fight at every point and make everybody see that ultimate triumph is sure. * * *

The impression widely prevalent in the south that civil service reform is designed to favor the highly educated and the wealthy is erroneous, and the encouragement to this belief comes entirely from spoilsmen. It is also not true that under its operations the south fares unequally with other sections. Through the operation of the reform law employment in the civil service was thrown open to the people of the south for the first time since the breaking out of the war of the rebellion. Poor men and men of limited education, but ambitious and resolved to learn, have risen to distinction in our civil service. It is well known that during Harrison's administration Commissioner Roosevelt made it a special object to encourage young southerners to go into the examinations and to see, when appointments were made, the full quota of each southern state was allowed. It became something of a novelty for southern congressmen to meet young constituents on the streets of Washington and to learn that they were there under a republican administration. Nothing of this sort had been known for a generation. Thirteen southern states, including Maryland and Kentucky, are under the operation of the reform law, entitled to thirty per cent. of the offices in the civil service. Of the eleven civil service commissioners appointed up to Janu-

ary 1, 1895, four were southern men, viz., William L. Trenholm, and Hugh S. Thompson, of South Carolina; George D. Johnson, of Louisiana, and John R. Proctor, of Kentucky. What more had we a right to ask? What fairer treatment could we expect? It should also be borne in mind that an appointment now in the civil service means an opportunity for an official career. This is impossible under the spoils system. As a plain business proposition, for government is only another name for business, what could be better for both the citizen than the honest, capable office-holder?

The southern press is fast falling into line, and it is now definitely known that at least twenty-five daily papers, over one hundred weekly papers, and eight monthly publications, are entirely friendly to the merit system, and are advocating its cause with a zeal and intelligence. In fact few southern newspapers now openly and enthusiastically support the "spoils system," a sure indication of the tendency of public opinion on that subject, and as the advocates of the merit system, steadily increasing in numbers, are each year becoming more active and more aggressive, they must ultimately be the balance of power in determining the fate of candidates and of parties.

As a southern man, both by the accident of birth and as the result of my deliberate choice, proud of the past of my beloved southland and confident of her future glory, I declare it to be my honest conviction, that the southern people are tired of the iniquities of a vicious public policy, which has always been condemned by her wisest statesmen, who have ever taught that the greed of the spoilsman, the corrupter of elections, is the greatest danger threatening the perpetuity of our government. Their words of warning were once heeded, and they are now again being driven home with telling force to the southern heart and mind, and he who seeks shall find unmistakable evidences of an awakening patriotism, of a higher sense of public duty and of a healthier political life and spirit abroad in the land.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN ITS BEARINGS UPON THE INTERESTS OF WORKINGMEN.

Herbert Welsh.

When Mazzini, the great Italian patriot, addressed the workingmen of his country in 1844 he chose as the title of his essay "The Duties of Man," in sharp antithesis to the great cry which heralded the French revolution—"The Rights of Man." No reformer certainly was more sensitive to the rights of man, in the recognition of which liberty was cradled, but with true religious intuition he perceived that rights were an empty possession even to the freest of us, unless the heart that rejoiced in them was alive to the obligations they conferred; unless the mind which discerned and demanded them, humbly recognized them as the mother of duties. Mazzini pointed out to

his fellow-countrymen now barren to the world had been possession of rights gained by the revolution, where the advance was followed by no recognition of duties to one's self and one's fellows. The recognition of individual rights must be followed by a universal obligation. He appealed to his hearers with a breadth and simplicity which must have at once erased the line which separates the workingman from man, and reached the hearts of his hearers, for the heart leaps artificial boundaries. "I intend to speak to you according to the dictates of my heart," he said, "of the holiest things we know—of God, of humanity, of the fatherland, and the family." And so in speaking to-day out through this audience to those workingmen whom I may be able to reach of the appeal which civil service reform should make to them, I do it with these four great human relationships which Mazzini enumerates, firm in my mind—God, humanity, the fatherland and family—and not so much to workingmen as men of a separate and distinct class do I speak as to them as members of the great human family. But this nobler point of view will not exclude the consideration of those especial points in which civil service reform is of peculiar benefit to those whom we call wage-earners.

The true American workingman, and the true American of whatever trade or work in life he be, are one in this: that both desire the full benefits of American institutions; both desire to see the government of these United States stand for liberty, for equal laws, under which men may not be tempted to change their conception of God, as a just and loving father, of humanity as the great family of mankind throughout whose extent some day may be realized the idea of universal brotherhood; and under which the family may be made a holy and true relationship, the fountain of domestic virtue, the support of the state, which, I for one, believe that it was ordained to be. We are one—workingman and other man—in desiring that America shall be a nation in which these ideas which appeal to all hearts shall be nurtured and have sway. I take it that the true American workingman will be quite content if the government under which we live be honest and true; if it will truly seek those great principles of liberty and justice to rich and poor alike, to obtain which its great founders gave their life, and to preserve its entirety and integrity, to prevent a rupture that would have been fatal to the realization of its ideals, its saviors or thirty years back shed their patriotic blood.

If I mistake not, at the bottom of industrial discontent, whose mutterings and moanings create at times vague uneasiness and concern in the business of the country, which flashes out into revolt, showing fierce tooth and claw, as at Homestead or in Chicago, is the feeling, reasonable or unreasonable, that there exists to-day some dangerous dislocation between a real Christianity and American political ideals on the one hand, and practical,

existing American Christianity and existing American politics on the other. A more or less vague idea exists in the minds of American workingmen that capital and wealth have influence with the political machinery of the country, with legislatures and executives, that they do not possess; that monopolies and great corporations can, by corrupt and dishonest methods, so control the conditions of wealth-getting that enormous and unjust profits accrue to them out of all proportion to their merits, with total disregard to the rights of those who are dependent upon their pleasure for daily bread. The workingman feels that more and more is the possibility increasing for capital to organize itself into trusts and monopolies by which the necessities and the luxuries of life may be put at a price which will bring enormous wealth to the beneficiaries of the monopoly, and a correspondingly heavy burden upon the people. Believing this, is it to be wondered at that the American workingmen organize in self-defense; that he forms trades-unions and labor organizations of various kinds for operations offensive and defensive, against those whom he believes to be hostile or indifferent to his liberties, his rights, his opportunities? Or, is it marvelous that the method by which he defends himself should often lack in wisdom, that it should be sometimes violent or even criminal, therein being akin to the methods which have been more than once adopted by his opponents? Truly the workingman would be much less than human if he never shared in human folly. * * *

But civil service reform has another application which is only now beginning to be seriously considered. It is to the administration of our great American cities in which for various causes it is not necessary now to discuss, vast populations are centering; where wealth, intelligence, enterprise, commerce and manufactures, the homes of the rich and the poor are focused. Here every question affecting human life and happiness—questions of sanitation, of sewerage, of water supply, of transportation, of public parks and libraries, of taxation, of the care of the poor—assume accentuated importance. To deal intelligently, honestly and economically with these questions requires intelligence, honesty and experience on the part of the public men, the mayors and the heads of departments to whom they are committed. Every citizen's interest, his health and happiness and of those near and dear to him are bound up in the right handling of those matters, but above all others will the workingman, the wage-earner, the man of slender means, of hand-to-mouth existence, to be sensitive to the excellence or folly of the government of the great city in which he lives. A few cents difference in his car fare may be sufficient to unbalance his small account at the end of the year. A very small rise in the rate of taxation, due to municipal extravagance or dishonesty, will be keenly felt by him, while public advantages such as free libraries, public parks, and the like, to the poor man mean much; while the man of am-

ple means is virtually independent of them.

The sanitary conditions of the city, of which the rich man is measurably independent, by his ability to go elsewhere during the summer, or to obtain at all times a protection which is impossible to the poor man, to the latter are matters of vital import. But how is the city to be well governed if the boss and the machine control it, whose interests are selfish interests, who, by an invariable law of their being, will be as selfish and dishonest in their government of the city as the relative indifference and partisanship of its citizens will permit. How can the city be well governed, I ask intelligent workingmen, whose interest in this question are the interest of us all, only double, trebly accentuated, if the 10,000 or 15,000 or 20,000 offices of the city are to be filled by boss and machine, not on proved merit, and held not for faithful performances of duty, but as partisan rewards of the unworthy, and so as to compel partisan service. How, I ask sensible working men, can any intelligent and satisfactory city government be conducted on these corrupt lines? And for the folly of all this, for the pickings and stealings, the losses and blunders, for the costly, unfulfilled contracts, the man who pays most is the workingman. These were the principles which gave us the Tweed ring, in New York, with its \$15,000,000 to \$17,000,000 direct theft, its debauched judiciary, its carnival of spoils. It was the spoils system where there should have been civil service reform, which made Tweed and his fellow conspirators possible. This truth he himself confessed before he died in prison, that unless some way were found to remove the control of the patronage of a great city from the grasp of politicians there would be recurring scandals, such as his.

Civil service reform is the narrow pass where the defenders of good government may mass their feeble strength so that it shall count in value out of all proportion to their numbers. We must make this reform in our struggle for good city government the Thermopylae of the present crisis.

Can not the workingmen of America see how for every good and honorable purpose which they have in view, their influence should be concentrated to establish this reform in all its practical details in the administrations of our great cities, in whose slums, in whose saloons, in whose brothels, in all those foes to family life and welfare, the roots of corrupt politics find their nourishment? Let them insist upon the passage of a good civil service law in every state legislature, if one does not already exist. Let them apply it to every city of the state, that every smallest office may be removed from the curse of boss patronage, and so that it shall be filled by suitable test. See that a state civil service commission exists in every state to superintend the practical application of the law; a commission with such men upon it as Theodore Roosevelt, and Col. Proctor, and Major Harlow have proved themselves to be on the federal commission; honest, experienced, courageous men, who will see that under that law the humblest, least protected applicant gets his rights and a fair chance to show what is in him. See that every city of your state has the same great American principle of justice, and fair-play, as opposed to privilege applied to its labor service, just as to-day is in successful operation in the city of Boston, in Cambridge, and in New Bedford. The same labor system has won the approval of naval officers of high rank in the federal service.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 35.

INDIANAPOLIS, JANUARY, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE President's order relating to fourth-class post-offices is beginning to be worked out. Twenty offices near Baltimore have been abolished, and in their stead stations of the Baltimore office have been established, and the whole territory now becomes a part of the latter office. The wholesome and salutary effect of this local application of this great reform scheme is apparent at a glance. Twenty petty postmasters cease to be watch-dogs of congressmen; they cease to be pestiferous centers of local politics; they spend their days in sober and industrious work under strict supervision without any regard to politics; twenty vexatious lines of correspondence with the department at Washington are broken off, and the advantages of free delivery and infinitely improved service are extended to the people. There is around Indianapolis a ring of similar localities with ludicrously inefficient service, which it is to be hoped will not long escape the attention of the postmaster-general.

THE sounds from Maryland are strangely different from those which came the many years when Gorman held the state and every office and public place in it in the hollow of his hand. The new governor, Lloyd Lowndes, says there shall be no clean sweep. Further, "We should heed the demand for civil service reform, and extend wherever practical in this state and in its principal cities the merit-system of appointments to office." He further says, with reference to the charge that he is backing up a particular man for senator, "I would not use the patronage of this office to advance my own personal ambition or those of any other man in the state."

THE Chicago *Tribune* says that the great reform of 1895, for that city, was the civil service act. It then adds: "Whenever a vacancy occurs now it is filled by a man appointed on his merits. The occupation of the spoils huckster is gone. There is not a place on the pay-rolls which he can dispose of. As compared with this time last year, the condition of the city is enviable."

The full benefits of the law will not ap-

pear at once, nor for a year or two. The attempts to break it down in the courts and the attempts of officers in charge of it, to cheat and trick it, have all to be fought down. This will have to be done, and confidence in absolute fair-play in competition for places, will have to be established among all parties, colors and sects, before the full advantages of the system will come into play. But the *Tribune's* remark shows the bent of public opinion. It is only in Indianapolis that city officials are petty and impudent enough to attempt to turn back the wheels of progress by repealing competitive rules and going back to Tammany methods.

THE combination between Platt and the venerable Governor Morton is evidently part of a plan of Platt, Quay and Clarkson to control the next presidential nomination of their party. To be of any use, Platt must own the delegates from New York, and Governor Morton does not see what the whole country sees and laughs at, that Platt is cajoling him into throwing down the bars to spoil, by an impossible promise of the nomination. There is not the slightest danger of Morton, but if the republican party will rise to the occasion and defeat Quay and Platt and Clarkson, so that they are left high and dry, and so that they have no weight whatever in the choice of a candidate, it will accomplish a great work.

GOVERNOR MORTON has forced Mr. McKinstry out of his place of state civil service commissioner of New York and has nominated for the vacancy a man named George P. Lord. McKinstry was entirely competent and efficient and his influence was against political interference with the public service. The new man, Lord, is a chronic office seeker, a machine politician, and years ago voted for some of Tweed's bills. He is simply a Platt man educated and fitted to be an efficient Platt tool. There will now be upon the commission two Platt men and Col. Burt. The indications all point to a deal between Governor Morton and Platt by which Platt is to obtain control of the commission. This is all the more important because the state this year is to spend four millions upon the canals. The long battles which have been carried on throughout the country with tricky officers who had charge of the federal civil service law have shown too well how such a law may be brought to nothing

by such officers. That Governor Morton should make this and other similar appointments recently made tends further to show what the CHRONICLE has always believed of him, that he is a highly respectable rich man who makes now and then a show of reform tendencies but whom the bosses like to have in office because they know that under him they can come to their own. One who goes among machine politicians in his state will find them openly avowing their esteem for him because he is a "sinews-of-war-man." Happily the matter is not to go in silence. The New York *Tribune* and other papers, the city club, and various reform organizations are making it lively for the governor.

THE reformers within the party who are always crying that the remedy for slum politics is for good citizens to go to the primaries, have just had another practical lesson in the city of New York. There never was a harder struggle made by the better element in any community to defeat its bad neighbors than was made in New York to defeat the expressman Tom Platt and his followers, and there never was a more signal failure. To vote in the primaries it is necessary to be enrolled beforehand, and Platt's men ran the enrollment up to 70,000, in the meantime keeping the places of enrollment in the dark as long as possible. That the enrollment was fraudulent, and contained a large contingent of Tammany men there seems no reason to doubt. Not one-third of the number enrolled appeared at the primaries. How Platt's men managed the primaries is illustrated in the district of which ex-Postmaster Van Cott is Platt's sub-boss. In that district Alfred R. Conkling was an anti-Platt candidate, and he tells the following interesting story:

"I am ashamed of the political pirates who compose the machine of the republican party in this city. I have long fought Tammany methods, and now I must fight for honest elections within the republican party. I do not intend to leave the party in order to purify it, but will keep up a fight on the inside. It is necessary to strike at the root of the evil, the district leaders. I live in the district presided over by Cornelius Van Cott, and this is how he managed the primaries. In my election district voters were notified at the enrollment that they must come to No. 36 Clinton Place to vote at the primary. The polling place was changed, and I learned of the change at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, I left the dinner-table, sent messengers to my friends to inform them of the change, and managed to get enough together to elect me by one vote. Men who were not legally enrolled in my district were afraid to vote last night. I had fourteen names marked for challenge, and not one of

them appeared. If they had voted, the election district would have three delegates instead of two. I had policemen in three election districts, ready to make arrests. If Mr. Van Cott is the leader next year, I shall see that policemen are placed in every election district. At the last election the fifth assembly district gave the republican state ticket a majority of eighteen. I hope that those eighteen will not leave the party in disgust with the machine, and turn the district over to the democrats."

The comment of the New York *Tribune* also adds piquancy to the situation:

"The proceedings were part and parcel of the fraudulent and bogus enrollment. In many of the 1,393 election districts, where no headquarters were opened and no voting was done, delegates sworn to perpetuate the Platt-Lauterbach regime will be returned all the same, and will take part in the assembly district convention."

Wicked Gibbs, another of Platt's bosses, touches off the situation as a "practical" politician:

"Both sides are to blame in this matter. The Brookfielders as well as our people swelled the rolls beyond reasonable proportions, and I am surprised that practical politicians should be guilty of such amateurish tricks. I am disgusted with them. As long as a leader controls a district, what is the difference whether he does it with 30 or 300 delegates? And, besides, large bodies of delegates are unwieldy and liable to cause trouble."

The result of all this is that Platt is more of a boss than ever, and it seems that he will go to the republican national convention next year able to "throw" the vote of the entire state of New York in such a manner as will best benefit not the republican party but Platt the expressman.

THE career of Platt in New York continues to be an interesting study. We have noted the struggle which good citizens of his party made in the recent primaries in that city, and how Platt gained a complete victory. The good citizens were not satisfied and began an investigation to find out how it was done, which has resulted in the arrest of seven Platt inspectors. At a meeting of the republican county committee of the county of New York, held January 16, a committee attempted to read a report bearing upon the subject, but were prevented by Plattism. For the reason that the report is signed by a large number of men of national reputation, we give it in full. It should make a profound impression everywhere, because of its proof that even under our boasted free government, one man may become, except in the matter of life and death, a dictator:

To the Republican County Committee and the Republican Party in the City of New York:

The undersigned committee of the republicans have been engaged for some time in an investigation of the alleged frauds in the republican enrollment in this city and in the recent primaries. After due consideration, and mindful of the gravity of the situation in view of the approaching national election, we deemed it essential to the welfare of the party that a thorough and impartial investigation should be made by a committee consisting of Messrs. John Sabine Smith, Paul D. Cravath, Adelbert H. Steele, Benjamin Oppenheimer, and John S. Wise, who immediately undertook the task as-

signed to them. The report, transmitting the statement of C. N. Jones, recently associate actuary of the New York Life Insurance Company, whom they selected to conduct the investigation, is appended. We wish to emphasize our belief in the entire impartiality and sincerity of this investigation.

Notwithstanding the charges which have been frequently made in the public press, we had no adequate conception of the magnitude and enormity of the frauds and irregularities which have been perpetrated in connection with the republican enrollment and the recent primaries, until the investigation of the enrollment in several of the assembly districts had been made and the results tabulated.

In view of these results, there can be no escape from the conclusion that the present enrollment is rotten to a degree never before paralleled in the history of the party, and that the primaries and conventions in many assembly districts based upon it, by which delegates were elected to the county committee for 1896, are unworthy of serious consideration.

An organization based upon such wholesale frauds can not command the confidence of the republican party, nor of the public. We, therefore, urge that the organization of the county committee for 1896 be not effected until reasonable time has been given to complete the investigation now in progress and to secure adequate relief.

Primaries are the fountain-head of all representative government, and the primaries necessarily spring from the enrollment. If the latter is fraudulent, the entire party structure is tainted, and unworthy of confidence and respect. This is a subject in which every republican, whether his name be upon the rolls or not, is interested, for all look to the organization of the party to secure honest conventions and truly representative nominations.

For the foregoing reasons, and in the interest of the harmony and efficiency of the republican party, we earnestly request that no permanent organization of the county committee be effected until the completion of this investigation.

Joseph H. Choate,	Cornelius N. Bliss,
Samuel Thomas,	William Brookfield,
Anson G. McCook,	Benjamin Oppenheimer,
Wager Swayne,	Elihu Root,
R. G. Alexander,	Horace Porter,
John C. O'Connor,	Isaac V. Brokaw,
Elias Goodman,	Edward Mitchell,
Charles Stewart Smith,	John S. Wise,
John E. Milholland,	A. H. Steele,
John Sabine Smith,	Joel B. Ehrhardt,
E. W. Bloomingdale,	Paul B. Cravath,
S. V. R. Cruger,	John Prector Clarke,
	Committee.

THE condition of things in New York will have to be dealt with by the national republican party. The favorite method of the CHRONICLE in fighting bossism is to defeat its candidates at the polls, and of this there is a long line of wholesome and gratifying examples. The situation in New York, however, is peculiar. Platt rides rough-shod over practically all of the respectable element of his party, led, as is shown by the protest printed elsewhere, by such republicans as Joseph H. Choate, Elihu Root and Cornelius N. Bliss. Submission on their part can not be thought of; nor can they beat Platt at the primaries controlled by his patronage supported army. Seemingly they have no other course but to form a new organization on the ground that the Platt organization is not the republican organization, but, as the *New York Tribune* says, is a mere band of

brazen banditti. This new organization should demand exclusive admission to the national convention, and let us see whether the republican party will put its neck under Platt's heel. The discussion outside of the state can not be begun too soon.

MR. ROOSEVELT recently delivered an address in Philadelphia, and Mayor Swift, of Chicago, has lately spoken to the commercial club of that city. From both men we learn anew what respectable citizens do and will continue to do, so long as public offices and places can be used as rewards to maintain the boss system, and thus force upon us councilmen and other officers who can be bought and sold. Mr. Roosevelt said:

"You would be astonished if I should tell you the names of men, standing high in New York City, who came to me for some of the worst people that there were in that [the police] department, because it was a department in which money could accomplish most anything; any man who had money, whether he was a law-abiding citizen or criminal, could buy protection and the services of the police if it was necessary for him to have them, and naturally he got efficient services, for which he paid, and he was not willing to receive merely the protection that would be meted out to him exactly as to other citizens, rich or poor. He did not want the change which would deprive him of the advantage his money gave him in getting police protection."

Mayor Swift said:

"The present mayor, within sixty days, has vetoed a half dozen ordinances, passed by your representatives, giving space in the streets to representative property owners, who came to the common council and asked for it. Who is it that comes into the common council and asks for such privileges? Who is it who are accused of offering bribes for such franchises? It is just the same ones, the same prominent citizens that come into the same council's chamber and ask for the right to occupy space in your streets.

"I tell you these questions come home. Talk about anarchy; talk about breeding the spirit of communism. What does it more than the representative citizens of Chicago; your high toned business men; your patriotic men? Your prominent citizens of Chicago are the men who knock at the door of the council and ask for illegal franchises. It is not the common people. Who bribes the common council? Is it men in the common walks of life? They are men in your own walks of life, sitting by your firesides at your clubs. Is it your men in the common walks of life that demand bribes and who receive bribes at the hands of the legislative bodies or the common council? No. It is your representative citizens, your capitalists, your business men. When have they come to the front, either individually or collectively, and inveighed against this manner of obtaining franchises? When will they come to the front, individually or collectively, and ask of the common council adequate remuneration for the city? Never, to my knowledge.

"Who is responsible for the condition of affairs in the city of Chicago? Your representative business men. If an assessor grows rich while in office, with whom does he divide? Not with the common people. He divides with the man who tempts him to make a low assessment, not the man who has the humble little house, but the capitalist and the business man."

EVERY test of the tie which binds the boss to politics gives the same result. No matter what takes away the plums, whether a civil service law or the longer arm of a

rival boss, their removal destroys his interest in public affairs. Josephus Yeakel is a late instance. For more than ten years he was the republican boss of the twenty-first ward of Philadelphia. Some under-handed over-reach took away his spoil, and thereupon Josephus said:

"I will resign from the city committee and the leadership of politics in the ward next Monday evening, unless the mayor makes amends for certain promises made and not kept. I was promised to be given the appointments that were to be made in the ward here, and had pledged positions to a number of ward workers, but since then the positions have been filled by men from other wards, one of whom has not even moved into the ward. I believe a leader becomes a nonentity when he is unable to fulfill his pledges."

THE "American" system, as contrasted with what some are pleased to call the Chinese system, is now displaying its legitimate results in Philadelphia. For years Dave Martin has run the city government and has given boss principles their full development. If a man got a place in Philadelphia, great or small, there was some reason for it besides mere fitness, except as he fitted a place in the Martin machine, and helped to run politics in a way satisfactory to Martin. The results are a government debauched from top to bottom. The condition of things is unspeakable. Robbery, blackmail, and the wholesale marshaling of law-breakers at the polls on condition of being permitted to break the law, are common characteristics. It seemed that the condition of political morals in boss-ridden Pennsylvania was as bad as it could be, but this makes it worse.

In the recent division of places in the house of representatives, Indiana congressmen occupied a large place in the public eye. Day by day the dispatches noted the mighty efforts each one was making for his henchmen, and finally what each one "got." It is doubtful if they will again be so deeply interested in any object during their respective careers, but in fact their efforts in this struggle were about of the grade of a lot of old women absorbed in tending a small kitchen garden. The inevitable result has followed that the appointees put in through a "combine" of the mighty men who constitute congress, are largely good for nothing. The other day, one member asked if the reading clerks, foisted upon the house by the men "who farm out the offices," were to be retained, although they could not be heard on either side of the house. Henry U. Johnson, of the Richmond district, of this state, is the only one from Indiana who comes off with any sort of dignity, who in advocating the re-instatement of an employe discharged after twenty years' service, denounced the discreditable proceedings of the combine.

It is not often that any one can agree with the New York *Sun*, but the approval of its recent denunciation of Voorhees and Turpie, is all but unanimous. These two Indiana senators are about as near worthless as any two men in any position ever were. They do not represent the state on any public question. For years Voorhees has been simply a large bray, while Turpie has been nothing. Nothing makes more certain the hopelessness of hoping anything in the near future from the democratic party of Indiana than its reliance upon such men. It is to be said, however, that they are comparatively harmless, being looked upon with contempt by the entire country. Bad as they are, they are less dangerous than senators like Gorman, Brice and Murphy.

THERE has been no change in the situation in this city. The mayor, Tommy Taggart, pursues his way, evidently ignorant that the tendency of the times is not backward to Tammany methods but forward to such methods as shall reform the Taggarts out of politics. The charter of this city makes it the duty of the mayor to call together the heads of departments at least once a month for consultation and advice. The charter then proceeds:

Records shall be kept of such meetings above provided for and rules and regulations shall be adopted thereat * * * which regulations shall prescribe a common and systematic method of ascertaining the comparative fitness of applicants for office, position and promotion and of selecting, appointing and promoting those found to be best fitted, except in the department of public safety, without regard to political opinions or services.

Of course this requires the introduction of open competition for places requiring skill, and the adoption of a system absolutely excluding politics in the employment of laborers. The preceding administration obeyed the charter by adopting a fairly good set of rules. Taggart's meeting repealed those rules and has adopted none whatever in their place. The city is therefore thrown back upon the Tammany system pure and simple. This will undoubtedly help Taggart to get the nomination of his party for governor. His party machine in this state is made up of men of his stripe, and the indications now are that he will be nominated by acclamation. We hope he will. Let us see if the people of Indiana are prepared to turn over the benevolent institutions of this state to the calloused mercies of this ignorant demagogue.

THE first of the year Mayor Taggart's administration took possession of the city hospital. It was immediately found that the policy of the administration in the manner of carrying messages could not be carried out except by a democratic or-

derly, and one was immediately appointed. In like manner the democratic policy regarding the removal of dirt would not be safe except in the hands of a democratic janitor, and one was chosen. There is a Taggart method also of carrying sick to the hospital which could only be carried out by a democratic ambulance driver, and a good democrat was given that place, and the Taggart style of cleaning and running an engine, was made sure of by appointing Lon Cox engineer. This is big business—in fact, about the biggest business engaged in by our present city government, unless it is selecting out its critics and requiring them to repair brick sidewalks in the middle of winter, omitting a like requirement of "good democrats" in the same half square. Taggart's administration will find that the Indianapolis Tammany is neither so powerful nor so much feared as its New York model—nor, in fact, feared at all.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

At the meeting of the American Economic Association and the Central States Political Science Association in joint session, held in Indianapolis in December, the subject of municipal reform received attention. There were upon the programme two papers and four discussions, but practically it amounted to five elaborate papers and one discussion. With the single exception of the discussion by Professor J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, we do not think any of the participants grasped the immediate situation. Some of the papers had detailed plans, but all came to the conclusion that the one thing needful was an elevated sense of the duties of citizenship which must be cultivated in the inhabitants of every city. To deny that citizens will be brought to appreciate and practice in the most commendable manner their duties as citizens is to fly in the face of history and human progress; but the CHRONICLE wants to see municipal reform not a hundred years from now nor in the next generation, but now. If we are to depend upon the elevating process of preaching that all inhabitants of cities must be good, must not work worthless henchmen into the labor service and into the police and fire departments, that respectable men and church members must not bribe councilmen and must not work all manner of financial deviltry through ward heelers and bosses who control the city government, then we must be content to see the blessings of municipal reform showered not upon us but perhaps upon our children's children. The key to the problem is in the distribution of places as laborers, clerks, firemen, policemen and so on among bosses who give them out to their henchmen, who through these control primaries and conventions and who set up themselves or, at most, weak, respectable citizens for mayors and councilmen. This was the foundation of the power of Tammany Hall and it is the foundation of the boss system in

all our cities. While this spoils system exists no amount of preaching a higher standard of citizenship will convert those who enjoy the fruits, nor will the election of good citizens to offices be anything more than spasmodic reform, for the reason that so long as the rewards are in sight bands of local buccaneers will gather again and again to fight for them, and in nine cases out of ten will succeed. It is true that the removal of the spoil will not convert the heelers or the bosses but it will destroy their interest in public affairs. When they can get nothing out of politics they will leave politics alone, or let us hope many of them will settle down to be useful citizens. Now the merit and labor service systems honestly enforced will destroy the spoils system so thoroughly that the mayor can not appoint the spittoon cleaner of his office nor a councilman, a dog catcher—and yet the service of any city will be vastly improved and it is not an exaggeration to say that the people will get one-third more for their money than they now get. This condition would elevate citizenship, for it would obliterate the greedy and degrading aims which engross every effort in our city governments. There is no reason why we should not have municipal reform in five years instead of fifty.

THE MUGWUMP.

[From the paper of William Dudley Foulke before the Tuesday Club of Richmond, January 7.]

My theme to-night is "The Independent in Politics." I call him "The Mugwump." This is the name given to him by his enemies: I like such names. Heretic, Roundhead, Quaker, Abolitionist (for that, too was once a word of contumely), all epithets that tell the story how man without just cause has sought to cast contempt upon his brother and has failed. "Friend" is a good word, but "Quaker" is better, for it gives us a glimpse of the little band that trembled with deep feeling as they clung to their simple faith amid the laughter of a jeering world. "Yankee Doodle" inspires us because it records the barren mockery of the British regulars who at last showed their heels and their backs to the plain farmer boys whom they despised. And so I like the word "Mugwump," which tells of the unprofitable hatred which believers in worn-out political creeds have borne toward those who desired to act upon their own convictions rather than upon the line of conduct prescribed for them by the political organizations of the day.

Independence in politics means simply this, that men shall believe that which their judgment dictates and shall speak and act according to their belief, no matter what the party may say. It stands for an honest expression of political views by word and vote, for a refusal to be bound by the opinions of others. Nobody denies that in a republican government parties will always exist. The men who think alike will vote together. They will organize to express their joint convictions. But the tendency of the custom is such that they

often remain together long after they cease to have these common convictions. The mugwump says that when they cease to think alike they ought to separate. The out-and-out party man says they should stay together whether they think alike or not.

The proper object of all civic activity is the public good. A party is a combination of men organized for the purpose of obtaining this. It is not a political sovereignty like our country to which our allegiance is always due. And yet it has often happened that party spirit has been more intense than even patriotism itself. So it was when the declarations of the Hartford convention opposed the war of 1812 and proposed to disregard the requisitions of the general government. So it was with the advocates of nullification in South Carolina, with the promoters of the secession movement in 1860, and with those who, like Jacob Thompson, proposed to invoke the aid of the British against their own countrymen in 1864.

What said Washington of party spirit in his farewell address? These are his words:

"In governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But, in those of a popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will be always enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constantly danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume."

To those who have outgrown the wisdom and patriotism of Washington, it may be useless to cite his words. But there are still those who believe them. In 1884, there were still enough of those who listened to call of their country and believed that it was higher than the claims of any party, to prevent the author of the Mulligan Letters from occupying the chair which had been filled by the author of these declarations.

Now what would be the result if there were no independents? Each party would be sure of its supporters, no matter how vile its candidates or how detestable its principles. Each party man would remain a party man forever. That is the logic of it. "Once in grace always in grace," and once condemned to perdition, no power in heaven and earth could remove the interdict.

Would parties nominate their best men or advocate things which are just, and pure, and wise, if they were thus in advance the recipients of a plenary indulgence to advocate bad principles and nominate bad men? The thing which drives each party to its duty is the knowledge that if it supports bad principles and bad men it will be hurled from power. Party government is only beneficial because there are mugwumps to repudiate it when it fails to do its duty. We may talk of "reform

within the party" until doomsday. If reform within the party accomplishes its work, it will also keep within the party those who are devoted to reform; but if it fails, then reform without the party, and by the defeat of the party, is not only the most effective, but it is the last remaining remedy—and this remedy the Mugwump does not intend to relinquish.

Mugwumps are accused of inconsistency and vacillation. Yet it is not possible to follow the career of those who have adhered constantly to party during the past twenty-five years who has not done things more vacillating and inconsistent. Whatever the party said these men were its obedient vassals. It was like the game of "Simon says thumbs up"—if Simon advised it, all thumbs were elevated. But if Simon did not say so not a thumb was raised.

Let me illustrate. In 1876 the platform of the republican party in Indiana demanded the repeal of the resumption act which had just been enacted. But when, only a few months later, the national convention insisted that resumption should be carried out, the command "right-about face" was given to every local republican in the state. The resumption keynote was struck by the leaders of the band and all the little fifers and players upon French harps responded. It will perhaps hardly be believed that a republican platform in Indiana once declared in favor of a tariff for revenue, in which protection was only an incidental feature, but such is the fact. In the fullness of time this doctrine developed into the McKinley bill and every orthodox republican changed front accordingly.

Far be it from me to say that men should not modify their belief by the light of experience. The convictions of every man are subject to change, but when these convictions take new form in exact accordance with party platforms there is strong reason to suspect that the rank and file are obeying the commands of others rather than follow their individual judgment.

In the democratic party the changes have been very violent. That party was the advocate of slavery, yet its members voted for Horace Greeley for President. It denied the power of the government to make greenbacks a legal tender and then demanded an unlimited issue of greenback currency for the payment of the national debt. It declared the war a failure and the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments unconstitutionally adopted and then accepted the consequences of the four-years' struggle and agreed to abide by the amendments. The orthodox democrat has undergone more changes in his belief than the phases of the moon. In view of these transformations, it is hardly becoming for either republicans or democrats to accuse the mugwumps of vacillation.

Every new dissent from the old order of things is a kind of mugwumpery. Every man was a mugwump who lifted his voice against the institution of slavery, and withdrew from

existing organizations in the day when the whig party and the democratic party divided political power and maintained cowardly silence in regard to the burning iniquity which was destroying the life of our republic. The new party which declared that the infant territories should be consecrated to freedom, was itself composed of mugwumps of this description. Had there been no independents in those days there would not be a republican to-day. Least of all does it lie in the mouth of any supporter of that party to belittle or revile an independent. His own political organization would not have existed had it not been for the same spirit of independence in the past. The party which has stood so long for liberty ought to accord liberty to others.

A man who sticks to his party through thick and thin is called a "stalwart." The mugwump who resists its dictations is considered a weakling. This is a curious instance where in social and moral questions it is deemed an evidence of greater moral strength to float with the tide than to swim against it. Obedience to party dictation shows more power than resistance. By a strange paradox the slave is regarded as stronger and more courageous than the freeman.

Our community is largely protestant, and protestants wonder how it is possible for a Roman catholic to submit his individual judgment in religious matters to the dogma of the Roman pontiff, or even to the declaration of the ecumenical council of the church. And yet strict party men, both republicans and democrats, are willing to declare in advance, and declare it the duty of others to agree in advance to support, not only the platform but all the nominees of a future party convention. In other words, they will agree to say that black is white if the convention shall so declare it. They will agree to support a public robber, as the purest and fittest man for the place if the convention shall demand it. With what consistency can a protestant maintain the right of private judgment in the things ecclesiastical when he denies that right in things political? With what face can he criticize the catholic for submission to Rome when he himself agrees to submit unhesitatingly in advance to the decrees of the ecumenical council of his party? Those who stand for liberty of individual opinion in the affairs of the church, ought to be willing to encourage liberty of individual opinion in the affairs of state.

About two months ago one John M. Davies, D. D., suddenly flamed forth into such notoriety as is conferred by a special dispatch to an Indianapolis daily newspaper by a sermon at the First Presbyterian church of Noblesville, Indiana, on the "Value of Partisanship." I profess the profoundest ignorance in regard to Dr. Davies. Who or what he may be I don't know and I would not think of dragging him forth from the obscurity in which his life has no doubt been peacefully passed, and which he seems so excellently qualified to adorn, except for the fact that he seems to be a fair representative of a certain kind of public opinion.

His expressions therefore serve as an appropriate text.

The worthy doctor of divinity thus sets forth his political creed: "I believe in partisan politics. I believe in the unflinching adherence to the principles of party and to the established tenets of the church. A strong, firm adherence to convictions of truth is fundamental to growth, success and happiness in any and all the walks of life. The great heroes and leaders of history are but shining monuments of the theory of believing something and adhering firmly and conscientiously to that faith. Luther, Calvin and Wesley accomplished their great work in the world because they taught and labored with intense faith and loyalty to their cause."

This is an illustration of just that sort of sloppy logic which has greatly weakened the hold upon the popular mind of the religion which such men represent. The reason that Luther, Calvin and Wesley accomplished their work was because they were true to their own convictions and not to the convictions imposed upon them by the religious organizations in which they had grown up. If Luther, religiously speaking, had been a good party man he would have lived and died a monk of the church of Rome. His name would have been unknown in history. Calvin and Wesley became the leaders of great churches because they were original and deep innovators, not because they trod the tried and beaten path. It would be just as logical to cite the works of Copernicus as an argument in favor of the Ptolemaic system as to speak of Luther, Calvin and Wesley as illustrations of the advantages of party loyalty. It is because these men were not loyal to their traditions that they were great.

The reverend gentleman continued: "The most dangerous instrument in American politics to-day is the independent voter. The doctrine that a man must eschew all parties and give allegiance to none is most dangerous and pernicious. Such a man is the most dangerous element in American politics. He is anchored nowhere, has no faith in anything and is just drifting with the currents. They are mere expletives, mere ciphers and the world is full of failures made out of just such timber."

Disregarding the mixed metaphors and grammatical blunders of these sentences it would be interesting to know who are the supporters of his alleged doctrine that a man must eschew all parties and give allegiance to none. There are men, it is true, who perversely maintain that it is their duty to eschew a party whose principles they can not believe and whose candidates they are unwilling to support. There are men who insist that they do not owe allegiance to a corrupt organization of dishonest and unworthy politicians. These men are anchored nowhere—except upon principle. They have no faith—in what they know to be wrong. As to drifting with the currents that is just the one thing they will not do. So far as a man may be an expletive (whatever that may mean), the reverend gentleman represents the possibility of such a thing far better than any mugwump could pretend to do. If mugwumps are ciphers they have the cipher's power of adding tenfold to the value of the integer which to it is annexed. The good sense of the American people has not seldom ratified their conclusions. There are many independents in the country to-day who have not as yet cast a vote for a presidential candidate who has not been elected. It must be sad, indeed, for party men to feel that ciphers have such power and that the "failures out of just such timber" have been so potent in their influence upon American politics.

But the reverend critic is not yet done. "I despise," he says, "the man who tries to

spread himself out over all parties and to absorb all the good out of all parties and then sets himself up as the independent voter so much better and nobler than his fellowmen." It is refreshing to hear this doctrine from a minister of the gospel. He who denounces corruption, he who rebukes by his vote the man who acquires wealth by the plunder of the public, he who objects to the doctrine that public offices are personal or party pelf, the democrat who resists the criminal domination of Tammany in New York and the republican who repudiates the iniquitous rule of Quay in Pennsylvania, is to be despised because he sets himself up as better and nobler than his fellows. If men have no right to attack political wrong doing what business have they to denounce wickedness of any sort? What right has the church to lift up its voice against sin?

Mr. Davies further declares that the policy and support of the independent paper usually "smells of filthy lucre." In his eyes the *Indianapolis News*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Springfield Republican* are venal and corrupt while the mugwump denouncing *Sun*, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* or *Commercial-Gazette* are pure, sweet, clean and of good repute forever. The organs of Quay in Philadelphia and of Brice in Ohio are reliable guides to those who seek the truth! Their honest aspirations have never been tainted by the lust for gold! It is only independent journalism which is defiled!

The charge of the smell of filthy lucre is indeed the best possible to those who have nothing else in the world to say. George William Curtis would not vote for Blaine lest he might lose a lucrative position with the Harpers. That was the logical explanation of the conduct of as pure and upright a character as has ever illustrated our national life. It was just as plausible as the claim that the father of our country promoted the establishment of the city of Washington to improve the market value of Mt. Vernon. It was just as true as the slander that Henry Clay procured the election of John Quincy Adams in consideration of an agreement that he should be secretary of state. History sets these things right.

But there are others more tolerant, who merely say that the mugwump is "misled." Curtis was perhaps honest but was deluded. Who are they that sit in judgment on the delusion? Deluded! That was what men said of Garrison when he demanded emancipation, of Seward when he talked of the irrepressible conflict, of Lincoln when he declared that a house divided against itself could not stand. Yet our country rose on the wings of that delusion from the dark valley of the fugitive slave law to the white peak of universal suffrage. It is the coming century which will best declare where the delusion lies. But even with our limited vision we may safely affirm that it does not lie at the doors of those who insist upon common honesty against the claims of party spirit and upon sound principles against the prejudices and the catch words of the hour.

The chorus against the mugwumps has been long and loud, but it is inharmonious and unimpressive. The heelers of Tammany Hall despise a mugwump, the thugs who drove men from the polls at Gravesend have no words strong enough for their contempt. The men who organize voters in blocks of five are loud in their outcry. Those who raise and contribute fortunes to campaign funds, and then demand cabinet positions or foreign missions for their services, can see no useful purpose in mugwump existence. Postmasters and collectors who fill their offices with political freebooters abhor such emasculated politics. The policemen who levy blackmail upon the vices of great cities have infinite contempt for mugwump principles. Gorman,

and Hill, and Croker, and Quay and Platt are well convinced that mugwumps are all pharisees. The men who sully their hands with the gold of bribery know that they are hypocrites. Those who give over the insane to brutal attendants to carry the ward for the straight party ticket are filled with indignation at the mugwumpery of the men who expose their iniquities. Yet still the mugwump survives, and increases and multiplies. Advocacy is hardly necessary when so much of the world is turning mugwump without it. So long as political scoundrels ply their trade the scourges for their chastisement shall not be put away.

WANAMAKER REDIVIVUS.

It is in accordance with the fitness of things that pious John Wanamaker should reappear in politics surrounded with a cloud of humbug and corruption. He is a candidate for the United States senatorship in Pennsylvania, and has scarcely taken the field before a charge is made that a systematic attempt is under way to subsidize the press in his interest. The editor of the chief republican paper of Lancaster county, charges that Wanamaker's lieutenants are offering the publishers of country papers from \$3 to \$20 for editorial articles supporting Wanamaker, the rate being adjusted to the influence of the paper. Instead of being denied, this charge is admitted by C. C. Kauffman, a state senator, who publishes a card in which he says:

"I wish to say that upon my own responsibility and without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Wanamaker, I met some representatives of the country press and showed them articles which I wanted them to print in their papers, and for which I paid them, as I would for any other political matter, and just as I have paid both city and country papers for like services in the past. I believe in printer's ink, and I appreciate what the newspapers did for me in my successful fight against Cameron in this senatorial district two years ago. This same thing is done in every preliminary campaign in this county. It was an open business transaction, with nothing secret or mysterious about it, and which I will do again if occasion justifies it. It is exactly what was done all over the state by both sides in the late contest for the chairmanship of the republican state committee, to influence public opinion for one side or the other, through the medium of the press. I have too high a regard for the integrity and independence of the press of Lancaster county to believe that it is venal, or that it could be subsidized in any cause, personal or political."

The light which this throws upon political morality in Pennsylvania is too fully illuminating to need comment. Kauffman's tribute to the "integrity and independence" of the press, which he says is regularly bought to "influence public opinion," is worthy of pious John himself. It is quite natural to find following close upon this a declaration that so far as he (Kauffman) knows, "Mr. Wanamaker has not contributed one dollar to promote his candidacy," and "has never consented to be a candidate."—*New York Evening Post*.

Mr. Herbert Welsh's Philadelphia paper, *City and State*, notes that "all of the great Philadelphia dailies, with the exception of brief items in the *Times* and *Record*," have "not made even a mention" of C. C. Kauffman's acknowledged purchase of editorial opinion in Pennsylvania in support of Wanamaker's senatorial aspirations. "What newspaper," it asks, "whose editor was in a normal condition of moral health, would not ring with indignant repudiation of this insult and wrong done the public and the press?" And, as to Wanamaker himself, "why has he not written to every paper in which the facts have been stated, and in which Kauffman's humiliating confession was made, disavowing all connection with him, and stating explicitly that Kauffman had no authority whatever to purchase editorial opinions advocating his candidacy. Such a disavowal from Mr. Wanamaker is undoubtedly in order. It would be demanded by sound public opinion from any public man, it is still more urgently demanded from one who has assumed Mr. Wanamaker's position as a moral and religious teacher."

* * *

Wanamaker will make a strong candidate for the senatorial nomination. He is well known all over the state, and has a host of workers at his call in the shape of the postmasters appointed while he was postmaster-general, and who hope to regain their old places through his influence if elected. Through his wholesale place he comes into close touch with a large number of influential men throughout the state, who will be able to give very material assistance to his candidacy. There is no doubt that he has extensive business relations with country stores, which are usually centers of political activity, and the country newspapers will help him along both through the methods explained by Senator Kauffman and through the large amount of advertising which Mr. Wanamaker places from time to time. He has, if current report is true, gone into the newspaper business himself, having purchased one of the Huntingdon locals.

Wanamaker's hold on the newspapers of Philadelphia is almost complete, and all on account of the page "ads" he frequently places, and the regular two and three columns of advertisements which appear as regularly in each morning and afternoon newspaper as the weather forecasts, with the exception hereafter noted. He is never criticised in these papers. Neither his connection with the Keystone bank failure nor the movement to have the embezzling City Treasurer Bardsley pardoned has been exploited, or his shortcomings as postmaster-general.

About a year ago, when the petition for the appointment of a senatorial committee to investigate Philadelphia affairs was under discussion, one of the Philadelphia newspapers published as an item of news that Thomas Dolan and William H. Wanamaker were in Harrisburg to prevent affirmative action. The

Wanamaker "ad" has not appeared in that paper since until a few weeks ago; and there are persons who allege that the two facts must go together as cause and effect. The paper in question, it is almost needless to remark, abstained from criticism during its period of probation.—*Philadelphia dispatch New York Evening Post*, January 10.

THE CONSULAR SERVICE.

Jonathan A. Lane.

But, as I have already intimated, these views and conclusions are not entertained by everybody. A leading citizen of Boston, hearing that at the time being in Washington I had expressed to Mr. Olney satisfaction at so much of what the department had done as was then published, called my attention to an editorial in the *New York Journal of Commerce*—by no means a republican organ—which condemned the whole scheme as insincere and worthless, which my friend approved as conclusive and correct.

* * * * *

The President of the United States by his high office inherits the privilege of these appointments. Under no other limitations or restrictions than his oath of office and the approval of that potential body, the senate, which very naturally has come into a sort of joint proprietorship in this patronage, by virtue of its authority and power therein. At the "outset" of Mr. Cleveland's administration we may perhaps admit conditions were not favorable—the pressure upon the President was very great, and the department of state was not manned as it is to-day. Therefore no such action as we are discussing did take place. Now, then, I would respectfully submit for the consideration of this body to what extent should the present incumbent of the presidential office, under these circumstances, make rules and regulations concerning the consular service, which would seem to circumscribe and abridge the privileges and the inherited rights of his successor? Of course it is intended that this policy shall be transmitted to the next administration, otherwise it would not, or should not, have been entered upon—and upon that excellent rule, good in affairs both national and personal, which in some sense here unite—"put yourself in his place."

Is Mr. Cleveland to be condemned by considerate, fair-minded men for going no further in these rules than he felt it was becoming and proper for his administration to do? He reserves consulships above the salary of \$2,500 for which this New York critic also condemns him. What limitation would this editor suggest, if any? And why not, with equal propriety, demand that he should have gone as far as the Morgan bill into a reformation of the consular and diplomatic service? Mr. Cleveland has gone slow in this movement, which, it is to be confessed, is quite in contrast with the too rapid gait which characterized his changes in the consular service at the beginning of his administration. It remains for his successor, the incoming President, to show the

country that the opportunity reserved for him to make further extension of the civil service, and to do much more, and to do it better, will be eagerly embraced, and that Mr. Strauss's admirable suggestion—that it be done at the outset of the succeeding administration—will not be forgotten. The party in power, which shall in this business take the most liberal non-partisan stand, will earn the lasting gratitude as well as admiration of the country.

BOSSISM IS THE BANE OF MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

[From the address of Joseph C. Butler, of Cincinnati, before the Columbus Board of Trade, Jan. 7.]

"Civil service is bound to come. Its progress is slow, but final success is inevitable.

"Ten years hence, when the merit system shall have been introduced all over our country, in municipal, state and federal offices, there will be those who will regret having allied themselves with the opposition to this cause, the merit of which they, in their ignorance, did not see, and others will feel the prick of conscience for having sacrificed their nobler impulses for temporary partisan gain.

"During the noble fight conducted by a few in England for civil service reform, against the very same conditions as exist in our country to-day, there were many who fought the measure with the same wanton and futile arguments that are hurled at its introduction here. The politicians were the very last to accept it in England, the members of parliament fought it, not seeing that it would ultimately work to their advantage, and feeling that its introduction meant a serious loss of power to them. However, as soon as its favorable results became evident, the very same men became its champions and defenders.

"We are the only first-class nation to-day that is saddled with the monarchical and effete system of the past. The whole of Europe—Germany, England, France, Switzerland, Austria, Spain, Belgium, Italy—administer their respective governments by officials and employes chosen for their personal worth—the fitness of an applicant for the office he seeks once being established, his tenure does not depend upon favoritism, but is rendered secure by law. The same inducements that the business world offers are held out to the young man who enters their service. They allow him to have the opportunity to rise by industry and faithfulness to the highest position for which his abilities qualify him. This is sound policy and good business sense. This policy has made their governments all the more stable, by holding out sufficient inducements to young men in office to work and strive all the more earnestly for their own and their country's interests.

"All of this is of comparatively recent date. Our present spoils system was in vogue in England at the time of the declaration of independence.

"According to Edward Porritt, the Aberga-venny manuscripts and other papers covering the same period, taken in conjunction with

Donne's letters of North and the Walpole correspondence, furnish full and excellent materials for a study of the England against which America revolted, and of the methods which George III used in the management of the house of commons. They show that the system of political corruption and political management—'bossism' in politics, to use current political slang—was not invented in this country. George III was as keen and as active a political 'boss' as any American politician. Offices, great and small, were given solely as rewards for political services; men were broken and turned out of the army and the civil service on account of their votes in and out of parliament. A subsidized daily press upheld the policy of the king and maligned the characters of men who dared oppose him.

"To-day there is a wide-spread feeling of discontent with the existing state of affairs in all our large cities and towns. We hear a clamor against 'bossism' from every direction—from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Missouri, Minnesota, and from our own great state. Thinking people are greatly agitated over the situation. And pray, what is bringing the American public to its senses, what is causing the business men, even, to give it their attention? I will tell you. One of the chief reasons is that the burden of taxation is commencing to be felt more than ever. This is the club that is reaching out and striking many that heretofore have rested easily upon the 'cushions of advantages.' It is harder to pay our taxes than ever before; rents and prices of commodities all have fallen. The tax rate remains the same. This serious question of paying taxes is making the nation think.

"The remedy which has been so effective in foreign countries will work here. Adopt civil service, and you destroy the power of levying assessments; stop assessments, and you take away the ability of organized gangs to exist. 'You take my life, when you do take the means whereby I live.'

"In all our large cities, men are awakening to the necessity of giving more earnest attention to public affairs. This is a very healthy and promising sign for the nation, for once the American people are fully roused, we may expect to see the same great ability bestowed upon public affairs that has made the results of their private undertakings the wonder and admiration of the world.

"From a business point of view I may state that if I could, by any efforts of mine, turn out of power our present political 'boss' in Cincinnati, I would not do so; in fact, I would do everything in my power to allow him to remain until such time as we have a change of system. What is the use of trying to turn one man out who has now grown rich and well supplied with this world's effects, to allow a lean one to come in to take his place?

"Our 'boss' who was a very poor man a few years ago, is reputed to be worth three to four hundred thousand dollars. The question sug-

gests itself, how much additional has been paid out to his lieutenants, or ward-healers, of the money of the tax-payers, for you must recognize that however indirect it may be, that it is the fountain source of supply; again, how many hundreds of thousands of dollars have been lost by way of this element representing the city's interest when a bargain is to be made for a franchise, etc.? If our city has lost hundreds of thousands, how much has the whole state lost?

"While recently in Baltimore, just prior to the election, where they were making a valiant fight against 'bossism,' I saw this statement, that the city had spent of late years some twenty millions for improvements, and she has not to-day over seven or eight millions in the way of assets to show for the expenditure. * * *

"A short while ago, in Cincinnati, our real autocratic ruler called for an assessment. He got it, some sixty thousand dollars. How does he get it? Every man who is elected to office is, in the first place, under obligations to the boss for his nomination. Secondly, if he is not informed, he is supposed to know the conditions—they vary according to the individual and the requirements of the situation. If, however, the former feels his power is being endangered or weakened, through the past extravagance of the administration of his automatons, or by those whom he has nominated and sent to the legislature, whose actions have not been satisfactory to the tax-payers, he immediately raises his standard of applicants for office, and in proportion as he does so, the conditions placed on the office-holders are less exacting, in many cases amount to nothing, except the little assessment for campaign purposes. Such is the case with our representatives recently elected in Hamilton county. The latter have now the power in their hands to help wipe out, for all time to come, the reign of 'bossism' and substitute that of the people, for they are under no obligations to the 'boss' through whom they got their nominations. He was in desperate straits and was obliged to nominate good men to have his ticket elected.

"The corrections of these evils, as I have said, lies in the adoption of the merit system. If it is not practical, it is not anything. Behold the bitter attacks made against the introduction of the merit system in England by the politicians, and the same weary fight at home. Many persons, judging from their remarks, have shown a disposition to be dubious in regard to their belief in the efficacy of the merit system to strengthen our government and make it more stable, to bring about the purification of politics, and downfall of 'bossism.' Allow me to endeavor to answer a few of these.

"Soon after the burning of the court-house by the mob in my city, in 1884, a law embracing the elements of the merit system was passed, placing our city police largely out of politics. What a transformation have I seen within the last ten years! From one of the worst to one of the finest body of men in the

land, all owing to the vision of the measure. This is a notable example, showing that one of the inherent qualities of the merit system is the productiveness of strength. * * *

"When cast last fall an eminent divine said: 'I am opposed to the civil service system, on the ground that it would create in time an office-holding class. You know we do not desire any overbearing aristocracy of that kind, such a system would be un-American and un-democratic.' I told him that he was not the first to express such idle fears. If he desired to take the time, he could read the little work of E. L. Godkin upon that subject, which would show him the fallacy of his position. If there ever was an aristocracy among public servants, it exists to-day. A man holds a position by the will of his liege lord, the boss. His actions are only amenable to the aforesaid individual. What cares he for the public, just so he does not fall under the displeasure of his royal highness, the boss.

"I desire to congratulate our President, Mr. Grover Cleveland, on his stand for civil service reform, especially do I wish to emphasize my congratulations on his recent act of placing many of our consuls under civil service rules. I know from my own personal and business friends' experience, that many of our consuls have been and are a disgrace to our country. Consuls are purely commercial agents, their business is with the trade and commerce of the world. Still, while not congratulating Mr. Cleveland on taking this step in the right direction, I wish to say, that I regret exceedingly that he should have been swayed, as it is said, in this recent act through the influence of Secretary Olney, from the only true and practical method of civil service. The limited pass system, which is part of his scheme, is worn out and proven by the experience of the past to be thoroughly unreliable. * * *

"But the civil service rule is gaining ground, and must in the end be preferred to the spoils system, as surely as right must triumph over wrong. What are the grounds upon which I base my assertion that within ten years it will be the established system all over our country, and what is the present position and outlook of civil service in the various states? The grounds for my claim that the merit system will be the only mode of service in vogue all over our country within ten years are: First, the faith I have in my fellow-countrymen, their lack of prejudice and their possession of good sense; secondly, it is characteristic of my countrymen to adopt the best of anything, no matter where they find it; thirdly, it is only necessary to have an illustration of the superiority and efficacy of this system, such as the happy results obtained in Massachusetts, for it to be demanded by all other states.

"One of the illustrious sons of Ohio was George H. Pendleton, the champion in the United States senate of civil service reform. His great measure became a law June 16th, 1883. An agitation was at once commenced in the New York legislature looking towards the passage of a state act; such an act was passed and became a law May 4th, 1883. At the same time a movement was commenced in Massachusetts, and a state act there was approved on June 3d, 1883. In New York, during the five years of the history of the first commission appointed under Grover Cleveland, who was then governor, a great deal was accomplished in the arrangement of classifications and the gradual extension of the competitive system, both in the state and the cities. In 1887, however, the first commission, of which John Jay had been chairman, was re-

moved by Governor Hill. From that date until the close of 1894, under the blighting influence of this man, the law was imperfectly administered, and positions taken wholesale from the competitive schedules and placed in the non-competitive or exempt. An investigation was made on behalf of the civil service reform association, and the facts discovered were reported to the legislature, together with a request that the condition of the service be investigated by a legislative committee. Such an investigation was held, and the charges of the association fully substantiated. Governor Flower and the then commission proceeded at once to repair a great deal of the damage. Governor Morton removed the majority members of the old commission, and appointed as their successors men thoroughly in sympathy with reform, and well qualified to give it real effect. Since then the great bulk of the positions in the state service have been made competitive, and a general improvement effected. Experience has proven that the New York state act is peculiar in the degree to which its operations depend upon the good intent of its administrators. It is practicable under its provisions to carry the principles of civil service reform to the farthest extent; whereas, at the same time, in the hands of administrators who may be ill-disposed, it is possible to go just so far in the other direction.

"The Massachusetts law differed from that of New York in that it allowed of a gradual extension of the rules to the various branches of the state service, something similar to the Pendleton act for the United States service. Large classes have been brought in from time to time, until at present practically every one is covered, excepting, of course, the classes usually exempt, elective officers, heads of departments, etc. Everything there is competitive. The Massachusetts act permitted the establishment in Boston of a system of labor registration, which has been in successful operation for ten years, and has recently been copied, with various modifications, in the navy yards of the United States, in New York city, and in Brooklyn. * * *

"And now, where shall stand the great state of Ohio in this movement to free ourselves from the serfdom of bossism? Will she allow her glorious record of the past to be broken on the greatest issue of to-day? Ohio has always taken an equal, if not a greater, share in the defense of the right of every leading issue. Her voice has been prominent in the councils of the nation, and her might has been felt on the field of battle, for the love she cherishes for the Union. She has furnished the majority of the chief actors in the history of the past forty years, Salmon P. Chase, John Brown, Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Rosecrans, Presidents Harrison, Garfield and Hayes.

In the municipal government of the city of Brooklyn only eighty places are exempt from civil service rules.

Morton has approved of the resolution of Nov. 12 last, adopted by the state civil service commission, transferring the following named places from non-competitive to competitive places: The division engineers, special examiners in the insurance department; principals, professors and teachers in the normal schools; the clerks in the office of superintendent of state prisons; deputy inspectors and expert examiners in the office of factory inspector; the chemists in the agricultural experimental station; the geologists, botanists, entomologists and their assistants in the state mu-

seum, and several other places have been re-deemed from spoil.

The house committee on reform in the civil service will hold its first meeting under a call by Chairman Brosius, of Pennsylvania, next Friday morning. Mr. Brosius was chosen from among several former republican members of this committee as the one most friendly to the reform, and it is expected that several important measures will be reported to the house during the session. The two measures in which the reformers feel the greatest interest at present are those which were favorably reported by Representative Andrew, of Boston, when he was chairman of the committee in the fifty-second congress. One of these gives authority to the civil service commission to prepare eligible lists of laborers on public works, in the navy yards and elsewhere, and requires appointing officers to make selections from these lists. The other bill relates to the classification of the fourth-class post-offices, and has been introduced in various forms for several years.—*Washington dispatch New York Times, January 14.*

Commissioner George B. Forrester, of the department of police and excise, Brooklyn, is a disgusted man. He had a faithful follower whom he wanted placed on the police force. With his political influence he believed this was an easy matter. It might have been had it not been for the civil service examination. When the list of men who had passed the civil service examination was published a few days ago, Commissioner Forrester carelessly looked over the names. He missed the name of his political protegee. He then put on his glasses, after wiping them carefully, and went over the list extremely carefully, but the name was not there.

"O, it's only a mistake," said he to himself, "the name has been left off accidentally."

The excise commissioner called on Commissioner Welles for an explanation. Mr. Welles simply referred Mr. Forrester to his protegee's examination papers. Here are some of the questions and answers:

Q.—Who is the governor of New York state? A.—Grover Cleveland.

Q.—Who is mayor of New York City? A.—Richard Croker.

Q.—What is the northeastern state of the union? A.—Africa.

Q.—What states border on the Mississippi? A.—The Hudson.

Q.—What is the usual process of dealing with a prisoner from the time of his arrest until his conviction? A.—One month.

Q.—Who appoints the police commissioner? A.—Mr. Welles.—*New York Times, January 9.*

It is significant, the *Buffalo Express* (Rep.) thinks, "that Governor Morton's appointee for inspector of gas meters, J. L. Stewart, was confirmed by the senate without reference, on motion of the Tammany Senator Grady. Evidently Tammany is entirely satisfied with this selection of the Platt machine."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 36.

INDIANAPOLIS, FEBRUARY, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WITH this number the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE closes its seventh year. It is proud of the share it has taken in the great contest which has been carried on during that time. Its one single principle of action has been a steady onslaught upon officers in place for the time being who were practicing or in any manner aiding or abetting the spoils system. It has not omitted to praise any acts of officers which promoted administrative reform, but it has not overpraised such acts, nor has it regarded even notable reform acts as any excuse for indulging in carnivals of spoil. It has refused to recognize any occasion as inopportune, nor has it regarded any sort of plain speaking as intemperate. It has let the sun go down every night upon its wrath. Its course has met with protest on every hand—from cabinet officers, from all manner of under-officers, from ministers of the gospel, from college professors, from good citizens whose party feelings were hurt. It has been ostracised from college libraries and religious reading rooms. Nevertheless, it knows that it has the respect of its enemies, and it has the approval of a wide circle throughout the country too eminent in the workings of government to leave any doubt. The men who have to be fought with in the struggle against the spoils system are too thick-skinned to heed innuendoes or fine phrases. The progress of administrative reform during the seven years has been enormous. When the CHRONICLE was started, the clippings of favorable discussion the country over would scarcely fill a page. Now hundreds of columns are the daily product. In short, the voice of the opponent has become dumb. His future recourse until his inevitable defeat will be to malicious trickery and a mulish refusal to move on

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE enjoys a vindication as well as anyone, and it has a vindication in the present aspect of the tariff question. For a long time it had to struggle with the contention that the tariff question must be settled first and that then civil service reform would have a chance. The CHRONICLE has never for a moment yielded to this claim. It steadily pointed

out that the agitation under Mr. Cleveland was not different from the agitation under Polk and that the tariff question had been with us a hundred years and would be with us for another hundred. It took the ground that what the two parties most desired was to divide upon an economic question and obscure the question of the division of millions of spoil just as in the forties and fifties it desired by the same division to obscure the question of slavery. The Wilson bill was passed and the tariff question was pronounced settled. Yet what so far as can be judged by party organs and leaders is now dividing the parties? The tariff. On every hand and in every shape the republicans declare their one object in life to be "the resumption of the American policy of protection." Federal civil service reform has been accomplished in the midst of this tariff turmoil. Is the same reform in municipalities and states to wait until the republicans now "settle" the tariff? The CHRONICLE'S answer is that in season and out of season, with reckless indifference to the success of parties it intends to urge these reforms as the first political matter to which every citizen should give his attention.

For the first time in a hundred years policemen in the city of New York are appointed and promoted upon merit, and upon merit alone. There is no political pull, there is no church pull, there is no saloon pull, there is no gambling pull, there is no house of prostitution pull, there is no purchase and sale, there is no anything, except straightforward honest fitness for the position to be filled. Nothing in the world can take the place of this magnificent example of good government. No loss of privilege, which this has brought about is of the least weight compared with the benefit. Too rigid laws can be relaxed by legislation, but bargain and sale, blackmail and the pull system running through a city administration are death to public virtue.

RICHARD CROKER, ex-chief of Tammany, was presented with a "loving cup" at a dinner given in his honor, February 8, in New York. The cup was of solid silver, thirteen and a half inches high, weighing 210 ounces and holding two gallons. The dinner cost forty dollars a plate. John C. Sheehan, the Buffalo defaulter, presided, and on his right were Senator Edward

Murphy, Thomas J. Grady, ex-Mayor Hugh J. Grant, Judge Frederick Smythe, Jacob A. Cantor, Nathan Strauss and James Martin. On his left were Croker, ex-Governor Roswell P. Flower, District Attorney John R. Fellows, ex-Mayor Gilroy, Amos J. Cummings and Henry D. Purroy. Among other guests was a son of General McClellan, to say nothing of Paddy Divver and numerous criminals. It is worth while to preserve these few facts, for in time they will be curiosities in the history of politics. The government of robbery, murder and universal blackmail in the city of New York reached the zenith of its glory when the city government was Tammany and Tammany was ruled by Croker. When he went into Tammany Croker had little, now he has not only thousands and tens of thousands, but certainly hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions. It is a strange spectacle and has few parallels in the history of government.

It begins to be doubtful if the republicans of Maryland are worthy of the great victory they recently gained over Gorman. If that victory was gained on any one ground, it was on the promise to institute civil service reform. The present aspect of the Maryland republicans is as though an army fighting for independence had held together until a victory was won, and then had at once broken up and devoted itself to plundering the enemy. The governor is overwhelmed with office-seekers, and it is said that half the members of the legislature want places. The promises to pass a civil service law are dodged or broken on every hand. It is but another proof of how selfish and dishonest and small the components of party machines are. In this case the enemy will rally and these ignoble victors will be defeated beyond power of recuperation in any near future, except the power to form bogus republican clubs and prey upon the remnants of federal patronage. In other columns we have reproduced the situation extensively from the *Baltimore Sun*, and we ask a careful reading. Mr. Bonaparte's denunciation is as withering and blasting as the scorn of the prophets.

PLATT'S war for the mastery of the city of New York goes merrily on. The protest of the most distinguished republicans in New York against the Platt primaries, published last month, will be remembered.

The rolls of the primaries have been found to contain 25,000 bogus names in a total enrollment of 77,000. The chairman of the protesting committee, John Sabine Smith, went to Albany and laid the whole matter before Governor Morton. The latter promptly referred the case to Platt's chief henchman, Lauterbach, and the Platt crowd had a great time considering it. Platt was so exalted that at a dinner afterwards in Jake Patterson's district he sang the stanza beginning

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea.

The protesting committee also appealed to the state republican committee. Now every man on that committee happens to belong to Platt and the following happy resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That the proceedings of the republican organization of the county of New York appear to be, and are regular and proper.

Resolved, That the gentlemen who appeared before the state committee having conceded that the constitution of the republican organization of the county of New York needs amendment, that the state committee recommends that the republican organization of the county of New York be requested to amend such constitution; and

Resolved, That the memorial filed, with all the papers, be referred to the republican organization of the county of New York for its consideration.

Verily the wheels of the Platt machine are well greased. Nothing like this has happened since the democratic state committee in answer to an analogous protest from the honest men of its party declared Tammany Hall to be the "regular democratic organization" of New York city. The difference between the Platt men and the Tammany men is that many of the latter have already served their time in prison, while, according to the following extract, a percentage of the former seem likely to:

The grand jury to-day found indictments for misdemeanor against three election inspectors of the fifteenth and thirty-third election districts. * * *

Owens was the chairman of the board of inspectors of the fifteenth election district, and besides being indicted for violating the election law was indicted for an assault on George H. Martin, an official watcher.

Mr. Melville, who lives at No. 80 E. Washington square, in his complaint alleges that he went to the polling-booth of his election district on the night of December 10, and was informed that forty-four votes had already been cast. Four votes were cast after he came. Of the forty-eight Mr. Melville charges forty-four were fraudulent, having been cast by Tammany men and other persons in no wise connected with the republican party in that district. In spite of his protest the two election inspectors persisted in counting these votes in. Mr. Melville at once informed Alfred R. Conkling, the former republican representative of that district, who laid the matter before the grand jury; and as a result of this these indictments to-day were filed in court.

At the Croker dinner which is described elsewhere, there was outspoken rebellion against John C. Sheehan's elevation to the

chairmanship of the finance committee of Tammany Hall. This is the greatest and most envied position in latter-day piracy. The chairman handles all the money, keeps no accounts, performs his addition and division all by himself and keeps his own silence. After a time he can buy anything in the world that takes his fancy. To return to the subject, the insult to Sheehan at the dinner had to be repaired. The Tammany executive committee was therefore called together on the 14th, and the next day the *Evening Post* gives Sheehan's vindication the following "send-off."

We presume there are few Christian capitals in which such an assemblage as the meeting of the Tammany executive committee last night would not be closely watched by the police, if not broken up. Its object was to pledge allegiance to John C. Sheehan as a leader, Sheehan being a thief, who made away with a large sum of money belonging to the city of Buffalo, and the owner of numerous bank accounts in New York on a salary of \$5,000 a year. The selection of such a man for the head of an association would naturally put the authorities on the alert in any well-governed city. They would ask, what must be the objects of such a society? and would detail detectives to keep an eye on its activities. Here it carries on its operations openly without the slightest fear, and even proposes itself for the government of the city. Has there ever been an odder thing since municipalities first took their rise? The apparent revolt against Sheehan at the Croker dinner was squelched at this meeting, and a resolution passed declaring that they loved Sheehan "as a man," and respected him as "a leader." Sheehan then moved that Croker be made an honorary member of the committee, which was carried, and means that Croker will still be the real head of the organization, and that Sheehan will fill towards him a position which Mike Daly filled towards Gilroy. The appointment of Sheehan, a notorious defaulter, is interesting as one more, and the most striking illustration of the boldness of the Tammany contempt for the morality of the community. The organization is, we think, the first of a political nature in the western world to make no pretence of seeking to promote better government. All preceding ones have given out that they were in pursuit of a reform of some kind. Tammany is the only one which has ever gone to the polls with the avowed object of making money by it. Similar organizations, like the Italian Camorra, do not vote. They levy blackmail secretly, and thus pay some homage to law and decency. The evolution of a voting Camorra by the country of Washington and Franklin is surely a strange phenomenon.

In *Harper's Weekly* of February 8, Julian Ralph has an article headed "Poison in the Civil Service." It bears upon undoubted evils and dangers. The effort to introduce the merit system in the federal service for many years had practically no help, nor even the approval of the employes themselves. But there came a time when the advantages of the system dawned upon them, and by classes according to employment, they began to form associations of which the National Association of Letter Carriers is an example. The tendency of these associations is to go beyond the

legitimate field of reform and to pass into the realm of selfishness, and to try to get special advantages. Two years ago the letter carriers came near getting the approval of the National League to a bill granting them special privileges, such as trial before dismissal. Mr. Ralph sets out important examples of undoubted evils arising from this selfish struggle of classes of civil employes, national, state and municipal. The danger is the menacing attitude they take toward congressmen and with state legislatures like New York, the corrupting influence of their money must be added. We all know the abject condition to which the pension system has brought congressmen—so low that one demagogue from Indiana declared the other day in the house that he was there to vote for every pension bill introduced. The alarm can not be taken too quickly to prevent great associations of public employes reducing congressional and legislative representatives to the same whipped-cour condition.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has hopes that the historian of the future will find in its ninety six numbers valuable and graphic material, and this material at least the Universities of Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin and Amherst College will have. It is for some student of the future that we complete the career of Bat Shea, who has suffered the penalty of death for a political murder, while the man actually responsible for him and his criminal career sits undisturbed and not dishonored or shunned by his fellows, a member of the senate of the United States. Senator Murphy's henchman, after an extraordinary struggle for escape from the law, fell at last before it. It is not too much to say that a long outraged public opinion finally aroused in its might could not be stilled, and brought to naught all of Senator Murphy's efforts to save his victim. But the methods to maintain the machine of Senator Murphy, tragic as they now seem, are the methods of several of his colleagues—Hill and Gorman and Quay and Brice and an ex-senator, Platt. All use intimidation, fraud and violence to maintain their boss-ship. The student of the future will be amazed as he glances at the accounts of great social functions at the capitol to find that most of these men are not social outcasts, but mingle on terms of intimacy with people of distinction, and that Platt sits at the governor and Mrs. Morton's table an honored guest. If the student is of foreign extraction, he will be positive he has fallen upon the rottenness of Rome before her fall. If he is an American student, he will understand that his country was very far from moral collapse, shocking as it appears in these annals.

THE civil service of Rochester, New York, appears to be honeycombed with favorites who were given their places in violation of the civil service rules—adopted, mind you, under a preceding administration in pursuance of a state statute. The new mayor was mindful of his oath of office, and he gave notice that he would veto the salary item of every placeholder not appointed in accordance with the rules. He began his lessons in respect for law by striking out the salaries of the city sealer and six city physicians whom the common council had appointed on the "cold toes" plan. The moment an honest man was found to be in the office of mayor a change came like magic. More than three hundred applicants are about to take the competitive examination, and among them are fifty now holding places illegally. The occupation of the spoilsman in Rochester is destroyed with one blow by a determined man. He will be justly honored and praised by the whole country. For any other course he would have been despised by the country and applauded by a ring of party workers. But any other course would have been grossly dishonest, contemptibly dishonorable, unmindful of the oath of office and treacherous to the interests of the people.

THE executive committee of the New York Civil Service Reform Association at a meeting, February 12, passed the following resolutions emphasizing the manner in which Governor Morton recently delivered himself and tried to deliver the civil service law of his state into the hands of Platt:

WHEREAS, The annual report of the State Civil Service Commissioners for the year 1895 affords gratifying evidence of the benefits to the state government from the application of the civil service laws, which have been in substance embodied in the constitution of this state by an overwhelming popular vote; and,

WHEREAS, It is equally obvious that these results, so advantageous to the public interests of the people of the whole state, have been assured by the faithful performance of their duties by the State Civil Service Commission as it was constituted during the past year; and,

WHEREAS, The experience of previous years has demonstrated that such public benefits from the execution of the civil service law may be wholly prevented by hostile sentiment and action on the part of the state executive authorities, especially by the appointment of officers who are not in sympathy with the principles of civil service reform, and who are ignorant of the duties to be performed in its administration,

Resolved, That the Civil Service Reform Association reaffirms its disapproval of the change in the membership of the State Civil Service Commission made lately by Governor Morton as a step calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the strength of his purpose to promote honesty and efficiency in the public service when other interest are arrayed against such a course on his part.

THE general assembly of Ohio seems likely to pass a corrupt practices act drawn

by Mr. Cushing, of Cleveland, and a bill for the application of the merit system to cities prepared by the Cincinnati Civil Service Reform Association. Ohio has always been classed with Indiana as being thoroughly debauched by the use of money in campaigns, and that such bills should come anywhere near passing shows the irresistible onward march of administrative reform. Even our Indiana politicians will yield or be brushed aside in time.

FROM Chicago comes the news that Frank Lawler is dead. He carried to Washington in a telescope trunk a petition with 60,000 signatures asking that he be made postmaster of Chicago. In the waiting-room of Postmaster General Bissell he exhibited to the editor of the CHRONICLE a condensation of his petition by classes, making a very effective showing, which he clinched with the remark that the Chicago postoffice had been managed by a Swallow-Tail and that it needed a Short-Hair. His last public act was as alderman to vote for a shady electric railway franchise. In the same city Judge Payne, of the superior court, charged the county commissioners with being open to pulls to secure their influence to corrupt grand jurors selected by them. Being challenged by the commissioners, the judge came promptly to the mark with a check for \$300 indorsed by one commissioner. It is claimed that he got the money on this for a pull. In Chicago, also, a committee of one hundred citizens has been formed to undertake the work of removing city affairs from party politics. That Lyman J. Gage is chairman leaves no doubt of a determined and systematic effort by influential men.

THE Lincoln League, of Indiana, which is a combination of republican clubs of this state, had a meeting here recently and claiming to be the bone and sinew of the party its resolutions may be looked to as indicating what it thinks should now engage a citizen's political activities. According to these resolutions the citizen should rely upon the republican party, should stand aghast that the country is borrowing money, should favor the resumption of the American policy of protective tariff, should favor bi metalism and the Monroe doctrine, and so on. This is a very old and deep rut. A protective tariff has not been departed from, but, like the Monroe doctrine, it is safe to mouth about. To have declared the tariff not a matter for partisan strife would have been a patriotic and progressive action. The progressive question connected with the finances is whether the government shall be compelled to go on borrowing money to maintain gold payments or

whether that burden shall be shifted to the banks and the government go out of the banking business. A declaration upon that point would at least have shown that the party had something genuine to work for. Bi-metalism in the sense of simultaneous circulation upon equal terms is unknown in the history of American currency; but that, too, is a safe party yell. There is one question which in far-reaching beneficial effect and importance to the greatest number is the first question of these times; that is the question of municipal reform. Yet these clubs seem never to have heard of it. It is not, however, an obscure subject, for no other is so generally discussed among the citizens. The secret is that political clubs are not formed for the purposes of political progress. They would naturally be looked to as the leaders of public opinion and their declarations would naturally be even in advance of party principles as stated in regular convention platforms. But their declarations are mere platitudes. If the abolition of slavery had depended upon the agitation of political clubs, we should have been buying and selling slaves to-day. Civil service reform has been accomplished in the civil service of the United States; yet it is safe to say that in the thirty years it has taken to bring it about, not a dozen political clubs have declared in its favor.

IT seems that the gerrymander in Indiana has received its quietus. The supreme court in an opinion by Judge Howard has laid down such rules for the interpretation of apportionment laws as to effectually block future attempts to cheat the people of this state out of a fair chance to govern themselves. The utterly whipped attitude of the party managers and legislators and ex-legislators who for a generation have been engaged in this rascally business is a wholesome sight, and there is no choice of parties. The republicans a year ago played the last trick, and now they are signing a written pledge that if the governor will call them together again, they will respect their oaths of office and pass an honest bill. Governor Matthews, however, does not seem disposed to do this, but is inclined to leave the state under an outrageous gerrymander fixed by his party in 1885. Governor Matthews will need a good deal of furbishing before he will make a Presidential candidate that will command much of the independent vote which decides elections in these times. He refused in his last message to recommend that the state institutions be put under the merit system, and he would do something to take himself out of ordinary hide-bound democracy by calling the legislature together to enact an honest apportionment law and at the same time by

his recommendations rectify his blunder regarding the state institutions.

THE board of public safety of this city has been making a report to the mayor in which they say: "The board removed twenty-nine members of the police force for inefficiency in the discharge of their duties, and their places were filled by men carefully selected, whom we considered especially adapted for police service." The board omits to say that it filled these places in impudent and reckless disregard of the law and set to the police force a flagrant example of law breaking. Nor did the board define its notion of the kind of a man "especially adapted for police service." The report of the investigating committee of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, the statements of which have never been in any manner questioned or denied, would seem to throw some light on that question. Referring to these twenty-nine new appointees the report said:

Among the new appointees was one who had been dismissed from the police force under a charge of levying blackmail on fallen women; another who had been refused an appointment formerly on the ground that he had been running a crap game, and who had once been in the police court for assault and battery; another who had been arrested for assault and battery; another who was known as a drunkard; another who, while on the police force, had been charged with borrowing money from a keeper of a house of ill-fame, and who had afterwards been dismissed; another who had been dismissed from the police force for insubordination and for leaving his post when on duty; another who had been dismissed for sleeping while on duty; another who is ruptured and is physically unfit to be a patrolman, and others still, the reasons for whose appointment can only be found in their having been active workers for the election of Mayor Taggart. One of the improper appointees is a relative of Police Commissioner Mack.

THE prohibition party held a county convention in this city on the 9th, and chose twenty-three delegates to the party state convention to be held February 25. This party is organized as all other parties are, having township and ward committees, men and county and state committees. How is it, then, that under our statute requiring the policemen and firemen of this city to be "as nearly as possible equally divided politically," this city administration only gives places to republicans and democrats? The same question may be asked in behalf of the regularly organized populist party. The CHRONICLE is neither prohibitionist nor populist, but it believes in a fair and impartial enforcement of law, whether as to sidewalks, or saloons, or appointing policemen and firemen. We know very well that, in answer to these questions, Mayor Taggart and the board of public safety would say that they do not recognize the above organizations as parties. But they are parties; such an an-

swer, however, would be of a kind with Taggart's refusal to recognize as law civil service rules (which he had never read), adopted in obedience to a command of a state statute.

A MONUMENT TO CORRUPTION.

The capitol commission reported to the senate finance committee to day that it will take \$1,716,647.99 to complete the capitol—\$1,356,388.60 for contract work, per bids submitted, and \$360,259.39 for day labor. No effort is made by members of the legislature to conceal the fact that they are opposed to having the work on the capitol completed by contract. The adoption of that system would mean the loss of a good deal of patronage to senators and assemblymen of both parties, whose influence secures employment every winter for some of their constituents in the construction departments of the capitol. Few years go by when at least half a million dollars is not spent on the work, and that sum represents plenty of patronage. —*Albany dispatch, New York Evening Post, February 12.*

A correspondent who is appalled at the cost of the state capitol nevertheless asks *The Express* if we really mean that we would have the work on it stop where it is, leaving the building in an unfinished state. Yes; we mean just that. The capitol is near enough to completion to be available for all the uses to which it would be put if entirely finished. The argument that it must be finished since it has been begun is the one that has wheedled the people out of the millions that have already been spent on it. The great pile never will be finished while that argument will avail to get appropriations for continuing the work. Let it stand as it is, with its unfinished parts a monument to the corruption that has built it. Let it so remain till the sight of it shames the state officials into dealing with it honestly. —*Buffalo Express, February 14.*

NEXT to the career of Tammany in New York City the building of the Albany capitol is probably the greatest example of practical politics in the country. It was begun some thirty years ago under Tweed. The limit of the cost was to be three millions and a half. But when that sum was spent the building was complete only to the water tables. Some twenty-one millions in all have so far been spent. The work to show for it is comparatively of small value. It has been simply a generation of appropriations drawn from the treasury by favorites given places by bosses who rendered little service in return. Successive party bosses have worked this gigantic scheme of robbery until a child born when the corner stone was laid is now well on toward middle age.

In *Harper's Weekly* of February 15, we find the following description of two paintings by Elihu Vedder for the new congressional library which we give, with the remark that one should be spread upon the walls of the Albany senate as expressive of its spirit and the other in like manner upon the walls of the assembly:

To the left of the central panel Mr. Vedder places his allegory of corrupt legislation. A robust, beautiful figure, with an ignoble face, is seated carelessly upon a throne, of which the

arms are painted to represent horns of plenty. But all the plenitude is flowing toward the woman herself. She bears a parody of the scales of justice with a sliding weight. An old man of crafty countenance sits at her left in possession of the law, the ballot and riches. He places a bribe in the scales. On the other side a child stands showing a useless distaff, and apparently pleading in vain for work. The little jar in which the child's savings might have been hoarded lies broken at her feet. Behind her are smokeless chimneys, but in the background beyond the rich briber the factories are seen in full operation, their chimneys eloquent of busy life below. In the next panel the dire outcome of corruption is portrayed. The painting represents the brawny Goddess of Anarchy trampling the ruins of an arch. Her crown is of serpents. In one hand she bears a lighted torch made of a scroll, and in the other she holds a cup. She is spurning under her feet, and casting into the ruin beneath her, symbols of religion, law, learning and the arts. She is aided by a figure of Ignorance on her right, who uses a surveyor's staff for her fell purpose. Ignorance is kneeling on a millstone rendered useless by anarchy, and a broken and rusted cog-wheel resting with it among the thorns of desolation suggests industry abandoned to ruin and decay. On the left of the central figure is a muscular type of violence engaged in the removal of the corner-stone from a building. He has his eyes fixed on the cup of madness in the hand of the goddess. A lighted bomb in the foreground is a reminder that anarchy contains within itself the seed of its own destruction.

MURPHY AND SHEA.

Boss Murphy, of Troy, otherwise known as Senator Murphy, of New York, stands by his heelers when they get into trouble. He pleaded with Governor Morton to commute the sentence of "Bat" Shea, who killed Robert Ross, a republican election watcher at the polls, and who is to be executed next week. Murphy's son went to see the governor in Shea's behalf, as his father's representative, but the governor refused to interfere. It was the Murphy machine which prompted the row in which Ross was killed, and Murphy is warranted in feeling a little annoyed that his political methods should have cost two lives at one election. —*Springfield Republican.*

The confession of John McGough that he, and not Bartholomew Shea, was the murderer of Robert Ross, will fall on incredulous ears. His statement, however, makes necessary the postponement of Shea's execution and a new trial. Just before Shea was respited by the governor in December, the Albany Argus printed a story hinting at some such development as this. *Later the Troy Times asserted that the politicians who have befriended Shea from the first were planning to secure a confession from McGough in case all other steps to save Shea should fail.* Matters have turned out exactly as foretold.

The evidence against Shea was of the most positive character. The murder was committed in open daylight, and was seen by many persons. Witnesses who had no possible motive for fixing the guilt on the wrong man, swore to having seen Shea fire the fatal shot. If now it could be proved that these witnesses were mistaken, there would be no possibility of ever establishing a case which could send

anybody to the electric chair for Robert Ross's murder. Even McGough's own confession would not do it, for he would probably deny the truth of the confession on his own trial, after having secured the release of Shea, and no other testimony could be found against him which would stand under the light of the previous testimony given against Shea.

Shea's crime was one of the most infamous ever committed in this state. He was employed by the democratic machine in Troy to intimidate republican voters. *It has been evident from the first that powerful political influence has been exerted to save him from the consequences of his act. The public well remembers the scandalous blindness of the Troy police officials at the time of the murder. They first arrested one of the murdered man's friends and openly asserted that they had a clear case against him, though numerous witnesses were coming forward voluntarily and declaring that Shea was the guilty man. It required powerful pressure to secure Shea's arrest at all. A day or two after the murder a statement defending him was issued to the public over the signatures of two high officials of the democratic state machine at Albany. The warden of Dannemora prison, in whose charge McGough now is, owes his appointment to Senator Murphy and is counted one of the active members of the Troy machine.*

If McGough's confession fails to stand the light of examination in court, steps should be taken to see who the plotters are and to what extent they are interested in the crimes of McGough and Shea. The responsibility for Robert Ross's death rests primarily on other souls than the wretch who fired the shot. There is no place in the state of New York for the politics which employs murder to gain its ends or upholds murder when a political tool has blundered into it.—*Buffalo Express, January 6.*

* * *

All the circumstances connected with the getting up of this confession point to it as a last desperate move of the Murphy ring to save their tool Shea. The warden of the prison from which McGough's confession was given out was twenty years ago a compositor in a Troy newspaper office. He "got into politics," and finally, through Senator Murphy's influence, secured the important position which he now holds at Dannemora.—*Troy dispatch, New York Evening Post, January 7.*

* * *

A mass meeting of the citizens of Troy was held this evening under the auspices of the committee of public safety. It was a very large and earnest gathering. An address to the public was adopted, reviewing the facts regarding the murder of Robert Ross on March 6, 1894, and the trial, conviction, and sentence to death of Bartholomew Shea for the crime. It also quotes from the unanimous opinion of the court of appeals, written by Judge Peckham, sustaining the verdict, and expressing detestation of the practices which resulted in the tragedy.

In conclusion, the address says:

McGough's so-called confession is a part of a trick to enable McGough to save his partner in crime without incurring additional punishment himself. It is at variance with the facts established at the trial, and is not worthy of serious consideration. It is the unsupported word of a criminal; a thief, who served a term for burglary and larceny; a convict, who is now serving a term for attempted murder; a self-confessed perjurer, who swore that he saw Boland shoot Ross, and who now says he did the shooting himself. We prefer to believe the testimony of the fifteen respectable men who saw the occurrence, and identified Shea as the man who did the shooting. Mindful of this injunction, we are here to-night to reassert our belief in the sanctity of the ballot, to express anew our detestation of the crime in resisting which Robert Ross met his death; to give voice to our indignation at all improper attempts to frustrate justice, to uphold the officers of the law in their efforts to bring the guilty to punishment, and to ask for the co-operation and moral support of all good citizens throughout our republic. We are not actuated by any desire for revenge. We deplore the death of Robert Ross, but his murderers were guilty of a still greater crime; for, in the murder of a citizen they were guilty of a crime against the republic and against republican institutions. If such a crime is to go unpunished, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," must perish from the earth.—*Troy dispatch, New York Times, January 14.*

* * *

Osborne C. Lansing, one of the most important witnesses for the prosecution in the trial of "Bat" Shea, was attacked on the street by four men in this city last night. He was struck on the head and badly bruised. One of the assailants said, "You went to Schoharie to try to get in some testimony in the Shea case, didn't you?" This is not the first time that Mr. Lansing has been assaulted since he gave testimony in the Shea trial.—*Troy dispatch, January 30.*

* * *

Immediately, friends of the condemned circulated petitions asking the governor to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. Those who refused to sign were threatened. Several storekeepers were boycotted by the Shea faction. The proprietor of a large concern was forced to take his advertisement out of a news paper that had kept up a constant fire against Shea. *Senator Murphy, head of the famous political machine that bears his name, wrote a personal letter to the governor asking for commutation of the sentence. Other democrats of national and state renown made the same request. The strongest political and personal influence was brought to bear upon Governor Morton to mollify the sentence.*

For two years the chair in electrocution chamber at Clinton prison has been waiting for Shea, and five distinct times has it been prepared to receive him, four occasions seeing the law temporarily cheated of its victim.

The sensational episodes that have marked the case since the commission of the crime and down to the day of the execution will not be lacking to-morrow. It is a singular and rather horrible fact that Shea will be executed by his friends. Warden Thayer, who will read the death warrant to him, has known him from boyhood, living in the same city with him. Deputy Warden McKenna, who will lead the

procession of death as a guard to the prisoner, is also from Troy and knew the convicted man well.—*Buffalo Express.*

* * *

The funeral of Bat Shea to-day was made the occasion of a great demonstration by his friends and morbid sympathizers. Crowds of curious persons struggled until midnight last night to get into the house where the body lay, and the mass of people in front of the entrance extended across the street so as to impede the passage of the cars. A squad of police tried to keep the crowd under control. At each of the collar shops yesterday funds were subscribed by the girl employes for the purchase of flowers and for the funeral expenses, \$300 being raised in one shop. A great crowd assembled to see the funeral procession, and a reserve force of police was kept on duty. Although cold weather and a driving snow-storm prevailed, as early as seven o'clock the cars going toward the location of the church were jammed with persons anxious to get a good position in the church. The streets between Shea's home and the church, a distance of about a half-mile, were filled with spectators so that traffic was cut off. At the house and at the church squads of police from the reserve force made attempts to keep the crowds in abeyance, but with poor effect. By nine o'clock the church was filled and fully 10,000 persons crowded the thoroughfares.—*Troy dispatch, February 13.*

* * *

The last scheme of the machine was to procure a new trial for Shea on the ground of newly discovered evidence in the form of a confession of a fellow-heeler, one McGough, who is in prison for complicity in Shea's crime, but this effort has failed, and Shea went to the electric chair on Tuesday. It is to be hoped that the two New York senators, both of whom have encouraged and profited by the methods of electioneering which logically resulted in the killing of Ross, and who are therefore—Murphy especially—morally responsible for Shea's crime and its consequences, will give a thought to their victim.—*Springfield Republican, February 14.*

* * *

Bossism in the government of a city reached its logical conclusion in the execution this morning of "Bat" Shea for the murder that he committed in Troy two years ago, in carrying out the orders of the machine to which he was attached. The man who has been put to death by the state to-day was in himself only an ordinary criminal, whose just punishment would invite no comment; but he was part of a system which extended from the ward politics of his city to the capital of the nation, and which placed Edward Murphy in the senate of the United States * * *

Shea was poor and friendless. But he was defended upon his trial by lawyers of great ability, who always charge large fees for their services. No expense was spared to secure the best possible presentation of his case on each of the successive appeals to higher courts. When the McGough "confession" offered a

loophole of escape through the meshwork of legal technicalities, legal ability was again at the wretched convict's service. There was, of course, only one possible explanation of all this, as well as of the suspicious fact that the "confession" was made to a prison official who was a protege of Murphy. The Troy machine was standing by its man all the way from the polling place where he led a gang of repeaters to cheat for it to the electric chair at Dannemora, from which it would have saved him if money could have found ability enough to circumvent the law.

"Bat" Shea has been justly executed. A worthless brute, his crime was without defense or excuse. But Shea was not alone to blame that he is put to death at the age of twenty-five for a murder done in the course of "politics," as he understood it, instead of earning an honest living at his trade as a moulder. He was the mere tool of the machine which has long made Troy the worst governed city of its size in the Union. He would not have been "in politics," he would not have been breaking up caucuses, he would not have been leading a gang of repeaters from one voting place to another, he would not have armed himself and would not have used his weapon on election day, if the machine organized by Edward Murphy had not educated him to secure a majority for its candidate at any cost.

Society has done its duty in the case of "Bat" Shea so far as he is concerned. But its duty in the case is not done when he is executed. It should visit punishment upon the man who is morally responsible for his crime. The head of the democratic machine in Troy can not be convicted of murder in any court. But Edward Murphy is morally guilty of an attempt to murder a system of government that can only live when elections are honest. Public sentiment should serve notice on the United States senator from Troy that he is held responsible as a partner in the crime that was punished by the execution at Dannemora this morning.—*New York Evening Post.*

MARYLAND REPUBLICANS AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

(From The Baltimore Sun.)

An Absorbing Occupation.

The leaders of the party are beginning to realize that too much time has been needlessly consumed without any result, and they have seen the necessity of curbing the rank spirit of spoils which is rampant everywhere.

It is learned from the applications filed in the executive department, that nearly one-half the members of the legislature are after office for themselves, and in their pursuit of spoils, seem to wholly neglect the interest of constituencies.

Nothing like it was ever known in a Maryland legislature before. Up to date, only one bill has been passed by both houses, and that received the approval of the governor this morning. It was a bill sanctioning the sale

and conveyance by John M. Glenu and Wm. L. Glenn of a lot of ground at the southwest corner of Preston and Chester streets in the city of Baltimore to the vestry of the Church of the Atonement. This is the first fruit of legislation.

One-third of the session has elapsed and nothing in the way of legislation has been completed, except this private bill. The difficulty of the situation seems to be not so much with the party leaders as with the members of the legislature, who are more engrossed in the struggle over spoils than in the struggle for good government.

Republican Clubs Sound The Alarm.

At a meeting of the First Legislative District Association of Republican Clubs, held at the Fairmount Republican Club of the third ward, George W. Golden, of the Active Club, presiding, and W. A. Johnson, Jr., secretary *pro tem.*, the following resolutions were adopted: "That we call upon our representatives in the house of delegates to use every honorable means to defeat the Bruce civil service law or submit it to the vote of the people, and we would suggest to all other republican clubs of the city to prevail upon their representatives to work together to that end. That we indorse the manly and courageous stand taken by Senator Wilkinson, of St. Mary's county, and commend his action as an example for all republican members to follow."

At a meeting of the thirteenth ward regular Republican Club, resolutions were adopted that: "We earnestly condemn the Bruce civil service bill as presented before the legislature, and demand that members of that body, elected by our votes, shall vigorously oppose it as being un-American, un-democratic and un-republican, and in the interest of a privileged class, which would build up an office-holding aristocracy never intended by the founders of our government, and against which a vast majority will protest at the ballot-box if the opportunity be given them."

The following resolution was left at the Sun office last night:

"The Lloyd Lowns Republicans of the 16 Ward do here by comden and oppose The passag of the Bruce Civles bill in the house of Legature."

Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte's Answer.

"Gentlemen of the association," said Mr. Bonaparte, "the time has come to speak plainly.

"A little more than a year ago, in an address to the Unit Club of the twelfth ward, I told the managers of the democratic party that in the choice of Judge Dobler, in the republican majority throughout the state at the election of 1894, the people of Maryland had given them 'a notice to quit,' not, indeed, an absolute notice, but a fair warning, that unless they remedied abuses long since scandalous and discarded, leaders long since tried and found wanting within the year next to

elapse, that year would see the end of their party's rule.

"I say to-night to the leaders of the republican party, that it will be driven from power before it has ruled as many months as its rival did years, unless they promptly rebuke the insolence and rapacity of its parasites, abandon at once and finally practices decisively condemned by public opinion, and satisfy far better than they have yet shown either ability or desire to satisfy the reasonable expectations of those through whose votes, labors and sacrifices power was given them.

"I say to Governor Lowndes, that if he were a candidate for his present office at an election to be held to-morrow, thousands of votes which he received in November would be cast for his late or almost any other competitor, and thousands more would not be cast at all. He would be in grave danger of defeat, and I do not believe that in this city his vote would equal that of his party in 1894.

"It is fair to say that the gathering storm of public indignation, whose mutterings may be drowned in the clamor of office-seekers and the wrangling of greedy factions for the governor and his advisers, but which grows daily louder and more threatening, is due to nothing which Governor Lowndes has himself said or done, and it is due much less to what the general assembly has done or its members have said, at least in debate, than to what it has left undone, and to the impudent boasts of notorious political adventurers—boasts apparently but too well warranted—regarding its probable action and the motives and influences which will determine this.

"The typical 'republican club' is well-known in Baltimore politics. It is one of the many unhappy fruits of our proximity to Washington and of the long control of federal patronage by the party here in an evident minority. Its genesis is familiar to us all. A politician, booming himself for some office, 'rounds up' in a room he has hired over a grog shop, a herd of shabby loafers, buys for them on the instalment plan, a second-hand table and chairs, guarantees them a reasonable credit at the bar down stairs, picks out one relatively sober as president and one not wholly illiterate as secretary, and, behold the Elijah Pogram Republican Club of the twenty-third ward, born on its brief life and ready to 'resolute' and 'delegate' in its owner's interest.

"When these gentry tell us that they detest civil service reform they give us no news. We are as ready to believe this as that they abhor cleanliness and sobriety and honest industry, and well nigh everything which makes man estimable, or life in civilized society a source of happiness. If the convicts in our penitentiary or the prisoners in our jail gravely resolved that they didn't like those laws which prevent or punish larceny, no one would question their sincerity. The Australian chorus was doubtless hearty:

"We'll damn that jury, every man,
"That sent him to Botany Bay."

"One of the greatest blessings conferred by civil service reform upon a community which thoroughly and honestly adopts it is that it forces hundreds, even thousands, of men to work for their living who would otherwise grovel in penury, idleness and sordid vice, doing all sorts of political odd jobs in the hope that they may somehow, by hook or by crook, and usually the latter, pick up a transient and precarious living at the tax-payers' cost. No one who knows anything of degraded human nature will wonder that it is as odious to those it would thus transform as are soap and water to a tramp, and their clumsy expression of the hatred they feel for it would not be worth mention were this not serious and menacing as a symptom—a symptom because it shows the course which responsible politicians of the party, on which these men sponge, will take if they dare; the clubs are allowed, even encouraged, to ask them to defy public opinion, that they may judge whether such defiance will be safe.

"Gentlemen of the association, you have been called together to aid in answering this question. When I say, as I do, without a moment's doubt or hesitancy, that to put or keep in power such a party as theirs would then become I would not move a finger, spend a dollar, write or speak a word, would not even cast my vote or lend my name, it is, to them and to the public, a matter of small moment if I speak for myself alone. I believe that in saying this I voice the thoughts of thousands of my fellow-citizens, just as I believed a year since that, as I then felt, so had a majority of the voters of Maryland come to feel. I ask you, gentlemen of the association, to say, as plainly as I have spoken, whether you think I am right."—*The Sun*, February 5.

Reply of The Malster Republican Club.

"Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte has, with his disregard of truth, asserted in an address before the civil service reform league that which is false and slanderous as to the republican clubs of this city," and "that the club denounce his statements as infamously false and the ravings of a fanatic against which we call upon all the republican clubs to vigorously protest."

Another.

At a meeting of the Wm. H. Schilling Republican Association of Baltimore the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"We commend the action of all the members of the legislature who absented themselves from the meeting called for the 6th of February by the reform league of Balto. City and addressed specially by Charles J. Bonaparte for the passage of the Bruce civil service bill at Annapolis. Many of these are active members of the republican clubs referred to in a former Speech by this Man Bonaparte And he justly deserves the censure of all good thinking Men.

"We are Not of the Herd of Shabby Loafers of the New Territory Ward 23 referred to by

Charles J. Bonaparte. We are American Citizens fully able to defend our Course against Civil Service. And We Consider the Source from whence Came Such foul and filthy Language Eminating from this Man Bonaparte Who on a previous occasion has Compared our public Schools as Common Soup house.

"We are not disposed to rest under such Language and refections. We care not for the opinion of Bonaparte—our Characters for Cleanliness, Sobriety and honesty will compare with his. We do not Live over Liquor Stores or Lager Beer Saloons and our furniture is not of the make up he no doubt would Like it to be. one Second hand Table and Chair bought on the Installment plan. Not blessed perhaps as Bonaparte with the Silk Tapestry and Cushion Chair to Lounge upon But being Voters we can measure arms with you at the ballot box and this right we reserve to ourselves and Civil Service we will defeat if left to the Voice of the people whence it should rightfully and properly go.

"We denounce all such unjust Legislation and will not forget those who are Endeavouring to make the Legislature believe that Civil Service was an issue in our Last Campaign. We deny that such was the Case—And it was not a part of the platform of the Republican party adopted at Cambridge—And we call upon our friends in the Lower house of our assembly to stand by us in our rights and defeat the Bruce bill as we believe you will or send it to the people.

"Chicago and New York were granted this privilege as argued by those who favor this bill. Now let the people of Maryland have the say also at the ballot box."

Mr. Bonaparte Closes.

"What they say about me will hurt no one—not even themselves—while their indorsement of the principles of civil service reform may do good to their party and to the community. Indeed, I should be pleased to see the Bruce bill amended by a clause disqualifying me for any state or city office of trust or profit for the rest of my life if that would insure its immediate passage. Such a clause would not cost the republican party a single vote—at all events, would not cost it mine—while the bill's defeat or its serious injury by amendment will, in my humble judgment, drive that party from power at the next general election with the approval and possibly the help of thousands of citizens who feel as I do. 'I am accustomed to displeasing politicians; pretty much all my connection with public affairs has consisted in treading on tender feet, and I am prepared for the usual sounds to follow. These are, after all, very harmless. If the republican party in Maryland prefers my room to my company I shall not insist upon staying where I am not wanted, and I hope to survive the separation.'

Before The Legislature.

"I will endeavor by what I may say to redeem some of my misdeeds, whether in the remote or near past, by one virtue—that of

advocating a civil service reform bill," said Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte. "We are here for two things. First, as to what we want, and second, to tell you that we want it very much. The last is the more important, and I think I speak for the whole of this large delegation when I say that we ask earnestly and unceasingly for this bill.

"It has been said that it is the desire of many delegates to submit the bill to the people. This experiment has been tried. In New York a similar law has been made part of the organic law of the state by popular vote. In Chicago the opportunity was offered to vote on this question when no other issue was involved and it was adopted.

"The time has passed to question whether or not the people of Baltimore want a merit system applied. A grave responsibility rests upon any legislative body which will longer keep open the door of the spoils system. We think we voice the sentiment of the people of Baltimore when we say we do want this bill.

"Public opinion asks this legislature to place itself on record in the application of the merit system to offices the incumbents of which are paid by the tax-payers of Baltimore city. On this question the public mind is made up."

Mr. Joseph Packard, Jr., who followed, explained the features of the pending bill. Among other things, he said: "Many democrats who voted against their party last election did so by reason of the pledge of the successful party that a civil service reform bill should be enacted. We are willing to accept it now as only applicable to Baltimore, for we remember the reform of the Australian ballot. This at first was not of general application, but after its good results had been demonstrated, the exempted counties were not only willing, but anxious to come in."

"There seems as much sense in civil service reform to those who don't know anything about it," said John C. Rose, "as there was in Mr. Bonaparte's description of a typical republican club. Examinations for place may accomplish all that is claimed, and may not always produce the best results, but they will serve to keep notoriously unfit persons out of public positions. When a democratic senate has passed a civil service bill it is necessary for the republican house to go one better, and not only pass this bill, but all other reform measures as speedily as possible. By doing this we will carry out the governor's promise and keep the state in line in 1896. The scramble for office will break up the republican party, and will only provoke further disgraceful primary elections, of which the republicans of Baltimore have already given us a sample."

Mr. T. Wallis Blackistone said, he was one of the democrats who voted the republican ticket and who had induced other democrats to do so, because of the promises to pass this measure. "If you do not do so," he continued, "we will be taunted by those democrats

who said we only aided in putting out one set of spoilsmen so that another might get in. I took your platform in good faith as did more than 10,000 democrats in Baltimore city who voted your ticket."

Mr. J. Frank Supplee, the last speaker, said he wanted to add his condemnation to the charge of Mr. Bonaparte, that republican club members were loafers and bums. It was unfair, he said, to attack all the clubs because a few had been unwise enough to repudiate this measure.

Later, the Boys Have An Inning.

President W. Cabell Bruce, of the senate, the champion of civil service reform, as he sat in the space before the speaker's desk in the hall of the house of delegates this morning, reminded the spectators of Daniel in the den of lions. He was in the midst of the delegates from the republican clubs who had come down to have their say in opposition to civil service reform. They did not eat Mr. Bruce, but they roared at him extremely.

Amid the hoots and jeers and laughter of a reform legislature he was denounced as a "political highwayman" and the "champion spoilsman of the time, who had put himself upon the bargain counter for sale to either of the parties who would take him." And yet the champion of civil service reform was before a civil service reform committee and in the midst of people solemnly pledged to that measure.

The members of the legislature from the city who had sullenly absented themselves from the reform meeting last week when Messrs. Bonaparte, Gaither, Smith and others spoke in favor of reform, gathered into this meeting and laughed and applauded and jeered and made merry in turn. It was a great contrast.

Mr. Bruce stood his ground like a courageous man and compelled this reluctant crowd to give him a respectful hearing. They groaned and hissed when he mentioned Chas. J. Bonaparte's name, but he even made them listen to him as he spoke of the honesty and courage of that gentleman.

Major A. M. Hancock made a speech which created the wildest enthusiasm. He said it seems to be assumed, especially in Baltimore, that the house of delegates is incapable of doing its work and every civil service society and every reform society esteems it its duty to formulate bills and send them down here and demand their enactment. The house is denounced because they have not turned things upside down and made heaven of hell and in forty days wiped from the statute books the accumulated legislation of Rasin and Lananhan for thirty years.

Turning to President Bruce, who sat just in front of him, not ten feet away, Major Hancock said:

"I consider William Cabell Bruce the most unmitigated spoilsman in the United States. He is the only political highwayman. He has put himself upon the bargain counter to go to the highest bidder. When he saw John

Walter Smith going to the president's chair in the senate he cried, 'Stop! Give me that office or I will go over to the republicans.' Such a spectacle has not been seen as that presented by Mr. Bruce when he tells a republican governor that his appointments must be satisfactory to him or they will all be held up. Is there no manhood in the republican party that we should stand this?"

Then the Major turned his attention to Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte. He said Mr. Bonaparte is so light that he treads the upper air and does not get down to the earth. His Corsican blood makes him favor the vendetta.

Mr. Thomas W. Blades followed in a speech of fifteen minutes. He considered the civil service bill a plot of the kid glove, silk-stock-ing gentry to create a monopoly to rule the country by an oligarchy. He honored Senator Wilkinson because it had been said he could not do a sum in long division and could not take an examination which would entitle him to the place of screwman in a tobacco warehouse. "If you don't intend to kill the bill," Mr. Blades concluded, "give it to the people and they will kill it."

Mayor Hooper's ideas of civil service reform and economy, particularly the latter, have not made him very popular with members of the *Log Cabin (republican) Club*, on East Montgomery street. Members of the club think he is inclined to abolish too many officers, and to retain too many democrats in office. Last night members of the club turned his large picture to the wall, and then held a jollification meeting over it. The picture is a nicely framed crayon, which Mayor Hooper presented to the club during the late campaign.—*Baltimore American, February 1.*

From The Sun Editorials.

The republican party in Maryland has arrived, sooner, perhaps, than its members expected, at the "parting of the ways," when it must definitely decide which road it will take. Entrusted, provisionally and on probation, with a measure of political power which it has never before enjoyed in this city and state, and may never enjoy again, it is brought face to face with its own pledges and promises, upon the faith and strength of which its candidates were elected last November, and it is called upon to say whether it means to keep those pledges or not. And when we speak of the republican party, we do not refer to a mere political entity, much less an abstraction, we mean the republican governor, members of the legislature and city council, who, but for their solemn promises of reform, would not to-day be occupying their present places. Mayor Hooper thus far stands almost alone in the readiness and determination he has exhibited to fulfill the pledges to which he owes his election. How about the rest—the other ninety-and-nine who have yet to show by their works that they have either recognition or remembrance of the causes and influences which wafted them into power?

Let them make no mistake. The healthy, honest indignation of the people, which was strong enough to crush the thirty-years'-old despotism of the democratic bosses, will trample out of existence the cockatrice's eggs of republican misrule and corruption before the end of as many months. The loud-mouthed, shallow-pated republican politicians who are proclaiming their devotion to the spoils system will never be allowed to grow to the stature of "bosses." They will die young—plucked up by the roots in their greenness and immaturity by the same hands which so mercilessly rooted out the weeds and tares in the democratic garden, even at the cost of laying the garden waste. In fact, there is and will be far less toleration of republican misgovernment than there was of democratic. There are none of the associations, the habits and prejudices of long years, almost a lifetime, to plead in behalf of republican abuses and their authors. The old servant had abused his trust, had been warned and admonished year after year, and it cost an effort, a painful effort, afterward to dismiss and get rid of him. The new servant, who has no such old ties and associations to appeal to, if he shows himself worthless, impudent or dishonest, will be shown the door without hesitation or mercy.

If the republican party shall follow in the footsteps of the democratic ring and show itself unworthy of the trust committed to it, it will meet the same fate. Whether it will substantially redeem its promises and satisfy public expectations remains to be determined, but whether it does or not, the revolution of last fall can not fail to be productive of good results. If it accomplishes nothing else, the storm has at least partially purified the political atmosphere as far as the democratic party is concerned, and by freeing that party from the malign influences that have disgraced its management has put it in a position to recover public confidence and support. The party can, of course, once more bow its neck to the yoke and put up its hands for the fetters of political serfdom, but for the present it is emancipated, and it can, if it chooses work out its own salvation and redemption. Above all and better than all, last year's campaign has demonstrated the power of the people and sown the seeds of independent political thought and action so essential to free and pure government; and we have made an incalculable gain in the emancipation of the manhood of the state from the political thralldom to which it had been subject so long, and in the perpetual warning which has been served upon bosses of both political parties.

Secretary Morton, of the department of agriculture, has appointed John Nordhous, of Chicago, Ill., his private secretary. Mr. Nordhous entered the agricultural department in 1893, through the civil service, and his promotion is a recognition by Secretary Morton of the merit system. Mr. Nordhous, for the past year, has been acting as stenographer to the secretary.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 37.

INDIANAPOLIS, MARCH, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

SECRETARY CARLISLE is being urged for the presidency in some very respectable quarters. The position in which Mr. Cleveland will leave the civil service makes the choice of the next president a matter of vast importance. He can not upset what Mr. Cleveland will do, but he can play tricks which will appreciably prolong the life of the spoils system. Now to be plain about the matter, the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE has steadily published facts which show that under Secretary Carlisle such tricks have been very common. Yet Civil Service Commissioner Rice, in a recent address in Boston, says: "Every member of the present cabinet believes thoroughly in the merit system and shows his belief by active co operation with the commission in its enforcement." Either the CHRONICLE has been mistaken, or Secretary Carlisle has been converted. What explanation can be made for the actions of Logan Carlisle? We can furnish an ugly list of facts, some of them of recent date, and none of them have ever been explained. Mr. Carlisle lately asked congress to provide for some money counters and not put them under the civil service law, though there is no better subject for competition. Will some one furnish a statement of the politics of the men actually appointed? The CHRONICLE is open to conviction, and it is the duty of those who are urging Mr. Carlisle's nomination to show conclusively that the civil service would not be controlled by Logan Carlisle.

THE President is about to make a final order which will nearly dispose of the spoils system in the federal service. This justifies the confidence lately expressed by the CHRONICLE that the battle of civil service reform has been won. As we have also said, the tricksters who can yet do a good deal to beat the law have not all been disposed of, and they may be expected to hang on for some time in a sort of guerrilla fashion and here and there give ground for the assertion that the reform is a failure. We may expect a good deal of this work should the republicans come back in 1897; but it will be the expiring kick. Deprived of spoil our congressmen will cease to be

mere trimmers for votes and will put their minds to legislation upon business principles.

Now that the victory of civil service reform has been won, we may soon expect "practical" politicians to sum the matter up after their manner of summing up the slavery question. Everybody knows that Garrison had nothing to do with the abolition of slavery except to hinder and retard it. It was the Cotton Whigs who deftly managed that transaction. So now it will soon begin to appear that George William Curtis was only a detriment to the advance of civil service reform and that the real reformers were the party bosses, like Quay, Clarkson, Platt, Brice and Gorman.

It will be remembered that the office of pension agent at Indianapolis was sold to the present incumbent, upon his promise to let Voorhees, Turpie and others name the incumbents who were to be quartered upon the treasury. We understand that the promise was largely carried out. Then came the order placing the office under the civil service law, which was smiled at by the local party bosses, who thought they knew a trick or two yet. The first vacancy was recently filled under the law, and the party bosses, the heelers and ward workers, were paralyzed at the sight. The opinion of no local boss was asked. Neither the agent nor his chief clerk, the democratic politician, Riley, was consulted. The new incumbent is neither a heeler nor a worker, and has never had the least part in setting up primaries and conventions in Indianapolis, nor in "whooping 'er up" for Voorhees or Turpie. She is a girl from Kentucky!

THERE seems to be just a shadow of hesitation about nominating Tom Taggart, mayor of this city, as the democratic candidate for governor this year. The CHRONICLE believes that after considering all the facts there will be no hesitation. Taggart's predecessor carried this city for the republicans by nearly three thousand; but last fall, two years later, Taggart swept it for the democrats by nearly four thousand. Where is there a democrat in these times with such a running record as that? Then there are the four hospitals for the insane, the school for the feeble-minded, the home for soldiers' orphans, the prisons,

and various other public institutions with some thousands of places, all of which may be looted, and there is proof to demonstrate that there is "no civil service nonsense" about Tom Taggart. Surely there will be no hesitation about nominating Taggart. He is a man after the machine's own heart.

THE work-house of this county is run largely upon the plan of prisons and has a considerable number of employes. When the republicans got possession of the county last year, they adopted the vicious and corrupt plan of a clean sweep and filled the places with party henchmen and personal favorites. The other day one of the prisoners refused to have his mustache cut off, and therefore one of these new guards took out a pistol and shot at him, although the prisoner wore a ball and chain and the guard was not in danger. We refer to this to show the results of the system. The people little understand the amount of inhumanity and barbarism displayed toward prisoners in most prisons. The warden is usually a political boss and a prominent "third house" man around the legislature. The under-employes are political henchmen. In every dilemma the only resort they can think of is brute force. The prisoners can rarely make an effectual protest, and the party does not fear them. It is a curious fact that the late republican rib-breaking legislature dared to loot the two prisons of this state but did not dare to touch the other public institutions. Of course it is manifest to every humane person that those who deal with prisoners should have long experience, permanence of tenure and be absolutely free from the reach of partisans. This would permit humanity to have a fair chance. The present system is cruel and selfish to the last degree.

It is well known that the post-office department has been trying to find out whether its letter-carriers do their duty. To this end it has sent agents to different cities to watch the carriers. There would seem to be nothing improper about this. A carrier only works eight hours a day, and compared with other employments he is well paid. If he keeps at his work industriously during this time, as he should, he need not care how many men are watching him. Yet a great "howl" has been raised over it. Cowardly congress-

men have made themselves hoarse denouncing the "spy system." The other day, when the appropriation was under debate in the house, a committee of letter-carriers in uniform appeared in the gallery, apparently as a threat. The attempt of associations of government employees to bully congressmen can not be met and defeated too soon. In the carriers' case, the proposal that local postmasters could do all necessary inspecting is worthless, and will continue to be worthless so long as local postmasters are politicians, and merely four-year men. No such man knows enough about his office to inspect anything, and many of them are not beyond local pulls. The CHRONICLE has always stood for fair play and open competition in getting into the service; it stands also for strict discipline and a faithful performance of duty, and it knows that there is no way to secure this except by a rigid inspection free from local influences. What would be said if a committee of soldiers appeared in the gallery in uniform to see that members "talked right" in a debate on an army appropriation?

THE court of appeals of New York has long ranked as one of the great courts of the world, and nothing better entitles it to that rank than its recent decision interpreting the civil service section of the new constitution. That section says: "Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive." The question arose under an attempt of Aldridge, the head of the public works, to evade the law, in which attempt he was most disastrously defeated. Of the system itself and of the position of the judiciary the court says:

Whatever doubt or distrust may exist with respect to the possibility of obtaining for the law an honest and fair execution, there is none and can be none, at least among thinking men, with respect to its ultimate beneficial effect upon the service. That it must, if fairly and honestly administered, go far to suppress very grave evils and abuses that have become peculiarly ripe and active in our political system, few intelligent people who have given the subject much attention can doubt. In so far as its administration may depend upon an action of the judicial department, it is entitled to, and doubtless will receive, a fair and liberal construction, not only according to its letter, but its true spirit and the general purpose of its enactment.

But when the court turns to the constitution, it deals the heaviest blow which bad government has received in many a day. It says:

The principle that all appointments in the civil service must be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained by competitive examinations, is expressed in such broad and imperative language that in some respects it must be regarded

as beyond the control of the legislature and secure from any more statutory changes. If the legislature should repeal all the statutes and regulations on the subject of appointments in the civil service, the mandate of the legislature would still remain, and would so far execute itself as to require the courts, in a proper case, to pronounce appointments made without compliance with its requirement illegal.

The attention of the cheap politicians who compose the present city administration of Indianapolis, and who are riding rough-shod over the law of the state, is called to the above opinion. An appointment not made in accordance with the law is illegal. It is no matter whether the law is found in the constitution or in the statute. Appointments in Indianapolis are not made as the law directs, and the city attorney will not risk his legal reputation by giving the mayor an opinion that they are. It is simply a case of willful, deliberate law-breaking, to enable party heelers and favorites to draw money from the public treasury. That is all there is of it, and the men engaged in it should be looked upon by the community as any other rascally law-breakers are.

THE other day Theodore Roosevelt said: I say that the civil service law is not only practicable but it is the only system that is practicable. We have 600 appointments and over 100 promotions in the police department, and in no single case have we paid the slightest heed to a man's politics or creed. In not one single case have we considered the recommendation of any outsider.

The change wrought in New York city is a change from practical politics in its fullest bloom to the merit system. Under practical politics, which immediately preceded the present administration, the 380 policemen appointed by the present board would have brought in \$300 apiece. The 20 roundsmen, \$500 apiece, the 20 sergeants, \$3,000 apiece, and the 16 vacancies for captaincies, \$10,000 apiece. No wonder that the bosses and the boys despise civil service reform.

THERE are few instances in the history of politics where the party machine has so thoroughly destroyed the fruits of victory as the republican machine has in Maryland. As we have already shown, the campaign which resulted in Gorman's overwhelming defeat last fall was conducted on the highest plane of administrative reform and the election was won because the campaign was so conducted. The republicans had the governor, the legislature and the city government of Baltimore. But no sooner was the election over than the members of the party for revenue only began to swarm like wolves after every vestige of a place. Being in control of the machine they carried the party into the basest acts of treachery. They passed an act introducing the merit system but coup-

led with it provisions making it almost beyond doubt unconstitutional. Their crowning act was in Baltimore where the mayor was disposed to carry out the party promises. The party jackals, finding that they could not control him, put through the common council an ordinance transferring the appointments from him to itself. When he vetoed this ordinance they passed it over his head. An attempt was made to get the legislature to save the credit of the party by a new law, but the wolves and jackals were in complete control and prevented legislation. The character of the legislature is shown by the fact that more than one-half of the members want some kind of a place. This outcome in Maryland makes a record of party treachery which has few parallels even in American party history. It again shows how imperative it is that parties must loosen the hold of their leeches. Necessary work before elections must be hired and paid for and with that the connection of the party worker with the party management must cease. At present the men who run primaries and conventions and get paid for it before election take possession of the party after election and do their best to wreck it. In Maryland they have thoroughly succeeded. At the next election the party will be driven out. Yet we have great faith in Maryland. She has a large body of able and fearless men who know what good government is and who will sooner or later bring its blessings home to their state and its municipalities.

THERE must be recorded for Platt a new triumph in the passage of the Raines excise bill, in which the New York legislature was as subservient as ever the Roman senate was to Cæsar. The doors were locked, no one being allowed to leave, and at the ordained moment, the bill was passed. The bill is a curious and refined scheme of tyranny, and of one-man power, and really fit to be classed with those by which governments in all ages have gone on to imperialism and absolutism and final ruin. This bill was passed because it creates a compact set of lucrative offices which it is proposed to fill through the chief excise commissioner acting under the direction of the boss. The yearly emoluments amount to a quarter of a million. As a political machine it is admirable and the capabilities of taking financial interests by the throat on the stand-and-deliver plan are almost beyond estimate. The measure is now in the hands of Platt's governor, Morton, who will do with it exactly as Platt dictates.

It continues to be the eighth wonder that Tom Platt should be able to control not only his party in the state of New York

but the law-making power also. This statement is not to be taken as mildly as it seems. His control is absolute. It has often been stated where he gets the money and how he operates, but, hoping to bring home to good citizens the wretched condition of our party politics, we republish Plattism stated in a concise form from the *New York Evening Post* of February 27:

Thomas C. Platt follows a trade which no one of whom we have yet heard denies the criminality. * * * For what are these "political burdens" which he says he has taken on himself? Are they not the collection from rich men and corporations of money, by way of blackmail, for protection against "striking" legislation, or in aid of corrupt legislation—that is, either for protection from extortion or assistance in evading lawful obligations? And is not this money used systematically to corrupt legislators, by causing them to violate their oaths and cheat their constituents by voting, not in obedience to their consciences, but in obedience to another will than their own for ends which they dare not avow?

The ninth wonder is that such a man as Platt can find a place at any respectable man's table. Yet at a recent dinner Governor Morton made the occasion notorious by inviting Platt. This matter is best pointed by Dr. Parkhurst:

"You can not excoriate to-day a man who is doing his best to suck the civic life blood of a community or state—I say you can not excoriate such a one to-day and then clasp hands with him tomorrow on even social ground, even though that ground be the governor's dinner table."

Dr. Parkhurst paused a moment and then said, slowly:

"Friends, you know what I mean."

MR. HENRY A. CASTLE, for the last four years postmaster at St. Paul, recently delivered a farewell address to the employes of his office. The most noticeable thing in it is his pride in having impartially enforced the civil service law, and his thorough belief in the law itself. It is the greatest triumph of the merit system, that by its own demonstrated value, it has conquered its way. Mr. Castle also entirely grasps the possibilities of manliness and independence which employes may enjoy under the law, and he also urges upon them to become active advocates of the system, not entirely for their selfish benefit, but for the great public good which the merit system can accomplish. He declares that this has but to be known to the people of Minnesota to secure the application of the system to the state and its municipalities. The address is so good that we should like to publish it all.

In the death of Governor Greenhalge of Massachusetts, sound government has lost an able and fearless advocate. Like many other men he grew and broadened with responsibility. He discerned the difference between statesmanship and mere partisan politics and took his stand on the side of the former. A notable example

was his veto of the veterans' exemption act by which a contemptible and truckling legislature attempted to destroy the civil service law of Massachusetts. And after this the people overwhelmingly re-elected him.

MR. WILLIAM G. RICE, one of the civil service commissioners in an address before the Massachusetts Reform Club, March 20, gave an interesting account of the conduct and progress of his department during the last nine months. It is the progress which might have been expected as soon as the administration turned its mind to a genuine and concerted effort to complete the introduction of the merit system. Many interesting facts are given, among which we note that to Commissioner Harlow, formerly postmaster at St. Louis, is due the admirable plan for the consolidation of post-offices and which congress, not by an increased appropriation, but by a slight change in wording, is now being asked to aid in carrying out. Mr. Rice's remark that the law can not be successfully carried out in a spirit of antagonism to those who have in charge larger matters of state may be misunderstood. There have been no larger matters of state since the war. The relation between the civil service commission and a cabinet officer who wants to enforce the law should be one of friendly and courteous co-operation. But with a cabinet officer who wants to trick and beat the law, the commission has a duty and that duty is to fight. The early commissions nearly ruined the law by courteous subserviency and Mr. Roosevelt literally rescued it out of the jaws of destruction. We have no doubt that there are those in official circles in Washington, who are yet sore under Roosevelt's punishment; nevertheless it did both them and the law good.

THE settled habit of our congressmen to trim for votes at the expense of the treasury was never more aptly illustrated than in the seed contest. Secretary Morton refused to distribute seeds further, but congress promptly made a new appropriation and made his duty to spend it mandatory. He has now advertised for ten million packets of garden, field and flower seeds, beginning with asparagus and ending with wheat. Out of this each congressman will be allowed fifteen thousand packages with which to bribe voters. There never was a greater swindle perpetrated upon the people. If any one can find any distinction between this transaction and going into the mule market and buying ten million mules for congressmen to give to voters we should like to see it pointed out. It is paternalism gone to seed.

IN case of another President from the republican party, his burden in respect to the distribution of offices will be wonderfully lightened. There may not be fewer applicants, but the number of places, and therefore the number of decisions to be made, will be curtailed to an extent which will make the bosses and the boys think there is nothing worth living for. And there will be nothing worth the political existence which they have been leading; let us all hope that they will quit it. True, there are fat postmasterships and many headships of offices in the internal revenue, the customs department and other branches of the public service yet within reach of the mere spoilsman; and these will be fought over desperately to the detriment of the public service and the scandal of the American name. Many of these offices are large and are filled with highly-trained subordinates. More ridiculous than ever before will appear the seemingly inconceivable folly of going into the street and picking up a local politician without any special fitness whatever, and making him postmaster of New York or Philadelphia or Cincinnati or Indianapolis or Chicago, or in fact the head of any office. The system is, of course, doomed. That the local Toms, Mikes and Jakes will have to find other means of living than by getting these places as rewards for valor in the service of bosses is only a question of time. The merit system of promotion by competition will grind the life out of this considerable remnant of the spoils system as surely and irresistibly as a glacier grinds down mountains. It is unfortunate that congressmen do not cheerfully bow to the inevitable and by legislation make the way easy to the wholesome and most desirable end.

WITH the destruction of the spoils system in the federal service, it can not long survive in states and cities. With federal public business conducted on the soundest principles at their very doors the people will not long submit to be swindled and cheated in the conduct of their local public business. The result will be of serious moment to party organizations. These organizations will have to be kept up without offices and without money secured by direct or indirect assessment upon officeholders. Speed the day. If a party has no principles with life enough to draw voluntary and unrewarded support to the party organization, then that party should die. There is not the least doubt but that the life of parties deserving to survive will be made wholesome by the disappearance of the hope of office as the great object of political activity. The natural liking of the American people to strive for particu-

lar solutions of public questions will bring their political activities into healthy play. But no one should think that it will be possible to conduct campaigns without a considerable expenditure of money. The paid campaign speaker can be dispensed with. The man who wants his house rent paid to avoid the loss of his vote by ejection can be let to move. The heeler who has to be paid wages on election day and for several days previous for imaginary work can be laid off and the corruption fund can in fact be dispensed with altogether. The advantage will come in hiring necessary party work done and paying for it as a business matter. Literature must be printed by printers and distributed by clerks, the poll of the voters must be taken, agents must be employed for a variety of purposes and many other expenses must be incurred, but these will be paid for as for value received and that will end the matter; after the election the various employes will not come around and demand an office as an earned bonus. It will be the duty of every member of the party to contribute money to carry on the party campaign; that is a sacrifice every citizen will owe and the making of which will be a duty. It should also be a pride, for it will take away the excuse of turning for money to those who want legislation or have some other self-interest in view.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, secretary of the Municipal Reform League, has in the New York *Evening Post* of March 14 a summary of the encouraging progress of municipal reform in the South.

MUNICIPAL SPOILS.

I consider the question of pure or corrupt municipal government in the United States as the most far-reaching and important that can possibly engage the attention of all thinking men who believe in government by the people.—Charles Stewart Smith.

IN BALTIMORE.

Spoils-Mad.

Revolution Proposed by the Crazy Councilmen—Strip the Mayor of Power and Vest it in Joint Convention of the Two Councils—Public Sentiment Stirred—Indignant Protests from Friends of Good Government—Hooper Firm as a Rock—Will Fight it Out if it Takes all Summer—Reform League Issues a Call for a Mass-Meeting at Music Hall Next Tuesday Night to Voice the Universal Indignation—Council Meets Again this Evening—Professor Woodrow Wilson's Earnest Protest—Prominent Citizens Express Their Views—A Veritable Bombshell at Annapolis—Cunningham Alone Opposes the Mayor's Stand—Three Republican Councilmen Will Stand by the Mayor—Mr. Hennighausen's Ante-Election Prom-

ises—How the Scheme was Put Through the Council.—*Baltimore News, February 28.*

To Seize the Offices.

City Council Makes a Bold Stroke Aimed at the Mayor—Change of Appointing Power—Ordinances Passed to Vest it in a Joint Convention of the Council Branches—Rushed Through to a vote—Then a Number of Temporary Engrossing Clerks were Pressed into Service—Programme Well Executed—Caucuses Had Been Held and the Members Did Their Work Like Soldiers—All Except Three "Kick-ers," Messrs. Steffens, Hoffman and Smith, Voted with their Party Associates—The Democratic Members Departed in a Body and Left the Republicans to Fight it Out Among Themselves—Full Text of the General Measure on Which the Radical Legislation is Based—A Determined Effort to Override the Mayor's Veto When it is Sent in.

The fight between Mayor Hooper and the city council reached a crisis Thursday night which may involve a revolution in the machinery of the city government.

Ordinances were enacted by the council which, if they become laws, will take from the mayor the power to appoint public officers subject to confirmation, and will give that authority to the council absolutely.—*Baltimore Sun, February 29.*

* * *

Accusations affecting the personal character and standing of two appointees for justices of the peace in Baltimore city were made to the governor Tuesday, which excited great indignation in his mind and caused him to express himself very freely as well as to withdraw the nominations. He said: "It is an outrage for me to be placed in this position. I refer to two nominations for justices of the peace in Baltimore city which I sent to the senate. I find that these are the charges—that one of them had been convicted in a criminal case of the charge of embezzlement and sentenced to jail for six months, while the other, according to the record furnished me, was indicted in 1881 as a common thief, though the case was settled. I want to state, and I think my position should be known to the public, that in making appointments the larger percentage of the people are unknown to me, and while this is the case I have to rely upon such recommendations as are filed with me and upon the representations of senators and delegates. In these particular cases the usual course was followed. The wishes of the republican senators from Baltimore city and of the entire Baltimore city delegation in the house were consulted. A written recommendation is on file with the secretary of state, signed by Senators Strobridge and Dobler and the entire delegation in behalf of these appointees, both of whom were so recommended. I think it is an outrage that such people should be recommended to me, as I have to rely upon their judgment and I want the public to understand my position.

"The appointments were not made from any personal knowledge or preference, but from reliance on the indorsement. Some one, however, has been good enough to inform me, and they will not be confirmed, for I will recall the names."

Later in the day Delegate Cunningham and Senator Strobridge, who were understood to have especially championed the objectionable nominees, saw the governor and excused themselves on the ground that they were not aware of any of the serious objections that had been brought to light.

Governor Lowndes said he had felt so much indignation on account of the expose that he felt like withdrawing the names of every man he had sent in for justice of the peace and for some other offices in the city of Baltimore.

Senator Strobridge asked him why he had thought of taking such a course.

The governor replied that it was because so many protests had been sent in against the city appointments that it depressed him.—*Annapolis dispatch Baltimore Sun, February 27.*

* * *

PERCY C. HENNIGHAUSEN.

Among the men guilty of an atrocious betrayal of the cause of good government, there is one whose conduct, in view of his antecedents, is peculiarly disgraceful. Mr. Percy C. Hennighausen stood most distinctly pledged to non-partisanship in city government. Both last year and the year before he obtained the support of the good government club of the twelfth ward—known in 1894 as the Unit club—on the express promise that, if elected, he would stand for the principles of city government which the Unit club advocated. Upon the basis of that support, he was elected to the city council in 1894 by a plurality of 174, while the democrats carried the ward for congress by 163. It is plain that he owed his entrance into public life unmistakably to his solemn and emphatic professions of devotion to good government. Last year he renewed his declaration of allegiance to the cause.

His conduct in siding with the spoilsmen and joining them in their riotous opposition to the mayor will brand him with the condemnation and scorn of all honest men. For many of his fellows it may be pleaded that they don't know any better, and that they were not particularly responsible for the pledges of the representative men of their party. Mr. Hennighausen, being a man of education, must know better; but, what is even more important, he is a deserter from the cause of honest government, and hence deserves tenfold the censure of those who never made personal professions of being anything more than ordinary ward politicians.

* * *

Mr. Percy C. Hennighausen, president of the first branch, is one of the councilmen who engineered last night's coup.

On October 22 last, just before the election, Mr. Hennighausen wrote a letter to the Unit independent club of the twelfth ward, of which the following is an extract:

"If I am elected there will be but one con-

sideration which will in any degree influence my vote, and that is the good of the whole people of Baltimore, whether democrat, republican, prohibition or populist. I will know no party. I will fear no 'boss.'

"My ideal of a city councilman is a man who feels that he is one of the directors of a large corporation, who devotes his best thought and effort to the care of the business interests with which he is entrusted, and who recognizes no more 'politics' in the business of a municipality than he would in the business of a bank."—*Baltimore News, February 28.*

* * *

The republican members of the city council met again this afternoon and continued their fight with the mayor. They are attempting to take out of his hands all the power of appointment, and they have already passed over twenty ordinances looking to that end.

The cause of the war, as has been stated in the *New York Times*, is the refusal of Mayor Hooper to consult with them in appointments, and especially his refusal to appoint only republicans to office. The councilmen are after the spoils, and they will not be happy until they get them, but their fight is undoubtedly a losing one. The mayor says he will veto the ordinances, and the "kickers" have not the necessary three-fourths to pass the ordinances over the vetoes. Three of the councilmen stand by the mayor. The "kickers" issued a statement this morning saying they were compelled reluctantly to take extreme action in order to assert their rights and to uphold their dignity. But the people do not look at it in this way, and a mass meeting is called for next week to protest against the spoilsmen and to uphold the mayor. The democratic members of the city council are staying away and letting the republicans work their own destruction.

It is freely said that as this is the first "dose" of general republicanism that Maryland has had in thirty years, it will be thirty more before it shall be tried again. A lot of men whose election was not expected were swept into the legislature and the city council of Baltimore by the tidal wave, and just as soon as they felt their power they abandoned their non-partisan promises, and, in the language of one of their leaders, felt how good it was to "pull the grapes after they had been a quarter of a century getting into the vineyard."

The gubernatorial patronage, which is larger in Maryland than in any other state in the Union, was used to elect Wellington United States senator, and Thomas J. Shryock was elected state treasurer against the protest of the reform league and with serious charges hanging over him. The legislature practically has killed the civil service reform bill by adding the referendum, after the most explicit promises to give the city and state the merit system. It has elected as police commissioner of Baltimore W. W. Johnson, whose administration of the Baltimore post-office under the Harrison administration necessitated the at-

tention of the civil service commissioners, with results that caused much unpleasant comment, although Johnson was not removed.

In the midst of all the discouragement, especially at the weakness of Gov. Lowndes, the friends of good government have had one conspicuous consolation. The mayor is only about five feet in height, but he seems to be nearly all backbone. A favorite local cartoon is the cathode ray illustrating this idea. At first the council tried to defeat him by refusing to confirm an appointment because the appointee was a Catholic. The mayor himself is one of the leading Methodists of the city, and gave \$200,000 to the woman's college, a Methodist institution. He sent the Catholic's name up again, and it went through. Several democrats were appointed, and they also got through. His latest batch of appointments had democrats and republicans, and there was not a single politician named in the list.

This brought on the revolt. The fighters rage. The little mayor calmly says it does not make any difference to him what they do. He will stand his ground, and he intends to win. The people are getting ready for an explosion next week.—*Baltimore dispatch, New York Times, March 1.*

* * *

Five thousand persons crowded into music hall to-night in answer to a call of the reform league for a mass meeting "to protest against the unprecedented, dangerous and disgraceful attempt of the city council to seize the public offices of this city to gratify their appetite for spoils, and to uphold Mayor Hooper in his fight for good government."

Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was the "star" of the evening from an oratorical standpoint. He said, in part:

"I hold that the man who serves his party best serves the state well. The man who has to be bribed with any office to serve his party is a curse to that party. Baltimore is not the only place that has had the trouble you are having here, and where the politicians have sought to turn victory to their own base uses. We have had the same trouble in New York, where, after the people overthrew one set of bosses, those who were elected thought they had been elected to do the same things that the others had been overthrown for doing.

"Your council will destroy the future of their party's cause unless you let them understand that decent citizens will not tolerate their course. As a member of the New York legislature I was the author of the bill to place the power of appointment of New York city officers in the hands of the mayor, without being subject to confirmation by the council. It gives general satisfaction.

"As I understand the fight, it is that the council finds fault with the mayor because he has insisted on placing in office some of the decent democrats who assisted them to win last fall; while the council itself, in order to defeat the mayor, is willing to make a 'deal' with some of the ring democrats who tried to defeat them."

A number of local orators of all shades of political belief also addressed the meeting.

Resolutions were adopted denouncing the action of the city council as a usurpation, declaring that their action will throw the city

government into confusion and calling upon the general assembly to prevent, by appropriate legislation, the consummation of this scheme of spoliation.

Mayor Hooper will veto the ordinances which passed the council last Thursday. At the sessions to-morrow evening the republicans of each branch will endeavor to pass the bills over the veto. If the three republican members who have indorsed the mayor remain steadfast, and the democratic members attend the meetings, the bills will fail of the necessary three-fourths majority.

Meantime President Bruce's bill, giving the mayor of Baltimore absolute power to make appointments, passed the state senate to-day by a vote of fifteen to five. Its fate in the republican house of delegates is uncertain.—*Baltimore dispatch, New York Times, March 3.*

* * *

One of the most notorious of the gang of colored repeaters who operated in various sections of the city on the last election day was to-day sentenced to two years in jail for the active part he took in the infamous work of the ring to maintain its power in this city. This man was James Boone, whose reputation is almost as black as his face, and who, at the head of a gang of repeaters, drawn from the lowest negro dives in the city, went through the ninth ward on last election day and, it is alleged, committed many outrages.

The crime for which he was to-day sentenced to jail was for an assault upon William L. F. Miller, who was one of the reform league watchers.—*Baltimore News, February 28.*

ELSEWHERE.

DID BROOKLYN PAY TOO MUCH?

Commissioner Squier Bought Land for a Park from His Deputy's Wife—P. H. Flinn Brings Suit

—*New York Times, September 19.*

It was learned yesterday that on Monday Frank Squier, the park commissioner, paid to Michael J. Dady, \$29,000 for a piece of ground along the water front in Gravesend. The land reaches from East Eighty eighth street to East Ninety-second street, and from Skidmore avenue to the bulkhead line. It is said to consist of the most part of marsh. The site is destined by Commissioner Squier for one in his system of small parks.—*September 25.*

GREANEY'S GRAVE CHARGE.

He Was Forced, He Says, to Lend Money to Kings County Officials—Declares They Will Not Pay Him—While He made Loans He Got Good Contracts—His Receiver Will Sue the Men Named by Him.

—*New York Times, September.*

HOWARD D. HERR AND JOHN M. DANAHY UNDER ARREST

For Grand Larceny—Alleged They Padded Pay Rolls in the Street Department—Locked Up in the Freezer—The First Fruits of the Charges Against the Department of Public Works—Now It Will be Clearer Why the Mayor Demands that the Aldermen and Councilmen Give Him the Authority to Investigate the Department of Public Works—A Third Man, Joseph Burke, Saloon-keeper and Former

Boss of a Gang of Street-cleaners, is also Held at Headquarters—He is Charged With Being a Conspirator With Herr and Danahy in the Defrauding of the City.
—*Buffalo Express*, October 9.

BLIND THEM.

Ten Dollars a Team the Amount Demanded by Ross—"Voluntary," He Says—But Teamsters Who Paid are Very Sure It Was a Case of Force—One More Conspiracy Found—Another Way Foremen and Team Owners Got Together and Defrauded the City.

—*Buffalo*, October 24.

HERE IT IS.

Byron Kring Tells of Political Assessments—All Hands Taxed—Barton Ross, O'Shea's Clerk, Accused of Doing the Levying—Fisher's Hard Day's Work—His Examination of Kring Made Matters Worse for the Defense.

—*Buffalo*, October 25.

Leading Chicago citizens have formed a committee of 100 whose aim is to drive national party lines out of the local elections and rescue the city from the clutch of the saloon gangs that ride into the control of the city council on the divisions of good citizens at the polls. It would seem to be high time for such an attempt. One night last week two leading aldermen were on the streets drunk and assaulted a policeman who, however, had the courage to run them in. That policeman would have lost his place under the old system, but the new civil service rules will protect him now. Thus something has been gained.—*Springfield Republican*, February 21.

* * *

A meeting of 200 Chicago clergymen has unanimously voted to support the committee of one hundred and the civic federation in municipal reform, and to urge their congregations to go into politics that the city government may be reformed.—*New York Evening Post*, February 21.

* * *

There is plenty of work for the municipal reformers in Chicago. The *Post* of that city prints a list of 26 aldermen who are candidates for re-election, with what it calls their "disgraceful record."—*New York Evening Post*, February 22.

* * *

Ed. Murphy, city alderman, saloon-keeper and local political boss, was to-day found guilty of running a disorderly house, after a most sensational trial.—*St. Paul (Minn.) dispatch*, March 7.

* * *

The city of Reading, Pa., has long been under republican control, but the democrats recently elected their candidate for mayor. The result had hardly become known before the mayor-elect had over 200 applications for the 60 offices in his gift, and he was soon so overrun with applicants for places that he had to flee from home in order to get a chance to eat and sleep.—*New York Evening Post*, February 26.

The mayor-elect of Reading, Pa., who ran away to escape the office-seekers, has returned. So have the office-seekers. The mayor-elect's door-bell has been pulled out, and the back fence broken down by the efforts of office-seekers to get in the rear way when no answer was returned to their knocks at the door.—*New York Evening Post*, March 9.

* * *

"The proposition of the (Rochester) republican aldermen to cut down the salary of Mayor Warner from \$5,000 to \$2,500 or \$3,000 a year is a striking indication," the *Rochester Herald* says, "of the guerilla warfare that the official enemies of the public interests propose to wage on him. It has no other motive than the disgraceful and depraved one to turn him from his resolution to give an honest, efficient and economical government."—*New York Evening Post*, February 21.

* * *

For the first time in years politics has crept into the management of the school board. Unless all signs fail Boss Filley is not going to be able to whip self-respecting republicans into line, however, for the school board ticket he had nominated at the Harmonie Hall convention last week. Murmurings of discontent from republican homes in every section of the city are heard, and though Collector Zeigenheim is exerting himself to the utmost in South St. Louis, it is considered hardly possible for him to carry the ticket through in that section. A sample of what the better class of republicans are saying about Filley is the following frank expression of a prominent official at the city hall:

"Filley should not be allowed to brutalize our public schools by placing them under the domination of machine politics. Party bosses have no right to lay their hands upon the schools, and decent men of all political parties should call a halt to all such attempts. It will be a sad day for the parents and children of St. Louis when their public schools are run according to the dictates of a lot of wardheelers and bum politicians. Filley should remember that he was thrown ignominiously out of the post-office in 1877 by President Hayes, because he tried to make Mr. Schweikhardt, then a member of the school board, vote to oust a democrat from the post of secretary and treasurer of the board, which he had filled with satisfaction to all the people for many years."—*St. Louis dispatch*, *New York Evening Post*, February 24.

THE USE OF MUNICIPAL SPOIL IN NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS.

Willis in Brooklyn.

Theodore B. Willis, the new commissioner of city works in Brooklyn, to-day discharged eighty-six men in his department. This is said to be the largest number of simultaneous removals in the history of the city in a single department. In every instance the men are democrats who were retained by Commissioner White, with three exceptions. These three are Worth republicans. That Commissioner Willis would remove the democrats in his de-

partment and fill the places with anti-Worth republicans, has been no secret since he assumed the duties of his office on February 1, but nobody expected that these removals would be made in such a wholesale fashion. Even after the conference of Commissioner Willis and his advisers last evening, the statement that probably forty men would be removed to-day was not credited, and consequently when the list containing the eighty-six names was given out, there was consternation among the office-holders.

The corridors of the municipal building in which the offices of the city works department are located were thronged all the morning with office-holders and their friends, anxious for the list to make its appearance, and when it came there was a hasty scanning of it to ascertain who the unfortunates were. The salaries of the men who were removed ranged from \$4,000 to \$1,000 a year. They include clerks, messengers, engineers, foremen, inspectors, etc. The discharges take effect to-day.—*New York Evening Post*, February 29.

* * *

Commissioner Willis, of the department of city works, Brooklyn, recently dismissed eighty-five employees in the city works department and created eleven new offices, to which he appointed faithful Willis republicans. The civil service commission and the civil service reform association objected to these appointments, as they claimed it was against the spirit of the civil service law, and Corporation Counsel Burr was called upon for an opinion.

* * *

Commissioner Willis, in speaking about the opinion, said that, while he had not had time to read the opinion very carefully, he believed that it was favorable to the position that he had taken.

"It puts upon me," said Mr. Willis, "the burden of showing that the new positions are dissimilar to the positions abolished or changed. Undoubtedly the major portion of the positions will all stand the legal test.

Edward M. Grout yesterday obtained a writ of mandamus directing Commissioner Willis to show cause why the employees that he discharged on February 29 should not be reinstated. Mr. Grout claims that Commissioner Willis discharged the men without stating any cause for his act.—*New York Times*, March 10.

* * *

Thug rule was introduced last night by Sheriff Buttlings, of Kings county, in the deliberations of the republican county committee.

It was a fight between the Worth and Willis factions, and was due to an effort on the part of the Worth men to capture the control of the committee by seating delegates of their faction in four wards where contests prevail. * * *

It was declared in order by the chairman to fix the places for holding the congressional and assembly district conventions, and that was proceeded with. The delegates had got as far as the seventeenth assembly district when Jacob Brenner, of the tenth ward, made a

motion to adjourn. Chairman Roberts put it, and declared it carried.

Instantly the hall was in an uproar. Sheriff Buttling, surrounded by a number of his followers, forced his way to the front and declared that this action was outrageous. Shaking his fist in Chairman Roberts's face, Sheriff Buttling shouted:

"You call yourself a man, but you don't act like one."

Everybody present crowded as near as they could get to the platform, and the delegates of the opposing factions shouted and cursed at each other.

The sheriff attempted to seize the gavel, but Chairman Roberts, who had not spoken a word, took it from him. Then Sheriff Buttling demanded the gavel, and after a slight resistance, Chairman Roberts let him take it.

The sheriff then jumped to the platform and rapped for order. Everybody was shouting, jeering, or applauding, and pandemonium reigned. Cries of "Chuck him out!" "Chuck him out!" were heard on the floor and in the gallery.

Turning to the gallery, where a number of men were crowding on the stairway, Sheriff Buttling shook the gavel at them and said:

"If you think you can put me out, come down here and try it. I'll show you who is boss."

Benjamin F. Blair went up to Chairman Roberts and asked:

"Are you chairman of this committee?"

"Certainly," Mr. Roberts said.

"Then why don't you assert yourself?" Mr. Blair asked.

Mr. Roberts made no answer, but, taking up his hat and overcoat, walked out of the room. He was jeered at by the Worth delegates.

Sheriff Buttling turned to Mr. Blair and said:

"This is a meeting, and if we've got our fellows here, that's no reason why you should snap an adjournment on us. I thought you believed in fair play, but it seems you don't. You know there was not a majority in favor of adjournment."

The disorder was growing worse. Everybody was shouting. Sheriff Buttling kept rapping vigorously for order. The Willis delegates stood at one end of the room by themselves, while the Worth men proceeded to take their seats.

Mr. Buttling announced that, as the chairman had deserted his post, it was in order to elect a temporary chairman to continue the meeting. He was elected to preside when something like order had been restored. Mr. Buttling said that the roll should be called to ascertain how many were in favor of adjournment.

The Worth men only responded, the Willis men refusing to take part in the proceedings. The roll called showed sixty-two in favor of continuing business.

Coroner Nason of the seventeenth ward said that, as there were only 120 delegates present

during the evening sixty two were a majority, and, therefore, the action of Sheriff Buttling was justified. He said that the committee should proceed with the business of seating delegates from the disputed wards.

Sheriff Buttling made a speech recommending adjournment because he did not think it wise to take advantage of their victory at that time.

"We've shown them," he said "that we were right. We don't profess to be anything but machine men, but I tell you the machine don't make mistakes. The machine gets there every time. The chairman who deserted us pretends to be a broad and liberal man. He's a big man, but he's not broad. He's narrow. It's a case of big head and little wit. We had a working majority at this meeting tonight and now we've proved it, and I think we had better adjourn and wait until the next meeting."

The sixty-two Worth men voted yea and the meeting broke up.

During the fight up stairs there was a more serious one in the corridor on the first floor.

William Griffith and another man got into a dispute over the offices in the twelfth ward. Griffith was kicked in the abdomen by the other man, who escaped. He was said to be a delegate named Simms. Griffith was so seriously injured that he had to be taken to the city hospital.—*New York Times*, March 11.

* * *

George B. Cox is the republican municipal boss of Cincinnati. He has the characteristics which have become familiar in municipal bosses everywhere. He could not be elected to any office himself, but he is a master in the art of setting up caucuses, calling snap conventions, making deals and distributing spoils. Thomas E. Major, the mayor of Toledo, is a man of similar type. Before the last state convention in Ohio a deal was arranged between Cox, Major and others by which it was agreed that, in return for Major's support of the machine candidate for governor, Bushnell, the machine would use all its power to force through the legislature a bill practically deposing all the officials of Toledo and leaving Major to revel unrestrained in municipal spoils. That measure is the Ripper bill now pending in the Ohio legislature. It will turn 2,000 officials in the city of Toledo out of office without the consent and against the protests of the people of that town. It is one of the most daring spoils raids ever attempted in this country. The opponents of the measure are the friends of ex-Governor McKinley. It is, therefore, held that McKinley's fate as a presidential candidate will be seriously affected by the disposition of this measure. If it should develop that the Cox-Major crowd control the state and that McKinley's candidacy must be left to the mercy of such men, he will not be nominated by the efforts of Ohio, at least. Cox and Major were in New York not long ago and had a conference with Thos. C. Platt. It appears that the hand of the New York republican boss has been extended from Albany to Columbus.—*Buffalo Express*, January 28.

CURRENT PLATTISM.

THE RAINES BILL.

OFFICES AND SALARIES.

State commissioner of excise.....	\$5,000
Deputy commissioner	4,000
Secretary	2,000
Financial clerk.....	1,800

"Such clerical force as may be necessary," say 50.....Unlimited.
Special deputy for New York county, 4,000
Special deputy for Kings county..... 3,000
Special deputy for Erie county..... 2,000
Sixty special agents, at \$1,200..... 72,000
Sixty special attorneys, if desired.

Compensation to be fixed by the commissionerUnlimited.
Number of possible employees.....175 to 200
Amount of possible salaries.....\$250,000

All employees to be "confidential" and hence not subject to civil service regulations.

APPOINTING OFFICER.

THOMAS C. PLATT, No. 49 Broadway-

* * *

"I have been offered the naming of a \$1,200 confidential agent if I would vote for the Raines bill," said Assemblyman French, of New York, tonight. The man who made the offer claimed to have the ability to deliver the goods. I shall not vote for the Raines bill, and will do all I can to beat it. This offer to me is only one of many such offers as are being made to many members of the assembly. I believe all the patronage under the bill has been already divided up among the senators, and has been promised ten times over to the members of the assembly.—*Albany dispatch*, *Buffalo Express*, March 9.

* * *

The fisheries, game and forest commission, as re-organized by Mr. Platt, is already at loggerheads with itself, and over the same old question, spoils. Some of the members who think they did not get their fair share are going to the legislature for another re-organization.—*Buffalo Express*.

* * *

Republican leader Ellsworth to-night made a grab for the control of the Niagara reservation. He presented a bill designed to transfer the control of that state property to the fisheries, game and forestry commission. It is now under the control of the Niagara Reservation Commission, of which Andrew H. Green, of New York city, for some years has been the president. The leading spirit of the forest, fish and game commission is Barnet H. Davis, a Platt politician from Wayne county, who is a member of the republican state committee. There is considerable patronage involved in the transfer. Doubtless some of Mr. Ellsworth's lieutenants would get the place now held by Thomas V. Welch, as superintendent of the park. He is a democrat. His salary is about \$3,000 a year.—*Albany Dispatch*, March 9.

* * *

The new superintendent of the banking department, a Platt man, wants the places of assistant bank examiners taken from the competitive

and placed in the non-competitive schedule. The state commission will have a chance to show where it stands with regard to civil service reform. These places were made competitive by Gov. Flower, a practical banker, in order to raise the standard of the service.—*Buffalo Express*, March 11.

* * *

The tactics by which the Platt politicians sought to stifle the McKinley sentiment in Lockport were tried in Niagara Falls, too. Republicans there received intimations that if they joined the McKinley movement, legislation which the city is seeking at Albany would come to a stop.—*Buffalo Express*, March 11.

* * *

"The Platt-Hendricks machine in Syracuse has resorted to tactics which must make the Lauterbach people in New York feel like mere amateurs," the *Buffalo Express* (rep.) says. The general committee has amended the rules to provide that no person shall be entitled to vote at the coming primaries who has voted the ticket of any opposition party since the last gubernatorial election. The rule, the *Express* points out, thrusts the 6,000 republicans who supported Baldwin as an independent candidate for mayor last fall out of the republican party.—*New York Evening Post*, February 21.

* * *

Another of the series of remarkable bills which have appeared recently from the office of the superintendent of public works was offered in the assembly to-day by Mr. Eldridge, chairman of the canals. It provides that the contracts for the \$9,000,000 canal improvement may be let by the superintendent of public works, after he has advertised ten days in the state paper, "and in such other newspapers or journals, and for such period of time or number of insertions as the superintendent of public works may select or deem necessary."

This provision is to replace the present requirement that these bids shall be advertised for six weeks, in papers in all parts of the state. Should the bill become a law the superintendent could keep from the notice of most of the contractors of the state the fact that these enormous contracts were about to be let. The bill further extends the powers of the superintendent by providing that he shall let these contracts "to the lowest responsible bidder giving such security as the superintendent of public works may require and approve." This places in the hands of Superintendent Aldridge the entire control of this vast patronage.—*Albany Dispatch to Buffalo Express*, February 19.

* * *

The better elements among the citizens of Albany are aroused over a bill now before the legislature, the real purpose of which is to convert the local police force into a political annex to the Albany county republican machine organization. The measure was inspired by T. C. Platt's state committeeman from this district, William Barnes, Jr., who is the proprietor and publisher of the only republican newspaper in the city. It was introduced in both branches of the legislature

simultaneously a week ago, and the scheme is to rush it ahead with all possible speed.

Under the administration of mayor Oren E. Wilson, who was elected on the platform of the honest election party, the police department was re-organized and placed on an excellent footing. There has been no change in its status since Mayor Thatcher took office on January 1. The existing law gives the mayor the appointment of the four police commissioners, and makes the mayor a member, *ex officio*, of the board. The bill which Mr. Barnes is seeking to have enacted into a law proposes to abolish the present police board and to remove the commissioners from office. It provides for another police commission of four members, but deprives the mayor of the power to appoint them. He is only to preside at trials of officers, and has no voice in the proceedings of the board, nor can he vote except in case of a tie. The appointment of the new police commissioners is to be vested in the common council, whose members must select for such officials two democrats and two republicans. The honest election party, which cast more than 4,000 votes at the last election, is not given any recognition in the choice.

The bill goes further, and practically legislates out the whole re-organized police force. A significant provision is the one which declares that the commissioners are to have the power to appoint the new chief, captains, sergeants and patrolmen only by the concurrent votes of three of their number. This means, of course, that in case the appointments are not of the sort the Platt-Barnes crowd want, their representatives in the police board will not concur in the action of the other two commissioners, and thus a deadlock will result. This contingency appears to have been looked for by the framers of the bill, for it provides that the senior captain of the present police force, who is a personal follower of Mr. Barnes and is the only member of the department not to be legislated out of office under the new scheme of the politicians, is, in the event of a failure to re-organize the force, to possess all the powers and to perform all the duties of the chief. He is to appoint the patrolmen and to designate the captains and the sergeants.—*Albany Dispatch*, *New York Evening Post*, February 3.

CURRENT TOPICS.

In Ohio a representative from Clinton county, in the lower branch, has just been exposed in asking a constituent for \$300 to secure him an appointment as a guard in the state prison. The lawmaker admits the truth of the charge, and has announced his intention to resign. During the canvass last fall a candidate for the state senate on the republican ticket was found to have promised to vote for Brice for United States senator if the democratic managers would give him \$500 for campaign expenses, and he was consequently forced to retire. A grand jury at the state capital is now investigating charges of corruption against members of the last legislature, and three members of the upper branch of that body were indicted last week. The worst feature of these three incidents is the fact that they have

not shocked the people as such revelations about their lawmakers ought to do. The surprise is rather that the offenders have been caught than that men can be nominated and elected to the legislature who are capable of such offenses.—*New York Evening Post*, January 27.

* * *

Congressman-elect J. A. Hatch has been officially notified by the war department that there is a vacancy at West Point from this congressional district, and asking him to supply it. His predecessor made several strenuous attempts, but the young men whom he appointed at different times failed to pass examination. Congressman Hatch has a number of applications for the appointment, and has announced that he will name no one, but will throw the field open to the district. He states that neither politics, religion nor color will cut any figure. A competitive examination will be had, probably in Logansport, the date to be hereafter fixed.—*Delphi dispatch Indianapolis News*, July 8.

* * *

There was virtue enough in the senate to reject the scheme of Vilas and Elkins to give each senator the additional patronage of the appointment of two cadets at West Point, which act of self-denial the country will appreciate. There is no necessity for any such increase in the number of cadets, because the army is already over officered, and it is difficult to find places for all the present graduates.—*Springfield Republican*, February 21.

* * *

Mayor Strong presided, January 24, at a meeting at Sherry's in the interest of civil service reform. About 250 ladies were present. The meeting was held under the auspices of the women's auxiliary to the civil service reform association, of which the president is Mrs. Charles R. Lowell. There were five gentlemen announced in the programme to speak. They were President Seth Low, of Columbia College; E. Randolph Robinson, civil service commissioner; Colonel Waring, commissioner of street cleaning; Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, and Joseph H. Choate. Of these, Mr. Choate alone was absent.

* * *

Post-office clerk William H. Van Pelt, seventy years old, who has been in the service forty-six years, received from his associate employes of the second division yesterday noon a gold watch, chain, and seal as a token of their regard. The presentation was made by postmaster Dayton.—*New York Times*, August 23

THE BROTHERHOOD OF PIRATES.

Instead of transferring its services for a consideration, to one party or the other, as usual, the John J. O'Brien Association of New York has this year adopted the thrifty expedient of dividing itself into two parts. One section is with Tammany, and the other, under the leadership of the redoubtable Barney Rourke, has indorsed the republican state ticket. Rourke was a Tammany district leader last fall.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 38.

INDIANAPOLIS, APRIL, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE CHRONICLE has never contained more important matter than that printed in this issue describing the partition of Pennsylvania. The various drafts of agreements are still under discussion with a view to drawing them down to one final agreement; but it seems that a contract of partition along the same lines, actually went into effect in 1890, and but lately expired. Except that prominent rivals are not murdered, we can not see that the condition of the government of Pennsylvania is to day much different from the condition of the government of Rome after Cæsar had overcome his rivals. The republican forms went on as always, but the one boss was Cæsar. The astounding thing is the craven and debauched spirit of the people and press of Pennsylvania. These indubitable proofs of the destruction of free government do not create a ripple in that state.

THERE is no more contemptible public figure to-day than Governor Morton of New York. The place he holds is one of the highest distinction and the holding should tempt even a mediocre man to the most conscientious performance of duty. But Mr. Morton's acts have so stamped him as the tool of Platt that the mark can never be removed. His respectability makes the mark more disgraceful. Over the protest of every leader in administrative reform, he reorganized the state civil service commission so that the majority were Platt men, a measure which could have had no object except to further a Platt scheme. Then the excise bill was passed and a storm of opposition arose against its approval. Platt wrote a public letter in favor of it and then Governor Morton signed it. The expenditures under the bill will be about \$275,000 annually, and the question arose as to the classification of the employes. The state constitution requires all appointments to be competitive so far as practicable. Platt's civil service commission, over the protest of the one honest member, Colonel Burt, promptly classified the employes as non-competitive and the governor approved the classification on the ground that the law must be enforced at once and there was no eligible list. This excuse

is worthy of the days of the civil service reform struggle along in the eighties and is the littlest thing which perhaps even Governor Morton has done. As chief excise commissioner he appointed H. H. Lyman, who at once went to New York and had a long conference with Platt, and a few hours later his nomination was confirmed by the legislature. From Platt he went to Hackett, chairman of the republican state committee. Then he appointed a deputy for the city and county of New York, one George Hilliard, a Platt district leader, and seems well started in building up a great Platt excise machine.

But a difficulty has arisen. The court of appeals has decided that the constitution is self-executing in its requirements as to admission into the state service and that it will be the duty of the court in any case brought before it to see that the constitution is observed. It further holds that non-legislation can not nullify the constitution. Lyman was making ready to appoint sixty agents which the legislature, in order to beat the constitution, termed "confidential." But the state comptroller, Mr. Roberts, here arose and gave notice that he would not pay a single appointee who did not get his place by competition. This paralyzed the machine and Chairman Hackett telegraphed to Roberts: "Are you going to forget our friends who stood by you for renomination?" It is more than likely that Roberts will forget "our friends," and the Platt men are now talking of having a law passed transferring the duty of the payment to Lyman. This will not help the matter; this whole Platt-Morton scheme is destined to an inglorious failure. Competition is practicable and the court will so hold. But in what a position is Morton, with his bogus respectability, bogus statesmanship, bogus everything. This extended instance is only one of a collection, among which is his sanction of a bill Plattizing the Albany police, and another bill authorizing the payment of Aldridge's illegally appointed employes who were kicked out by the court of appeals.

MAYOR WARNER, of Rochester, has followed up his proposal to enforce the civil service law by issuing a proclamation forbidding the city comptroller to issue any warrants for the pay of any person whose appointment has not been made in accordance with law and the rules. The hundred such now in the employ of the city are at

last convinced and since most of them did not enter the recent competition their names are not on the eligible lists, and in a few days they will not only be payless but positionless. They too, talk of appealing to Platt's legislature; but here again the constitution stands as a barrier impassable to the Broadway expressman.

Is it not about time that Mayor Taggart, of this city, began to heed passing events? Here is the mayor of Rochester declaring that he will observe his oath and enforce the law. Here is the court of appeals declaring, that when the constitution says that employment shall be given by competition so far as practicable, it is self-executing regardless of a dishonest legislature, and that the court will judge of the practicability. Now, as late as March 16, 1895, the legislature of Indiana re-enacted a law, which had already for four years been the law of the state, requiring the mayor to call together the heads of departments, and adopt regulations which "shall prescribe a common and systematic method of ascertaining the comparative fitness of applicants for office, position and promotion, and of selecting, appointing and promoting those found to be best fitted, except in the department of public safety, without regard to political opinions or services." Mayor Taggart put under his feet the rules adopted in accordance with this mandate, and after brazenly violating them, and allowing them to be violated to his heart's content, he called his heads of departments together, and the meeting went through the form of repealing the rules, but adopted none in their stead. Mayor Taggart has a clergyman who takes a lively interest in his doings as a public officer, and we suggest that now is the time for a proper representation of the spiritual pains and penalties of perjury.

A FRIEND has called our attention to the possibility that the remarks in the CHRONICLE last month relating to Secretary Carlisle were unjust—and we have been over the matter again. The statement was made by Commissioner Rice, in his Boston address, that Secretary Carlisle in appointing money-counters had received only the applications of those formerly employed in like work and had selected those whose record was the highest in the former service; also that he had promoted a clerk after twenty years' service, who was not a

democrat, to a position not classified; also that he had recommended all chiefs of divisions to be transferred to the competitive lists. The CHRONICLE pointed out that Mr. Carlisle had asked congress not to put the money-counters under the civil service law, and that, coupled with his son Logan, he had a long and offensive career as an anti-civil service reformer. It asked also for the politics of the counters actually appointed. This was no injustice. It is Mr. Carlisle's fault that the counters are not removed from politics, and some of the greatest scandals have been connected with the places of the very chiefs of divisions which he now seeks to have classified. If there is anything which Mr. Carlisle has ever said in favor of the merit system, we shall be glad to print it. Judged by his career, he has been its steady enemy. If he has become converted and is now its friend, it is easy enough to say so, and to dismiss Logan Carlisle; but we object to putting forward such comparatively petty facts as Mr. Rice mentioned as evidence that the old Adam is eradicated.

THE republicans of the senate have the distinction of being led to victory by Gorman. It all arose out of Gorman's solicitude for "taking the country post-office away from the people." The greatest pest in the federal service for many years has been the little country postmasters, by the fifty thousand or so acting as diligent electioneering tools of fellows like Gorman. No one appreciates this service more than Gorman. The recent plan of the postmaster-general for the gradual transfer of these offices to the classified service, if carried out, would render further usefulness to the Gormanites impossible; and it seems that a majority of the senators are Gormanites, and they forbade consolidation to run over the corporate limits of a city. The condemnation of this corrupt legislation has been all but universal, but it is not to be expected that any followers of Gorman would be made ashamed, any more than a thief is ashamed to be called a thief. Gorman says that all this talk is putting the matter on a low plane, and one has to hear him describe the evils of taking offices away from "the people," and explain how free he has been from interference with the distribution of spoil to get a just idea of what a nice man he is.

It seems to be taken for granted that President Cleveland is soon to issue an order completing the classification of the federal service and putting the destruction of the spoils system in that service upon the home stretch. In anticipation of the direful future the Washington correspondent of the Indianapolis *Journal* says, April 16: "Indeed, I see no encouragement in the

future for a man to be a party worker. Every office in the nation which he might fill will be out of his reach." How about the party principles? The party worker has never said, "Vote with my party because I want to become a spittoon-cleaner." The one reason which he has bawled unceasingly has been the salutary benefits of his party principles? Was this all a lie? It can not be; the *Journal* correspondent owes an apology to the party worker. And, then, the party principles; are they not worth working for? Must a man be paid to work for them?

THE Ohio senate recently passed a bill providing for the merit system in the city of Cincinnati. The bill had been endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce, the Commercial Club and other business associations of the city and was earnestly desired by the people. The party bosses, however, realizing that the progress of the merit system means that they must go to some honest labor, ordered the action of the legislature reconsidered and it was done under the lead of a Cincinnati Senator named Shattuc. This undoubtedly ends the matter for the present. The result is not surprising. The party machine and the men who control it live very largely upon the distribution of spoil, and the members of our legislatures are about of an average with the ordinary ward boss. They have the same political ideas, the same corrupt notions of government and all alike are in politics for what there is in it. It is not, therefore, to be expected that in a state so thoroughly debauched as is Ohio politically, the party machine will advance the merit system except that as step by step it is kicked into it by public opinion. In these days, having in view the great triumphs which the merit system has won, its advocates know that its final success is certain even in Ohio. The party worker and the party boss are being crowded to the wall and like the rats and vermin in a ship under process of fumigation the only question is not whether they will survive but how long they can stand the fumigation.

WE have received from Philadelphia an interesting account of the efforts of the Eighth Ward Association of the Municipal League to elect a member of the common council. There are sixteen divisions in the eighth ward. Of these the eight which pay nearly all the taxes gave the league candidate a majority while the eight which pay a small proportion of the taxes gave a heavy majority against him. It seems to have been a matter of dollars and cents and offers a good view of Pennsylvania politics. A few days before the election the secretary of the ward association was

assured that the league candidate could easily be elected if he would "put up" \$900. This, of course, was refused, and the regular republican candidate was elected.

WHILE perhaps its object is not strictly within the scope of the CHRONICLE, yet we print below Mr. Foulke's letter to all the editors of Indiana papers. It will be noted that the charge is that certain men are pushing themselves for the national senate who have no particular qualifications for any public position, but who are possessed of great wealth, and are believed to have obtained and to be obtaining their present influence with the party workers and the possibly future legislators by heavy contributions of funds. The ominous silence of the leading republican papers throughout the state is commanding wide and fixed attention. The letter is as follows:

SIR—In other states we have seen men reaching the highest executive office, and even intruding themselves into the national senate, through the power of money alone, purchasing political influence to secure their nomination and election to places for which they had no other qualifications. Indiana has been singularly free from this kind of corruption. Her governors and senators have been selected with little reference to pecuniary considerations. Morton, Hendricks, McDonald, Pratt, Voorhees, Harrison and Turpie were chosen on account of the political prominence of the men themselves, and they honestly and fairly represented the respective parties to which they owed their election. But, in view of the supposed certainty of republican success next fall, the candidates who are now pushing their claims most loudly and eagerly are men without distinction or experience in public life, whose chief qualification is the possession of great wealth, which it is believed they are willing to use, paying for the coveted honor by enormous contributions to the campaign fund as well as in other ways.

The choice of any such men would simply mean that republican nominations in Indiana are for sale. It would involve greater injury to the honor of our state and to the national welfare than the mere success of either political party. No partisan victory is so precious that it will compensate for the sapping of public virtue involved in the election of a candidate representing dollars and cents rather than political principles. Upon this dark pathway to inevitable ruin the republican party of Indiana with its splendid traditions of patriotic beneficence ought not to enter. Yours,

WM. DUDLEY FOULKE.

Richmond, Ind., April 7, 1896.

THE PARTITION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Matt Quay—U. S. Senator and Over-Lord of Pennsylvania.

Richard, Son of the Above—Heir Apparent.

Chris Magee—A restless and rebellious Under-Lord.

Dave Martin—Another restless and rebellious Under-Lord.

Walter—An Intermediary.

Flinn, a State Senator, and Brown, a Director of Public Safety, } Anti-Quay Henchmen.

INTERMEDIARY WALTER'S PROPOSITION.

The correspondence which the Quay manager in Pittsburg made public yesterday began with a preliminary statement by Parker L. Walter, formerly a newspaper man in the Smoky City, in which he asserted that Director of Public Safety Joseph O. Brown, after consultation with Chris L. Magee and Senator Flinn, had authorized him to make a proposition to Senator Quay. The proposition Mr. Walter made in a letter, which was as follows:

"Personal.

"HOTEL DUQUESNE,
"PITTSBURG, PA., U. S. A.,
"December 24, 9:30 P. M.

"DEAR SENATOR—Joe Brown sent for me at noon to-day and asked me if any terms could be made with you. I said nothing but a complete lay down. He kept me here until now. First he went over the situation with Flinn, then Flinn went to Magee and this is the result, and is their formal offer to you, known only to them, myself and you:

"Magee will retire from national, state and city politics; Flinn will do the same after the February elections if you think best, and merely work along in harmony in the senate. *He will step out of city chairmanship and let you name his successor. You are to name all delegates from Allegheny county to state convention. You are to name all members of legislature (house and senate) from the county; you are to name national delegates.*

"Larkin or other city nominees (except Guthrie, who is regarded as unsafe for you and other side also) to be elected under secret agreement. *Gourley to be defeated, even if nominated.*

"Flinn to call down Martin and Porter and other Philadelphia leaders if so desired by you; *they to give you legislature and national delegates.*

"Any man you may name to be supported for senate or President.

"In return nothing suggested so far, except certain lines for investigation here. All *bona fide* wrong-doing of Brown, Flinn, Magee or others to be shown up.

"Brown to meet you at my house in early morning alone. After talk with him Flinn to come and give such guarantees as you may ask for.

"This is outline of matter. They say Hastings is with you and the game is up.

"This must be arranged, they say, before the committee meets here, and must be absolutely a secret.

"Wire me early, so I can tell Brown.

"Write what you desire done to 117 Linden avenue, East Liberty, Pittsburg.

"Yours, etc.,

"PARKER L. WALTER."

R. R. QUAY'S STATEMENT.

Following this letter, Ex-Representative Richard R. Quay, Senator Quay's son, made this statement concerning the correspondence:

"About two weeks before J. O. Brown and Senator Flinn went to Washington I heard from outside sources that they were going to ask for an interview with father and were

seeking a compromise. I went to Washington and protested against father's even meeting them, saying to him at the time: 'If you meet them we will have the same old cry of Quay and Martin that we had in the hog combine fight of last summer.'

"He said to me: 'Dick, you are entirely too bitter; it is my duty as chairman of the state committee to do all I honorably can to harmonize the different factions of the republican party. If they ask for a meeting I will receive them as I would any other republicans.'

"Following out his ideas as expressed to me as to his duty as chairman, he wired Mr. Brown upon the receipt of Mr. Walter's letter of the 24th of December, if he desired to see him to come to Washington. The next day Mr. Brown appeared in Washington, accompanied by Mr. Flinn. At this time Mr. Flinn produced a memorandum written in pencil by himself, which was in striking contrast with the suggestions given through Mr. Brown to Mr. Walter. My father flatly refused to entertain the proposition. After this, and before they left, he told them they might leave it with him, and that he would amend it. He then wrote to friends in Allegheny county, to whom previous to the state convention he had made pledges that he would carry out his reform ideas in the manner enunciated in the state platform.

"It became noised about Pittsburg that Mr. Brown and Mr. Flinn had gone to Washington to see father, and father, having been written to on the subject, wrote to his friends that no compromise would be made with which they were not entirely satisfied.

"Several days after that Mr. Wright, father's secretary, forwarded, by father's direction, an unsigned typewritten suggestion which is dated January 1, and of which he retained a copy. This is the paper to which Senator Flinn has made so many mysterious references, and is the only paper that ever came from father in connection with this matter."

The memorandum agreement which was referred to, was in Mr. Flinn's handwriting, and was as follows:

"Memorandum and agreement between M. S. Quay of the first part and J. O. Brown and William Flinn of the second part. *The consideration of the agreement being the mutual political and business advantage which may result therefrom.**

*Comptroller James A. Grier, in answer to the petition of Commissioners Mercer and Weir for a mandamus to compel him to ask for bids for tax receipts, has filed a reply stating that the county commissioners in March, 1893, advertised for proposals for the printing of tax receipts to be used in the collection of the taxes for that year for the county of Allegheny, specifying the character of the paper by a sample furnished by the American Bank Note Company, of New York, and limiting the same to the sample. On March 23, 1893, a contract was made between the county commissioners and Baird Reed for the tax receipts

"First—The said M. S. Quay is to have the benefit of the influence in all matters in state and national politics of the said parties of the second part, the said parties agreeing that they will secure the election of delegates to the state and national convention, who will be guided in all matters by the wishes of the said party of the first part, and who will also secure the election of members of the state senate from the forty-third, forty-fourth and forty-fifth senatorial districts, and also secure the election of members of the house of representatives south of the Monongahela and Ohio rivers in the county of Allegheny, who will be guided by the wishes and request of the said party of the first part during the continuance of this agreement upon all political matters. The different candidates of the various positions mentioned shall be selected by the parties of the second part, and all the positions of state and national appointments made in this territory mentioned shall be satisfactory to and secure the indorsement of the party of the second part, when the appointment is made either by or through the party of the first part, or his friends or political associates. *All legislation affecting the parties of the second part, affecting cities of the second class, shall receive the hearty co-operation and assistance of the party of the second part, and legislation which may affect their business shall likewise receive the hearty co-operation and help of the party of the first part.*

"It being distinctly understood that at the approaching national convention, to be held at St. Louis, the delegates from the twenty-second congressional district shall neither by voice nor vote do other than what is satisfactory to the party of the first part.

"The party of the first part agrees to use his influence and secure the support of his friends and political associates to support the republican county and city ticket, when nominated, both in the city of Pittsburg and Allegheny, and the county of Allegheny, and that he will

and supplies to be used by the county that year, the same to correspond with sample on file. *This contract, he says, while purporting to have been made by James G. Weir and R. E. Mercer, was illegal, and an imposition, as it was really made by Christopher L. Magee, acting collusively with Weir and Mercer.*

The comptroller then states that the receipts furnished were printed on inferior paper, "on paper of a low cost price and within the control of said Magee and others, and large numbers of tax receipts were by them issued and used in subsequent county and city elections for illicit purposes. *This was easily arranged because they had control of the majority of the county commissioners, who acted and co-operated with them in this matter.* And your respondent assigns this as one of the competent reasons for refusing to countenance measures of this character." He also asserts: "That Senator William Flinn, chairman of the republican committee of Pittsburg, obtained blank tax receipts of this character from a county official, and used them in the city elections for illegal purposes." — *Pittsburg dispatch, New York Evening Post, April 7.*

discountenance the factional fighting by his friends and associates for county offices during the continuation of this agreement.

"This agreement is not to be binding upon the parties of the second part when a candidate for any office shall reside in Allegheny county and shall only be binding if the party of the first part is a candidate for United States senator to succeed himself so far as this office is concerned.

"In the forty-third senatorial district a new senator shall be elected to succeed Senator Upperman. In the forty-fifth senatorial district the party of the first part shall secure the withdrawal of Dr. A. J. Barchfeld, and the parties of the second part shall withdraw as a candidate Senator Steel, and the parties of the second part shall secure the election of some party satisfactory to themselves.

"In the twenty-second congressional district the candidates for congress shall be selected by the party of the second part. The term of this agreement to be for —years from the signing thereof, and shall be binding upon all parties when signed by C. L. Magee.

WHAT QUAY PROPOSED.

Senator Quay's suggested agreement was typewritten and unsigned. It was as follows:
JAN. 1, 1896.

"Until January 1, 1900, the following shall be the political conditions in Allegheny county: Mr. Quay is to have the absolute support of the signers hereof in state and national politics and is to sustain through his friends all regular republican nominees and the straight republican organization.

"If Mr. Quay is a candidate for the United States senate in 1899 he is to have the united support of the senators and members of the legislature from Allegheny county. In every other case his leadership is to be followed by a united support in the legislature and in national and state conventions except where a bona fide candidate appears in Allegheny county.

"In the national convention of 1896 the delegates from the twenty-second congressional district shall sustain Senator Quay. Unless otherwise agreed hereafter, Mr. Magee shall not be a delegate to either the national or state conventions of 1896.

"In the senatorial districts now represented by Steel and Upperman, the sitting senators shall retire and Senator Quay and his friends shall name the successors to Senator Steel. The other parties hereto shall name the successor to Senator Upperman.

"For legislative and state convention for the year 1896, Senator Quay and his friends shall name the members and delegates from the first, second, sixth, seventh and eighth legislative districts. After 1896 the personnel of the delegates of the sixth and eighth districts shall be a matter of conference between the parties hereto, and if no agreement be arrived at, shall be settled by arbitration. Senatorial appointments in the city of Pittsburg shall be first indorsed by the parties hereto residing there.

"No legislation is to be had at Harrisburg or de-

sired, the effect of which will be to injure the character or business interests of the Pittsburg parties hereto. This, however, not to interfere with the general reform legislation outlined in the platform of the republican state convention of 1895.

"In the twenty-second congressional district the candidate for congress shall be named by the Pittsburg parties, and shall be, so far as the affair can be controlled, without opposition for nomination or election.

"All senators and members shall sustain Senator Quay in the organization of the legislature and in the election of a United States senator during the term of this agreement, except as hereinbefore provided."

SENATOR FLINN'S STATEMENT.

It was late yesterday afternoon when Senator Flinn learned that the foregoing correspondence had been made public. He and J. O. Brown were together at the Walton, and they had copies of the whole matter before them. Mr. Flinn was in a frame of mind to talk and after going over the two agreements he made this statement concerning them:

"The two agreements, relating to the proposed agreements between Senator Quay and J. O. Brown and myself on the other part, are practically correct. The difference between the two agreements are very slight, being that the republican organization of Allegheny county should not interfere in the politics of the sixth and eighth legislative districts, Senator Quay also demanding that he should name the successor to Senator Steel. He further demanding that C. L. Magee should not be permitted to go either to the national or state convention as a delegate. The agreement which Mr. Brown and myself submitted to him contained the provision that Mr. Magee should sign the agreement before it was binding

"There was nothing startling in the agreement submitted by Mr. Brown and myself, as it was a practical reproduction of the agreement made in August of 1890, and signed by Senator Quay and N. P. Reed on one part, and Mr. J. O. Brown and myself on the other part. This agreement ran for a period of four years, and when it expired Senator Quay called Mr. Brown and myself to a meeting at the Duquesne Hotel, when the agreement was destroyed. He complimented us on our fairness and integrity in the keeping of the agreement.

SENT FOR MR. BROWN.

"Senator Quay telegraphed to J. O. Brown to come to Washington and asked him to bring me with him, when he received a dispatch from him, announcing that he was ready to meet us. Senator Quay also instructed Mr. Brown to have us reproduce the agreement of 1890, which I did with the exceptions that I have enumerated. I notified Senator Quay that while I was anxious to have harmony in the lines of the republican party that we would do nothing without a consultation with David Martin, of Philadelphia. Mr. Quay objected strenuously to having Mr. Martin brought into the question at all, but I replied

that Governor Hastings was our general and had gotten us into this fight with him; that Governor Hastings had made peace with him without notification to either the Philadelphians or ourselves, and that there was no reason why, if peace was made with the political interests of one municipality, both should not be included. I believe that the agreement would have been signed that day but for the provision relating to Mr. Martin which I insisted upon. I took the train to Philadelphia and notified Mr. Martin of my conversation with Senator Quay, and we both agreed that when peace was made it should be made with both municipalities at one time.

"Senator Quay then sent for Mr. Martin and met him at Senator Cameron's house. While Senator Quay is turning on the light, he might give the public the benefit of this interview. He again telegraphed Mr. Brown when he was ready to receive us, and we went to Washington, to his residence. He told us that his friends in Allegheny county objected to the renewal of the agreement of 1890, and that we had better see Lieutenant-Governor Lyon. I replied that Lieutenant-Governor Lyon was in a conspiracy with the democratic party and the municipal league to defeat the the republican city ticket, which was elected in February, and I would have no meeting with him. He then verbally enumerated the proposition which he afterward mailed to Mr. Brown, and which is the copy which is in to-day's Pittsburg papers.

THREATENED WITH THE LEXOW.

"We told him at the time that we would not agree to the unnecessary humiliation of Mr. Magee. He replied then that it was not his intention that Mr. Magee should shine again in the future in state or national politics. We reminded him of the fact that he did not live in Allegheny county, but upon this point he was obstinate and threatened us with the Lexow committee. We informed him that if the Lexow committee sat in Pittsburg and took the character of testimony they took in Philadelphia, there would be no agreement signed of any kind or character between us. He telegraphed Senator Andrews to meet us in Philadelphia, which he did the same day.

"If Senator Quay is still anxious to turn on the light he might inform the democratic party, or the municipal league of Pittsburg, why the Lexow committee only held one hearing, and why they conducted the line of examination which they did, which was neither personal nor scandalous, and which did not suit the municipal league. The only difference between the Senator Quay of 1890 and Senator Quay of 1896 is that he is a candidate for President; and while it may not be to the credit of a member of the state senate to engage in the political partitions of a county that he lives in, it might strike the public that it is far less creditable for a reform candidate for President, who is a candidate for the greatest office of any people on earth, to be

engaged in a political partition of a community in a county where he does not live.

"I think, in order to make the chapter complete, that Senator Quay might as well turn on the light regarding his anxiety to make a deal with Mr. Martin, of Philadelphia, and tell the result of the meeting in Senator Cameron's residence, and tell the reformers of the municipal league why but one session of the Lexow committee was held in Pittsburg."

MR. BROWN'S STATEMENT.

Director of Public Safety Brown, of Pittsburg, speaking on the same subject, said:

"In January I received a telegram from Senator Quay, asking me to come to Washington. I did, and called upon the senator at his private residence, and he told me that he desired to discuss the propriety of a new political agreement of the same kind and character that was executed between N. P. Reed and himself on one part, and Senator Flinn and myself, of the other. He asked me to take a pencil and note down the main points of what he thought that agreement should be. This I did, and it was practically the agreement of 1890, and was to form the basis of a future discussion upon political matters therein set out; with the request that I take them to Pittsburg and submit them to Senator Flinn, and that Senator Flinn and myself should go over the main points of the agreement and return to Washington, which we did.

"On our way to Washington Senator Flinn wrote out and reproduced in writing practically the agreement of 1890, a copy of which appears in the Pittsburg papers of today. We had a very lengthy discussion over the political situation of Allegheny county, but failed to reach an agreement, for the reason that Senator Quay stoutly insisted that C. L. Magee, of Pittsburg, should not attend any state or national convention, and that he, Senator Quay, should have the choice of state senator of Pennsylvania, instead of Senator Steel. As to this whole matter, I have Senator Quay's original telegrams and letters in my possession in Pittsburg, which I will produce at any time. Senator Quay told me, in his own private library in Washington, that he did not desire Parker Walters should in any manner, shape or form have any part in these contemplated agreements."

SENATOR QUAY'S COMMENT.

Senator Quay was shown the interviews with Senator Flinn and Director Brown, but he refused to discuss them. "Let all the news come from the seat of war," he declared. "I have nothing to do with it. The people there have all the documents, papers and evidence, and they can publish them if they see fit."

He read the interview with Senator Flinn over carefully and occasionally would remark: "He tries to get away from the question;" then turning to the reporter, Mr. Quay would say: "The point is that they came to me, and he covers that part up with a mass of other matters.

When he read Director Brown's interview he

said: "You will notice he begins with my telegram to him. He says nothing about the letter I first received."

When he had finished reading the interviews, Mr. Quay said: "I must decline to discuss the matter, preferring, as I have already remarked, to let the news come from the seat of war."

A DEBAUCHED AND MANACLED PRESS.

(*Philadelphia Press*, March 17.)

Quay and Flinn Here—They Were Both at the Same Hotel, But They Did Not Meet—The Proposed Peace Terms—Flinn and Brown Drew Up One Agreement and Quay Prepared Another—Senator Flinn's Statement—He Says Harmony Failed Because He Insisted That David Martin Should Be Taken In—Senator Quay Is Reticent.

United States Senator Quay and State Senator Flinn, the Allegheny county republican leader who has been challenging Senator Quay for several days to cross-examine him upon certain political matters, were at the Walton last evening for about an hour and a half, but they did not meet. Mr. Flinn had arrived in Philadelphia early in the morning, having come east immediately after making public his letter of defiance to the Beaver Statesman, which was published in *The Press* yesterday. Mr. Quay reached the city about 7 o'clock in the evening, having come up from Washington.

The presence of both Senator Quay and State Senator Flinn was merely a coincidence, both gentlemen declared. Mr. Flinn said he had not seen Senator Quay and the latter said he did not know that Mr. Flinn was in the city until told by a *Press* reporter.

Interest in the controversy between these republican leaders was heightened yesterday by the fact that Senator Quay's son, R. R. Quay, made public in Pittsburg the correspondence and peace agreements which have been so much discussed during the past few days. These papers show that Senator Flinn and J. O. Brown made a proposition of peace to Senator Quay, which was not acceptable to him and he in turn proposed terms of settlement to them which they would not agree to.

QUAY-FLINN LETTERS—PITTSBURG POLITICIANS NOT MUCH SURPRISED—AN EDITORIAL INTERVIEW.

PITTSBURG, March 16.—The publication of the correspondence between Senator M. S. Quay and State Senator Flinn created considerable talk to-day.

The *News* this afternoon, which represents C. L. Magee, says editorially, under the caption, "A Little Political History:"

"With regard to the published reports this morning concerning the relation between Senator Quay and Senator Flinn, it is interesting to go back a little into history. In 1889, during the absence of C. L. Magee in Europe, Senator Quay entered into an arrangement with Senator

Flinn and J. O. Brown (the late N. P. Reed being a witness thereto), that in consideration of the support of Messrs. Flinn and Brown, in harmony with Senator Quay's wishes in state and national politics the charter of the city of Pittsburg, which Mr. Quay had threatened to destroy, should be preserved as it had been adopted by the legislature of 1887, under which Mr. Brown was then, as now, at the head of the department of public safety. The only exception in this agreement was in case there was a candidate from Allegheny county for any national or state position. This agreement was to cover a period of four years, which overlapped the next gubernatorial election, the next Presidential election and the election of Mr. Quay's successor. It was kept in good faith during the entire period.

"In 1890, when it became necessary for the Republicans to nominate a candidate for governor, Allegheny county having its own candidate in the person of Major E. A. Montooth, such of its delegates, including all those from the city of Pittsburg as were in sympathy with Messrs. Flinn and Brown, supported the Allegheny county candidate for governor and declined to vote for Mr. Quay's man Delamater, although repeatedly urged by him to do so.

"In 1892, in harmony with the agreement referred to, and as showing Senator Quay's confidence in Mr. Flinn, the latter was chosen a delegate-at-large to the republican national convention, and in that body he and Mr. Brown, who was a district delegate, voted for and supported the candidate advocated by Mr. Quay.

"Coming down to the present difficulty, when the recent municipal campaign was pending, Parker L. Walter, claiming to represent Senator Quay, approached Mr. Brown and arranged for a meeting with Senator Quay with a view to securing harmony. This meeting was held at Washington, Senator Flinn being present. At that time Senator Quay agreed, as a basis of harmony, that there should be no interference with the charter of the city of Pittsburg, except as regarded the non-participation of police officials and other city employes in politics, as laid down by the republican state platform of 1895, and he agreed that the Lexow committee, which at that time was to come to Pittsburg, was, pending negotiations then under way, to confine its inquiries to such matters as should be covered by the system of government in vogue in this city. Any one familiar with the visit of that committee to Pittsburg will realize at once that they did just what the senator agreed, thus clearly indicating that the committee was at the beck and call of Senator Quay, and confirming the declaration made by Senator Quay at the time of the organization of the committee, that it would be absolutely under his control, and was not intended to injure any one, but simply to be used as a political club to compel the support of those who were not in harmony with his views.

"Subsequently Mr. Quay sent a typewritten proposition to Mr. Flinn, which is now in Mr. Flinn's possession, and which laid down such conditions as could not be honorably accepted. That ended the negotiations. Senator Flinn is now out of the city, but it is probable that

more light will be thrown upon Mr. Quay's position upon Mr. Flinn's return to Pittsburgh."—*Philadelphia Press*, March 17.

(*Philadelphia Record*, March 17.)

Quay On His Bombshell.—He is Here, and Talks About Senator Flinn's Negotiations—Says It's Allegheny's Fight—Being a Presidential Candidate He Deems it Improper to Comment on Convention Prospects or Magee's War.

The bombshell thrown by Senator Quay's friends into the Magee-Flinn ranks in Allegheny county by publishing the correspondence relating to a treaty of peace which Senator Flinn took steps to negotiate, was the all-absorbing topic in political circles yesterday. Senator Quay, accompanied by his secretary and Congressman Monroe H. Kulp, of Shamokin, arrived at the Hotel Walton, last night, from Washington, and when asked if his coming at the time when Senator Flinn and Public Safety Director J. O. Brown, of Pittsburgh, were at the same hotel was merely a coincidence, he replied:

"I am told they went away just as I arrived."

Senator Quay did not see Mr. Flinn. The latter arrived at the hotel about 7 o'clock in the morning, having traveled all night from Pittsburgh. The presence of Mr. Brown, who figures in the published correspondence, was explained by the fact that Mrs. Brown has been staying in the city for medical treatment. Mr. Flinn's visit was a mystery to politicians, some of whom thought that, knowing that the publication was to be made yesterday morning in Pittsburgh, he started east for the purpose of explaining matters to David Martin and Senator Porter, who would infer from the publication that the Pittsburgh leaders, as long ago as last Christmas, were thinking of breaking loose from the Philadelphia combine chieftains, unless the latter should join the westerners in the work of making everything lovely for Senator Quay. Mr. Flinn took the 8.50 train for home last night.

HOW LOCAL FACTIONS REGARD IT.

The boomerang that has hit Magee and Flinn effects the "administration" element of of this city, because of the apparent intention which the Allegheny leaders had of forcing Messrs. Martin and Porter to offer the olive branch to the senator or of abandoning the Philadelphia combine chieftains to their fate, if they persisted in warring against the silent seducer of tarpon. The publication of the correspondence was regarded among both republican factions yesterday, as explaining why Mr. Martin had lately been acting and speaking, or rather not acting or speaking, without regard for Mr. Magee's attitude, and why the Philadelphia leader had said, on Saturday, that he was not ready to declare for or against Quay or any body else for President and would not announce his preference until he should arrive at St. Louis.

It was also thought among lieutenants of both factions, that the feelings which the Quay

disclosure shows to have animated the Pittsburgh leaders last Christmas—about the time of the senatorial investigating committee's visit to the smoky city—might have made Senator Porter weary of his share in the alliance with the western end of the combine, and had some bearing upon the announcement of his retirement from politics.

(*Philadelphia Times*, March 17.)

Quay and Flinn in Town—At the Same Hotel in This City, But They Did Not Meet—Flinn's Threat a Boomerang—Quay's Friends Publish the Harmony Negotiations in Pittsburgh—Combine Made the Overtures and the United States Senator demanded Magee's Banishment from Politics, Stood Up for Reform Legislation and Declined to Consider David Martin or the Situation in This City—The Pittsburghers Were Evidently Afraid of the Senatorial Investigating Committee—Flinn and Director of Public Safety Brown, of Pittsburgh, Make Interesting Statements, But They Admit the Authenticity of the Published Documents—Quay Reticent About Politics and the Contest for the Republican Presidential Nomination.

United States Senator Quay came to this city from Washington last evening and took rooms at the Hotel Walton. About the time of the arrival of the Beaver statesman and candidate for President, State Senator William Flinn, of Pittsburgh, who had been in the city all day, with J. O. Brown, the director of public works of Pittsburgh, took his departure from the same hotel. It is needless to say that Senator Quay and Flinn did not have an engagement to meet, and they did not even get a glimpse of each other.

Senator Quay said he came to Philadelphia on private business which might compel him to remain a couple of days, or may be completed in time for him to go back to Washington to-day. He did not care to discuss politics, especially the situation regarding the contest for the republican presidential nomination. He was shown an estimate made by a New York newspaper, in which Major McKinley, of Ohio, was given 565 votes, which would assure him of the nomination; but even this failed to draw out the candidate of the Keystone state. He laughed as he glanced over the figures, to which, it was apparent by his manner, he attached no weight, and merely remarked:

"Why don't they give him all the rest?"

THE PITTSBURG CONTROVERSY.

Regarding the controversy between his supporters in Pittsburgh and Senator Flinn, who is Chris Magee's chief lieutenant in the anti-Quay combine, Colonel Quay declined to go into any discussion. He said that he did not consider that he was at all involved in the matter, and that it is entirely in the hands of his son Richard and Lieutenant-Governor Lyon, with whom Flinn raised the controversy.

"Dick and Lyon had the correspondence on the subject," he said, "to use as they saw fit. They deemed it proper to give it out for publication, and I have nothing whatever to do with it."

The correspondence referred to caused considerable of a sensation in republican circles in this city. It was in the shape of an exposure by the friends of Senator Quay of all the documents attending the negotiations for peace between the leaders of the combine faction of the party in Pittsburgh and the senator himself. Senator Flinn had threatened to make public a letter which he had in his possession from Senator Quay, in which, according to Flinn, the senator sued for harmony. This was met by a flat denial on the part of Senator Quay, and his son Richard, after a trip to Washington, gave out in Pittsburgh all the letters and written documents on the subject. As a result, Flinn's threat to publish the Quay letter has proven considerable of a boomerang, since it is clearly shown by the latest developments that overtures for peace first came from the western combine.

A SINGLE VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.

POLITICAL ABSOLUTISM.

(*Philadelphia Public Ledger*, March 20.)

It has always been a popular belief—one strongly, clearly, and eloquently formulated, in President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address—that ours is a government of, for, and by the people. Undoubtedly that was what the wise, patriotic founders intended it to be, but with new lords come new governing methods and forces, and if President Lincoln were living to-day, and were to read the several agreements made respectively by certain Pittsburgh politicians and Senator Quay, he would unquestionably modify the language of his famous memorial speech by excluding from its application the people of the state of Pennsylvania.

The intelligent citizens of this state can not have failed to perceive long ago that they were politically corralled, but, until the exceedingly frank Pittsburgh agreements were made public, they probably did not similarly see that they have been for years in the political shambles, hung up and sold outright to Senator Quay. That the *Ledger* is justified in saying that that as their political condition to-day is proved conclusively, we think, by the following correspondence, which we here-with republish at length without fear that its reproduction will be found tedious.

* * *

There is no intelligent citizen of Pennsylvania in whom there survives a single gleam of public spirit who can thoughtfully consider the above stated agreements and negotiations without the profoundest sense of humiliation, indignation and disgust. That the citizens of this great old commonwealth should be openly, recklessly, shamefully made the mere trafficking commodities of the political market, in which their most precious and sacred rights

of citizenship are bargained and sold by the most corrupt and venal politicians, should arouse the honest resentment of every good citizen throughout the state. When we consider the vicious lives, the unenviable characters, the smirched reputations of the practical politicians, both great and small, who at present dominate the government of this state, there can be no other feeling than that of shame that the government of this grand old commonwealth can be in any manner or degree controlled by men whose very names are by-words and cast scorn upon their bearers. But it is fair to Senator Quay and his pliant, unscrupulous henchmen to say that not they, but the people themselves, are responsible for their arbitrary, blighting political rule. The people have given them the extraordinary power they exercise, to the deep humiliation of Pennsylvania. They are but the creatures of the criminal indifference of voters to their duties of citizenship, the first, greatest and most sacred of all their duties. It is upon this indifference that these trading politicians exist and thrive. Replace it with popular political interest and energy, and our bosses, their "rounders" and "heelers" of all degrees, will cease to be.—

BOSS RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

McKinley has taken from Quay two of the votes which Pennsylvania will cast in the St. Louis convention, and the men who will thus break the solid delegation are Magee and Flinn, the bosses of Pittsburg. In connection with the contest for the possession of these votes there has come to light documentary and other evidence of a very interesting character, showing how the legislation and public offices and the political affairs generally of a state containing nearly 6,000,000 people are controlled by three or four political dictators and made subject to their bargains with each other.

The Pittsburg bosses are Magee and Flinn, the latter being a state senator and the chairman of the republican city committee. Two or three weeks ago Lieut.-Gov. Lyon, representing Quay, the state boss, in western Pennsylvania, remarked in public that Quay could have had the two Pittsburg delegates if he had been willing to make "a contract with the Pittsburg bosses." Whereupon Flinn wrote to Lyon, saying that he had in his pocket a proposition from Quay which he had declined to accept, and offering to give testimony on this point before any tribunal. Three days later Quay's son, who had asserted that no proposition had been made by his father to Flinn, caused to be published the proposition for a treaty of peace and division of spoils submitted to his father by Flinn and Magee, and also the counter proposition submitted by Quay to them. It is now admitted that a signed agreement or treaty between Quay and these men was in force from 1890 to 1894, when it expired by limitation. The proposition submitted by Flinn and Magee this year was practically a reproduction of it.

The Pittsburg draft of the new treaty which would fill nearly a column of the *Times* was introduced as follows: * * *

The Pittsburg bosses, who, to use a phrase with which men of their kind are familiar, "are not in politics for their health," could regard with complacency "general reform" approved by such a man as Quay. This shameful treaty, proposed by a candidate for the presidency, is regarded by his newspapers as proof that Quay is "a wise general and an honorable man!"

Accounts differ as to the reason why Quay's version of the treaty was not accepted. It provided that Magee should not be a delegate to any convention, and Flinn says he would not submit to such humiliation. Flinn insisted that "Dave" Martin, of Philadelphia, should be recognized as one of the treaty-making powers. "I believe," he says, "that the agreement would have been signed that day but for the provision relating to Martin." He asserts that Quay "threatened" him "with the 'Lexow' committee," but to no purpose. This committee, controlled by Quay, visited Pittsburg while the negotiations were pending, and passed only one day there, making harmless inquiries, Quay having agreed thus to muzzle it in order that the harmonizing process should not be disturbed. But Quay asked for too much, and as McKinley's agents appeared at the right time with inducements the treaty was not signed and the disgraceful truth began to come out.

The republican press of Pennsylvania is unable, so far as we can learn, to see anything objectionable in these negotiations for what Flinn calls "the partition of a community," or in the shameful agreement which was in force for four years. The Quay papers regard his proposition as an "honorable" one; the Magee papers hold that the terms of the Pittsburg bosses were strictly in accord with the rules of morality in politics. And yet here were proposed agreements providing for the absolute control, not only in conventions, nominations, and appointments, but also of the legislation of a great state—control divided between the bosses of two factions, it is true, but still confirmed to them jointly. No reference was made to the people. Why should any have been made? The subservience of the republican rank and file in Pennsylvania to these bosses is notorious.

What a revelation the documents and charges brought out by this quarrel make as to the forces and purposes controlling representation and legislation, both municipal and state, in that old commonwealth of nearly 6,000,000 souls!—*New York Times*, March 31.

The Massachusetts house rejected the bill to extend the civil service rules to the employes of counties.

Euclid Martin, postmaster at Omaha, is chairman of the state democratic committee.

MUNICIPAL SPOILS.

I consider the question of pure or corrupt municipal government in the United States as the most far-reaching and important that can possibly engage the attention of all thinking men who believe in government by the people.—Charles Stewart Smith.

HOW TO GO AT IT.

OUR AIM—THE WELFARE OF ALBANY. OUR MEANS—AN AROUSED CIVIC SPIRIT. OUR TIME—NOW.

ALBANY, N. Y., April 2, 1896.

To the Citizens of Albany:

Mr. James Bryce, in his celebrated work, "The American Commonwealth," speaks of municipal government as the one "conspicuous failure of the United States." President White of Cornell University asserts that "the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt." All writers on municipal reform agree that a prime cause of our municipal evils is the confusion of state and national with municipal politics. The prosperity of Albany depends upon the honesty and efficiency of its government by enlightened methods and upon business principles. We are entitled to and should have the most improved system of taxes, of street paving, of lighting, of water, of drainage, of schools, of transit, and all other public necessities and conveniences. To secure these results there must, on the part of good citizens, be organization and earnest, incessant and systematic political activity. Spasmodic effort for a few weeks before election is fruitless—twelve months of disciplined energy means success.

There is to be formed at once in Albany an organization with these objects:

To promote the absolute separation of our municipal from state and national politics.

To advocate the extension and maintenance of practical civil service reform in all municipal departments.

To demand a rigid observance of all the statutes of the state and the laws and ordinances of the city.

To compel fair elections.

To insist upon the honest and economical expenditure of the taxpayers' money.

To watch the conduct of the city's servants in every branch of the municipal service.

To commend and uphold officials whose intelligence and devotion to duty merit approval.

To criticize and reprove where ignorance and negligence is found, and to condemn and prosecute criminal and unworthy officials.

Its special object will be to make a thorough and scientific investigation of the correct principles of local self-government as adapted to this municipality, and to collect and publish all appropriate information resulting from such study. While the members of this organization may belong to different national or state parties, all will unite to obtain the best government for our city, and the wisest expenditure of the people's money, to advance the material growth of the municipality and stimulate that spirit of progress in our citizens which will secure for them and their descendants the largest measure of domestic comfort and commercial prosperity. A meeting of those thus interested in Albany's welfare will be called at an early date to formally organize. If you are in sympathy with this movement and desire to identify yourself with

it, kindly notify any of the undersigned. The blank appended can be used for this purpose.

Committee: Matthew Hale, Grange Sard, Samuel B. Ward, J. De Witt Peltz, Charles R. Knowles, David A. Thompson, Samuel S. Hatt, Dudley Olcott, Abraham V. De Witt, Amasa J. Parker, jr., Daniel Leonard, Douw H. Fonda, Albert Rathbone, William B. Van Rensselaer, W. Howard Brown, George E. Gorham, Edward G. Selden, Peter Kinneer, John F. Montignani, Oren E. Wilsou, Robert Shaw Oliver, George Douglas Miller, William M. Brundage, John E. McElroy, J. Towusend Lansing, Porter Hooghkeek, Marcus T. Hun, Abraham Lansing, Henry A. Peckham, William W. Battershall, Charles H. Mills, Edward N. McKinney, Henry P. Warren, John W. McHarg, and other.

* * *

The fourth national conference for good city government of the national municipal league will be held in Baltimore, May 6, 7, and 8. Charter reform will be an important topic, and one whole session will be taken up with its discussion.

The description of the municipal conditions of the principal American cities, which have been a feature of former conferences, will be continued, special attention being given to these of the southern tier—Richmond, Charleston, Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis and Galveston.

Among the speakers will be Samuel B. Capen and John A. Butler, presidents of the Boston and Milwaukee municipal leagues, respectively; James W. Pryor, secretary of the city club of New York; Henry W. Williams, of Baltimore reform league; George A. Deuison, of *The Springfield Republican*; Mayor John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, N. Y.; George W. Guthrie, of Pittsburg; Charles Morris Howard, secretary of the Baltimore reform league; Merritt Starr, of Chicago; Col. George E. Waring; Hazen S. Pingree, mayor of Detroit; Charles Richardson, one of the vice-presidents of the league; William M. Salter, and P. J. Magnire, general secretary of the united brotherhood of carpenters and joiners of America.

Invitations have also been extended to Magistrate John Primrose and Councilor Crawford, of Glasgow, Scotland, to be present at the conference, and describe the excellent municipal government of that city, and the methods adopted to secure it.

IN CHICAGO.

"The second ward is not cleaned according to specifications. It is not cleaned at all. There are plenty of alleys in that ward which have not been cleaned in six months. There are some that have not been cleaned in a year. There are several that have not been swept in two years. There are important street corners in the ward where the garbage boxes have not been emptied in months. There is more than one corner where the garbage is heaped up on the sidewalks, making a pile three or four feet high, and eight or ten feet long, rendering them almost impassable. The second ward of Chicago is the dirtiest, filthiest spot in the city, as the city is the dirtiest, filthiest spot in the world."—*Chicago Tribune*.

* * *

The board of election commissioners to-day declared that 45,000 of the 370,000 voters reg-

istered for the coming spring election were fraudulent. The commissioners have been at work for a week, and discovered wholesale registration frauds in nearly every ward in the city. The 45,000 names declared fraudulently registered, have been stricken from the poll list. The commissioners say the number of names thus stricken from the lists is greater than the total vote cast in the states of Montana, North Dakota, Delaware, Florida and Nevada.—*Chicago dispatch, March 31*.

* * *

Bloodshed was a prominent feature of the election to-day, in which the aldermanic "gang" was defeated pretty generally, twenty-six of the thirty-four alderman-elect being representatives of the respectable element of the community.

The "levee" section of the first ward provided its usual quota of brawls, with fists, rocks, and clubs as weapons, and whisky as the accessory in every case.

There were disturbances among the Italians of the nineteenth ward, where aldermanic contestants strove, with beer, whisky, and money, to influence the voting.

Fist-fights and ejections of trespassers from the polling places by the police were reported in the second, eighteenth and twenty-second wards.

The open violation of the law against salacious selling liquor during the voting hours, made most of the trouble for the police.

The most serious outbreak occurred in the "levee" district. Joseph Grogan, a clerk for the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad, who was not in any way connected with the rioters, was shot in the leg. He was going to his office when a gang of colored and white men engaged in a fight, and half a thousand of the same class of men were quickly on the spot. An unknown colored man fired six bullets into the mob, one of them striking Grogan.

At the same place the factions working for "Bathhouse John" Coughlin, the present alderman, and George H. Williams his opponent, came in conflict with fists and revolvers. Numerous arrests were made.

Close upon this disturbance came another in the same part of the ward. "Sol" Van Praag, a deputy United States marshal was attacked by a gang of Coughlin "heelers," and a Williams crowd rushed to the rescue, precipitating a free fight, in which shots were fired. No one was hit, and the police captured two of the shooters.

At 192 Washington street, William Martin, a Williams worker, shot William Hickey, a Coughlin man, in the arm, and the trouble led to a small riot. The police arrested Hickey, and a gang of imported thugs tried to rescue him. The prisoner was being taken away when a riot call brought a force of detectives from the city hall, and the mob was beaten back.

For town officers the republicans carried all of the seven towns by majorities ranging from 1 to 4,000.

The campaign for aldermen was not on party lines, being more of an effort on the part of the reputable citizen, regardless of politics, to oust the clique which has controlled the council.

Of the thirty-four aldermen elected to-day, only eight are men who were opposed by the municipal voters' league. The remaining twenty-six may be said to fairly represent the respectable element.

Of the old council "gang," the following twelve were up for election: John Coughlin, Charles Martin, Frederick Rhode, F. W. Stanwood, Michael Ryan, M. M. O'Connor, William J. Mahoney, John Powers, John H. Colvin, Daniel Ackerman, Robert Mulcahy, and Cyrus Howell. Of these, Coughlin, Martin, Powers, Ackerman, Mulcahy, and Howell will return to the council. These six will still have company in the council chamber, as out of the thirty-four present aldermen, whose terms will not expire until next year, there are a number of alleged "boodlers." The election to-day will severely cripple them, but yet will leave them with a majority of two or three in the council. Heretofore they have had a two-thirds majority, which enabled them to pass at will ordinances over the mayor's veto. This they can no longer do. Of the successful contestants, thirteen are democrats, eighteen republicans, and three independents. The most bitter contest was in the first ward, between "Bathhouse" John Coughlin and George H. Williams. Coughlin will have a majority of over 1,200. In this ward there were six candidates—one democrat, two republicans, one people's party, and two independent. The two republicans came within 1,200 of reaching the vote of the democrat, but the highest vote for any one of the other three candidates will not reach 200. Extra precaution was taken with the ballot-boxes. Every box was taken from its booth to the city hall after the votes closed. No box was guarded by fewer than two policemen.—*Chicago dispatch New York Times, April 7*.

* * *

The entire board of county commissioners of Chicago were subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury last week, on the ground of discovered irregularities and frauds connected with the letting of coal contracts, with the result that certain of the contractors were indicted. Though the principal witnesses were the drivers of the coal wagons, who were privy to the short-weight scheme that had been arranged, whereby the county paid for about forty tons a month more than they received, yet there seemed evidence of an understanding between some of the commissioners and these fraudulent contractors. A movement is begun to probe this and other dark things on the part of the commissioners to the bottom.—*City and State, April 9*.

* * *

Matter for more than three pages of the CHRONICLE and relating to municipal spoil was printed but crowded out of this issue.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 39.

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

THE new order of the President transferring some 30,000 additional places to the classified service well-nigh completes his work. The reform in the federal service is not completed, but it has reached a stage where it will go on to the end by reason of its own now understood merit. When another party succeeds the present party in power there will be a struggle over the final pickings, and there will be many attempts to beat and trick the law. That struggle will be the last, and from that time the federal service will be conducted upon the merit and labor service systems honestly enforced to the upbuilding of political morals and the improvement of public administration. The order consolidating post-offices now blocked by Gorman and other birds of like feather will be carried out and fourth-class postmasters will disappear to be succeeded by trained employes under the sub-station system.

The victory has come suddenly, but that it is a victory is accepted on every hand, though in some quarters with bad grace. The agitators of the last thirty years have lived to see the fruits of their labor and they have the right to modestly congratulate themselves. Destroying the spoils system in states and municipalities should now command their attention. It seems that here too the merit and labor service systems are to sweep the country.

There is no work which President Cleveland has done which will in any manner compare with his work in finally taking this reform almost bodily and with his well-known strength and courage forcing it through. He has done other single acts as Grant did and Hayes did, for instance, in relation to the currency, which were courageous and statesmanlike, but after all, they were but the routine work which comes to every President. The same conditions are apt to recur. But in destroying the spoils system the work is done once for all; it will never come back. When done so much history has been made, and it will always redound to the glory of the maker.

PARTY organs, unhappy at the triumph of the merit system, are passing around the statement that one of the evil results

predicted has come to pass. A bureaucracy has been formed. Place-holders are protected by the civil service law from dismissal and they have banded together and coerced congressmen. These are the same congressmen who fought the extension of the law at every step, but have been overpowered; and now they are so helpless and cowardly that they can not resist coercion. If it had been said that they are working for the votes of place-holders in the same recklessly corrupt manner that they pass rascally individual pension bills to get the soldier vote the truth would have been better expressed. There is a fatal defect in this pious "I told you so." The civil service law does not protect civil service employes from dismissal. They may be dismissed instantly, and one of the best reasons for dismissal would be an act which looked to the coercion of congress. This unhampered power of removal is the key to the reform system and should never be given up.

MR. DOMINIC I. MURPHY has just been promoted to be commissioner of pensions. He entered the service under the competitive system and has steadily made his way successfully through a line of positions, special examiner, supervising examiner, chief clerk, president of the board of review and first deputy commissioner. He is said to know more of the work of the pension office than any other man. This is the way to do public business. The man who is best fitted for the place gets it without regard to his politics, religion or color. This promotion meets with universal approval. Why not follow the same practice in the presidential postoffices? Every one of these offices has subordinates a thousand times better fitted for the headship than the politicians who are picked up on the streets and put in there.

THE Massachusetts supreme court, in deciding that a law providing for preference in favor of ex-soldiers in appointments to office is unconstitutional, has made a decision which was inevitable. It requires but a moment's thought to determine that such a distinction is a class distinction, and to say that the opportunity for public employment is not equally open to all undermines the foundations of republican government. If preference can be given for service in the army, it can be given for

property or for descent, and so on to any number of classes. Service in the army is under certain rules recompensed by pensions, and this is the only legal preference permissible under our government. The decision is undoubtedly a good thing for public business. Where that business is transacted is no place for any kind of charity. The people are always entitled to the highest skill and to the best energy, and this is not obtainable if any class has a preference. In the light of this decision the silly law that the places of firemen and policemen in this city "shall be equally divided politically" is sillier than ever and would not stand the constitutional test for a moment. It is a wonder that some populist or prohibitionist does not attack it.

THE Civil Service Reform Club of Cornell University was recently addressed by J. Sloat Fassett on "The Citizen and the State." Now Mr. Fassett is one of the rich young men of this republic who upon leaving college aspired to public life, in itself an entirely laudable ambition; and he also set out to be a "practical politician," which is a path beset with peculiar dangers for the gentleman and scholar in politics. Mr. Fassett was unfortunate enough to live in the state of New York, and as he belonged to the republican party he could command the local machine and get office only as a henchman of the boss, Tom Platt. His public career therefore has appeared to be one of alternate subserviency to and revolt against his boss, and the general impression is that his boss has really played very scurvy tricks with him. If Mr. Fassett had given a minute history of his wars and truces and their causes, but especially of his and Platt's methods, it would not only have been edifying but instructive to the young citizens he addressed. They could then determine exactly what by his acts a practical politician is, and whether "politics is not war;" but Mr. Fassett, like many other public speakers, shunned the facts with which he was thoroughly equipped and sentimentalized very prettily upon theoretical politics as follows: "Every citizen should be a practical politician, not a voter, nor simply an intelligent voter. If every citizen would discharge his duty there would be no need of civil service reform. The erroneous idea is held by many that politics is war. But politics is not war; it is the divine law applied to human govern-

ment. Its lifeblood is honesty; its main-spring, liberty."

NEXT year the people of Maryland are to have submitted to popular vote an amendment to their constitution regulating admission into their civil service in substantially the terms of the New York constitution. There is no question but that it is a gauntlet thrown down by the republican and democratic Gormanites of Maryland to the political moral sentiment of the state. We think the moral sentiment of the state should take it up, and in the opinion of the CHRONICLE it does not often fall to the lot of men to wage a battle with more relish and satisfaction than can now be done by the reformers of Maryland. As we have often said, that state has an unusual number of active, educated and high-minded men of both parties who are in favor of sound government. They have, moreover, an able, sincere and free press led by the *Baltimore News* and the *Baltimore Sun*. The result is only a question of education, and every corner of Maryland can be reached. Let it be understood that it is a battle of the henchmen on one side who desire to live out of the public treasury against the citizens who want public business transacted on the right principles and who want to stop the wholesale cheating and bribery which for years have made the name of Maryland a by-word, and who further desire to give every man an equal chance for public employment without making it a condition that he shall unman himself to get it. Every honest agency in Maryland should be set to work. Every labor organization, every turnverein, every good government club, every teacher, every preacher, every priest should be got to work on the right side of this question. Let it be shown how small is the army of the henchmen and how large is the opposing army of the people.

It is impossible to withdraw the gaze from Quay and Pennsylvania. They present the most astounding development of party politics the country has produced. The state has about six million inhabitants, with excellent schools, and with refinement and culture everywhere prevailing, and with an intelligence above the average. It is always and overwhelmingly republican. The republican state convention has just adopted the following:

The time has come when the state which has so long and faithfully led the republican column may justly and properly submit its own preference for the republican nomination for the presidency. In the presentation of the Hon. Matthew Stanley Quay, the republicans, not alone of Pennsylvania, but of the entire Union, will recognize one of their foremost leaders—wise in counsel and brilliant and able in action; at once the type of the American citizen, scholar, soldier and statesman.

Now Quay has a history which is known

to all the world, for it has been published in the most responsible papers, with every opportunity to him to make corrections and to make large sums of money out of the papers if the history was false—and Quay is not the man to lose a chance to make money. We pass over a long list of shortcomings and note the following:

In 1879 Quay, with Cashier Walters of the state treasury, took \$260,000 of the state's money and lost it in Wall street. Walters killed himself. Don Cameron and another republican furnished the money to make the loss good and took Quay's notes.

Again in 1885 Quay was state treasurer. He took \$400,000 of the state's money and with it bought bonds of a Chicago street railway. Along with the bonds he got shares of stock for nothing, which he sold for \$300,000 and pocketed the money. He turned the bonds over to the state in the place of the money stolen.

Under the circumstances we repeat that Quay and Pennsylvania transfix the gaze of the world. The wonder is what they will do next.

AFTER thirty-nine years of service, the deputy-comptroller in the finance department of New York city, Richard A. Storrs, died a few days since at the age of sixty-six years. It is stated that about once in twelve years he took a little vacation and that during the blizzard of 1888 he was the only man in the department at his desk every day. Nominally he was a democrat, but he stayed in office through all political changes because his consummate knowledge of the department made him necessary. The *Evening Post* says:

"At the meetings of the board of estimate and apportionment, the most important of the city boards, Mr. Storrs was an influential figure for many years. He said little, but he really directed the machinery of business. New mayors, comptrollers, presidents of the board of aldermen and of the tax department, came into office unfamiliar with the duties of the board, and they all looked to Mr. Storrs for points on the method of distributing the city's money and other necessary information. Mr. Storrs prepared all the resolutions providing for appropriations, and as each resolution names the law under which the particular appropriation is made, he had to be well posted in legislation. Mr. Storrs was a veritable encyclopædia of information about the city. Heads of departments went to him daily for information and he always had it ready. No man in the service of the city would probably be more missed than he will be."

Even Tweeds and Crokers were compelled to recognize the necessity for the training and knowledge that come to a

public official from years of service. Mr. Storrs's death has called forth many tributes, but we hear nothing of the dangers to free institutions from an office-holding aristocracy as illustrated by him, nor of the wreck of free government because he got so bound up in his work that he was only nominally a party man.

PRIMARIES and conventions, where we are told good citizens ought to go to counteract the efforts of bad citizens, go merrily on. At the Georgia republican convention, which met at Atlanta April 29, Colonel Buck, the chairman of the state committee, and a McKinleyite acted as doorkeeper and admitted only those having tickets signed by himself. A party of Reedites charged the door and forced their way in with shouts. Delegates were placed in nomination and the method of voting was by rushing forward to the stage yelling and shaking fists at the chairman. Police cleared the stage, and the report concludes:

But the tumult continued, and as soon as the bluecoats disappeared the mob surged again about the chair and Mr. Wright again mounted the stand. Chairman Johnson caught him by the leg and tried to pull him down. He was about to fall and threw his hand back to steady himself. It caught in the chairman's collar. Ten or more black hands shot out from in front of the stand and pulled Wright to his feet and he resumed his speech while the chairman tried to free himself. The stand was partially cleared again and the chair received a motion to elect the four delegates named, put the motion and declared it carried. He then left the stand.

Suddenly a portly man forced an opening between the negroes, snatched the gavel and in a very excited manner called the convention to order. Then, in the midst of the din, he nominated Rev. K. Love for chairman of a new convention. Love was declared elected. He made a speech, but on account of the noise it was heard only by those within six feet of him. It was decided to call the roll for the purpose of electing Wright in place of Johnson. A list of counties was obtained and a man started with it to the stand, when he was attacked by one of Pledger's followers and, after a spirited fight, the roll was stuffed into the pocket of Pledger's man and he disappeared in the crowd. No other list of counties could be found, so a committee was appointed, one from each congressional district, to nominate four delegates from the state at large. Another committee was appointed to report a platform and then the delegates, who had howled themselves tired, lapsed into quiet to wait for the report of the committees. The committee on selecting delegates followed the lead of the convention and split. On returning, this committee presented two sets of delegates, one made up of A. E. Buck, R. R. Wright, J. Prather and K. Deveau. The other was made up of Josiah Gordon and J. E. Herrington.

Another equally interesting place for good citizens was in Pittsburgh, of which we quote the following thrilling account:

A meeting of the Afro-American League was held here to-day with the object of endorsing Quay. The Union League Republican Association (colored), who favor McKinley, attempted to break up the meeting and prevent the carrying out of its object. When

the obnoxious men had forced their way into the hall trouble began. Sergeant-at-arms Mills got into a "scrap" with Attorney J. H. Holmes, a McKinleyite, and there was a free fight in a second. Men rushed into the midst of the melee as the two rolled over the floor. Coats were torn, limbs were bruised and oaths could be heard escaping from the pit of riot like sulphur fumes from a laboratory. Newspaper men fled for refuge to the more dangerous yard, where, perched on a platform, they saw the "center rush" through the narrow window. The policemen rushed in, and with drawn billies joined in the encounter. Such a struggling mass of men in a rough-and-tumble fight has never been seen in any convention. Blood flowed from cracked heads, and clothes lost all nattyess. After some further rioting the meeting adjourned until to-morrow morning.

THE republican primaries and their culmination, the state convention held here this month, presented perhaps unusual aggregations of knavery and trickery. For instance, this county had a candidate in Mr. John L. Griffiths whose nomination would have been in every way progressive and admirable. It was important, of course, that he should have the entire vote of his county. To prevent this, twenty-three democrats were brought into one primary, which gave the opposition a seeming majority. The local committee corrected the matter, but by some pull in the state convention the delegates chosen by the democrats did all the voting. There were a dozen or so candidates for governor, and a portion of them carried Tammany methods with a high hand. It is fair to say that the majority of the delegates were determined that not one of the Tammany candidates should be nominated; and the moment that one who had not used such methods took the lead, the counties literally trooped to him. The result is another proof of what has been thousands of times proved, that no matter how well the primaries are attended the "good citizens" can not prevail against trained heelers. In the second ward of this city, which is five to one republican and which pre-eminently contains the local share of God and morality, the attendance was *en masse*, but the heelers easily won by having eight "slates" with the names of their men scattered through each. Trickery and dishonesty in primaries and conventions are so common that no man, however respectable, loses caste with his party by resorting to them. After the struggle is over it is all hushed up and the cheats and the cheated "stand shoulder to shoulder." Primary politics makes strange bed-fellows, as for instance when Mr. Robert Martindale and that life-long Sim Coy democrat, Goose Eden, buckle to for Doxey.

THE following letter was sent to the city engineer of Mayor Taggart's "business" administration:

"Mr. B. J. F. T. Jeup:

"Dear Sir—The bearer of this letter, Mr. Albert Judd, is a gentleman that I cheerfully recommend for a position under you as an inspector. He is a party worker and was a committeeman in the sixth precinct of the fifth ward. He is a gentleman of good habits, and will make you a good inspector. You will confer a favor on me by placing him. Yours respectfully,

F. E. WOLCOTT,

"Councilman Fifth Ward."

This letter is a happy illustration of the feudalistic notions yet remaining among politicians. First, the man was a party worker; second, he was a committeeman; third, he has good habits, and a favor will be conferred on the councilman by "placing" the man. It is not often that the proposal to pay party workers out of the public treasury comes in bolder shape. It must be admitted that Taggart's administration is conducted on this plan. There are few more important places than an inspectorship under the engineer, and when Taggart came in there was a system which sifted out the heelers and henchmen and dead-beats, and enabled the city by competition to get men who understood their business, but Taggart kicked that all out and went back to the good old plan of making places for the boys, and the public interests be damned. We can illustrate this from the case of John Owen, an inspector who was dismissed early in Taggart's administration. The facts are from an entirely reliable report: "He was so earnest in his attention to duty that he had to have police protection. He had a fight with some of the men that worked for the contractors and was praised by Mayor Denny for his conduct. He was dismissed as 'incompetent.'"

GOVERNMENT by cheap-jack politicians is well illustrated in this city. Since 1891 we have been constructing improved streets, sidewalks, sewers and so on at an expense of millions of dollars. The city engineer, the inspectors and the board of public works must be of the mayor's politics. To all but the political mercenaries who prey upon American cities, it seems that a city engineer should hold his place because he is a skilled engineer, widely experienced and informed in every kind of public improvement. He should be absolutely impenetrable to political considerations, open to no pull and courageous and merciless with contractors. The value of such a man as a permanent official to keep the greenhorns on the board of public works in check would be incalculable.

Every two years we get a new board wholly ignorant of its business, and being appointed for political considerations, it always has an eye to the party. The third member from the opposite party is either a nonentity or he gets some share for his party and is quiet. There is never any protest from him. With the confidence of

ignorance each board starts out to astonish the city by doing great things in public improvements. At one time graveled streets are the only streets, then it is asphalt, then brick, just now it is creosote. The board has been to Galveston and comes back with the knowledge never before known in the world that creosoted blocks are the only fit thing for a street. And there you are. In the meantime the taxpayers are paying enormously for government by greenhorn politicians. They ought to pay; they can drive politics out of the engineer's office and out of every other department of city government whenever they choose.

A TAMMANY STREET-GANG.

IN 1885 and 1886 when the experienced and competent employes of the Indianapolis post-office were being ruthlessly turned out to make room for party workers, it did not need a wise man to predict the whirlwind. Robbery, operating gambling rooms and other evil tendencies, together with the grossest inefficiency followed each other in rapid succession. Analogous results may be expected wherever the public service is abused in a similar manner. The Tammany methods employed by Mayor Taggart have all along been making their returns. He ignored the civil service rules and finally had them repealed and made vacancies and filled them on the principle of party and personal loot. Twenty-nine policemen, for instance, were turned out and twenty-nine favorites put in their places. There has been a steady procession of drunken policemen. The excellent labor service rules were abolished with the rest, and the board of public works ostentatiously notified the street commissioner, a man named Herpick, that he must reduce his force in the interest of economy. He reduced it by discharging every man. Then he turned around and hired democrats only. This is the Tammany style. A true Tammany result has just been reached in one of Herpick's foremen padding the pay-rolls. The city is full of inspectors of every grade and kind, yet Herpick had no checking system nor any way of discovering that the city was being robbed, nor was it known until a man whose name was concerned told of it. Collier, who is in jail charged with the padding, says to the *Indianapolis News*:

"It is true that I allowed old man Kcefe a week's work when he was sick and helpless. He was in bad circumstances and I gave him the time, but I never got a cent from him, nor did I ever ask it. I understand that he has made an affidavit that I demanded money from him. If he has, he has sworn to something that is not true."

"How about Lyons?"

"Lyons worked every day for which he received pay, and when the time comes I will be able to

show that to be true. I never took a cent from any one in my life, but it has been offered me more than once. A man named Kelly came to me and offered me 50 cents if I would not dock him for a half day's work. He was drunk, and I told him to go on about his business and put the money in his pocket. He had worked half a day and then got drunk."

"Did you dock him for the half day he did not work?"

"No. His time was made up in the morning, and I forgot about it." * * *

"It is charged also that there is considerable drinking among the street laborers, and that they slight their work in consequence."

"Some, but not all of the men, drink. There are just as good men working on the streets as can be found anywhere. There are others who spend most of their time in the saloons when they ought to be at work. I never permitted anything of that kind in my gang, and that was one of the reasons the fellows had it in for me."

"Do you know of any of the other foremen allowing men pay when they did not work?"

"I understand that one of the foremen allowed his brother-in-law a week's pay when he did not work at all, and that the fact became known at the office and the brother-in-law was put under another foreman. I did not see this, and all I know is what was told me."

Herpick says that Collier was only a temporary foreman in place of one Irwin, who is part owner of a ten-cent circus, and this being the show season Irwin is off with his circus on leave of absence. On his return he will resume his foremanship. This is Herpick reform. Herpick says he will adopt a new system and that the pay-rolls shall not be padded any more. This is well. Tax-payers can stand lying around the saloons half the time, but they draw the line at padding the rolls.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF BOSSES.

The strongest proof yet seen of the deal between Platt and Tammany on the greater New York question developed in the assembly to-day, when the house substitute for the Lexow bill came up on second reading. The significant vote of the day was on Mr. Forrester's motion for resubmission. This was lost 77 to 29. The roll-call showed twenty-nine democrats voting with the Platt men. All but five of these were from New York and Brooklyn, the representatives of Tammany and the McLaughlin machines. If they had followed the democratic leader, Mr. Stanchfield, in favoring resubmission the Platt consolidation scheme would have been killed to-day. The result then would have been the adoption of a resubmission amendment by a vote of 58 to 48. The action of the Tammany men in coming to the rescue of the Plattites was the only thing that saved the bill.—Albany dispatch, Buffalo Express, March 11.

The Lexow Greater New York bill is likely to pass in the assembly to-morrow over the vetoes of two republican mayors. William F. Sheehan and John C. Sheehan want the Brooklyn surface railroads to have an equal chance with the elevated roads to run their cars across the Brooklyn bridge without change. Edward Lauterbach wants the privilege exclusively for the elevated companies he represents. Tammany Hall is willing to do

anything to defeat the compromise school bill, which takes the schools of the metropolis out of Tammany's control. The Tammany men found that they had Mr. Platt on the hip, and they made exorbitant demands for saving his pet bill. They have killed Lauterbach's bridge bill, for the Sheehans have promises of places on the Greater New York commission and more promises that the school bill will not be passed over Mayor Strong's veto if it should be returned on Thursday with his disapproval, which is expected.—Albany dispatch, Buffalo Express, April 21. * * *

Platt and Tammany combined repassed the Greater New York bill in the senate yesterday over the vetoes of Mayors Strong and Wurster. The Platt men had not enough votes of their own to pass the bill and it would have been defeated but for the Tammany support. It will be defeated in the assembly to-day unless Tammany rallies to its aid as was done in the senate.

How long are honest republicans going to permit this democratic-republican alliance at Albany to exist? When Sheehan was running the democratic machine there, he was able to call on a sufficient number of republicans to pass any spoils grab that might be endangered by the opposition of the more honest members of his own party. Now that Platt has the majority, he calls on Tammany to help him out whenever the members of his own party become restive.—Buffalo Express. * * *

The vote by which the greater New York bill passed the assembly showed the power of Platt as a boss and the shrewdness with which he is capable of using that power. He had only two votes to spare, and he had just two Tammany recruits. It is said that these two came from "Purroy's men," who are antagonistic to Sheehan's leadership of Tammany, but, be that as it may, two votes in addition to those of his machine were all that Platt desired, and he contrived to get them. We have not the slightest doubt that he could have had more had they been necessary to pass the bill. Tammany's change of front on the measure is open to suspicion. Its contingent in the senate voted for the bill twice in that body, and its contingent in the assembly voted for it there once. That Tammany is in favor of greater New York is notorious, and the pretense of opposition is made now probably for the purpose of giving the bill a more respectable standing before the governor, and making it easier for him to fulfill Platt's assurance that he will sign it.—New York Evening Post. * * *

Senator Timothy "Dry Dollar" Sullivan pulled Thomas C. Platt's chestnuts out of the fire in the senate to-day. Through a combination between the ultra-Platt men and Sullivan, Platt was just able to squeeze through the resolution reviving the Lexow sub-committee of the senate and assembly so that it may act as a whip over the head of the greater New-York commission during the

summer and fall. So stout was the resistance made to this bit of jobbery by several of the republican senators and all of the democrats except Sullivan, that when it came to a final vote on the resolution, the Platt republicans found it was impossible for them to pass it without the vote of Sullivan. And they got it.—Albany Dispatch, New York Times, April 28. * * *

The thin disguise placed over the Platt-Sheehan "deal" on Greater New York legislation was removed yesterday, when it came out Senator Tim Sullivan's vote in favor of the Lexow committee bill had been paid for by the retention in the state excise bureau of a lot of Tammany employes who had served under the old board of excise in this city. Mr. Lyman, state excise commissioner, is said to have ordered the transfer of these men from the old system to the new, the advantage of a transfer being that it avoids the requirement of competitive examination. The men transferred are not Tim Sullivan's men, but Tammany men, and they are retained in the service as part of the reward which Platt agreed to pay Sheehan for such votes as were necessary to get his Greater New York bills passed. The defeat of the Brooklyn bridge bill, to which Billy Sheehan was opposed, was another part of the reward. The pretence of wrath by Johnny Sheehan over Sullivan's vote contrary to Sheehan's orders was what is known in politics and journalism as a "fake" designed to deceive unsophisticated persons. The Sheehans and Platt had no end of fun in putting forth the "fake."—New York Evening Post. * * *

The local organization of the Democratic party has nothing to fear from this greater city. It can do naught but strengthen our power here. At the first election after it goes into effect we will gain at least 75,000 votes over the republicans. They have simply cut off their own noses to spite their faces. Why they should advocate the passage of this bill I do not know. We wanted it all the time, knowing that it would be sure to benefit us. Our opposition to it was a game of politics, pure and simple. Of course, the fact of the greater New York is too far off, January 1, 1898, for me or any one else to particularize as to its effects, but it is safe to generalize and say that Tammany Hall will only be more powerful and more popular than it ever was. We expect to get the next governor and the next legislature, and then the glory and credit of the greater city, if any there be of either, will accrue to us and to no one else. We will have it in our power to accept or reject the greater city, and it may never become a fact. We are certainly glad that the republicans have done as we wanted them to in this matter.—John C. Sheehan in Morning Journal, May 12. * * *

There was some comment to-day over Senator's Guy's bill increasing the salary of A. C. Lauterbach from \$3,000 to \$7,500. In the district attorney's office where Mr. Lauterbach is an

assistant, he is considered an amiable young man, to whom all are glad to show some consideration by reason of his parentage.—*Albany dispatch, New York Evening Post.*

* * *

Mr. Platt's legislature in its last hours passed a bill raising the salary of a brother of Mr. Croker, who is a court clerk in New York. These little courtesies between bosses do much to relieve the sternness of political strife.—*Buffalo Express.*

BOSS PLATT'S FAMILY PICKINGS.

It turns out that Mr. Platt's interest in the Raines bill is not altogether political. The personal element enters into it also. Mr. Platt's son, Henry B. Platt, is the New York agent of the Fidelity and Deposit company of Maryland, which, by a special law enacted by the last legislature at the instance of Mr. Platt from purely patriotic motives, of course, is allowed to do business in this state. The Raines bill requires that every liquor dealer who takes out a license must give bonds for twice the amount of the tax. It also permits a "duly authorized corporation" to act as such surety. It further provides that blank bonds shall be distributed through the state by the state commissioner. He would be a very blind dealer, indeed, who should receive a blank bond from the state commissioner with a notice that the surety of a duly authorized corporation would be acceptable and, in the same mail, an advertisement saying that the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, managed by a son of Thomas C. Platt, was prepared to furnish such bonds, if he should not at once see that it would be best for his interest to turn the business over to Mr. Platt's son.—*Buffalo Express, March 22.*

* * *

There seems to be little doubt that the sons of Tom Platt and Senator Raines had a "straight tip" a considerable time in advance to the effect that some snug business for a surety company could be found when the Raines liquor tax law should go into operation. Whether they did or not, they were lucky enough to have their company all ready for business when the law was passed, and were lucky enough to get the state excise commissioner to give notice that his appointees must get a surety company to furnish their bonds. The liquor dealers must also have bonds, and, curiously enough, they are getting the idea that a surety company with Boss Platt's son as manager is undoubtedly the best source to go to for them. The rascals really think that in this way they may establish a "pull" not only on the Boss but on the excise department, which will be useful in enabling them to "beat the law" in various ways and escape the consequences. It is a wicked world, and our liquor dealers have been educated to believe that a "pull" is the basis of our system of government. Their delusion is likely to prove of great business advantage to young Platt and young Raines, who, of course, suspected no such fortuitous aid when they set up their surety company.

They would not mix politics and business for anything in the world; neither would their fathers permit them to do such a thing. But how surprised they must be at their wonderful luck!—*New York Evening Post, April 7.*

* * *

Commissioner Lyman has receded a bit from his position that only the bonds of surety companies will be accepted from applicants for tax certificates. He now says he will accept bonds with two reliable persons as sureties.—*Albany dispatch, Buffalo Express, April 7.*

* * *

A Dunkirk dispatch to the *Enquirer* tells this interesting little story: "Squire White of Fredonia, who claims to be the authorized agent of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, of which Henry B. Platt of New York, son of T. C. Platt, is the managing director for the state of New York, is in the city working up business among the saloon keepers. Mr. White claims to have been the confidential agent of Thomas C. Platt in this district for the last twenty years, and intimates that it will be rather hard for persons in this city to secure liquor-tax certificates from the special agents, unless they are secured by the bonds of the company which he represents. He even goes as far as to claim that tax certificates will be granted only to those who have the company which he represents as their bondsmen." That looks as if the elder Platt were mixed up in the bond business and bent on turning an honest penny out of his great "reform" measure.—*Buffalo Express, April 9.*

* * *

The clerks employed by the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, with which the sons of T. C. Platt and Senator Raines are connected, were busy yesterday (Sunday) in the company's offices, in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's building, at Madison avenue and Twenty-third street. A reporter for the *New York Times* climbed to the eighth floor about five o'clock yesterday afternoon and found Mr. Platt's clerks working in shirt sleeves. Spread out on tables before them were stacks of applications and bonds issued to saloon keepers.

"This has been a busy day," said one of the clerks to the reporter, "and we won't get away from here till late. We worked here until midnight every night last week, and we will keep up the pace for some time to come. We are deluged with applications for bonds, and are going security for saloon keepers not only in this city, but in Brooklyn, Long Island City, Long Island and all over the state."

The reporter noticed several bundles of applications in wrappers bearing the names of prominent brewers.

"Are brewers getting bonds for saloon keepers?" asked the reporter.

"Yes." "No," said two clerks together.

Then there was an awkward pause.

"That is to say," said the first clerk, "some brewers are acting as agents for saloon keepers as a matter of convenience; but of course no brewer is paying us for bonding saloon

keepers. Our fees come from the saloon keepers, not the brewers.

The Fidelity and Deposit Company's offices are on the floor below those of Deputy Excise Commissioner Hilliard. From one office to the other is but a few steps, and saloon keepers find the juxtaposition convenient.

"Our place yesterday," said one of Mr. Platt's clerks, "was so crowded with applicants for bonds that we hadn't room to do our work. We're doing a great business here."

There is a feeling among saloon keepers that persons who are bonded by the Platt-Raines company will stand a better chance of being unmolested in business than those whose bonds are not furnished by that company, and consequently there is a rush to that office. Saloon keepers reason that republican excise inspectors, who owe their positions to ex-Senator Platt and the author of the Raines law, will not be liable to report violators of the Raines law who are bonded by Messrs. Platt and Raines when convictions will result in financial loss to the latter.—*New York Times, April 27.*

* * *

The alliance between the Platt influence and the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland has become more apparent since the excise board went out of office. That this company is issuing excise bonds and trading on the name and power of Platt seems to be openly admitted. As is well known, it got into the state on equal terms with domestic surety companies through a general act specially passed by the Platt legislature; the legislation was openly sought by Frank Platt, one son of the boss, and Henry B. Platt, another son, became the titular local head of the concern. The latter readily avowed in an interview in these columns not long ago that he was after the business of issuing excise bonds to liquor dealers, and that his duty to his company required him to make every exertion.

As soon as the offices of the new excise department were established in the Metropolitan Life Insurance building, the Platt company engaged commodious quarters on the floor below. Two glass doors were painted with the name of the company and with the name of the managing director, but the latter is the largest and most conspicuous part of the legend. The door which one naturally first comes to on descending from the excise department on the floor above contains more than this; it contains a large index hand pointing directly at the words, "Henry B. Platt, Managing Director." The index hand ostensibly indicates words designating the next door as entrance, but these words are in letters so disproportionately small that what really strikes the eye is the pointing, almost commanding hand, and the large name: "Henry B. Platt"—so placed as to be the direct aim of the finger.

An ample force of clerks was engaged, a dozen desks were put in, Henry B. Platt, managing director, took personal charge, emissaries of the company were posted at all the approaches and exits of the excise office, business

cards were disseminated, even finding their way to the desk of an application clerk in the excise department, and the son of the boss stood prepared to discharge his duty to the company and "hustle" for this business. Upon observing the Fidelity and Deposit Company attach itself to the excise department in this intimate way, the American Surety Company of this city hired one small room adjoining the Platt offices. Its name, too, was painted on the door, and the name of the president, Mr. Trenholm, was also given, but in letters quite modest and entirely subordinate to the rest of the inscription; the index hand was likewise omitted.

For several days the rush has been on, culminating on Thursday night. The Platt company charged one per cent. for its bonds, making \$10 on a storekeeper's bond, and \$16 on a saloon, restaurant, or hotel-keeper's bond. The American Surety Company charged \$5 and \$10. The Platt company has been in the field here a little over a year and in existence only a few years; the other company is domestic and "old and established." The Platt company has a capital of \$700,000; the other company a paid-up capital of nearly \$2,500,000. The Platt company's net premiums received last year were \$313,093; the other company's, \$1,013,343. It is said on good authority that upon the larger number of risks the American Surety Company commands appreciably higher rates than the Platt company. But on excise bonds the positions of the two companies are reversed: the Platt company fixes its own rates, and the other company is constrained to offer the guarantee of its vastly greater wealth, experience, and prestige at very much lower figures. But despite every intrinsic advantage which the latter seemed to possess over its rival, the licensees trooped past the door of the American Surety Company's office to the door bearing the significant index hand and the significant name, and beyond that to the entrance door, into which they filed.—*New York Evening Post*, May 2.

* * *

The people of this state might learn an impressive lesson if they could visit the legislative halls and closely watch the process of legislation. They would see that the measures which are dealt with by the lawmakers are in the hands of a few individuals, and those individuals bear the stamp of approval of Thomas C. Platt. It has come to a pass where, in checking the minor scandals after the method outlined, Mr. Platt has brought the entire legislature to the very edge of scandal by allowing members of his own family and his political lieutenants to assume a prominence greater than all other combined influences. The first and most important question asked by many legislators as they begin consideration of a pending measure is, "Does it have the backing of Tracy, Boardman & Platt?" The last is the son of the ex-senator, and his law firm represents the family end of Mr. Platt's syndicate.

The second question asked is, "Does Ed Lauterbach favor the bill?" He is Mr. Platt's political

representative. The measures now pending in which one or both are not interested are hardly worth mentioning. It is said, never in the history of the state has there been such a notoriously open-handed style of bringing the political power of Mr. Platt to bear on purely business legislation. The firm of which Mr. Platt's son is a member is the representative here of corporations whose aggregate capital is up into the hundreds of millions. Whatever they say for or against a measure has more weight than the words of any or all combined opposition. They begin their work when a bill is introduced, follow it through the committee rooms, are admitted to the floors of both houses—in plain and flagrant violation of the senate rules—and when the measure has passed they invade the governor's office.

Mr. Boardman and Frank Platt are the active agents here. Day after day Mr. Boardman has been on the senate floor when measures in which his firm is interested have been under consideration, and in many instances he has bound the senators by the mention of Platt's name as if a party caucus had bound them.

Frank Platt has been here less frequently, though often.

Louis F. Payn, who is one of Mr. Platt's most notorious and powerful agents, sits in the senate library and sends for senators. A procession of these representatives of the upper house to Mr. Payn's chair may be seen any day. They go like the most abject slaves to a throne room.

The powerful aid which Mr. Platt is able to give to corporations rich enough to employ the services of the firm of which his son is a member has been illustrated in several instances.

Here are some of the measures in which the firm has been interested:

The Albany police bill—The firm filed a brief in favor of it with the governor, succeeded in preventing a veto, and is now in part responsible for holding the legislature in session long enough to repass it over Mayor Thatcher's coming veto.

The Erie reorganization bill—It was passed in the senate last Tuesday night, and came to the assembly yesterday with some amendments. Not a dozen members knew what the bill meant. Mr. Kinne objected to consideration of the amendments, and the bill was therefore ordered again to committee. Mr. Kinne is a democrat. He was induced to withdraw his objection, and went to Speaker Fish and so stated. Before the members of the railroad committee knew that the bill had been taken out of their hands the assembly had passed it.

There is a well-authenticated story here that the passage of a bill similar to this was put through the New Jersey legislature this year at an expense of \$20,000.

The anti-coal trust bill—Tracy, Boardman & Platt sought to kill the bill in committee, then tried to do it by amendments, and it was only when the senators for the first time broke from the firm's orders that it was passed. Once in the governor's room the bill had another narrow escape from a veto. Tracy, Boardman & Platt "laid down" on the governor.

The Acetylene gas bill—Tracy, Boardman and Platt appeared on one side of this fight, while Mr. Lauterbach opposed them. It was like the famous bear trap, that would "catch 'em comin', and catch 'em goin'."

The Greater New York bills were to be prepared by this firm providing for the government by commissions, if the governor had not put a stop to that proposed legislation.

The interference of the family of Mr. Platt in legislation has become notorious. It is so plainly evident and openly carried on that the legislators are talking of it. Constant reference to it is made as the disgrace of the legislature. Estimates are made as to the amount of profits the firm of which Platt's son is a member will reap. One member of the assembly told a *Times* correspondent that he believed \$250,000 for the winter would not be too high a figure.

One assemblyman, commenting on the facility with which the Platt firm is able to pass or kill bills, said: "We might as well refer the calendars to this firm and adjourn. They will do what they please with them anyhow."—*Albany dispatch*, *New York Times*, April 19.

MUNICIPAL SPOILS.

"The root of the whole trouble in municipal misgovernment is the close alliance between the leaders of state and national parties, and the manipulators of local cliques or rings, and the true line of action to be taken by the friends of good government should be to banish—absolutely banish—from state and national politics the whole subject of municipal government.—President James C. Carter before the Municipal League at Baltimore.

There is one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion. There is nothing, I think, altogether like this to be found in any other great country. It is something wholly different from the political torpor which is common in half-developed nations and corrupt despotisms, and it is curiously unlike the state of feeling which exists in the French republic.—From *Lecky's Democracy and Liberty*.

IN BUFFALO.

Schlotzer, the keeper of the Buffalo almshouse and county hospital, and the spoils system in these public charities.

Schlotzer admitted the almshouse and the hospital were infested with bedbugs.

Schlotzer admitted his wife draws over \$66 a month as general matron.

Schlotzer admitted his daughter draws \$20 a month as an attendant.

Schlotzer admitted his son draws \$40 a month as a clerk.

Schlotzer admitted his brother-in-law draws over \$83 a month as deputy keeper.

Schlotzer admitted that Kate Duffy, who nurses the little Schlotzers, draws over \$13 a month as an hospital nurse.

Schlotzer admitted that his family of 10

children, and his brother-in-law's family live at the county's expense.

Schlotzer admitted that two young men, friends of supervisors, had lived at the county's expense at the almshouse, while they were said to be medical students.

Schlotzer admitted that one student is there now. This student hails from Hamburg. The county pays the bill.

Schlotzer admitted that he does the buying.

Schlotzer admitted that his wife does the condemning.

Schlotzer admitted that he kept no record of pickings from condemned stuff sold.

Schlotzer admitted that no credit had been made to the county for such things, save for a load of bones.

Schlotzer admitted that his table was open to those who come to see him, and that the county paid the bill.

Schlotzer said he had no power or influence in the board of supervisors.

Schlotzer said he had influence with supervisors. * *

"Have you no influence in the board of supervisors?"

"No. I have nothing to do over them," said Schlotzer

"Is Supervisor Dedo's father working here?"

"Yes, his father is here."

"Is William McCarthy?"

"Yes, he is here."

"And are there not a lot more you appointed for supervisors?"

"Oh, supervisors may have recommended them."

"You obliged them, or, rather, you oblige each other?"

"Oh, in a way, they indorsed them," said Schlotzer.

"And you appointed them all?"

"Most all," said Schlotzer.

"They report to you?"

"Yes."

"You are the head?"

"Yes."

"You alone are head and in full charge and familiar with the whole institution?"

"Yes."—*Buffalo Express*, April 3.

* * *

Dr. E. J. Gilray was appointed superintendent of the county hospital on the recommendation of the medical staff. He was thought to be a good man for the place. He protests that he is an honest man, and no facts have yet come to light to show that he is not. Yet this medical superintendent, who ought to be free from political influences, if any man in Buffalo Plains can be, has evidently fallen under the domination of Schlotzer, and is more interested in keeping his job than in anything else. He admits that politics, instead of discipline, rules in the hospital, but he is evidently afraid to protest. He is not satisfied with his assistants, but he can make no headway against Schlotzer.—*Buffalo Express*, April 6.

The volunteer medical staff of the Erie county hospital have been removed because they did their duty. That is, the half-dozen physicians who have been most prominent in the fight to keep politics and spoils out of the hospital have been removed by the board of supervisors at the order of Keeper Schlotzer. The purpose is plainly confessed. Schlotzer's communication to the board demands the removal of the staff because "there have been complaints, unjust criticisms, and charges of inefficiency made against my administration as keeper of the Almshouse by various members of the medical staff" who have been serving without pay. The resolution offered by Supervisor Gilkinson recites that "Whereas, There appears to be some discord and disagreement between some of the physicians and surgeons so appointed and the board of supervisors, as well as with the keeper of the Almshouse," etc.

So it stands on the record that these faithful physicians may not give their services to the people of Erie county free of charge, because their consciences will not allow them to wink at maladministration.

It is an infamous system which puts skilled professional men at the mercy of an ignorant ward politician. But the system will not be changed until the people change it. The new staff is distinguished and competent enough, but if it dares to do its duty, it likewise will be summarily kicked out by Schlotzer and his hired men in the board of supervisors. It should be remembered, moreover, that, however competent the new staff may be, the old staff was removed simply and solely because it did its duty. Schlotzer's control of the board is so absolute that only thirteen supervisors voted against this outrage on public decency.—*Buffalo Express*, May 19.

IN BALTIMORE.

The new state board of health will, at its meeting for organization on May 1, consider the question of the election of a secretary to the board. This position, which pays \$2,000 a year, is now held by Dr. James A. Steuart, who maintains that the position is independent of political control, the "secretary holding his office so long as he shall faithfully discharge the duties thereof." An effort will be made to remove Dr. Steuart, as there is opposition to him in the board. There are a number of republican physicians who are applicants for the place.—*Baltimore Sun*, April 8.

* * *

The first clash between the new republican members of the school board and their democratic colleagues occurred at the board's meeting last night. It was caused by an attempt of Mr. Adolph P. Schuch to remove janitresses and firemen from the schools. These removals, it was alleged, were attempted for political reasons. Mr. Schuch is the republican member from the sixth ward, appointed to succeed Mr. John T. Ochs. One of those who were notified to quit by Mr. Schuch was Mrs. Barbara Mooney, janitress

at No. 7 English-German school. The preamble to the resolutions recites that Mrs. Mooney was removed "without cause, and merely to subserve a partisan political purpose," and that "the principals and teachers of the school have certified that she has been an efficient and painstaking janitress; that she has a family of four small children depending upon her for support, and that it is understood she has been removed to make place for another person at the instigation of a certain well known politician in order to favor another political party."

The resolutions called on the board to reinstate Mrs. Mooney and to condemn the removal of persons who have given efficient service when the removal is made in order to make room for others on some political pretext.—*Baltimore Sun*, April 8.

IN ST. LOUIS.

The taxpayers' league has brought suit to restrain Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge from collecting the salary which accumulates while he is absent from the city. The injunction is asked on the ground that Mayor Walbridge has during the past year repeatedly absented himself and has drawn \$1,100 for the time so wasted. The month of March is specified in the injunction because during that month the mayor has, it is said, been busy attending political gatherings in various sections of the state, but has demanded his salary as usual.—*St. Louis Dispatch*, April 1.

* * *

The following is an extract from a private letter from St. Louis, under date of February 27, last:

"A circumstance has recently happened here which, though slight in itself, possesses in my opinion much significance. The Missouri division of the league of American wheelmen has appointed a committee on city streets. I am a member of it, and several of its members are men of about my age. But the majority of them are younger—men of from 25 to 35 years of age. They very soon found from practical experience that little could be done in the way of improving the streets of our city, so long as the positions in the street department were filled by dispensation of political patronage. The result has been that nearly all of the committee have joined the local Civil Service Reform Association."—*Good Government*, March, 1896.

* * *

St. Louis may be the next large city to experience a campaign for municipal reform. A recent meeting of 800 earnest citizens requested the civic federation to call in conference representatives of the various prominent social, educational, philanthropical, business, and labor organizations of the city, "to originate, if practicable, a non-partisan, non-political, and non-sectarian movement, in which all good citizens can unite to secure an honest, efficient, and economical administration of city affairs." The conference will be held within fifteen days. The present plan is to appoint a campaign committee of one hundred.

IN CINCINNATI.

The meeting of the Manufacturers' Club took on a decidedly partisan turn after the banquet at the Queen City Club last night, at which Governor Bushnell was the guest of honor. * * *

The next thing in the order of business stirred things up to a livelier state than is customary in the Manufacturers' Club. J. C. Butler read a paper on the merit system in business, and civil service as applied to municipal affairs in Ohio. The attitude of the club on this very question had been made a special order for consideration last night. A resolution indorsing the bill now pending in the senate, which provides for the appointment of a commission of three to appoint and control municipal officers in the cities of Ohio, had been introduced at the last meeting of the club, but its consideration was postponed until last night. * * *

As soon as President Egau announced the proposition to be considered, Colonel W. B. Melish, who sat at his side, arose and moved to further postpone consideration of the resolution until next Friday night. He said that the Manufacturers' Club had been in the habit of indorsing everything that any "good fellow" in the club wanted indorsed, but the matter under consideration was important, and he wanted the members of the club to have an opportunity to debate on the question, and have the whole matter thoroughly explained.

Colonel Melish's motion did not make much of a hit, but Colonel Chas. B. Wing, who sat next to him, seconded it heartily.

One could breathe the refreshing air of the approaching storm, and it came when President M. E. Ingalls arose. He said that the method of postponement was the weapon used by some people to kill undesirable measures, and he thought that Mr. Melish's motion was made with that very purpose. Mr. Ingalls reminded the gentlemen that a copy of the bill now pending in the senate had been mailed to every member of the club four weeks ago. He thought they were perfectly familiar with it, and that they were qualified to vote intelligently upon the matter under consideration, as well last night as they would be next Friday night, or six weeks or six months hence. Continuing, Mr. Ingalls said:

"You gentlemen know, and know well, that there will be up before this club for consideration next Friday night an important matter that will consume nearly the entire evening in its discussion. There will be no time for discussion of this matter then. Gentlemen, there was once a man who used to turn back the hands of the clock to gain time, but you can not do it now. We must keep abreast with the march of progress, and there is no longer any doubt of the worth of civil service as applied to the control of municipal affairs. We do not want any further delay in this important matter. I would like to know what member of the club is not ready to vote upon it. I am ready, and I am ready to vote now." Mr. Ingalls also said that in his management of 20,000 employes he found the merit system to be successful, and why not the same result in the control of municipal employes?

Mr. Ingalls' speech was of the tobacco sauce order, and he was applauded heartily. When the rising vote was demanded, only four voted nay, and the motion to indorse the civil service bill was overwhelmingly carried.—*Cincinnati Tribune*, March 15.

* * *

"Do you suppose that if our county affairs were under civil service rules the county commissioners would make the disgraceful

showing that they do to-day? What chance would there be for their re-election, when it came to be understood it cost the county about \$60,000 to manage the court-house for the same service and material that is furnished our government building for \$24,000—a building almost twice as large."—*Mr. Butler before Cincinnati Manufacturers' Association.*

IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Business Men's Association, of Syracuse, New York, held last Thursday evening, the mayor of the city, James K. McGuire, announced himself as a convert to the doctrine of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. Syracuse is one of the cities of this country where that question has been brought conspicuously and boldly to the fore. * * * Mr. McGuire was elected as a republican. He says: "When one reflects, how absurd it is to gauge the fitness of a candidate for public office by his opinions on bimetallism or the tariff question? What have national issues to do with the problems of our municipal life? Absolutely nothing. As a successful party candidate I am appointing men from my party to public office, having been elected as a party candidate. Most of the candidates for appointive offices ask for places as a reward for party services or political services rendered me. Fitness, which alone should be the discriminating test, is seldom mentioned. The theories of non-partisanship in municipal affairs are ideal and practical, and independence is becoming widespread and general in our local politics. It is a spirit which has come to stay, mark me."

* * *

The great change that has come over the people of this city as to what constitutes fitness for municipal service since the advent of the good government administration is shown by the results of the series of civil service examinations just brought to a close. During the three years preceding the election of Mayor Warner only 350 persons presented themselves for examination to the civil service commission. The reason for this small number was the well known fact that however good an examination a man might pass, he could not get an appointment without the approval of George W. Aldridge, then the chairman of the executive board and the boss of the republican party of the city. During the period of less than three months that Mayor Warner has been in office more than 700 persons have presented themselves for examination. Now there exists a genuine eligible list for every municipal office that comes under the operation of the civil service law.—*Rochester dispatch New York Evening Post*, March 21.

* * *

R. Fulton Cutting, in behalf of the New York trade schools, at the request of the local civil service board, this week has offered the use of the Auchmuty trade school's rooms and facilities for a new civil service test which the board has recently decided upon. This is to afford a more adequate trial of the many applicants who present themselves as skilled me-

chanics for positions in the city's service. The civil service board has never had the facilities for such a test, even if an adequate one had been devised. Therefore it was decided to turn all such applicants over to the teachers at the New York trade schools to be examined as to their mechanical skill in their own peculiar trades. Thus a carpenter will be required to show what he can do upon being presented with a saw, with other necessary tools, and with different kinds of wood. A cabinetmaker, in the same manner, will be asked to construct a piece of furniture, and on this piece of work his eligibility to a public place will be decided.

The applicants who are thus to be examined come under the following classes: Male and female bath attendants, carpenters, cabinetmakers, laboratory attendants, bricklayers, cement workers, horseshoers, blacksmiths, housesmiths, janitors, mates, masons, painters, pipe-fitters, saw-filers, stonecutters, pipe-tappers, varnishers and weighmasters.

Mere mechanical skill, however, will not be wholly sufficient, for in order to provide for another test of fitness the civil service board, after resolving upon this new departure, passed the following additional resolution:

"That it shall be within the discretion of the examining board to require, in addition to the usual test, as to the character of applicants, letters of recommendation from late employers as to the character and ability of the applicant to fill the position sought for."—*New York Evening Post*, March 22.

* * *

The trial of Michael Considine, the Italian saloon-keeper, who is charged with the murder of John J. Malone, a broker, on February 8, 1895, was began this afternoon before Judge Newburger, in general sessions. This is the trial which, at the district attorney's request, was transferred from court to court no less than nine times, and in which unsuccessful attempts to submit a plea of guilty for a minor offence were made no less than four times, until Recorder Goff put a stop to both practices.—*New York Evening Post*, April 9.

Seattle and Tacoma are getting ready to amend their city charters by adopting the Illinois civil service law for the control of appointments under the municipal government.

* * *

Inspired by its success in the Chicago municipal election, the civic federation of that city has invited every club in the city and every organization of a semi-political nature, or having good government as one of its principles, to join in a concerted movement looking to the enactment of reform measures by the next legislature.

FROM AN EDITOR.

"I trust that you will continue to send your valued paper. I have cut your March issue all to pieces, and used at least a dozen extracts.

"The only trouble is that when I clip on one side I lose something equally good, on reverse page.

"It seems to me that your work can not fail to bring good results. In this city we have rings within rings, and "merit" counts for naught. A good "pull" is all that is needed here, and the plums then proceed to drop, and all into the hands of the party workers. One party is just as bad as the other."

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 40.

INDIANAPOLIS, JUNE, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

PROFESSOR HENRY W. FARNAM, 43 Hill-house avenue, New Haven, Conn., will pay a liberal price for No. 5, Vol. 1 (July, 1889), of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to complete his file.

AT St. Louis the republicans declared as follows in relation to the civil service:

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

Leaving as it does no room for dishonesty, equivocation or trickery, it is entirely satisfactory. Civil service reform is accepted as established. Without treachery it would be impossible to disturb for spoils purposes the service where it is covered by the rules. It is to be expected that the supplanting of the fourth class post-offices by sub-stations will be promptly carried out and also that a plan will be adopted by which we shall cease picking up local politicians and making them postmasters of great cities. The republicans in the past widely neglected their opportunities to extend this reform, but there is a chance to gain a good deal of glory yet.

THIS generation has not before seen a national campaign in which the contest was so much upon a difference of view of public questions and so little over a division of plunder as the reward of success at the polls as it is in the approaching campaign. The plunder has not all disappeared, but the great bulk of it is gone, and it is recognized that it is gone forever. This is the condition which the CHRONICLE from its foundation has prophesied would come with the overthrow of the spoils system. But this is the first campaign in which the condition has actually been present. Another new thing not before within the memory of this generation is a national convention where the delegates in the face of the leaders of the majority candidate force a principle into the platform, as was done at St. Louis when the gold standard declaration was adopted. Here, too, it is remembered that in General Lew Wallace, Indiana was represented by a man who insisted that the delegation and not two or three bosses should choose

him for the committee on resolutions if it wanted him, and who being chosen with an intimation that he must not favor the mention of gold in the platform, promptly refused the place with such a stipulation, and was rechosen. An additional sign of the times is that for the first time in a republican convention since 1880 the name of Webster Flanagan was not quoted with applause.

GOVERNOR MATTHEWS of Indiana seems to have been indulging in an interview on "civil service" in which he is reported to have said: "The civil service idea is a good one; good to test the efficiency of republicans when there are no competent democrats to appoint to office." We think this fairly indicates Governor Matthews's real opinion. He simply belongs to the lower grade of democrats, and has the instincts and range of view of a ward politician. Ever since he has been governor, wherever the law allowed him to do so, he has run the state service to build up a political machine. In spite of our unhappy past experience under the spoils system he refused to recommend to the general assembly the establishment of the merit system. He is not a man whom any one in favor of administrative reform could think of supporting for any office. It is fortunate that he has declared himself for now there can be no question as to where he stands. It is possible that he may be chosen by the Chicago convention as the candidate of his party, but he will not be chosen President, nor will he carry the state of Indiana. In these times a man never appears smaller than when he is denouncing the merit system.

THE low plane upon which the present Indiana democrat goes through life is well illustrated by the proposed action in relation to Governor Matthews. A large minority are in favor of the gold standard; yet to a man they propose "to do what they can" to make Matthews the nominee of their party for the Presidency. Now Matthews, as one of the most reliable of these democrats remarked, "would give his boots for any kind of a nomination, and would take it on any kind of a platform." He is for the free coinage of silver. This, to a man in favor of a gold standard, means death to national prosperity and disgrace to the national honor. Yet the gold democrats of Indiana propose to

swallow it all and "whoop 'er up" for Matthews. Who can have any respect for such a crowd or have any feeling except a desire to see the party and the men who represent such cowardice and dishonor whipped out of public office?

THE board of aldermen of Detroit, by refusing appropriations, forced a reduction of the salaries of the city teachers. It might be thought that this was only an unhappy necessity to which careful custodians of the city's welfare were driven, and that the same high sense of duty controlled all their acts. The following transaction, however, set out in the *Detroit News* of June 6 tells more than could be told in volumes:

The republican aldermen drew lots last night for the June appointments, which furnish \$17,761.25 worth of patronage. The two assistant city hall engineers were included in the drawing, although they were provided for in the controller's estimate and may fall to Mayor Pingree's portion. The aldermen drawing these two took chances.

Aldermen Scovel and Ashley drew blanks. A number of trades were made and more will follow. Alderman DeGaw got a municipal engineer when he wanted a janitress. Alderman Patterson wanted a western market clerkship for his brother, but drew an assistant city hall janitor. Alderman Batchelder always likes to draw the elevator conductors so that he can reappoint the cripples holding the positions in the city hall, but he drew a janitress. Alderman Klein drew the chief janitor of the city hall and talks about having sons he ought to take care of. Alderman Stevenson traded his drawing of an assistant municipal engineer at \$860.75 for the messenger of the council at \$3 a session, as he had a boy just the right size for the place. After all the swapping the places were distributed as follows:

City hall offices—Janitor, Alderman Klein; assistant janitor, Alderman Gotschel; assistant janitor (attic), Alderman Bleil; assistant janitor (basement), Alderman Harpfer; assistant janitor (men's toilet, etc.), Alderman Patterson; janitress (ladies' toilet), Alderman Batchelder; elevator conductor, Alderman Hanes; elevator conductor, Alderman Welton; assistant engineer, Alderman Wild; assistant engineer, Alderman Riebert.

General appointments—Clerk of market, eastern district, Alderman Conus; clerk of market, western district, Alderman Beamer; weighmaster, eastern district, Alderman Coots; weighmaster, western district, Alderman Grunow; poundmaster, eastern district, Alderman Stahl; poundmaster, western district, Alderman Reves; messenger common council, Alderman Stevenson.

Municipal building—Engineer, Alderman DeGaw; assistant engineer, Alderman Marx; elevator conductor, Alderman Gerecke; janitor, Alderman Sumner; assistant janitor, Alderman Beck.

WE do not hear so much as we did of "educational tests," yet there is a considerable class extending from Abe Gruber up to the owlishly doubtful but highly respectable opponent who still carp about it.

Such now almost daily occurrences as the competition of over sixty sergeants for the place of precinct commander in New York have no effect upon them. The highest examination could only give the competitors 35 per cent. The remaining 65 per cent. or any part of it was to be gained by their records for meritorious service and efficiency. In the course of the examination each was to write a report of an actual or imaginary case. Says the account:

Sergt. Thomas H. Mangin of the Wall street branch of the Detective Bureau chose as his subject, "How O'Brien Protects Bankers;" Oliver Timms wrote his version of the "Riot on Eighth Avenue July 12, 1871;" Edward F. Walling told of the abduction of Charlie Ross; George McCluskey wrote of the Eglau murder mystery; John R. Groo told in detail of the murder of Policeman Burns in the eighth ward, twenty-two years ago, and new versions of old and unsolved crimes were written by Stephen Brown, George Brennan, George Titus, and the rest of the candidates for promotion.

The rest of the examination consisted in answering questions as to state laws, corporation ordinances, regulations of the police department, and matters pertaining to the drilling of men.

It will be remembered that in its lately enacted excise law the legislature of New York undertook to save the appointments from the merit system by declaring them confidential and Platt's man Aldridge, the head of the public works, began to run henchmen into the non-competitive examinations where a large proportion of them ingloriously failed. Meanwhile dark clouds appeared on the horizon. It was questioned whether an office could be made confidential by fiat any more than paper can be made money by fiat. Opinion after opinion in the negative came from lawyers of the highest standing. The state comptroller refused to pay men who had not received their appointments under open competition. Finally instead of waiting for the courts to overthrow it the whole Platt scheme broke down—slowly and with creakings and groanings but surely. In the last ditch stood Cobb and Lord, Platt's majority of the civil service commission, holding back the notices for the competitive examination; but even they could not override the constitution, and the whole list finally went by the board pell-mell under the merit system. This changes the entire character of the excise law and it may result in being a great improvement over the pernicious system it supplanted.

ONE of Platt's moves in the state of New York was to have his legislature make a law by which his machine could seize the Albany police, and the usual bi-partisan board was set up. The supreme court declared the bill unconstitutional and the appellate division has affirmed the decision. The point in brief is that there can be no political qualifications for office. To say that one place shall be filled by a

democrat is to deprive a man who is not a democrat of the privilege of holding that office. Thus one by one the courts are clearing the atmosphere of the clouds with which cheap-jack politicians have obscured the sky. The sunlight will reach Indiana by and by, covered as it is with humbug bi-partisan boards.

MAYOR STRONG, of New York, by an order made June 5, transferred 140 positions in the civil service of that city with salaries amounting to \$318,000 a year to the competitive lists. This means that hereafter any vacancies must be filled by open competition. These offices are the very cream of the higher places in the city service and their removal from the present or future grasp of Tammany or the Platt boys has led to such a gnashing of teeth that it is plain that these patriots never had a more severe paroxysm. The list is so important that it is given in full that our readers may more fully realize the tremendous strides the merit system is now taking:

MAYOR'S OFFICE.		Salary.
Warrant and Bond Clerk.....		\$2,500
Marshal.....		2,800
FINANCE DEPARTMENT.		
General Bookkeeper.....		4,000
Paymaster's Clerks (10).....	\$1,200 to	1,300
Assistant Cashiers (2).....		1,600
Clerks of Markets.....	\$1,500 to	3,000
Deputy Collectors of City Revenue (8).....	\$1,200 to	1,800
Paymaster's Messenger.....		950
STREET-CLEANING DEPARTMENT.		
Chief Clerk.....		2,800
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.		
Chief Clerk.....		4,000
Water Purveyor.....		4,000
Superintendent of Street Improvements ..		2,750
Superintendent of Lamps and Gas.....		2,750
Superintendent of Repairs and Supplies.....		2,750
Superintendent of Incumbrances.....		2,750
Superintendent of Streets ..		2,750
Examiner of Complaints.....		—
FIRE DEPARTMENT.		
Assistant Secretary.....		2,500
Bookkeeper.....		3,500
Secretary of Relief Fund.....		1,800
Inspector of Combustibles.....		3,000
Fire Marshal.....		3,000
HEALTH DEPARTMENT.		
Sanitary Superintendent.....		4,000
Register of Records.....		4,000
Secretary.....		4,800
Attorney and Counsel.....		4,000
Assistant Counsel.....		2,500
Assistant Sanitary Superintendent.....		3,000
PARK DEPARTMENT.		
Engineer of Construction.....		3,500
Topographical Engineer.....		2,400
General Inspector.....		2,500
Superintendent.....		4,000
STREET IMPROVEMENTS, 23D AND 24TH WARDS.		
Superintendent of Maintenance.....		—
General Inspector and Foreman.....		2,750
DEPARTMENT OF DOCKS.		
Clerk to the Treasurer.....		2,000
Collector ..		1,800
Superintendent of Docks.....		3,500
Dock-master ..		2,100
Assistant Dock-masters (12), each.....		2,100
DEPARTMENT OF TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS.		
Deputy Commissioners (18), each.....	\$2,700 to	3,500
Assessors (4), each ..		3,000
BOARD OF CITY RECORD.		
Supervisor of City Record ..		5,000
Deputy Supervisor and Accountant.....		2,500
Private Secretary.....		—
BOARD OF ELECTRICAL CONTROL.		
Engineer.....		—
Electrical expert.....		—
Assistant Secretary.....		2,400
COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.		
Assistant examiners (8); per month.....	\$100 to	133
Clerks, per month.....		70

BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT.		
Clerk.....		3,000
CIVIL-SERVICE SUPERVISORY AND EXAMINING BOARDS.		
Secretary.....		2,500
Chief Clerk.....		1,800
Chief Examiner ..		3,600
Examiners, a day.....		10
BOARD OF ALDERMEN.		
Clerk.....		5,000
Deputy Clerk.....		2,500
Engrossing Clerk (3), each.....		1,000
Librarian.....		1,000
Messenger (2).....		900
Sergeant-at-Arms.....		900
SUPERINTENDENT OF MAINTENANCE OF DEPARTMENT STREET IMPROVEMENTS.		
23d and 24th Wards.....		2,750
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.		
Purchasing agent.....		3,000
General storekeeper.....		1,800
Superintendent of Hospitals and Alms-houses ..		2,500
Superintendent of Outdoor Poor Department ..		3,600
Chief of Staff of Hospitals.....		2,000
Superintendent of Hospitals.....		2,500
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION.		
Purchasing agent.....		2,000
General storekeeper.....		1,200
Wardens of prisons and work-houses (2).....	2,000 &	2,500
Deputy wardens (2).....	1,350 &	1,000

It would be unfair not to give both sides a hearing upon this transfer by Mayor Strong. Alderman Wund is a fair representative of Tammany and the republican boys. He says:

"This means the beginning of the end of government by the people in this country. Popular government can not exist without parties, and parties can not exist without rewards in the way of offices. Take away the offices, and what motive will a man have for working for his party? He will lose all interest in his party and in his country, and what will be the consequence? Things will go to the bad.

"Now, to come down to my own position. What is the use of being an alderman if you can't do anything for your friends? And how are you going to have any friends, or keep them, if you can't do anything for them? Why, if this civil service scheme is carried out, a man who hasn't turned a hand for his party or contributed a dollar to help it along can go and pass an examination and get a job, while the men who have given their time and their money and their labor to their party will be left out in the cold. If this thing is kept up, do you think men will work for their parties any more or take any interest in the government? No; they will not.

"Just to think," continued the alderman mournfully, "they are coming in here and trying to take our few clerks away from us! We haven't got much power left, and if they take away our little appointments, why who would want to be an alderman, anyhow? Not I, anyhow. It is a shame, an outrage, a—a—a—everything that is outrageous, to attack the board of aldermen in this way. And (in a solemn whisper) let me tell you that this is an attack not only on the board of aldermen, but on government by the people too."

THE Massachusetts legislature has again begun tinkering the laws to find some way to give preference to classes in public employment notwithstanding the decision of the supreme court. The state attorney-general seems to be working along the same lines. It is doubtful if these busy demagogues will have any permanent success. It is too plain that whether a man shovels dirt, or acts as policeman or superintends public works, if the employment is by the public, one class can not constitutionally be given any advantage over another in obtaining it. Three cities in Massachusetts, Boston, Cambridge and New Bedford, have the labor service system and

an appropriation has just been made to extend the system to other cities. Meanwhile Indianapolis, the largest city in Indiana, and the largest inland city in the country, has a system of labor by pulls put through by Tom Taggart in plain and brazen violation of the law.

THE Tacoma Civil Service League edit a column in the *Sunday Morning Union*. Among the articles of their constitution are these:

Art. II. Object. To assist in the complete abolition of the spoils system from all branches of the public service, and especially to secure the honest and efficient enforcement of the civil service provisions of the city charter.

Art. III. Methods. The league seeks to accomplish these objects by agitation, by the enforcement of present laws, by securing further legislation and by directing the moral influence of the community.

MR. MCKINLEY AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

In April, 1890, occurred the most vicious and dangerous onslaught upon the federal civil service law that has ever been made. It was an attempt in the house to defeat the appropriations, and for a time it appeared that the attempt might succeed. At the critical moment Mr. McKinley, then the republican leader of the house, said:

"Mr. Chairman, if the republican party of this country is pledged to any one thing more than another it is the maintenance of the civil service law and to its efficient execution—not only that, but to its enlargement and its further application to the public service.

"The law that stands upon our statute books to-day was put there by republican votes. It was a republican measure. Every national platform of the republican party, since its enactment, has declared not only in favor of its continuance in full vigor, but in favor of its enlargement so as to apply more generally to the public service. And this, Mr. Chairman, is not alone the declaration and purpose of the republican party, but it is in accordance with its highest and best sentiment—aye, more, it is sustained by the best sentiment of the whole country, republican and democratic alike. And there is not a man on this floor who does not know that no party in this country, democratic or republican, will have the courage to wipe it from the statute book or amend it, save in the direction of its improvement.

"Look at our situation to-day. When this party of ours has control of all the branches of the government it is proposed to annul this law by withholding appropriations for its execution, when for four years under a democratic administration nobody on this side of the house had the temerity to rise in his place and make a motion similar to the one now pending for the nullification of this law. We thought it was good then, good enough for a democratic administration; and I say to my republican associates, it is good enough for a

republican administration; it is good and wholesome for the whole country. If the law is not administered in letter and spirit impartially, the President can and will supply the remedy. Mr. Chairman, the republican party must take no backward step. The merit system is here, and it is here to stay, and we may just as well understand and accept it now, and give our attention to correcting the abuses, if any exist, and improving the law wherever it can be done to the advantage of the public service."

The attack was routed by a vote of 120 to 61. On May 16th following, the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, at its annual meeting, adopted the following:

We thank our western congressmen, McKinley and Butterworth, and those who joined with them, for their able and successful resistance in beating back the recent attack upon the civil service law.

THE CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

At the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which began at Grand Rapids June 4, there was a very full discussion of the merit system in connection with the various institutions which are in the line of the objects of the association. Several papers were read, and these were followed by general discussions in which every minute was occupied. The greatest drawback to the introduction of the merit system is the mental condition of the heads of the institutions themselves and of other active members of the conference. There were some notable exceptions, like the warden of the Minnesota state prison and the state factory inspector of Illinois, who understood the system and were unequivocal and straightforward in its favor. Otherwise there were all kinds of opinions varying in rawness. One superintendent thought that the system was not even applicable to the appointment of clerks, because they were so closely connected with the other workings of the institutions. Another declared, with great emphasis, that the only true merit system was the superintendent's unhampered action in appointments and removals, although all but universally the superintendent's action has never been, is not now, nor ever would be unhampered, and this is one of the evils the merit system will correct. Another rehearsed the long exploded homily about peculiar fitness and nice adjustment of nerves which competition and a probationary period can not determine, although a superintendent under a political board by talking with an applicant can. This same superintendent also declared that a clean sweep removed a good many barnacles, and that the stray officers who were kept were really the only ones deserving to be kept. This was in the face of the hundreds of thousands of capable officers who have not been kept, and of a like number of

barnacles removed under the spoils system only to be succeeded by barnacles. It was patronizingly stated that the merit system would, however, be given a fair trial. A member of the Ohio state board of charities, after revealing the utterly corrupt condition of that state in the matter of appointments, said that the merit system in the federal civil service would probably remain only until "our people get in and change it." In his paper Mr. Philip C. Garrett gave some distressing instances of abuses of inmates of charitable institutions, due wholly to the spoils system. In the course of some remarks later Mr. Loch, of England, said that he had been surprised at the practice in America of running politics into all phases of these institutions, but he thought it was a matter which the American people would correct. Mr. Frank Sanborn, of Concord, said that for the benefit of Mr. Loch he would say that all this talk reminded him of the old deacon who was in every way an exemplary man except that he would sometimes swear, and that instances of killing were rather exceptional.

Evidently the conference needs to educate itself. It would be well for the heads of the various institutions to examine the workings of the merit system and to learn better where it would apply and what objections to it have long been overthrown, and what its tests really are. They will not then iterate and reiterate as was done here that a purely educational test is not adapted to selecting employes for state institutions. We notice a letter reviewing the conference in the *New York Evening Post* contained no mention whatever of this the most important subject before it, presented by five papers and two lengthy public discussions. It mentions a discussion of the use of criminal and tramp dialect in juvenile reformatories which is a reminder that the superintendents without exception declared that their greatest obstacle was to prevent their teachers from descending to the use of the same dialect. There could be no louder commentary on the results of the present system of appointments. The plan by which the superintendent and the board converse with an applicant and then appoint upon the pull system or by shaking up the offices in a hat as was shown by Mrs. Flower's paper, evidently has its drawbacks. As to Mr. Sanborn's rather flippant and happy-go-lucky attitude we quote the following from Professor Henderson's powerful paper:

They tell us with just pride of the Michigan system of child-saving. But they can not boast of many of our county jails, city lock-ups and neglected poor-houses. They are ashamed to explain to the expert public servants in the institutions of Bremen, Hamburg and Dresden, how our clerks get their places, and on what dishonorable and au-

noying terms they keep them. But these scandals are well known in Europe, and they are often supposed to indicate a deep seated and universal depravity among the people who can tolerate such abuses without efficient protest. The fact that we have general suffrage makes the case all the blacker for us.

DANGERS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN STATE INSTITUTIONS.

[A paper read by Lucius B. Swift before the National Association of Charities and Corrections, at Grand Rapids, June 5, 1896.]

Some years ago the general assembly of Indiana was the scene of a busy struggle to secure the reorganization of the benevolent institutions of the state. No demand of public business nor any condition of the institutions themselves called for the change. The attacking force was a well organized band, a faction of the party already in possession; its object was the capture of the places. The bill became a law and its promoters who had for weeks constituted the "third house" of the general assembly gave a dinner in celebration and then as members of boards, superintendents, stewards and so on went into enjoyment of the captured spoil.

Some four years later it fell to me to assist in an investigation of the state hospital for the insane at Indianapolis, made by a house committee of the general assembly. The investigation occupied three weeks.

This hospital was beautifully situated, with male and female departments in great separate buildings standing in ample and shady grounds. Its board had the disposal of about \$300,000 a year. Yet in this modern environment, with ample funds which made possible the application of the most humane and enlightened principles of the nineteenth century, the place was honeycombed with medieval notions and practices—unsympathetic, cruel, barbarous and corrupt. Every employe, the doctor, the ward attendant, the clerk, the carpenter, the washerwoman, must not only bear the party stamp, but must be of the faction which had captured the hospital; and so fierce was the demand for a share, that in the 350 places we found there had been 648 changes in four years. Along the same line, the contracts for supplies, with few exceptions, had been let to those who had helped in the capture or who had obtained some later hold upon the board. As might have been expected, we found an untold amount of misery inflicted upon the thousand helpless inmates by this aggregation of inexperience and knavery. Not one of the employes had an incentive to do well, for the place was not secured by merit nor held by efficiency. Physical force not infrequently assisted by blows, sometimes with the club, was the quick resort of inexperience and inefficiency, and in cases, was carried to extreme cruelty. Contracts were made and prices were paid for the best articles; yet through the steward's office there was an endless procession of supplies foreign to the contracts, decayed meats, decayed butter, decayed vegetables, hogs infected with cholera, shelf-worn goods and so on. The whirlwind had been thoroughly reaped.

This hospital was a full development. Perhaps nowhere in the country among hospitals does such a case exist to-day; but it is not certain that there may not be one to-morrow. This was a natural and legitimate outcome of the spoils system, a system which is never asleep, and whose restless and unscrupulous activity has given of late years an increasing number of full fruitions. There was this hospital. There is Tammany Hall which robbed and blackmailed the people of New York. There is the state of New York where no law can be passed without the consent of Platt. There is Pennsylvania in which free government has reached a like suspended condition under Quay. There is Senator Murphy's city of Troy which classes Bat Shea among the saints. And wherever good government has been laid waste, the cause is always the same—favoritism moved by a thousand motives, the spoils system with its one doctrine, that every item of public transactions is to be given a twist for personal or party benefit, and practiced in so many governmental functions that every rising generation imbibes the idea that public business is not as private business; that it does not call for the same abstention from deceit and speculation, but that every thing is fair in politics.

Now, it is not only true in experience, but it is true as an axiom that the presence of favoritism in the conduct of any public business is detrimental. There is no human nature the world knows of which can stand the test of its exercise, or which can stand the test of the opportunity of its exercise. There is no public institution in whose management favoritism is an element in which progress is not retarded or is at a standstill, and which is not in danger of a development as rank and unhappy as the Indiana hospital I have described. Now, if one says that he is an exception or that his board is an exception, that they have the power but they resist the temptation I shall not dispute the statement, but I shall doubt their knowledge of themselves, and I shall answer that if they have this almost unknown virtue, their successors in office will not have it. We find every grade of favoritism, but still it is favoritism. Where ordinary favoritism exists the condition is not creditable, but the public is used to it. At any moment, however, the developing power of a boss may send any institution so far down that the cry of misery becomes loud enough to be heard, and then the commonwealth feels its shame and disgrace.

I do not wish however, to confine myself to extreme dangers. Take the average state institutions, benevolent, penal or reformatory, and they do not fix the attention at all or they fix it because of things which are disagreeable. The impression made is of common-placeness, of mediocrity, of powerlessness to advance.

We are always in hopeless waiting either for the new set just in to become skilled or for some turn which will get rid of the old set of incapable and worthless favorites.

If you visit a prison you find the employes working in narrow lines. From lack of disposition or capability there is not enough of the play of honest human nature upon dishonest human nature to make it better. If you ask a warden, who has been some time in place and has become interested in his work, if there is no way to give natural manhood a better chance he will tell you privately that the insuperable obstacle is lack of permanency in place and the foisting upon him of employes by one pull or another. He can keep the prisoners within the walls, he can keep them in order, and he can keep the cost of maintenance within a proper figure, but to carry out extensively a system based upon the possibility that the prisoner can be made better is impossible under the present method of employment. If you get into his confidence he lays before you the full action of this method with its aggregation of pulls; the party pull, which is the blanket mortgage over all, the party-faction pull, the church pull, the lodge pull, the family pull, and so on.

I am not a specialist, but I do not need to be told that the best treatment of prisoners can be had only through employes of intelligence determined by test, of fitness determined by trial, of experience obtained by long service, and tenure depending solely upon faithfulness and efficiency. I know that still more is this true of physicians and attendants in care of the insane or teachers of the deaf and dumb and the blind. The time has passed for argument with those who say that equally suitable or better employes are those who get their places at the arbitrary discretion of the authority which is "responsible" for the particular institution, but who get them in fact primarily, one because he is a relative of a member of the board, one to pay a legislator for his vote, one because a prominent politician requests it, one because the governor is building up a machine, and so on through the endless list of pulls. Such a contention says that there is nothing in the treatment of prisoners but to keep them within the four walls, in silence, in stripes, and walking in the lock-step; there is nothing in the care of the insane but to keep a mad-house, to prevent escapes and the infliction of bodily harm, and keep down the cost of maintenance.

The country is familiar with the Indian Rights Association of which Mr. Herbert Welsh has so long been the secretary. Its object has been not only to prevent the Indians from being plundered and murdered, but to raise them to the level of self-supporting, civilized people. The object was entirely feasible. The process was the practice of common honesty in dealing, and by industrial and common education. The men and women united in this association for years spent large sums of money and wherever there was a lull in political activity made noticeable progress. Intermittently but inevitably came the swoop of the spoiler and at his demand experienced agents, trained teachers and faithful employes of all kinds were swept out and their places

taken by those who had "whooped 'er up" in the last campaign. For years from the subjects discussed at their conference the association did not appear to realize the fundamental difficulty. Finally Mr. Welsh rose to the situation and declaring that the good accomplished would be destroyed as fast as accomplished while the spoils system existed, he took his place in the front rank of the national civil service reform league and helped carry its cause on to the great victory which has been won. And the spoils system has been destroyed in the Indian service. Having a clean instrument to work with in a civil service where tenure depends solely upon faithfulness and efficiency the way is clear to solve unhampered the great problems of Indian civilization.

A great wave of municipal reform is sweeping over the country. It has had the happy result of enlisting thousands of men who never before entered a reform movement. So far, unless its recent meeting was an exception, its league has laid its stress upon higher individual citizenship as the solution of the colossal difficulties presented by municipal government. The advance of that reform has been in the line of modern charters. The man who drew such a charter adopted by one of the finest cities in the west told me that he knew nothing about civil service reform. While these charters are an improvement, municipal reform will not be accomplished under them, nor will it be accomplished at all while any appointing officer may fill the places of policemen and firemen upon the pull system, or while the street gang may be made an almshouse where the local bosses quarter their followers. It is true that public morals are debauched, that individual citizenship is at a low grade and that it must be elevated, and that it is the final object of all reform; but leaving the power of appointment by favoritism untouched if we wait for municipal reform until this elevation takes place and the good citizens go to the primaries and there contend with and overthrow the bosses, it will not come in our time. It is the spoils system more than all other things combined which has debauched public morals and they will remain debauched while that system exists.

And so it is with state charitable and correctional institutions. I have looked over some years of the proceedings of this conference and have noted the wide range of the subjects discussed and the reports of progress in the various states. I do not wish to minimize the great good which has been accomplished and the great influence which those interested in subjects germane to this association have had in causing an advance of public opinion; but it seems to me that in the failure to deal with the subject of the service in these institutions, the effects of the various causes which lead to appointment, retention, or removal, there is a fundamental failure to grapple with an obstacle which blocks your further progress. The processes of charities and corrections have been made ripe by

these discussions for the widest and most beneficent development. What can be accomplished amounts to a revolution. Why is it so hard to make headway? I take the case of the Michigan City prison. It had a warden who had obtained his place by political influence. He was, however, an honest and capable man and had become interested in his work. The prison was loaded with appointees made at the dictation of various pulls, but in the course of four years the warden had brought them into some sort of order and discipline and both himself and most of them had reached the point where they might be said to have obtained, at the expense of the state, an elementary knowledge and some years of experience in the treatment of prisoners. The warden particularly was at the point where he might be expected to become a most useful man to the commonwealth, but at that point there was a party revolution in the general assembly. Adequate legislation was put through providing for the erection of a new board which took the right view of the tariff question, and this board at once put into that prison from the warden down, men whose views on the tariff were also sound, allowing, however, within that limit the widest latitude for pulls, the new warden being a member of the party state committee. Let us grant that the new men are in themselves fair subjects for tutelage. In a few years they will have learned something at the expense of the state, but by that time it is more than likely that the necessities of the tariff or the currency will demand their dismissal. In the meantime this conference will go on meeting and will find this prison on the same plane it has been for years. It is true that in many states the party wheels do not turn backward and forward so frequently as in Indiana. I know that where a party remains many years in power the service becomes in a manner settled and efficient as was the case in the railway mail service in 1885. But no party remains forever in power, even in Pennsylvania, and there is, therefore, the standing menace that at any time the improvement of years may be destroyed.

Wherever the germs of the spoils system are there is constant danger of a ruinous development at the hands of politics. That system exists in general to-day, and the ideas which this conference advocates and hopes to see adopted will not take permanent root. I may be contradicted, but I shall remain in the confidence of foreordination that while that system lasts the institutions concerned will be found on the crude lines where they are. I shall also remain in an equally firm but more serene confidence that the system is doomed.

Within this generation two fundamental improvements have been made in civil administration; one is the merit system where public employment and promotion are granted upon impartial tests to those to whom the competition open to all has determined best fitted. In unskilled employment the labor

service system of registration has barred out politics and all kinds of favoritism in that department. These two systems are now on their conquering way against the combined power of party machines; against every kind of treachery, against ridicule, and denunciation they have pursued their irresistible march until the voice of the opponent is dumb. Eighty-five thousand places in the federal service have been wrenched from the spoiler, and already in states and cities the forward movement has begun. There is no question as to the result. The heathen may rage again and may again imagine a multitude of vain things, but politics and favoritism are to go out of the management of state institutions. Even party machines can not resist the inevitable. These institutions will be filled with employes beholden to nothing but their own merit for appointment and who need look to nothing but faithfulness and efficiency for tenure. I do not claim that the introduction of any scheme of appointment, however good, will of itself clear public life of its dishonesty and inefficiency. The state of New York has for a number of years had a civil service law and has lately incorporated the principle into its constitution, yet Platt's legislature has just passed and Platt's governor has just signed a bill vacating the boards of eleven state hospitals, places filled for years by men and women serving disinterestedly and conscientiously without pay. New York city has for the same time had a civil service law, yet Tammany ran riot in every form. But what is it that is wresting from Platt step by step the spoils upon which his political life depends? It is the civil service amendment backed up by the power of the courts. What is it that enables Theodore Roosevelt and Colonel Waring to build up the police and street departments of New York until their improvement attracts the attention of the whole country? It is the civil service law and rules, and by these and these alone will Tammany Hall and Platt finally be broken. The high civilization which this conference advocates will, under such a system, have a clean instrument to do its work. Its ideas will not be inculcated one year to be uprooted the next, but in the grasp of those who believe in them and who desire to work them out, their benefits will increase from year to year and from generation to generation.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

[A paper by Lucy L. Flower, read at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at Grand Rapids, June 6, 1896.]

Cook county is governed by a board of fifteen commissioners elected by the people. Formerly five members were elected each year to serve three years, so that the new members coming on to the board were powerless to make changes until, through one year's experience, they had learned something of the needs of the institutions, and of the competency of the employes. Under this system the

employees were not changed very frequently; but, at the time of the far-famed boodle board, the members of the citizen's committee claimed that collusions, for the purpose of fraud, existed that could not be possible if members did not hold over; and, as a result, influence was brought to bear upon the members of the legislature and the law was changed so as to provide for the election of the whole fifteen each year. This resulted in a complete change in the management every year and the appointment of an entirely new staff of officials throughout the county, and was so disastrous in its effects that the law was again changed two years ago and the term made two years instead of one, though the whole fifteen are still elected at one time.

In December, 1894, a new board of county commissioners was elected under this new law, and within a few weeks of the organization of the board a statement appeared in the newspapers that, after a long wrangle over the offices, the matter had been at last amicably adjusted by the following plan:

A list of all the offices in the county, many hundred in number, was made, with the salaries attached to each. These were divided into fifteen parts, each containing an equal number of positions and of as nearly equal pecuniary value as possible. These fifteen lists were then put into a hat and each commissioner drew one and was then entitled to fill the positions on his list as he chose, with only such reference to fitness as he might be pleased to consider.

So much a matter of course had the filling of all public places by political appointees irrespective of merit become that the public statement in every Chicago paper of this hat scheme, created not a ripple of astonishment and almost no comment.

The following June the kicking to death of an insane patient, a harmless and quiet man, who had only been in the asylum one night, by an attendant whose previous occupation had been that of a butcher, created a public scandal that finally culminated in the appointment, by the president of the county board, of an investigating committee. This committee consisted of the members of the county board, two labor men, four persons indirectly connected with the county board, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, and myself. Miss Addams and I consented to serve on the committee at the request of some persons interested, who desired us to be present and report if an investigation by the state board of charities was desirable.

On the stand during this investigation one of the commissioners under oath, testified, that it was perfectly true that all the positions in their gift had been filled by the hat scheme which I have just described, and to the question, "Could the superintendent remove incompetent employes when thus assigned by the commissioners," he replied, "No." And to the further question, "Did not the board pass a resolution that the heads of departments were empowered to remove an

incompetent employe no matter by whom appointed," he replied, "Oh, yes, but that was only done for outside effect, they could not really remove any one."

The investigation, which may be readily seen from its constitution, was superficial in the extreme, developed certain facts, however.

First, That absolutely no attention was paid in the appointments to the fitness of the appointees for the places to which they were assigned, and that competent employes could only be retained by some commissioner placing them on his list of appointments. This of course was done in many instances, especially by the commissioners from country districts, whose constituents were not struggling for places and who were not compelled to pledge all positions within their control in order to secure their election. At the head of Cook County Insane Asylum with 1,200 patients, was a young man whose only experience in a medical way had been as an interne for a year and a half in Cook County Hospital, and who had had absolutely no experience with the insane. His assistant was a young woman of about the same experience and these physicians testified that they had no authority whatever over the attendants, who were under the control of appointees called supervisors, ordinary and ignorant men and women who knew absolutely nothing about the proper care of the insane.

The attendants themselves were drawn from all classes, butchers, saloonkeepers, car drivers, etc., being among the number. Evidently the refuse of the appointments, as pay being small and the life disagreeable, only the hardest up and lowest down on the list would take these places.

Bad as conditions were, neither Miss Addams nor I, felt it advisable to call for an investigation by the state board, for the reason that eight years before, on a similar occasion, the state board had been called upon by the Woman's Club, a most thorough investigation made, with the result that just the same conditions as existed last July, were found to exist then; and as nothing had been accomplished before, we felt sure nothing would be now; simply because the fault lies, not with the particular commissioners, or the individual employes, but with the system; and no investigation, no arraignment of individuals, nothing will do any permanent good so long as the spoils system remains. Just as long as it is recognized as legitimate for a man to compensate individuals for personal services to himself in ward caucuses, by appointments to public position, just so long will public institutions be run, not for the benefit of the inmates, but to further personal ends, and the unfortunate poor, sick and insane, will be the victims of brutal, ignorant and untrained officials.

One of the commissioners with whom I talked, a really well intentioned man, voiced the usual way a commissioner looks at the matter. He said, "My friends worked for me to get this position, and it is only right I

should pay them, the only way I can, by appointing them to any places I can control." This assumes that all public offices are individual spoils, in place of being public trusts, that a man is elected for his own benefit only and not to serve the public; and as long as the general public are content to so consider all official positions, no reform is possible. It must be the work of these conferences to arouse a public sentiment that will demand that at least all our charitable institutions, shall be governed under civil service rules, which will give some permanence to the employes, insuring their retention if satisfactory, and their removal if incompetent or unfaithful. At present, the manner in which the employe performs his duties is almost the last consideration, which influences his appointment or retention in office.

COL. WARING'S REFORM IN NEW YORK.

Col. Waring paid this tribute to-day to a faithful officer in the street-cleaning department, whose death was recently announced:

"This department has sustained an almost irreparable loss in the death of Mr. Auguste Bohn, jr., district superintendent in charge of the district west of Central Park. He insisted on working on the 20th inst., in spite of a severe cold and bad weather. He was taken to the hospital later in the day, and on the evening of the 26th inst. he died of pneumonia. Mr. Bohn was born in New Orleans, and was twenty-nine years old when he came into the department, January 18, 1895, as a 'detailed sweeper.' It was he who, with Mr. Stearns, a young graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, took charge of the first effort for the removal of trucks and for the reformation of the very foul and disorderly condition of the streets of the Five Points region. In February, in addition to these duties, they were most active in connection with the snow removal. They worked day after day, and night after night, as only ambitious and faithful young men could work. The successful reorganization of the department was largely due to their resolute efforts at this, in the most difficult part of the city.

"Mr. Bohn earned rapid promotion and held several important positions. Early in November last he was made district superintendent, which is the highest position outside of the department headquarters. Here he secured the confidence of his superiors, the respect of his subordinates, and the complete satisfaction of the people of his district. Mr. Bohn was a gentleman by birth, education, and lifelong association, and he coupled with this the fidelity and tireless industry of a trained workman. He has fallen a victim to these qualities, which caused him to disregard the suggestions of ordinary prudence, and to stick to work which he thought must be done until compelled by pain and weakness to give it up. While the death of such a man for such a reason is almost the saddest of all deaths, it has its value in the example it sets of faithful

and persistent devotion to duty. His friends will at least have the poor consolation of knowing that every man and woman in the department who knew him is his sincere mourner to-day."—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

Mr. Bohn was one of the number of college-bred young men whom Col. Waring gathered about him when he took charge of the department, a year ago last January. With the idea that well-educated young men would become in time his most efficient aides, he brought several of them to this city, and started them at the lowest rung of the ladder as "detailed sweepers," a sort of assistant foremen. Mr. Bohn was born and reared in New Orleans, and was for two years a student at Harvard. Leaving Cambridge at the end of his sophomore year, he went into mining in the west. The mines in which he was employed were closed at the time Col. Waring took charge of the street-cleaning department, and he applied to the colonel for a place. Col. Waring told him to come to New York, and eventually set him to cleaning up the Five Points district. With him was associated F. L. Stearns, from the Boston Institute of Technology, another "detailed sweeper." Five Points, with the surrounding neighborhood, Mott, Pell, Doyer, Mulberry, Bayard and Baxter streets, constituted as filthy a district as there was in the city. Refuse of all kinds cluttered up the streets, trucks and push-carts blocked the way, and the residents of the district looked on the street-cleaner as their natural foe. So bitter was the feeling that Bohn and Stearns were accompanied for days by two policemen. Tact and forcefulness conquered, and in a few weeks the streets were clean, and Mr. Bohn was the most popular man in the district.—*New York Sun*, March 30.

* * *

The most astonishing thing in Col. Waring's tribute, the other day, to the memory of Mr. Auguste Bohn, jr., who fell a victim to pneumonia, caught in a resolute performance of his duty in the street-cleaning department, was the statement that he was "a gentleman by birth, education, and lifelong association." It was to his tireless activity, vigilance, and courage that we owed the removal of the trucks from the streets—a feat which a score of mayors had pronounced impossible—and also the reformation of the foul and disorderly Five Points region. In this work his chief assistant was Mr. Stearns, a young graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There are turned out from institutions of learning every year hundreds, if not thousands, of men who would bring to the public service just as much trained enthusiasm as Mr. Bohn, if they got a chance. But under the rule of the vile creatures to whom our cities have so long been delivered over, they had no chance of employment whatever. They might do anything with the education they got from our schools and colleges except use it in the service of the public. Drunken, shiftless, illiterate, "dead beats" and bum-

mers, the Jakes, Mikes, Barneys, who have blown our shame around the world, and lightened our alleys with the ends of their noses, always had the advantage of them. Not by any means the least of the services which Col. Waring is rendering to the city is the introduction of the class to which Bohn and Stearns belonged, to the truly holy work of making the city a more wholesome and more comfortable and a more improving dwelling-place for all, and especially for the poor.—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

Col. George E. Waring, commissioner of street cleaning, was busily occupied yesterday morning in decorating the most efficient male members of the two juvenile street cleaning aid associations with special badges and in giving them certificates which entitled them to the "due consideration and respect" of all "superintendents, foremen, detailed men, sweepers, and drivers of the department."

There were fifty-seven of these boys, nearly all Hebrew children from the east side, dressed in their best clothes. They were assembled in one of the old courtrooms in the brownstone building in city hall park shortly before noon.

After the badges were all distributed, Isidor Finkel was brought up to receive the special approbation of Col. Waring for having called last Sunday on "Silver Dollar" Smith's bar-keeper to remove a barrel of ashes which he had illegally placed on the sidewalk that day.

"You are a good boy," said the colonel, "and have done well. What did the bar-keeper say to you?"

"He asked me what business it was of mine, and I told him that I was a volunteer aid to the street cleaning department and showed him my certificate. He didn't do anything, so I reported him and told the newspapers."

The boy was very small and did not look strong. What ex-Alderman and ex-Assemblyman Charles Smith would have done had the boy drawn a certificate upon him for having his ash barrel on the sidewalk was a shuddering possibility to contemplate.

After young Finkel had been complimented, he turned to the reporters present and asked:

"What papers will this be in?"

A reporter replied that it would be in all of them, and the boy seemed much gratified.

Col. Waring's volunteer aid leagues will take part in the street cleaning department's parade next Tuesday. The boys will walk in the procession, while trucks will be provided for the girls.—*New York Times*, May 24.

* * *

The first parade of the street-cleaning department down Fifth Avenue yesterday afternoon was witnessed by a crowd that completely blocked the sidewalks and occupied every point of observation on the line of march, which was from Central Park to Madison Square. The feeling of curiosity which had doubtless drawn most of the spectators was changed, first to interest and then to enthusiasm, which extended from the young and noisy friends of the or-

ganized juvenile helpers from the east side, bringing up the rear of the line, to the adult citizens who in numerous instances were heard to remark that never before had they any adequate conception of the numerical force, equipment, or discipline of the department. The entire force, headed by Commissioner Waring, took part in the parade, which embraced about 2,000 men on foot, 750 horses and vehicles with their drivers, great roller sweepers, hose carts for flushing, and various other adjuncts of the department. Nearly twenty bands were interspersed among the marching division.

The sweepers were all clad in their uniforms of duck cloth, spotlessly white, each wearing a rose fastened behind his brass number plate. The carts were all washed clean and bright and were covered with white canvas. Altogether the marching white columns, broken by the hundreds of heavy carts rumbling over the pavement like pieces of artillery, presented a novel spectacle. The men marched erect and with admirable precision. They were reviewed by Mayor Strong and various city officials.—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

For it is to be borne in mind that the force which the Mayor reviewed yesterday was composed, in the great majority, of the same men who belonged to the department of street cleaning when it could not have appealed to any human being as a proper object of municipal pride. Something like 80 per cent. of the rank and file are the same men who used in Tammany times to be seen talking politics over an inactive broom or betaking themselves for rest and refreshment to the nearest groggery. An equally large proportion of the subordinate officials of the department holds over from the same bad times. That is to say, they were appointed for reasons with which their fitness for their work had nothing to do, and they were retained for reasons with which their efficiency in their work had nothing to do. The change is not in the men so much as in the methods, not in the rank and file, but at the top. It is in the tenure by which the men hold their places. Every man on the force now understands that nothing can harm him if he does his work, and that nothing can save him if he fails to do it. Col. Waring has not found it necessary to make more than a few conspicuous examples in order to bring this notion into the head of every sweeper and every driver on the force. It is now universally understood, and the result is that the work of the department has been converted from a disgrace and a nuisance to a model service and a source of municipal pride.—*New York Times*, May 27.

* * *

Col. Waring is a scholar, a student of history, and a man of the world. When he put his street cleaners in white duck suits he was applying a wide and keen observation to human nature. He wanted to create a new spirit in workingmen of this elementary class—a sense of being representative of a great city, of always bearing evidence in their pres-

ence of the constant activity of the government of the people. Of course he never said just this to the laborers, but they felt it little by little. The uniform gave them dignity; it set them apart and showed their place; it created finally an *esprit du corps*—a capital sentiment, of the greatest value, as was shown in the recent parade of his "white-winged angels," when they had the air of soldiers instead of that of the trash of the streets.—*Springfield Republican*.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

The persistence of the aqueduct contractors in seeking to make this city bear the expense which they were put to in order to make their own defective work good is extraordinary. The courts have decided against them invariably, but each year they go to the legislature and seek from it what the courts refuse. They ask now, as they have asked in former years, for a commission to hear and determine all claims against the city arising from the aqueduct work. They have nine million dollars of such claims, all of which are for money which they were forced by the aqueduct commission to spend to make good, according to contract, the poor work which they sought to palm off upon the city. *This work was done under the old commission which was appointed through a "deal" with Gov. Hill and the republicans, and which was removed from office after its disgraceful doings had been exposed.* The new commission, appointed by Mayor Hewitt, compelled the contractors to bring their work up to the requirements of their contracts, thus giving the city full and fair return for its money. It was a fortunate circumstance for the city that, when the contracts for that work were drawn, Mr., now Judge, Lacombe was corporation counsel, for he framed the contracts with such care and with jealous consideration of the city's interests that they have withstood all efforts of the contractors to get away from their obligations. The courts have held that under those contracts the contractors are not entitled to a cent of the money which they claim.—*New York Evening Post, April 1.*

A bill has been introduced, and carried to a third reading in both branches of the legislature, without reference to a committee, and is being "jammed through" by the speaker of the assembly, which provides for the establishment of a commission to pass once more on the claims of these very contractors, without regard to the terms of the contract, the law of the land or the decisions of the courts. * * * There is not a single thing to be said in favor of legislative interference in the matter, except that the contractors are out of pocket. Even if they are innocent men, who had found, after an honest effort to fulfill their obligations, that they had miscalculated the cost, the establishment, in a boss-ridden state, of a commission to set aside a written contract, and overrule the decisions of the courts, would be a precedent of enormous danger. But think of a commission to save fraudulent

contractors from the consequences of their own dishonesty, framed in a hurry by the state legislature, and called for by four judges of the court of last resort, without other reason than that they had lost money through the failure of their own fraud. If any one can send us the particulars of a transaction like this occurring in the worst times of any free and civilized country in the world, we shall publish it carefully so as to show that we are really not so badly off after all; that, as the Hungarian said when the devil was carrying him off, we might be worse off, for there might be a state of things in which the legislature would vote the contractors their money without the intervention of a commission.—*New York Evening Post, April 2.*

The democrats are no sooner installed in power than the rush for the spoils begins. There are a half-dozen appointive offices at the disposal of Mayor Peterson and the democratic aldermen, and these officials are not given a moment's peace by the men who are after the plums. The struggle promises to be very bitter and by fall it is safe to predict the party will have dissipated the slight advantage gained by the result of the city election. For superintendent of streets there are at least twenty candidates.—*Lockport dispatch, Buffalo Express, April 16.*

The common council chamber was crowded to-night to witness the clean sweep which it was understood the new democratic administration would make. After the transaction of routine business the matter of appointments was taken up. A resolution to appoint Warren Welsh superintendent of lamps and gas was laid on the table. *Augustus Morris, H. H. Woods and G. W. Lyons were nominated by Mayor Peterson for civil service commissioners and were confirmed.*—*Lockport dispatch, Buffalo Express, April 20.*

The fight for municipal reform in New Orleans is against big odds. It matters little how many votes the citizens' league succeeds in getting into the boxes if it can not supervise the counting of them. There are two sets of election commissioners, three in each set, with a clerk and six of these eight places have been given to the democrats by the board of supervisors, leaving one commissioner for the league and another for the fusionists. As the New Orleans *Picayune* (dem.) says, it is a turning over of the city elections "to the political managers who are responsible for the present boodl government of New Orleans."

One of the fruits of the victory won by the Citizens' League, the municipal reform association which carried New Orleans at the election last month, will be a brand-new city charter, different from anything ever seen here before, "up to date," and of a radically reform type. One of the most novel and striking features, which will go into operation at once, is the introduction of the civil service rules for all city offices, save a few confiden-

tial ones. In no city in this country has the spoils system been more brutal than in New Orleans, and nobody can predict what will be the effects of this innovation. The Citizens' League finds the civil service system absolutely essential to municipal reform, as it has very nearly been wrecked on the shoals of office-seeking. Out of 18,000 white men who voted for "reform," over 3,500, or one in five, asked for office as a reward for their services—and there were only a few offices to give out. This is probably below the average in Louisiana, where one in every forty white men holds public office, and where one in every four is a standing candidate for it.—*Harper's Weekly, May 23.*

Probably no county in Pennsylvania is more boss-ridden than the county of Dauphin, in which the capital of the state is located. For years the people have had little to say in the selection of their candidates for county offices. The bosses have had their own way and so bold have they become that they now attempt to invade the school system with their political trickery. At the convention of school directors for the election of a county superintendent the other day, George McIlhenny, a son of the recognized boss of the county, was chosen over one who has held the office for several terms and given entire satisfaction to the people. R. M. McNeal held the respect of the patrons of the schools and the citizens generally, but he was compelled to retire to make room for a member of a family that is practically supported by the voters of the county. *The father is a county prison inspector, one son is deputy register and is understood to be slated for register, when the wheel turns round once more; another son recently retired as register; a daughter is a matron at the county almshouse, a son-in-law is a director of the poor, and so on.* There is much complaint and the storm will break when it is least expected. Boss McIlhenny is an uncouth farmer, whose influence is exerted among the ignorant yeomanry of the county. He attempted to have McNeal displaced by his son three years ago, but as the son had just emerged from a court trial on a very serious charge it was impossible to overcome public sentiment sufficiently to accomplish his purpose. But from that hour the boss and his henchmen got to work and wherever possible a school director favorable to the ring was put in position to be played later.—*City and State, May 21.*

The state board of health has received a letter from Secretary Dewey, acting for the executive committee of the state board of regents, complaining of the unsanitary condition of the Capitol Building. Disagreeable odors in the corridors, it is stated, are caused by wretched plumbing conditions, and endanger the health of the 100 clerks in the regents' department, most of whom are young women.—*Albany Dispatch, June 15.*

It is hard to get the schoolhouses of Boston put in proper sanitary condition because there is patronage for somebody in it, and who that somebody shall be is the rub. Politics is getting to a pretty pass when it disregards the health and physical welfare of little children.—*Boston Times, May 31.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 41.

INDIANAPOLIS, JULY, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE ARE OPPOSED TO LIFE TENURE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE. WE FAVOR APPOINTMENTS BASED UPON MERIT, FIXED TERMS OF OFFICE, AND SUCH AN ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAWS AS WILL AFFORD EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL CITIZENS OF ASCERTAINED FITNESS.—*Platform, National Convention of Looters, Chicago, July, 1896.*

WHAT WE OPPOSE IN THAT PLANK IS THE LIFE TENURE WHICH IS BEING BUILT UP AT WASHINGTON, WHICH EXCLUDES FROM PARTY REPRESENTATION IN THE BENEFITS THE HUMBLER MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY.—*Bryan's Interpretation.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW WAS PLACED ON THE STATUTE BOOKS BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WHICH HAS ALWAYS SUSTAINED IT, AND WE RE-NEW OUR REPEATED DECLARATIONS THAT IT SHALL BE THOROUGHLY AND HONESTLY ENFORCED AND EXTENDED WHEREVER PRACTICABLE.—*From the Republican Platform, 1896.*

"MR. CHAIRMAN, IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THIS COUNTRY IS PLEDGED TO ANY ONE THING MORE THAN ANOTHER, IT IS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND TO ITS EFFICIENT EXECUTION—NOT ONLY THAT, BUT TO ITS ENLARGEMENT AND ITS FURTHER APPLICATION TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

"THE LAW THAT STANDS UPON OUR STATUTE BOOKS TO-DAY WAS PUT THERE BY REPUBLICAN VOTES. IT WAS A REPUBLICAN MEASURE. EVERY NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, SINCE ITS ENACTMENT, HAS DECLARED NOT ONLY IN FAVOR OF ITS CONTINUANCE IN FULL VIGOR, BUT IN FAVOR OF ITS ENLARGEMENT SO AS TO APPLY MORE GENERALLY TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE. AND THIS, MR. CHAIRMAN, IS NOT ALONE THE DECLARATION AND PURPOSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, BUT IT IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST SENTIMENT—AYE, MORE, IT IS SUSTAINED BY THE BEST SENTIMENT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY,

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ALIKE."—*Mr. McKinley in Congress, April, 1890.*

THE meeting of looters held at Chicago this month which assumed the name of the national democratic convention, included, among its other schemes of robbery, the looting of the public service. Their platform opposes a life tenure of office and Bryan defines it to mean such a life tenure as is being built up at Washington which this demagogue says "excludes from party representation in the benefits the humbler members of our society." With the crowd before him any kind of a lie would pass, and he showed himself a glib and comprehensive liar. There is no life tenure being built up at Washington nor anywhere else in this country for the reason that executive officers have the power of instant dismissal. The humbler members of society never had an opportunity for public employment except at a sacrifice of manhood until the system of competition open to all known as civil service reform was introduced. The tenure which Bryan wants is the tenure limited by the interest and will of the silver mine and Altgeld anarchists and by the "humbler members of our society," he means the pensioners of the owners of silver mines whom the latter expect to unload upon the public offices, and the Altgeld rabble who want a change from rioting out of office to rioting in office.

It is not too much to say that since 1860 there has been no such onslaught upon government and law and order, and the same duty arises now that arose then. There is no question of parties. It is the duty of every man who respects law and order and the rights of individuals and public honor, and who seeks for good government, and who wants business prosperity, to turn to and help inflict upon these incendiaries a crushing defeat. That there will be a defeat and that it will be crushing, there is no manner of doubt. It would be a shame if Indiana did not lead in the victory. Now is the time to rescue her out of the hands of Voorheesism which has preyed upon her so long. In Indiana Altgeldism will be defeated, and the defeat must be overwhelming. The people of this state want it understood that capital invested here is as safe as if invested in Holland. If it is not so understood, they mean that this election shall make it so.

THE enemies of administrative reform have many times made combinations to defeat that reform. They sometimes attempted to defeat the appropriation in congress, notably when in 1890 they were baffled under the leadership of Mr. McKinley. Clubs have been formed like the Anti-Civil Service Democratic Reform Club of Indianapolis, and like that other club of this city which called itself the Farwell Club because Senator Farwell was the only man "who had the sand to oppose civil service," but Farwell refused the honor and the club was sold out by the constable for \$36.41. But until the recent Chicago gathering never before have the political rascallions been able to form a national organization, including in its comprehensive scheme of destruction the overthrow of civil service reform. The advocates of that reform do not shrink from the contest. They will throughout the country be united to a man and their opponents will be cast headlong.

GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS is a showy man anxious to show off. All his life he has been on the side of public order and particularly on the side of civil service reform. He sold himself for a poor mess of pottage, and after he had delivered himself bound hand and foot he failed to get the pottage. He might claim that there was no consideration for the sale, but the other party might claim that too. Whatever of unhappiness a barren future has in store for him he has this sweet morsel of commendation from Altgeld: "There is a great deal in that youth from Massachusetts, and he had better be cultivated."

It is hard that Massachusetts should lose two of her leading young men in a single month, for George Fred Williams is lost to all that has constituted Massachusetts since 1776. But William E. Russell died on the eve of a great struggle, vitally involving the honor and welfare of his country with his last public utterance a message of patriotism. Manly in presence, manly in heart, courageous in spirit, the embodiment of personal and civic nobility, he died honored and mourned as Warren died at Bunker Hill.

DAY by day Bryan unfolds his demagogic soul to the country. At Salem July 14 he said that if elected he hoped to bring

back to the people a government which "like heaven shall treat all alike." The government of which he is seeking to get possession has nearly 100,000 employments which are open on exactly equal terms to rich and poor, white and black alike. The system under which these employments are awarded is the greatest boon to the self-respecting wage-earner that was ever afforded in civil government. Yet Bryan in his platform as expounded by himself before his nomination, proposes to overthrow this system and restore again the piratical system of over-bosses and under-bosses and heelers and henchmen, which it has taken so many years to expel from the public service. We can not too strongly urge the gravity of the situation. If during the thirty years in which the battle of civil service reform has been fought out to what has lately seemed a decisive victory, any man or woman has made any effort in its favor that effort should now be repeated a hundred fold to beat back this horde which comes like an invasion of Tartars upon civilization.

THE methods which the Bryanites would pursue with the federal service are easily divined. If strong enough they would amend the law so as to retain a show of reform, but the amendments would, in fact, destroy the merit system. If not strong enough to legislate, we should be treated to a tricky civil service commission under whom the system would be thoroughly Tammanyized.

The fitness of Bryan for this purpose is shown out of his own mouth. In a speech in Chicago after his nomination he told a story of a man who, when asked why he walked the floor, said he had a note for \$10,000 coming due in a week and it was time to walk the floor. A friend said, "Why don't you sleep and let the other man walk the floor?" A presidential nominee in sympathy with beating creditors would not stick at beating a law.

Further, look at the men who are leading in this great movement for all kinds of spoil. The onslaught for spoil would be a prolonged Chicago convention over again so long as a vestige was left. This is not in any respect an over statement. Those leaders, local and national, are well known. They are wild for something which belongs to some body else and compared with what they would do the old transactions of "pie" and "plums" and "cold toes" and "carrying out the policy of the administration" would appear conservative and decent. All who do not wish to see the work of George William Curtis undone should stand together against this onslaught.

PAPERS both east and west are publishing cautions against speaking sharply of the populist-Altgeld combination which is now endeavoring to get control of the government. The CHRONICLE does not exactly sympathize with the caution. When men get together and with whoop and yell propose to loot the public service we do not perceive that they are entitled to soft spoken admonitions. They know what they are about. For thirty years the argument for taking the federal service out of the clutches of spoilsmen has been publicly made and acted upon and every man in the Chicago convention knew the difference between the spoils system and the merit system. Yet with deliberation they propose to destroy the merit system and turn the victor loose upon the public service. It is the spirit and practice of the pirate and the buccaneer, and that is all there is of it. This is in the platform under some smoky phrases and it is in the hearts and minds of the men who made the platform.

THE CHRONICLE has criticised President Cleveland in every case where it believed he was at fault; and looking back now it believes that at times he was seriously at fault. But the summing up of his career will leave him among the great Americans. He stands to-day immovable between public honesty and order and all kinds of social and business disorder, and he will continue so to the end of his term. It is a curious irony of fate that the horde which at critical moments he tried to appease, we think improperly, now turn against him like wolves and try to rend him.

It will be remembered that soon after the present city administration was installed the state civil service reform association carefully examined its various acts and found it in the matter of appointments proceeding in reckless and impudent disregard of law. An administration so conducted could have but one outcome in its civil service and elsewhere is given a partial recital of the various results which have accrued by using the public service for personal and party ends. We have not by any means all of the instances of insubordination, drunkenness, dishonesty and other misdoings which have happened. But enough are given to show that nowhere in the service does there exist a feeling that employment is obtained by fitness and held by faithfulness or efficiency. There is no pride in any service such as Colonel Waring has evolved out of his Tammany sweepers in New York. The prevailing spirit is that appointments are obtained and held by a pull. The infallible test of this is the acts of the appointees

themselves. The record is a disgrace to the city.

THE county administration does not appear any better. This county has a work-house of considerable importance. It is under the control of the board of county commissioners, consisting of three members, who are practically never overhauled in their doings, except as the public prints now and then do so. There was a change of parties in the board last fall, and the new board made a clean sweep at the work-house. The record of the results which is given elsewhere was what might have been expected. It does not appear that the new superintendent has any qualifications for the place. He was the personal favorite of one of the commissioners. He has had no voice in appointment or dismissal of the under-employees, he himself saying that he has no power to dismiss any one. The employees throughout are loaded upon the county treasury without any regard to their fitness, but they simply receive the places as plums at the hands of the commissioners. In the few months which have elapsed, among other things one guard shot at a prisoner without the least excuse, sixteen prisoners have escaped and some of their escapes can not be explained except through connivance of employees. The matter became such a scandal that the grand jury has just made a scathing report upon the affairs of the work-house and properly lays the whole blame upon the method of appointment.

We have never over-estimated the real emancipation which has come to public employees wherever the merit system has been applied. On every hand the result is the same. The latest instance is the labor service of New York city which is heard across the continent. Forty-one sweepers and drivers called upon Col. Waring and invited him to a public celebration in honor of the way in which he had bettered their condition. Speaking of his fellow-men the leader said, "You have raised them out of a state of political slavery which you found them in when you assumed office. Heretofore to get employment in this department a man had to be a slave to the liquor dealer."

In a statement issued by the executive committee of the sound-money democrats of Illinois, to explain why their state is ostensibly committed to free silver in the national convention, the efforts of the Cook county sound-money democrats to secure fair primaries are rehearsed. Their proposition was rejected by the central committee, 63 of the 74 votes in opposition being "cast by the appointees to office of Governor Altgeld, or their appointees."—*New York Evening Post*, July 8.

INDIANAPOLIS AND MARION COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

James B. Curtis, chairman of the executive committee, which made the nomination for mayor, is city attorney; Joseph E. Bell, member of the committee from the sixth ward, is assistant city attorney; Michael Laughin, member from the fifth ward, is an inspector in the engineer's office; E. M. Gooble, member from the first ward, is market master. Nearly every employe of the city was either a delegate to the last democratic convention or has relations with those who were. All who are mentioned were in the convention. Pierce Norton is one of the bondsmen of the superintendent of police. William Ripley is clerk of the board of health. John Manning is license inspector. Oscar Plumm is employed in the engineer's office. H. A. Mansfield was appointed city engineer, but was allowed to resign. Dare A. MacBeth was appointed to the city comptroller's office and resigned. Jerry Foley had a place in the assessment bureau and resigned. John Costello is an inspector in the engineer's office, and so is Charles A. Brown. Whit Byfield was a delegate, and his nephew was made clerk in the comptroller's office. E. A. Bryant, father-in-law of Mayor Taggart, is a clerk in the comptroller's office. John Shine is a foreman of a street gang. Jerry Shea has an appointment in the fire department. Bert Parker is clerk of the board of public works. John P. Brennan is clerk of the street commissioner's department, and, with Michael Burns, has the hiring of the men and teams employed on the city work. Burns is assistant foreman of street repairs, and is a candidate for school commissioner. Charles Adam, school commissioner, is chief clerk in the comptroller's office. He is backing Burns and has succeeded in securing the appointment of several firemen and policemen. In signing their applications he writes himself down as "a city passenger agent" (a position he formerly held). John Lucid is custodian of the city yards. Thomas W. Palmer is in the bureau of assessment. Michael Gantner is head janitor in the basement of the court-house. Larry Brennan and John Bernhauer are assistant janitors. John Kiley, always committeeman or a delegate, is custodian of Tomlinson hall. Joe Wagner is assistant market-master.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 13.

* * *

Four-fifths of the men given employment on the streets were either delegates themselves to the last city democratic convention or they "fixed" delegations for certain candidates. Those who always go as delegates have been given permanent positions.—*Indianapolis News*, May 21.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Present indications are that J. H. Webster will be retired as chief fire engineer within thirty days. The plan is to make "Jim" George chief in his stead. The administration does not want a republican at the head of any department. The reason assigned for

the change is that Webster has no discipline in the department, and can not handle the men. *The friends of Webster say that he is not allowed to place the men, and even his suggestions as to the appointment of a captain is ignored.* They say that Richard Herrick, clerk of the board of public safety, is using his influence with the board to have Webster displaced. They assert that Webster's clerk, who is of opposite politics, was forced upon him by the board. They declare that if there is a lack of discipline in the department the board is to blame for it, because it has made Webster a mere figurehead, and that if he is consulted at all it is only in a perfunctory way. *It is charged by Webster's friends that the fire department has become a political machine, that men are appointed regardless of their qualifications as firemen, and only because of their ability to control primaries; that there are members of the force who are doing outside work and engaged in other business.*—*Indianapolis News*, Feb. 25.

* * *

Fireman D. R. Foor was before the board of safety yesterday on a charge of insubordination, preferred by Acting Captain Hunt, of chemical company No. 2. He admitted his guilt and was fined six days' pay and reprimanded. He was absent from duty without permission for a number of days.—*Indianapolis News*, Feb. 25.

* * *

The board of public safety met yesterday afternoon and dismissed Matt Rodgers, driver of the engine at house No. 6, for drunkenness. He declined to give up his badge and defied any one to take it from him.—*Indianapolis News*, Feb. 20.

* * *

John Fanning, a brother of Joseph Fanning, who was deputy auditor of state under J. O. Henderson, was appointed to the fire department and assigned to duty as a lineman.—*Indianapolis News*, March 17.

* * *

John Fox, captain of fire department company, No. 5, was charged by Chief Webster with incompetency and neglect of duty. The hearing was set for 4 o'clock this afternoon. The specific complaint against him was that in answering a call from box 131 his company was the first company to arrive at a burning barn in North Alabama street, but that he failed to have a line of hose laid out, and allowed three other companies, arriving later—Nos. 9, 13 and 1—to get water on the fire before his company.—*Indianapolis News*, April 28.

* * *

Yesterday John Fox, captain of fire company No. 5, was acquitted of the charge of incompetency by the board of safety. Chief Webster reached a barn fire early and found that Fox's company was the first to arrive, but that two other companies got water on the fire before he did. Fox's explanation was that he had only two men and that his driver was a new man and drove past the water plug. Before he could return to it another company had attached to it. He then assisted another company.

Albert Rees was ordered to appear before the board and answer to his failure to comply with the order of the board that he pay \$25 a month on certain debts owing by him. He had been ordered to pay this amount each month on bills amounting to about \$150, and failed to do so.—*Indianapolis News*, April 29.

* * *

James Taylor, a fireman, connected with Hose Company No. 7, appeared before the board with a blackened eye. He was charged with drunkenness and disorderly conduct. It was shown that Taylor, while off duty, was drinking beer with a friend at his own home. Mrs. Riley is his neighbor, and Mrs. Jacob Kashman, living next door, 312 West Merrill street, called on Mrs. Riley. The Taylors and others have been at outs for some time on account of the children, and Taylor heard a remark at which he took offense. He rushed over to the house of Riley and announced that he was after no one but Mrs. Kashman, whom he denounced vigorously. Mrs. Riley admitted that she struck at Taylor with a broom, but did not hit him. Then Taylor went to the place where Mrs. Kashman's husband is at work, and insisted that she keep his wife quiet.

"Just tell my husband what you called me," said Mrs. Kashman, according to the testimony. Taylor repeated the epithets, and Kashman punched him in the face. Mr. Maguire remarked that Kashman did right. It was shown that Taylor, who had been on the fire force for nine months, had a good reputation as a fireman. "And a good free silver man?" asked Mr. Maguire, to which the defendant bowed. The board decided that he was not drunk and that he should consider himself reprimanded, and suggested that he move out of the neighborhood, which he agreed to do.—*Indianapolis News*, June 24.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

It was remarked at the office of the board of safety to-day that demoralization seemed to have struck the police force after a period of comparatively smooth sailing. One of the members of the board said that he had just begun bragging about the good conduct of the force. This forenoon five patrolmen were up on charges of conduct unbecoming officers. Mr. Morse, of the board, was absent.

It was charged that B. R. Stevens had played cards with women of bad character in a North Indianapolis saloon in the Michigan road. Testimony showed that Patrolmen Stevens and Kitzmiller had gone to the place under general instructions to keep a watch on the women. Two women were sitting at a table in a room back of the bar, one of them playing "solitaire." She asked the patrolman to take a hand at "seven-up," and threw down six cards a piece for them. Kitzmiller said he couldn't play, but Stevens took up the hand dealt him, carelessly played out the six cards, while still standing and talking, and then left the table to go away from the saloon. The officers were in the saloon a short time

Kitzmiller said fifteen minutes, Stevens and other said five. They did not drink. Stevens said that he had taken up the cards unthoughtedly and without realizing that his conduct was improper, but that he had since reflected on its impropriety. It was his first offense. The board fined him ten days' pay.—*Indianapolis Journal, March 19.*

* * *

Sergeant John Lowe found Patrolmen Conrad Houser and Edward Wheeler asleep in the flagman's watch-house at the railroad crossing at Noble and Washington streets, yesterday morning, at 2:45 o'clock. They pleaded guilty to the charge of being found asleep on duty. Lowe said that they had not been drinking, but had evidently gone into the place to dry themselves at the fire, as it was a wet and stormy night. Houser, a young man of about a month's experience, had nothing to say in his defense, he said. Wheeler, who has been on the force five years, spoke of the charge as the first brought against them. He recognized the gravity of the offense, but explained that their feet had become very wet, and they had gone into the place to dry themselves, and had drowsed away in the warmth. They had not been there more than twenty minutes, he said, and the step of the sergeant awakened them immediately. The board retired to consider the case, and then announced that, in view of the fact that both men were up for the first time, and that both the sergeant and superintendent had spoken well of their general behavior, they would be fined thirty days' pay, instead of being dismissed from the force. Had either man had a previous charge against him, President McGuire said, he would have been dismissed.

Charles Ware and Charles Leubking were charged with drinking and acting in a boisterous manner with women and men in a house while on duty. Ware did not appear at the board's office, and as it was considered advisable to try both men at the same time, the trial was postponed to Wednesday morning at 8:30 o'clock.

A charge against Newton Jackson of using profanity and acting in an unbelieving manner in arresting a North Indianapolis barber was referred to the superintendent.—*Indianapolis News, March 17.*

* * *

The resignation of Patrolman Henry Dushong was not accepted by the board of public safety last night, but the record was made to show that he was dismissed for neglect of duty. Superintendent Colbert reported that Dushong had been ordered to appear at the Chandler & Taylor company shops at 4:30 o'clock Saturday afternoon, and had failed to appear either there or at 6 o'clock roll call, his excuse being that he had made an arrest and was "hunting witnesses." The superintendent had suggested that obeying orders was more important than "hunting witnesses," and said that Dushong had better not appear before the board whereupon the man resigned.

Simon J. Guntz, democrat, was appointed to

fill the place of Dushong, also a democrat. Guntz was among the patrolmen appointed under the Denny administration, who were dismissed for "inefficiency" when Mayor Taggart assumed charge. President Maguire murmured something last night about Guntz's dismissal being a "mistake;" that he was "really a very good officer, let go by an oversight more than anything else." He was "reinstated." The records at the board's office show that, among other patrolmen dismissed for "inefficiency" on October 29, were George Tomlinson and Timothy Mackessy. These men were ordered on February 7 to report to the superintendent, and in the month Tomlinson worked nineteen days and Mackessy nine days. No great noise was made about it at the time. The superintendent says they were employed temporarily when extra men were needed, on account of burglaries.

Patrolman Kiefer was on trial last night charged with being drunk while on duty. Superintendent Colbert said that at about 7 o'clock on the night following St. Patrick's day it had been reported to him that Kiefer was seen to stagger and fall in front of the Commercial block, at Kentucky avenue and Washington street. Captain Dawson and Sergeant Schwab were sent to the block where Kiefer rooms to investigate. They arrived at about 8 o'clock, and found him stupid from intoxication. Kiefer had been sent that day to escort the Chandler & Taylor men home, and was off duty at 6 o'clock. He brought four witnesses—John Meadows, George W. Budd, Thomas Mack and Thomas Long—to show that he had not been intoxicated while on duty. They all saw him at 5 o'clock, and shortly after, and said that he was perfectly sober. It was a wet, snowy day. His defense was that he had slipped on the snow. His feet were wet, he said, and after reaching his room he had taken two glasses of whisky and some quinine to prevent taking a cold. He denied drinking any during the day. President Maguire said that the board was inclined to believe him to some extent, and fined him ten days' pay.

One of Kiefer's witnesses, it chanced, was Thomas Long, a striking molder, under charge of conspiracy in the Saturday night riot, and released on \$2,000 bond. He had seen Kiefer escorting the non-union men on Wednesday night.

"What is your occupation?" asked President Maguire.

"I'm not working now; I'm a striker," said Long.

Mr. Maguire laughed. "I suppose you were watching Kiefer escorting your friends. I suppose you call them your friends."

"Oh, yes, they are my friends," replied Long.

"You were not in the riot Saturday night?"

"Well, I was there," replied Long with a laugh, "but I wasn't taking part. I tried to keep the men back."

"Just a peaceful citizen trying to prevent trouble," suggested Maguire.

"Yes, sir; just a peaceful citizen," replied Long.—*Indianapolis News, March 24.*

* * *

Patrolman Henry Kiefer was dismissed from the police force by the board of safety last night for sleeping when he should have been on duty. Last Saturday Kiefer did not appear at the corner of Washington and Illinois streets to relieve crossing Patrolman Lund at the noon hour. Sergeant Lowe, by instructions of Superintendent Colbert, hunted for Kiefer, and found him sleeping in his room. He pleaded guilty, and permission was granted him to speak. He said it was his habit to go to his room to read the paper while he was resting at noon. He unintentionally fell asleep while reading last Saturday. The records of the board showed that Kiefer had been charged with lapse of duty twice before, once last August, when he failed to report to the police station by telephone, and again last March, when he was charged by the superintendent with being drunk. He was fined three days' pay for the first and ten days' for the last offense.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 18.*

* * *

The board of safety yesterday came to the conclusion that ex-Superintendent Powell did not recommend the discharge of members of the police force simply for political reasons. While Mr. Powell was superintendent he recommended that George H. Thomas, a democrat, be discharged because he drank too much liquor for a policeman. Shortly after the present board came in power Thomas was reappointed, but now it has been discovered that the action of the other board was taken for good reasons, and on the recommendation of Superintendent Colbert and the certificate of the police surgeon, that Thomas is suffering from alcoholism, he was dismissed.

Timothy Mackessey, a democrat, who was dismissed from the force, was reappointed.

N. J. Hoffbauer, John Johnson, James Recker, M. Mahoney, W. L. Cox, N. Jackson and D. B. Keplinger, patrolmen, were notified to appear before the board to-morrow afternoon at 4 o'clock. The board very delicately worded the notice. It states that those men who are given to an overindulgence in the fiery fluid and other indiscretions, which are not specifically set out, shall appear to be cautioned against allowing their appetites and inclinations to carry them too rapidly in the pace that kills. In this connection it was also ordered that in the future when patrolmen are reported sick by the police surgeon and the illness was not caused by the discharge of their duties, or, as more specifically stated by the board, when members are reported off duty on account of dissipation, they shall receive no pay during the time they are off.

Some time ago Patrolman Mulhall was tried on the charge of intoxication. He claimed to have been sick at the time and not drunk. Yesterday the board decided to dismiss the case, after having had it under advisement since the trial.—*Indianapolis Journal, April 22.*

The board of public safety met last night and disposed of a variety of business. Charges in two different cases against Patrolman George Dilts were disposed of. In the first case David Fesler, a McCarty street saloon keeper charged Dilts with intoxication. He stated on the stand that Dilts was in the habit of drinking in his saloon, and that on one occasion he had come in the place badly under the influence of liquor. On another occasion Dilts had caused him to open the saloon on Sunday night in order that he (Dilts) might be given a drink. This testimony in regard to the specific case of Dilts's intoxication was corroborated by Leo Cornett, a bookkeeper for the Indianapolis Gas Company. *Superintendent Colbert testified that Dilts had the reputation of being overfond of liquor, but that he had never seen him under the influence.*

In behalf of Dilts several sergeants and patrolmen who were well acquainted with him stated that they had never seen him under the influence of liquor, and his superior officers gave him the best of reputation as an officer. It also developed that there might have been more or less spite work in the charges. Dilts had reported Fesler to the superintendent for allowing card playing in the saloon, and from that time Fesler had tried to have Dilts removed from that beat, and a short time ago Dilts was removed. The board concluded that on account of the enmity that Fesler seemed to have for Dilts the charges could not be given full weight, *although it was apparent that Dilts was too free with drinking.* He was cautioned not to let such a thing occur again. He was also discharged in the other case with a caution.—*Indianapolis Journal, May 21.*

* * *

Sergeant Jas. O. Mefford yesterday pleaded guilty to the charge of intoxication while in full uniform and the board of safety allowed him to resign and then dropped the case against him. The charges were preferred by Captain Quigley, who is acting superintendent in the absence of Mr. Colbert. Mefford had been on the police force seven years, and this is only the second time charges of any kind were ever preferred against him. He was charged with drunkenness by Superintendent Powell, but the charges were not sustained. Some time ago another officer appeared in an intoxicated condition at the police station. He was not hauled before the board. He is a democrat.

This leaves a vacancy to be filled by a republican. During the conversation as to the qualifications of the men on the force and the time they had been on, Captain Quigley mentioned the fact that Michael Rafferty is the oldest man on the force and during his twenty years' service had never been charged with a single infraction of the rules of the department, even of the smallest degree. He was also spoken of as a man who never takes a drink of any kind of liquor under any circumstances. The board looked with favor upon him as a successor to Sergeant Mefford,

but decided to wait until Superintendent Colbert returns before making an appointment. All persons were unanimous in expressing their belief that Rafferty should be the new sergeant.—*Indianapolis Journal, May 13.*

* * *

(The board appointed William Scheigert as police sergeant to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Sergeant Mefford.)

* * *

The board of public safety this morning restored ex-Sergeant James O. Mefford, who was permitted to resign May 12, to a position on the police force in the ranks. It was the feeling that Mefford's fall was entirely out of harmony with his general gentlemanly bearing and due to an unfortunate circumstance. He was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the dismissal of patrolman Kiefer.

Timothy O'Connor was severely reprimanded for sundry little breaches of discipline as a patrolman. He left his district without leave recently. He pleaded guilty, but explained that he was hunting witnesses.—*Indianapolis News, June 5.*

* * *

Superintendent Colbert has sent the board of safety a communication preferring charges of neglect of duty against officers Joseph Beatty and Louis Sheridan, both of whom were found asleep in the West Washington street engine-house yesterday morning at 3 o'clock by Sergeant Crane.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 8.*

* * *

Superintendent Colbert yesterday suspended Patrolman D. B. Caplinger for leaving his district without permission. Caplinger has been running the eleventh district. Saturday he made his telephone call twice from telephones outside his district.—*Indianapolis Journal, June 13.*

* * *

Charles Bunnell, patrolman, handed in his resignation this morning. Bunnell took this action on account of charges of cowardice that had been preferred against him, and which were to have been investigated by the board. It is alleged that a man named George Shipman got into a fight with another man Wednesday night, and Bunnell was sent for. He was told to arrest Shipman, but when he started toward him, Shipman threatened to lick him if he came too near, and said: "You'd better sneak out of this."—*Indianapolis News, July 18, 1896.*

THE STREET DEPARTMENT.

Some of the republicans who have not been able, they say, to secure work on the streets for themselves and teams are insisting that the man without a "pull" stands a poor show of getting employment. This Street Commissioner Herpick denies. He says he never asks a man's politics. He only insists that the man shall be able to do the work for which he is paid, and that he live in this city.

"I have put men on at the request of Mr. Burns, at the request of Mr. Brennan, at the request of Mr. Stuckmeyer, Councilman Cooper (who is a republi-

can) and at the request of some of the other councilman, but the whole number is small.—*Indianapolis News, May 22.*

* * *

A glance at the pay rolls of the street department for the last three months and then a glance at the streets of the city seems to point to the fact that the city will really lose nothing by giving the employes in the street department a half holiday on Saturday, or, for that matter, a whole holiday every day in the week.

There are enough men on the rolls and they draw enough money to keep the streets in a good condition at all times. Many of the streets which were cleaned (?), according to the ideas of the ward heelers who have the work in charge, during the last month now look as if they had not seen a scraper in seventeen years. There has been almost twice as much money spent in this department since February 1 this year as was spent last year in the same time. The weekly pay rolls of the street department for labor for the same period of both years, as recorded in the office of the board of works, are as follows:

	1896.		1895.
February 7.....	\$558	February 8.....	\$10
February 14.....	238	February 15.....	16
February 21.....	173	February 22.....	15
February 28.....	142	March 1.....	57
March 6.....	319	March 9.....	173
March 13.....	481	March 23.....	149
March 20.....	162	March 30.....	417
March 27.....	457	April 6.....	679
April 3.....	1,380	April 13.....	844
April 10.....	1,386	April 20.....	976
April 17.....	2,137	April 27.....	1,114
April 24.....	2,040		
Total.....	\$8,473	Total.....	\$4,450

In this table the week ending March 16, 1895, has been missed in copying the amounts from the records, but the week before the pay roll amounted to \$173, and the week following it had dropped to \$149, so that even if \$175 were added to the total for 1895 it would make only \$4,625 for the three months, which is a little more than half what was paid this year for the same time, and there are few people who find their streets in as good condition as they were a year ago.—*Indianapolis Journal, April 29.*

* * *

Thomas Collier, a foreman on a street repair gang in the employ of the city, was arrested yesterday on the charge of embezzlement. The charge was preferred by Street Commissioner Herpick, after an investigation held in the mayor's office. It seems that John Keefe, one of the laborers under Collier, informed Mayor Taggart that his name had been used to "pad" the pay roll, and that he had divided the money thus received with Collier.

Keefe was called to the mayor's office yesterday morning and he made a full confession of his part in the transaction and put it in the form of an affidavit. He says that he was in the employ of Collier and that last week he was sick and did not work for three and a half days; that he was placed on the pay roll for a full week's time, and when he drew the \$4.90 which he had not earned he gave Collier \$1.50.

Information was received that Wm. Lyons was also used as a means of drawing upon the city treasury, and he was sent for. He denied all charges, however. The street commissioner believes he has three or four other instances where Collier padded the rolls in this manner, and that the evidence will be forthcoming at the proper time to convict him. Instances during the past three weeks are cited, though without any specific statement as to the amount of the peculations.

The fact that it was possible for a person occupying the subordinate position of that held by Collier to open such a pipe line as he may have opened to the city treasury was commented on with considerable surprise by persons who have been familiar with the affairs of the city during the past few years. It seemed strange that a foreman of a street repair gang should have the opportunity to make out a pay roll which should go to the comptroller for payment without any sort of auditing or checking by the street commissioner that would detect padding. Under an ordinarily safe and conservative method of business, it was believed, the street commissioner should have discovered any fraud that might have been perpetrated.—*Indianapolis Journal*, May 19.

* * *

Thomas Collier, ex-foreman of the democratic street-repair gang, was bound over to the grand jury by Justice Nickerson yesterday for presenting a fraudulent claim to the city controller. He was unable to furnish a bond for \$500 and was sent to jail. Lyons, the principal witness against Collier, could not be found, and Justice Nickerson was informed that he left this city for St. Louis Sunday night. James Moriarity, a subforeman under Collier, gave the most damaging testimony. He cited a number of instances in which Collier had allowed Lyons and John Keefe full time when they were not working. One week early in May the gang was sent to do work at the Ray street bridge. Before anything was done the entire gang, Lyons and Keefe among the others, were laid off. The next day Moriarity and two other men worked spreading gravel. Lyons and Keefe did no work, but received the regular pay. On the cross-examination conducted by Collier's attorney, Moriarity testified that he was positive that neither man worked, as they were both in his gang under him as subforeman.

John Keefe testified that he worked nine hours during the week ending May 14. For this work he received \$4.90 from the controller upon a voucher issued by Collier, witness said. Keefe sought to screen Collier, saying that the latter had allowed him pay for days he had not worked through charitable motives. Keefe said that he was sick and was in destitute circumstance. In the next breath, in answer to a question propounded by the prosecutor, Keefe admitted that he had given \$2 of the \$4.90 to Collier. When asked if he had ever given Collier money before that time Keefe replied that he gave him \$1 once.

"What did you give it to him for?" asked the prosecutor.

"Well, Collier was a good friend of mine. He and I went into a saloon to get a drink. I was flush that day and gave him \$1. He did not ask me for it."

No evidence was introduced in Collier's defense. A large contingent of his democratic friends and supporters from Irish hill were in the court room, clamoring for his release on his own recognizance. Collier and his friends claim that subforeman James Moriarity was an applicant for Collier's place, and that he had been actuated by spite and jealousy in making the charges against his superior.—*Indianapolis Journal*, May 23.

THE WORK-HOUSE.

The fight for places at the disposal of the county commissioners has assumed such proportions that in some instances considerable ill feeling has been engendered. There is almost a mob about the offices all the time, and when the place-hunters make room it is to give their friends a chance to speak in their behalf. The "old guard" is camping on the grounds early and late. It is charged that some of them do not go home to dinner and have their suppers sent to them. The "heelers" and "pullers" who are seen at all the primaries and in the conventions are there holding up plates for anything that will fall into them. When a stranger appears there is a rush for him, and the question "What are you after?" is hurled at him.

The struggles which Mayor Denny passed through when he took his office the last time is no more to be compared with the present struggle than is a game of lawn tennis to be compared with a foot-ball contest.

The commissioners have different views. *Geer wants Harry Wheatley appointed superintendent of the work-house, and some of Wheatley's opponents declare that it was because Geer and Wheatley were in the army together, and not because of any fitness on the part of Wheatley for the position. J. W. Hess, who was the principal backer of Geer in the convention declares Wheatley not fit for the place, and insists that Fisher, street commissioner under the Denny administration, must have the appointment. Opponents of both men are talking about "fossils," and insisting that younger men who will maintain discipline at the institution be appointed.*—*Indianapolis News*, Nov. 29.

* * *

The board of county commissioners, with County Attorney Hovey, yesterday investigated the work-house affray. The investigation revealed the fact that Graham, in shooting at Adams exceeded his authority at least in one particular. The rules of the institution require the guards to report the disobedience of a prisoner to the superintendent. Guards are not expected to take the authority of punishment upon themselves. Graham admits that he went into Adams's cell on his own authority, and without consulting the superintendent. All of those who had anything to

do with the trouble were examined by the board.

Taylor Johns, a cell boss, was an eye-witness to the affair and told what he knew. He said that Adams refused to get into the barber chair, and he informed guard Graham, who went to the cell-house and ordered Adams to obey. The latter came out of his cell, and the guard pushed him toward the chair. Adams turned on Graham and the latter struck him twice with his mace. Graham then drew his revolver and shot as Adams continued to advance. Adams tried to get hold of a piece of gas pipe as Graham shot. Johns said the guard lowered the muzzle of the pistol before he fired.

Graham testified that the prisoner tried to strike him. He drew his revolver as a bluff, but Adams continued to come toward him, and he shot to scare the prisoner. After the shooting Adams got into the barber's chair, but insisted that he had been shot.

Adams, the victim, said that when he was brought back to the workhouse after his escape, the first of the month, he was wearing heavy clothing. When he exchanged his garments for the prison garb he took a heavy cold. All last week he was sick, and for two days prior to last Friday he was not eating anything. He refused to have his mustache taken off because there were other prisoners who were not clean-shaven. Graham, he said, called him out of his cell, and, with an oath, struck him half a dozen times with his mace. Graham declared he would show him who was boss and would break him in if he had to shoot him. Graham then told Kinney, the barber, to step aside, and then he fired. The ball passed through Adams's trousers, but did not enter the flesh.

At noon yesterday, when the prisoners marched into the dining room, there were fourteen men with mustaches in line. Assistant Superintendent Schooley said that since the shooting he had discontinued the shaving in cases where prisoners were unwilling to submit to it.—*Indianapolis News*, March 18.

* * *

Charles F. Adams, footpad and desperado, sentenced to one year in the work-house on December 24, 1895, escaped from there on the night of February 20. He was captured in Pittsburg and returned on March 10. Now he has again escaped. He has been gone since last Friday, but the news of the escape has been suppressed. The prisoner bore the reputation of being a desperate man. His first escape was effected by sawing through his cell and also through the outer windows, through which he and his companion made their escape by means of ropes woven out of the prison blankets. After his return, Adams refused to work, and was unruly. During his sojourn in Pittsburg he had grown a mustache, which he refused to allow the prison barber to shave off. Edward Graham, a guard, went to the prisoner's cell, and finding his orders disobeyed, after some talk drew his revolver and shot at the prisoner. The work-

house authorities tried to suppress the facts in this case, but they came to light, and, after an investigation, the guard, Graham, was discharged.

Information that Adams had again escaped came to the *News* this morning. A reporter went to the work-house, saw Superintendent Wheatley, and asked to see the prisoner, Charles F. Adams.

"Now look here," said Mr. Wheatley, "I want to tell you—Adams had escaped—you know that don't you?"

"How did he escape?"

"Well, it was through the negligence of one of the guards."

"Which guard?"

"I don't want to say."

"Is he still employed here?"

"Yes, you see I have not the power to discharge him even if I wanted to. I'll tell you, I reported this whole matter to the county commissioners and to the police, and the superintendent of police told me to keep it quiet so that they might have a chance to catch the man. It's my opinion that he'll be a difficult man to catch again. I thought that if we kept it quiet we might have a better chance."

"When did he escape, and how?"

"I'll tell you all about it. It was on Friday, at the noon hour. He had two balls and a chain on him, for we knew him to be a desperate man. He was working with the gang in the stone shed. There was about fifty men there, I guess. It seems that he had found some way in getting rid of his manacles, and when the men were lined up for dinner Adams got behind a screen in the stone shed and the guard marched off and left him there."

"How many guards are there in the stone shed?"

"Two."

"Who are they?"

"Charles Barr and Al Kerr. One of the guards goes outside the shed with a gun when the men are lined up for dinner, the other one lines the men up and marches them in."

"Does he count the men under his charge?"

"He is supposed to."

"Who was the inside guard?"

"Charles Barr. He is the one that is responsible for the escape. Of course we did not know he was gone until we came back after dinner, and then we found the balls and chains behind the screen. I hope the newspapers won't be too hard on me. I was in no way responsible for this. It was all the negligence of the guard. If he'd have used ordinary care and counted his men it could never have happened."

"Are you not able to maintain discipline out here?"

"Well, I try to, but a man can't be everywhere at once."

"What about the prisoner who was released Sunday, June 21, and for whom you swore out a warrant on Monday?"

"Oh, you've heard of that, have you? Well, he was John Davis, a colored prisoner. He was discharged last Sunday after serving a

sentence of twenty-five days. I made him a 'trusty' and he was hall boy. It seems that he got down through a grating here in the hall and got into the clothes room. He stole a good suit of clothes belonging to another prisoner named Harry West. It seems that Davis took the clothes and hid them. Then when he was discharged he went and got them and carried them away. As you know, I swore out a warrant for his arrest, and I bought the prisoner, Harry West, a brand new suit of clothes, as good or better than the ones he lost."

"Have you had any more prisoners escape lately?"

"No—o-o, not escaped. There was a man tried to get away the week before last. His name was Fred Williams. I was walking around on the outside of the fence when Williams broke and ran. He ran up to within ten feet of me, and then I pulled my gun and halted him and made him climb over the fence. He didn't get away, though."

"How is it that none of these facts about the institution and its management have become known?"

"I don't know. I reckon we didn't think it would do any good to tell 'em around."—*Indianapolis News, June 22.*

* * *

James Ward, a pickpocket, who was serving a long sentence in the work-house for snatching a woman's pocket-book at the Schnull fire, has been gone from the institution since April. He is No. 9 of the known escaped list. Ward was at work whitewashing. When his day's work was done he hid behind a pile of lumber and forgot to return to his cell, and the guards forgot to see whether he was there. It is argued that there are still some prisoners at the work-house, for the telephone is generally answered by a voice which says, "I'm one of the prisoners."

A *News* reporter called at the county commissioners' court to-day to make the announcement that a prisoner had escaped from the work-house, and to ask what they intended to do about it. The commissioners were absent, but Superintendent Wheatley of the work-house, happened to be present.

"Oh yes," said the superintendent, cheerfully, "you want to ask about Jimmy Ward, the pickpocket who got away. That's no new case. You had that a month ago. You newspapers want to make out that a good many prisoners get away from us, and only three have got away in a month."

"Didn't two women get away the other day? Haven't you lost nine prisoners in the last three weeks?"

"Yes, two women got away. I wasn't thinking of the women. Do I know how many prisoners are there now? Yes, I do; there are 138."—*Indianapolis News, July 8.*

* * *

Sixteen is the number of escapes from the workhouse since January 22. In this number one man—Adams—is counted twice, but he escaped twice. Another one is a crazy man

who simply ran away while in charge of Assistant Superintendent Schooley. He only had one day to serve. The full list of escaped prisoners, as brought out in the testimony before the county commissioner yesterday, is as follows, an asterisk following the name indicating that they were recaptured: James Kirby (crazy), January 22; Otto Williams,* February 18; Charles Adams* and Harry Williams,* February 20; James Ward, April 22; George Miller, May 10; Edward Johnson, May 17; William Hamilton, May 24; Andrew Allen,* May 24; Joseph Collins, June 4; Joseph Hagen, June 7; George Bogert, June 10; Charles Adams, June 19; Arthur Boyd,* June 21; Eliza Allen* and Nina Farington,* July 4. This is sixteen escapes, with nine of them still at large.

Yesterday afternoon the county commissioners made an investigation of the numerous escapes. It seems quite evident from the testimony taken, and this is the opinion of Commissioner Reinecke and possibly of Commissioner Harding, that in at least one case there must have been some connivance by those in charge, either a trusty or a guard, or the escape would have been impossible. This is the case of Bogert.—*Indianapolis News, July 10.*

* * *

After considering the evidence taken Thursday at the work-house in regard to the escape of prisoners, the board of county commissioners yesterday made the following entry on their records:

"Having heard the evidence of the various witnesses relative to the recent escapes from the work-house, and being advised in the premises, the board finds that the affairs of that institution have been honestly conducted by the officers in charge; and that, in the main, the officers have been vigilant and careful in guarding against escapes from the institution. The board, however, finds that in the cases of Adams and Williams bad judgment was exercised in making them cell-bosses and thereby furnishing them the opportunity of which they took advantage to make their escape. In the case of Ward poor judgment was exercised in making him a trusty for outside work. As to the other escapes, the board finds the officers of the institution blameless, and as to the two or three other cases of escapes of prisoners other than trusties the board finds that whatever carelessness may be attributed to any one must be attributed to the guards having charge of such prisoners. In accordance with this, there will be some reprimands and the matter will end."—*Indianapolis News, July 11.*

THE JAIL.

Whit Starr escaped from the Marion county jail some time during Thursday night. His escape was so carefully planned and the work necessary to accomplish it so successfully carried out that he was not missed until yesterday morning when the prisoners were let out of their cells for exercise in the corridor within the cage. It was then noticed that Starr was not among the number, and an investigation disclosed that he was gone and that he

might have been gone long enough to have got entirely out of the state.

Sheriff Womack said last evening that Starr's escape was due wholly to the carelessness of jailer Mounts. "I give instructions repeatedly that the doors are to be opened only one at a time, and when the trustees go in to sweep they are supposed to be locked in until they finish one department and then admitted to another. If this is done the jailer sees every door opened and closed and knows just who goes through them.

Then if anybody escapes he must go through barriers that it is simply impossible for anybody to go through."

"Will you discharge Mounts?"

"I can't say yet. I intend to investigate further and lay the blame where it belongs."

Mr. Womack continued: "If I had had my way about Starr he would have been in Michigan City long ago. He was sentenced June 8 or 9, and I intended taking him to prison the same day, but was instructed by Judge McCray to keep him here until Governor Matthews could act on a petition to have him sent to Jeffersonville instead of Michigan City. His friends made a plea that he was suffering with consumption and that he would die if sent to Michigan City. I held him, and then Corriden, one of Starr's pals, was convicted, and I wanted to take Starr north with him, but Judge McCray said to hold him a while longer. The Judge assured me that I would not have to hold him longer than the 25th, and it seems that the Judge was right, for it was the 25th that Starr left.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 27.

* * *

Sheriff Womack has made the suspension of jailor Harry Mounts permanent and has appointed in his place Harry Earp. Mr. Womack said he had made a thorough investigation of the escape of Whit Starr and could find nothing but the carelessness of Mounts to account for it. "If he had used common care or had followed instructions the escape could never have been effected, said Womack. "It is an offense for which no excuse can be offered and for which there is no atonement."

Concerning other charges which have been made against Mounts, Mr. Womack had nothing to say. He did not make the charges himself and does not believe there is any truth in them.—*June 30*.

* * *

Mrs. Charles Genther has been appointed matron of the county jail. The appointment is made by Sheriff Womack, who will pay her a salary of \$10 a week out of his own pocket. He has been trying for a long time to induce the county commissioners to make the appointment, but never succeeded. The importance of having a matron at the jail has been emphasized recently by complaints which have been made by women confined in the jail. The new matron will have charge of the keys to the women's department, and no one will be permitted to enter unless she is present.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 30.

Colonel Weaver, Whit Star's partner, said: "If you want to know the truth about it, I'll tell you. Star sneaked out when the door was left open for the sweepers. He was hiding in the machinery box and was not in the cage at all. After he had got one bar sawed, he came out of the corridor and came up here. If he had not been able to get out of the window he would have rapped Harry Mounts on the head with a hammer, and he'd have got the keys and have taken me out too. I'm only sorry that I wasn't down there with him. I'd be gone now." Weaver laughed at the sheriff, and made fun of the escape, saying: "You'll catch him, I bet! Why you fellows couldn't catch a bad cold in winter time!"—*Indianapolis News*, June 26.

A JUDGE.

The Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst is dissatisfied with the outcome of the trial of Cornelius B. Parker, who has been called "the policy king." The case was tried last week before City Judge Rufus B. Cowing in the court of general sessions. *The judge discharged the jury, which stood ten to two for conviction after it had considered a verdict for two hours.*

The Society for the Prevention of Crime, of which Dr. Parkhurst is president, was much interested in the trial of Parker, against whose system of policy shops its agents had accumulated much evidence. During the trial of Parker, Chief Detective Dennett of the society keenly watched the proceedings, and it appears that his reports to Dr. Parkhurst prompted the clergyman to criticise Judge Cowing's methods.

At the trial two agents of the Society for the Prevention of Crime were ordered from the court, and Dr. Parkhurst maintains that they were orderly, and that what was done to them was simply smiting the society. Exception is taken to the action of the court in shortening the plea for the people by Assistant District Attorney O'Hare, and Dr. Parkhurst is of the opinion that Judge Cowing should have endeavored to compel a unanimous and satisfactory verdict by the jury, especially as one of the two who favored acquittal was wavering.—*New York Times*, May 5.

* * *

Judge Cowing's recent appointment of his son to a snug berth in the court in which he is judge, and his dismissal of three old and tried court attendants in order to make room for his son, are denounced even by Judge Cowing's Tammany friends as one of the worst cases of nepotism that has yet occurred in those courts.—*New York Evening Post*, May 5.

* * *

It is most unfortunate for Judge Cowing that his unusual course in discharging the jury in the Parker case should have been followed so quickly by a plea of guilty from Parker. He discharged the jury after it had been in consultation only two hours, and when it stood eleven to one for conviction, taking the ground that the evidence was not such as to make an agreement for conviction probable. When Parker was asked to plead to a similar indictment before another judge, he pleaded

guilty, and was let off with a fine of \$500. He was known as the "policy king," and his business was the backing of policy gambling houses, an occupation which has for years been intimately associated with politics, and hence, under the old police regime, was strongly protected by "pulls."—*New York Evening Post*.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

Mr. Albert Shaw's study of the city government of St. Louis is especially opportune in the *June Century*. He had already shown in his two volumes how far British and continental cities have advanced beyond us in the solution of the problem how to make life in a city decent and attractive. He now shows how far St. Louis has gone ahead of other American cities in the achievement of home rule, in the employment of experts in certain city offices, and in a phenomenal freedom from charges of official corruption. Particularly is St. Louis to be congratulated on having partially, at least, thrown off the shackles of ward representation. There are, however, some features of the corporate life of St. Louis which prove that its citizens have not yet altogether emerged from the national stupidity and supineness in the treatment of civic affairs. They still, for instance, accept a clean sweep in offices with each change of administration as part of the providential order of human affairs.

* * *

I want to say something about the offices of county commissioner and township trustee. There is need of a radical change in the laws governing those offices. These offices are not supposed to pay much, but men bribe voters and pack conventions to get them. When the commissioner once gets in he is hard to dislodge, if he is devoid of scruples. *He uses his office to perpetuate his hold. One of his main levers is the free gravel roads. He has the appointment of superintendents to take care of the roads. These superintendents are told if they want to hold their job that they must hustle for votes. They tell others that if they will go to the primaries and work for the incumbent they will get their share of the gravel hauling. "No vote, no work." This species of bribery should cease. These men, after repeated success, become intolerant, indolent and impudent, and conclude they are absolutely boss.*

When one bridge company gets all the contracts for ten years, is this fact not suspicious? On the 20th of this month the commissioners of this county were to get a job of masonry, costing about \$2,500, and a bridge costing anywhere from \$900 to \$1,000. A young man who had learned his trade, and could give any bond required, wanted to bid on the masonry and excavation. But he was informed, with much vehemence, that it was too small a business to be let in two contracts; that it would be let as a whole, and that while it was supposed that two feet below the bed of the stream would be sufficient for a starting point, whoever did the work would have to guess at the dirt to be moved and the stone necessary, and no stone was to be laid till a clay was reached, if it was two or twenty feet; that it would not be let by the yard or perch.

The young man could not make an honest, square bid because he was not rich enough to own a bridge foundry, and not willing to gamble with the county on the amount of dirt he would have to move or the stone it would require. It was hinted by the bridge and stone men who had come to bid on this work that the cause of this unreasonable and absurd demand was that a favorite bridge company had been to see about it.—*Cartersburg (Ind.) Letter to Indianapolis News*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 42.

INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST, 1896.

TERMS: { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

"I do not believe that at the time when the agitation for civil service reform began there was any evil or abuse in the government an attack on which seemed so hopeless, and yet this evil has disappeared within one generation. I cite it as an illustration of the danger of error of treating any democratic failure as permanent or hopeless, or denying to any democratic society the capacity and determination to remedy its own defects in some direction or other by some means or other. No society in our time is willing to deteriorate openly, or ever does so long, without struggling for salvation"—Mr. Godkin, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address,
THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.
Indianapolis, Ind.

WE ARE OPPOSED TO LIFE TENURE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE. WE FAVOR APPOINTMENTS BASED UPON MERIT, FIXED TERMS OF OFFICE, AND SUCH AN ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAWS AS WILL AFFORD EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL CITIZENS OF ASCERTAINED FITNESS.—*Platform, National Convention of Looters, Chicago, July, 1896.*

WHAT WE OPPOSE IN THAT PLANK IS THE LIFE TENURE WHICH IS BEING BUILT UP AT WASHINGTON, WHICH EXCLUDES FROM PARTY REPRESENTATION IN THE BENEFITS THE HUMBLER MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY.—*Bryan's Interpretation.*

W. W. Durbin, chairman of the State committee, who had boarded the train at Lima, insisted on Mr. Bryan saying a few words at Ada, where he delivered the commencement oration at the Normal university last year. He left his breakfast and Prof. H. S. Lehr, president of the university, introduced the candidate as the next president. Mr. Bryan was received with cheers and said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—While I have not been speaking much on this trip I can not withstand the temptation to say a word here. The words so kindly spoken by Prof. Lehr, you will remember, are not thought of since the nomination. He is one of the original Bryan men. When I was here a year ago he was a Bryan man. I think he wanted you to become acquainted with me, so if you wanted post-offices you would know where to come to get them. I am not distributing postoffices yet, but I hope to be before very long. (Applause.) I remember with a great deal of pleasure this city and the students here of the university, and I hope they will become students of the money question and be prepared to take their part in this fight. I thank you. (Great applause.)—*Mr. Bryan, at Ada, August 10.*

It assails the independence of the judiciary by the covert threat to reorganize the courts whenever their decisions contravene the decrees of the party caucus. It seeks to allure office-seekers and spoilsmen to its support by attacking the existing civil service laws, which good men of all parties have labored so long to establish, and to extend to all departments of

the public service.—*From the call of the National Democratic party, Chicago, August 17.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW WAS PLACED ON THE STATUTE BOOKS BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WHICH HAS ALWAYS SUSTAINED IT, AND WE RE-NEW OUR REPEATED DECLARATIONS THAT IT SHALL BE THOROUGHLY AND HONESTLY ENFORCED AND EXTENDED WHEREVER PRACTICABLE.—*From the Republican Platform, 1896.*

"MR. CHAIRMAN, IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THIS COUNTRY IS PLEDGED TO ANY ONE THING MORE THAN ANOTHER, IT IS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND TO ITS EFFICIENT EXECUTION—NOT ONLY THAT, BUT TO ITS ENLARGEMENT AND ITS FURTHER APPLICATION TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

"THE LAW THAT STANDS UPON OUR STATUTE BOOKS TO-DAY WAS PUT THERE BY REPUBLICAN VOTES. IT WAS A REPUBLICAN MEASURE. EVERY NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, SINCE ITS ENACTMENT, HAS DECLARED NOT ONLY IN FAVOR OF ITS CONTINUANCE IN FULL VIGOR, BUT IN FAVOR OF ITS ENLARGEMENT SO AS TO APPLY MORE GENERALLY TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE. AND THIS, MR. CHAIRMAN, IS NOT ALONE THE DECLARATION AND PURPOSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, BUT IT IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST SENTIMENT—AYE, MORE, IT IS SUSTAINED BY THE BEST SENTIMENT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ALIKE."—*Mr. McKinley in Congress, April, 1890.*

"The pledge of the republican national convention that our civil service laws shall be sustained and thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable is in keeping with the position of the party for the past twenty-four years and will be faithfully observed. Our opponents deery these reforms. They appear to be willing to abandon all the advantages gained after so many years' agitation and effort. They encourage a return to methods of party favoritism, which both parties have often denounced, that experience has condemned and that the people have repeatedly disapproved. The republican party earnestly

opposes this reactionary and entirely unjustifiable policy. It will take no backward step on this question. It will seek to improve, but never degrade the public service.—*From Mr. McKinley's Letter of Acceptance, August 27.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE greatly desires any numbers of the July issue not needed by the recipients.

WHAT we said of Mr. Bryan last month is fully borne out by later events. Scarcely any man in American public life has shown such contempt for the moral sentiment of the people. The stupidest politician in the country would not have stood up before a crowd and said, "I am not distributing postoffices now, but I expect to be before long." He seems to be on a big moral drunk. There is no other way of accounting for his wild financial vagaries and his attempts to form classes and array them against other classes and to set section against section.

WITH regard to the civil service Bryan's attitude is unmistakable. He means to treat it in the same spirit in which Aldridge has treated the New York service. Everything that he has ever said about it is on the lowest plane. Before he was a candidate he wrote that "to discriminate against a portion of the party * * * is as indefensible as it would be to appoint members of another party to offices to which party is entitled." As we said last month, he has produced a grave situation. A reckless and unprincipled president can do an immense amount to wreck the system which it has taken more than twenty-five years to build up. He ought not to receive the vote of any civil service reformer in the United States. He is pandering to the coarsest spoilsmen and to every evil element. Let him have such votes and no others.

MR. MCKINLEY in his letter of acceptance is in the matter of the civil service fully up to the mark of the platform and even with his former record in congress. There is scarcely a shadow of doubt but that his election will lead to the complete and final development of the merit system. The full headway which that system now has will, under friendly guidance, carry it

to the end. We may expect to see the fourth-class postoffices taken out of politics and a system established by which the higher postoffices shall come to be filled by promotions and transfers after the manner of the higher places in the railway mail service; and the same improvement will embrace the heads of other offices. Thus practically the entire federal service with its hundreds of thousands of places of all kinds will finally be transferred from the field of politics to the field of the wage earner. That means permanence of employment, fair pay, acquirement of homes, support of families, and education of children in a vast field and to a vast number where heretofore there has been only demeaning political service rewarded by places with the most uncertain tenure, subject to a rapid rotation and affording none of the benefits which are the reward of labor where labor has to depend only upon its faithfulness and efficiency. With Mr. Bryan all this would be changed again if we are to go by his platform and his words. The magnificent work of years would be wrecked and the whole service would be swept from the field of the wage-earner back to the field of spoils politics. He intends to do that. Will the American people let him? We do not believe it; but we say again there never was a time when every American who loves his country had more need to do his duty than he has now.

It is fitting that at this time there should be a memorial meeting of George William Curtis, such as has just been held at Ashfield, where Mr. Norton's address, printed in part elsewhere, was delivered. It will tend to make more stubborn the resistance to the attack upon the great work which Curtis did. It will help to unite all who worked under his leadership and all who now see or reap the benefits of that work. It will make them stand where they ought to stand, all on one side against the vicious and desperate onslaught which is being made on good government and public and private honor.

EVERY member of the classified service would do well to "size up" Mr. Bryan. He means them in his false reference to "life tenure," and he offers to them a defiance which they can not safely ignore. They now hold their places by the most democratic method of distribution known. That method, coupled with faithfulness and efficiency, means steady employment and good pay. A candidate for the highest office in a nation, whose talk and platform show him to be an all-round buccaneer now threatens them with loss of employment, of family support and of peace of mind. The way to avert such a disaster

is by defeat at the polls. We notice that a few government clerks at Washington, in hopes of appeasing this vulgar and coarse spoilsman, go to his committee rooms and fold Bryan documents after their working hours. It will not avail. Service under the present administration is sure to bring down the Bryan revenge.

It is stated that in the recent dreadful heat in New York city the deaths among the little children were fewer than heretofore in a heated term. This was directly due to the clean streets made possible by Colonel Waring's taking that work out of politics.

ON August 17 Mr. Roosevelt, of the police board, invited young men to compete for 800 places in the police force of New York. We commend to Mayor Taggart what he says in the invitation to compete and suggest that Indianapolis should not follow the methods of Tammany longer, and that such an open competition for place to be given to the fittest would lessen the number of trials of policemen for sleeping on duty, drunkenness and other improper conduct so demoralizing to the Indianapolis force. Mr. Roosevelt says:

We need strong, intelligent young men of good character for the force. We have not sufficient applicants, and in order to fill the vacancies we should have at least twice as many as we are now getting. There probably never has been such a chance offered in New York for the employment of young men of good intelligence, of bodily vigor, and of good character. We desire all such to enter our examinations. If they pass them they will be admitted strictly on their merits and without regard to personal or political influence of any kind.

It must be remembered that not only residents of the city, but residents of the whole state, can apply if they wish. Skilled mechanics, clerks, laborers, hired men on farms, young fellows who have just left high school or academy and are better athletes than scholars, all these can come forward. The mental examinations are such that any man who has gone through our public schools can readily pass them. But we wish no man who has not a good character, and no man can pass the surgeons unless he is sound physically.

ELSEWHERE in the CHRONICLE are a number of extracts bearing upon politics in the schools of this country and the stand that should be taken by teachers and college men in the vital question of civil service reform. The *Atlantic Monthly* has had a notable series of articles on politics in the public schools. Dr. G. Stanley Hall thus sums up the result of the inquiry:

"Nowhere has there ever been, to my knowledge, so clear and forceful a presentation of the evils of subjecting schools to political officers who are nearly lowest in the scale of political preferment. It is worst of all when not only city and state superintendents, but even normal-school principals, must look to politics for a continuance in office. As long as this lasts appointment can not be wisely made, tenure is not by merit, and the value to the community of every dollar of school

money is greatly depreciated. The moral influence of such a system is wholly bad, not only upon the community, but on every part of school work and on every person connected with it. It hurts the pupils most of all. The difference between a good and a fairly good teacher, to say nothing of a bad one, is incalculable, but, like all things of the soul, inappreciable to the general public. There are schools in my city, and other cities in my state, where I should prefer two years of schooling for a child of mine to four years in another school, where the public makes little or no discrimination."

PLATT'S officer, Aldridge, did not succeed in getting the nomination for governor in spite of his prostitution of his office, and in spite of the yells of his canal henchmen at the convention. Abe Gruber, who has been conducting a great "anti civil service" struggle without conspicuous success showed a clever understanding of Aldridge's backing in his story that Wicked Gibbs broke up an Aldridge procession at Saratoga by shouting "low bridge," "locks open" and the canalmen all broke ranks. We greatly hope that the Civil Service Reform Association will continue its disclosures of Aldridge's work and his jailbird appointees.

These must be mortifying days for Governor Morton. He was not blind when he made his Platt appointments. He deliberately sacrificed himself to practical politics, but all the same he must wince under the nasty disclosures regarding the man into whose hands he put the large sums entrusted to the superintendent of public works of the great state of New York.

And Mayor Strong should be feeling some of the picks of an uneasy conscience when he sees Mr. Roosevelt needlessly baffled and hindered in the struggle to thoroughly purge the police force by a politician on the same board given his place as a political reward. When will the good men in office learn that it not only is bad morals but bad politics to think to get on by appointments like Colonel Waring's, mixed in with Aldridge and his like.

A GREAT BOSS AND A GREAT RÔLE.

All readers of the CHRONICLE must have become curious over Pennsylvania. Two dynasties of bosses, the Camerons and Quay, seem to have paralyzed her moral forces and she has presented the strange spectacle of being passive and unresisting in the coils of these pythons. It seems a long while ago, so intent has been the interest in another struggle, that Quay's candidacy for the presidential nomination was soberly considered by the press of Pennsylvania and Judge, formerly Governor Beaver, soberly said in a New York interview that the republicans of Pennsyl-

vania would support Quay for president heartily:

"As a Judge," he said, "I have no inclination and no time to indulge in political discussions. Senator Quay is a very much misunderstood man. It is generally supposed that he is merely a political organizer and manipulator, and cares for nothing else. On the contrary, he is a man of refinement, and is fond of literature and books. He has a fine library, and he would rather read a delightful book than attend a caucus. His devotion to Isaac Walton is exemplified in his piscatorial visits to the best fishing waters in the country. He is a clear and cogent writer, having once been the editor of a newspaper. True, he is not a great orator, but on any subject that he discusses he shows an intimate knowledge that interests and convinces."

* * *

It will be remembered that Quay had to suppress last year a formidable revolt instigated among others by his chief henchman Martin, boss of Philadelphia. The strength of this under-boss is indicated by the following:

The patronage of Philadelphia is something wonderful to contemplate. Mayor Warwick, who was nominated through the machinations of Dave Martin, over Quay's candidate, State Senator Penrose, has control of 16,000 appointments, a larger number, it is said, than is now at the disposal of the president of the United States since the general application of civil service that was made recently. "*Dare*" Martin, through Mayor Warwick, controls the street railway and other franchises of Philadelphia, which are valued at several millions every year.

Among other dogs of war let loose by Quay upon Martin, was the well-known device of a senate investigating committee. That is at first sight it seemed a dog of war, but later signs were that it was nothing but Quay's old dog Tray giving an occasional twitch and growl in his dreams. However, Quay crushed the revolt. But there are recent signs that he has not finished with the Philadelphia recreant henchman. We quote from *City and State* of August 13.

The testimony brought out by the inquiry of the senate investigating committee into the Mutual Automatic Telephone scandal, places two of the most influential political leaders of Philadelphia in a trying position. Mr. David Martin, who, after Mr. Quay, may be considered the most skillful republican politician of the state, who is supposed to have controlled at least 300 delegates at the convention which nominated Mayor Warwick, whose "matchless leadership" was declared by some to have played a very influential part in creating the enormous majority which made that gentleman our chief executive, who collects assessments at will from our city employes, and whose character has stood so high that no account of his stewardship in this regard has ever been required of him—is said, in the testimony of three sworn witnesses, to have been the holder of 1,525 shares of Automatic stock, and to have had a potent voice in the management of the company. This, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Martin formerly testified under oath that the shares had been transferred to his name without his knowledge, and in spite of his refusal to subscribe for the stock.

* * *

Julian C. Gale, secretary to John B. Persch, promoter of the Mutual Automatic Telephone Company, was the most important witness wanted by the councilmanic committee, but heard for the first time before the senatorial committee. George A. Persch and William A. Persch, brothers of the promoter, also took the stand, giving important

evidence and confirming the testimony of Secretary Gale. It was sworn that David Martin had the handling of the 6,000 shares of the company's stock which was alleged to have been used to bribe councils and secure the passage of the Mutual Automatic franchise. Gale testified that Mr. Martin had personal possession of the stock and returned it to the office, giving Gale instructions to divide it in smaller blocks. Of these blocks 1,525 shares were made out in the names of David Martin and Charles A. Porter personally, and, in addition, there were four blocks of 500 shares each, 25 blocks of 20 shares each, and 75 blocks of 6 shares each. These latter blocks were made out in Gale's name subject to his indorsement. He also swore that Mr. Martin received these blocks of shares in person after they had been registered by the Guarantee Trust Company. Later, two of the blocks, 500 shares each, were sent back to the office and divided into 50 blocks of 20 shares each. Gale said these were delivered to Mr. Martin in the republican city committee rooms. He also told how he and John P. Persch kept away from Philadelphia during the investigation. George A. Persch, who was employed in his brother's office, corroborated Gale's testimony and swore that David Martin paid him several sums of money at different times, varying in amounts from \$17 to \$40, to keep him away from Philadelphia during the councils' committee's investigation. These sums of money, Persch swore, were given to him by Mr. Martin at his residence or sent to him at New York through other parties. Charles E. Persch swore positively that David Martin had numerous interviews and was in constant communication with John P. Persch after the latter had fled from the city to escape the councilmanic investigation. He stated that Mr. Martin and John P. Persch had an interview in Trenton the day before Martin went on the witness stand. This testimony was in flat contradiction to Mr. Martin's sworn statement before councils' committee that he had not seen John P. Persch for several weeks and did not know where he was. A man named Atcheson told how he had been sent by Senator Porter to get a certificate for six shares of stock from the widow of Common Councilman White, who died about the time of the investigation. Outside of the testimony that Martin and Porter each received 1,525 shares of stock, there has been no evidence to show who were the persons who received the remainder of the 6,000 shares. It is believed that the blocks of six shares were intended for distribution in common council and the blocks of 20 in select. However, the committee adjourned without eliciting anything else of importance, and their work would have been of little actual effect if David Martin had not struck back as severe a blow as he himself received.

* * *

So far Quay has only appeared in the familiar rôle of a big boss, disciplining his henchmen, but there are signs that he meditates a great rôle that will place him high up among the grim humorists of all ages. He is apparently going to take Pennsylvania, strangled into helplessness and nervelessness by him and the Camerons, and thrust upon her a series of radical, vigorous and genuine reforms and then retire! Could any irony be more finished? He has announced his proposed retirement, and the Washington correspondent of the *Buffalo Express* says:

It is also Senator Quay's intention to have his reforms in state and municipal politics enacted into laws before he retires from the arena. He is deeply in earnest on this point, and when the legislature meets next winter, bills to carry out the reforms will be presented and enacted into laws.

The CHRONICLE has always had the fullest appreciation of the intellectual abilities of the great bosses, but Quay's plan, if carried

out, will deserve another Milton to fittingly portray a companion to one of the greatest characters in *Paradise Lost*.

NEW YORK'S SPOILS AND SPOILSMEN.

The assault made yesterday afternoon upon John S. Bronk, chairman of the democratic county committee by William Kenneally, member of the committee from the second ward, illustrates the means by which State Superintendent of public works George W. Aldridge, the republican candidate for governor, has in the past controlled and now seeks to control the democratic organization of this city and county. Kenneally, who is an employee of the republican executive board, is one of the bullies that Aldridge depends upon to manipulate democratic caucuses in his interest. The occasion of the assault was the introduction of a resolution to prevent the interference of the Aldridge machine in the coming caucuses. Seeing the object of the resolution, Kenneally sprang to his feet, rushed up to Bronk, snatched the resolution from his hand, and gave him a savage blow in the face. Upon the motion of State Committeeman Smith, he was immediately expelled from the committee, against the protests of ex-State Committeeman William H. Tracy, one of Aldridge's henchmen, and about a dozen other of the superintendent's democratic followers in the committee.—*Rochester dispatch, Evening Post* August 6.

* * *

On the gubernatorial situation among the republicans, the thing which strikes the average observer of political affairs is the wholesale way in which George W. Aldridge, superintendent of public works, has been gathering in delegates. Mr. Aldridge is an expert in so managing the affairs of the canals as to strengthen himself among the machine politicians. He has several million dollars to spend in improving the canal system of the state, and, according to reports from "up the state," about every town within hailing distance of a canal holds Aldridge caucuses.—*New York Times*, August 9.

* * *

A letter, published yesterday, from the editor of the *Friendship Register*, tells something of the methods by which the defeat of the Hon. Fred A. Robbins for renomination to the assembly was brought about and the intense indignation among the republicans of Allegany County in consequence. It was a game of treachery throughout. Not daring openly to oppose Robbins, since that would have meant certain defeat for the machine, Glenn and the other agents of the state machine pretended that they were conceding his nomination. Their care was to get machine delegates elected to the county convention, with or without Robbins instructions. Having thus got their men chosen to the convention, the mask was dropped, instructions were cast to the winds and Robbins was turned down.

It is worth while to recall the record of this man Robbins. He was chairman of the judiciary committee in the last assembly. As such

he was given charge of the bills prepared in the attorney-general's office to increase the power of the attorney-general to curb trusts. Naturally, the trusts were somewhat excited. But it soon became apparent that the boss of the legislature intended the anti-trust bills only for buncombe. They were to deceive the people into thinking the powers at Albany were really working in their interests against the trusts. But they were to be killed and the blame was to be thrown on individual members. If there had been a pliable man at the head of the judiciary committee this plan would have worked, as it frequently has in telephone legislation. But Fred A. Robbins was too honest to be a party to that sort of politics. Against all manner of secret pressure, he pushed the bills through, forcing them forward where every man who opposed them must go on record openly. After one of these bills—the most offensive one to the trusts—had reached the governor, Robbins received a direction from the executive office to recall it. He refused. He was determined that the governor himself must go on record as vetoing the bill, if he was unwilling it should become a law. The bill was not vetoed. But Robbins, from the hour of that resistance to machine orders, has been a marked man.

This was not his only offense, however. When the Greater New York bill came up, Robbins, realizing, as did all of the more independent country members, that it was very distasteful to the people of Brooklyn, assumed the leadership in opposing it. So well did he gather together the few grains of independence which existed in that boss-ridden legislature that he forced Platt to disclose the influences back of the bill by calling on Tammany members to make up the majority necessary to pass it. This exposure before the people of the whole state of the deal between Platt and Tammany was an unforgivable crime.—*Buffalo Express*, August 11.

* * *

The Platt men were a trifle premature in boasting that they had beaten Warner Miller in his own county. There was probably method in their haste, however, Warner Miller was not beaten. The result is close, but he has a majority. The majority is large enough, moreover, to prevent the re-election of Charles W. Hackett to the state committee.

The course of the state machine in this Herkimer contest is one of the most scandalous in the history of politics in this state. It is said \$100,000 of the state's money has been expended in creating jobs merely to enlist the support of heelers against Miller. One canal job has been cited at which six men have been hired to do the work which was performed by one under a democratic superintendent. That is what machine rule by the power of patronage means for the tax-payers.—*Buffalo Express*, August 15.

* * *

The canvass for the republican state convention is closing amid charges and counter-charges of fraud and corruption, on the part of the various factions and of the rival candidates for governor, which seem to be well

founded. A more disgraceful prostitution of the civil service of the state to political and personal ends has never been seen than the open and shameless manner in which Superintendent Aldridge of the public works department is using the canal force to elect delegates in favor of his nomination as governor. The squabble on Saturday over the control of the convention in Warner Miller's county was most disgraceful. As regards the state at large, the Platt machine has evidently secured an overwhelming majority of the delegates, as was to have been expected. A report is current that Miller, Milholland, and some of their allies will nominate another republican state ticket if the Platt men shall control the convention. But even Miller and Milholland are hardly capable of such a performance. A bolt, in order to amount to anything, must have some character and principle behind it. The fact that the bolters did not succeed in electing as many delegates as they think they ought to have had is not enough.—*New York Evening Post*, August 17.

* * *

By the day's proceedings Platt secures absolute control of the county machine, he gets a solid Platt delegation to the state convention, Wadsworth gets a solid delegation to the congress convention, and the independent Republicans of Genesee county are pushed aside to make way for the boss. But while Sanders gets control of the machine, he does not get control of the votes.

How the game is said to have been worked was stated in detail in the convention. Judge North hurled the charge that money was freely used with which to get the caucuses at the henchmen of the boss who writhed and hesitated in their weak replies. They made no specific denials. There were bluster and howls and bravado, but after the convention Sanders himself would not deny it when asked to do so by *The Express*.

"I will say that I had no part in any such acts," said Mr. Sanders. "I did not know of them if they were done. I do not know all that others did to aid me in my fight."

Said Judge North:

"And there are in Genesee county about 40 postoffices, each with a constituency of box-holders and patrons. How do you like it in the four corners of the county to have it given out as it has been that Mr. Sanders is to control all the postoffices and that you who live there may meekly walk up and get your mails, but that you shall have nothing to say as to who among you is to be selected as postmaster, because, forsooth, everything must yield to his overweening ambition to get votes for himself.—*Batavia dispatch*, *Rochester Express*, August 17.

* * *

Thomas Collier Platt is out with the following original signed statement thereanent: "I have made no promises, nor indicated by even so much as a nod or wink, any leaning toward the candidacy of any republican whose name is now being canvassed for the gubernatorial nomination.

That has been my position. I will take no part in the matter until I arrive on the ground at the Saratoga convention. When I get there I will look the situation over and try to form a judgment as to what is best to be done. All the interest I have is that the nominee shall be a republican of loyalty and courage. As to my estimates upon the relative strength of candidates, I consider them pure guesswork."—*New York dispatch*, *Buffalo Express*, August 17.

* * *

The secretary of the civil service reform association, George McAneny, to-day made orally some additions to his published statement and some remarks about the probable action on it. "We have had under consideration for some time," he said, "the matter of the violations of the constitution in the department of public works. The evidence cited in the statement is merely culled from that we have secured to instance the various ways in which the constitutional provisions regarding the civil service have been subverted. The evidence generally is of such a nature that the association, I am satisfied, will feel called upon to present the charges to the governor. The executive committee, from which any formal action must come, will not meet until September 9.

"In our opinion this complaint is a very serious one. Mr. Aldridge's personal views as to the merits of the civil service provisions do not make them any less binding upon him. To violate in a systematic and flagrant manner one of the most important provisions of the fundamental law is an offense which in our opinion neither the governor nor the courts can allow to pass unpunished. The employes of the department of public works number approximately 1,700, or more than a quarter of the total service of the state. The course followed by the superintendent has served practically to remove this entire body from the merit system.

"The evidence which we have shows, not only that the provisions requiring appointments after competitive examinations have been set aside, but that the constitutional obligation to appoint for 'merit and fitness,' irrespective of the requirement of examination, has been violated very seriously in the characters of many of the appointments made. We have information regarding perhaps one hundred such cases, some of which are cited in the statement. A great deal of this evidence will go to show that the cost of administration has increased in proportion to the growth of the patronage abuse.

"We also have information in regard to a case in which the contract for a piece of work was assigned, without advertisement as required by law, for \$3,000, and evidence of engineers to the effect that the same work might be very practically done for \$1,500. Although this is not exactly pertinent to the matter of the application of the civil service rules, it throws some light upon the general method of administration. An investigation ordered by the governor or the courts may be carried

on even more effectively than ours, and any ordered, I have no doubt, will uncover a state of affairs even more serious than we are prepared to show."

Mr. McAneny remarked also that the association believed the present an opportune time for the public consideration of these facts; that while it is proposed to invest Mr. Aldridge with greater executive authority, the character of the appointments made by him in his present position should be kept in mind, as, if similar appointments were made by him in the executive office, the results would be disastrous.

The association's formal statement shows how Superintendent Aldridge, in his administration of the state department of public works, has grossly and flagrantly violated the civil service section of the constitution, and promises a further exposure of the serious waste of public funds thereby occasioned. The section in question requires that "appointments and promotions . . . shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive." The association recalls that on April 15, 1895, Governor Morton promulgated a new classification of the department by virtue of which certain officers were placed in the exempt schedule, A, and non-competitive schedule, D, respectively, while others were classed as workmen, and as such exempted from examination, and all positions not specifically designated in either of these three divisions were placed in the competitive schedule, B. It adds:

Both before and after the classification by Gov. Morton, Superintendent Aldridge resisted in every way possible the application of the rules to his employes, and insisted on appointing large numbers of clerks and other officers to competitive positions without examination of any sort. The history of these appointments, and the subsequent court proceedings, ending in the defeat of Superintendent Aldridge, is well known. There is no doubt that, even though the question of classification remain for a while in doubt, the superintendent personally violated the constitution. There are, however, graver violations than this with which he will be charged.

The association has been informed that the superintendent has appointed a large number of other persons without examinations to positions, the duties of which are the duties required to be filled as the result of competitive examinations, and that in order to permit this the positions in question have been designated by titles not fitting the duties performed. Many of the clerks whose appointments were declared void by the court of appeals have been reappointed in this manner as "foremen" and under other designations. So successful have been the various methods of evasion adopted that in a total of approximately 1,500 appointments made since January 1, 1895, only 38 have been after competitive examination.

Evidence has also been secured showing that persons have been appointed to positions classified in the labor service who have rendered little or no service in return for the salaries paid them; that other persons employed in such positions have been assigned to unnecessary labor, and that owing in part to these conditions the cost of maintaining the canals has been greatly increased. In spite of the constitutional obligation of the superintendent to appoint all of his employes for "merit and fitness," many of these appointees have been persons who have been convicted of crimes and confined in the state prisons, or who are of otherwise notoriously bad character, while others have been and are engaged in private business of a nature unfitting them for satisfactory public service. A few specimen cases of this character reported to the association, taken from Oneida county alone, are as follows:

THOMAS WHEELER—Superintendent of the middle division of the canals; is an active local politician; was formerly proprietor of a faro-bank and the partner of David Dishler; afterwards ran a gambling-room for three years. The authorities, it is said, feared to interfere with this business because of the influence he possessed. His name appears, however, on the police records many times; he was arrested at one time for assaulting a clergyman on the street and sentenced to the penitentiary for six months; was subsequently indicted for petit larceny and fined; was indicted for a burglary committed in Albany, some of the proceeds of which were found in his possession; has been the principal manipulator of the canal patronage in the middle counties, and has secured the appointment of many of his former associates to various minor positions.

A. D. BARBER—Son of the lobbyist, A. D. Barber; supposed to be employed as a foreman; he has no men under him, and, it is reported, spends his time fishing about the woods.

JOHN MULLIGAN—Appointed as a teamster; is a democratic alderman in Utica; is an ex-saloon-keeper, and has served a term in the penitentiary; has one team employed at \$75 per month and one by the day.

D. HUGHS—Foreman; a democrat, and an ex-saloon-keeper; appointed through the influence of ex-Alderman Hackett.

J. MULLEN—Assistant foreman at Loft Bridge; has served a term in the Auburn prison for highway robbery, and another term at Sing Sing; is too heavy to work, and, it is reported, hires a substitute; was imprisoned at Sing Sing under the name of Mitchell for a robbery committed in New York.

E. G. GROSMEYER—Foreman; is proprietor of a liquor saloon and grocery store; is reported to have stated that his sole duty is to draw his pay.

JAMES HACKETT—On the payrolls as a foreman, but says he is an "emergency inspector;" is the proprietor of a saloon, to which he devotes the principal part of his time; reports at the power-house for a brief portion of each day.

J. B. DOHERTY—Foreman at Lock No. 46; has served six months in the Albany penitentiary, and has been indicted for robbery and other offenses at other times; acted as teller at the ninth ward (Utica) caucus.

CHARLES WALSH—Alias "Cooky," alias "Pussy"; assistant foreman at Lock No. 46; is an ex-saloon-keeper and a notorious character.

F. KOELBEL—Laborer; his father is pro-

prietor of the saloon over which Wheeler & Dishler conducted their faro bank; is not supposed to perform any work.

J. HINKLESTONE—Laborer; has been a member of the democratic city committee for three or four years.

E. A. HUTCHINSON—Laborer; ex letter-carrier; discharged from the government service for drunkenness.

KARL HARPER—Bank-watchman; is a member of the Utica board of aldermen.

MAX ROBINSON—Assistant foreman at Lock No. 46; proprietor of a liquor saloon. On July 31 he passed the greater part of the day in court, attending to the naturalization of a number of Hebrews.

SEYMOUR VAN VALKENBURG—Clerk; supposed to be employed actually in Wheeler's coal office.

G. H. THOM—Clerk; keeps a clothing store, and is reported to do no work.

E. A. KLOCK—Reservoir tender at North Lake; occupies a house built by the state and keeps summer boarders; has a bar-room separated by a narrow passage from the state building. Three men are employed at this point to raise the water gates when necessary, although the same work was formerly done by one.

I. N. HAYES—Foreman; is proprietor of a grocery store at Boonville; presided at the local convention on the 17th inst.

HIRAM WAITE—Inspector at South Lake on a piece of contract work being done by a man named Nelson; was not seen about the work for ten days prior to the 19th inst., and was reported to be engaged in securing votes for the caucuses.

BENJAMIN THOMAS—Foreman; works at cutting stone for Nelson at thirty cents per hour, while drawing pay from the state.

ARTHUR O'BRIEN—Laborer; an active worker in the caucuses at Forestport; reported to have stood behind the ballot-box with money in his hand, offering bets that his faction would win.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

ASHFIELD, MASS., Aug. 12.—One of the great memories of Ashfield is that of George William Curtis, who was so deeply interested in the community, and whose place at the annual dinner is still vacant. His name is held in honor by the Curtis club, which to-night paid the first formal and permanent tribute to his connection with the town in the form of a handsome tablet erected in the Town Hall. The tablet is of brass with letters in black. The inscription upon the tablet reads:

In Grateful and Affectionate Remembrance
of
GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS,
and as a
Memorial of His Presence and Speech on many
occasions in this Hall this Tablet is set
up by
THE CURTIS CLUB OF ASHFIELD.
MDCCCXCVI.

From the Address of Prof. Charles Elliott Norton:

"Of all the blessings which can befall a community, there is none greater than the choice of it by a good man for his home, for the example of such a man sets a standard of conduct, and his influence, unconsciously not less than consciously exerted, tends to lift those who come within its circle to his own level. In the quiet annals of this little town there are many incidents of local and personal interest, but the incidents of chief importance to its inhabitants of this generation and of

coming times was its selection in 1865 by George William Curtis for his summer home. Hither for twenty-seven summers he came to find refreshment among these hills and woods, to show himself the best of neighbors, and to exhibit those social virtues and charms which would have made him beloved and admired by any society which he might have chosen to adorn.

* * *

"In August, 1856, just forty years ago, at the height of the struggle between the forces of freedom and those of slavery before the war, Mr. Curtis, then thirty-two years old, delivered at Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Conn., an oration on 'The Duty of the American Scholar.' It was at once a profession of faith and an appeal to the young scholars of the land to be true to those moral principles which in a period of material prosperity are apt to be subordinated to mere temporary interests. It was the first of that long series of speeches which secured to Mr. Curtis a place in the front rank of orators. He had spoken often before in public, but on this occasion he found and manifested his unequivocal vocation as a great master of the art of persuasive and powerful eloquence. To all her other gifts to him, Nature had added those of the orator. He was of a fine presence and easy grace of carriage, tall of stature, of strongly marked and expressive features, with the masculine nose and long upper lip that mark the born public speaker. His voice (it still echoes in our ears) was of wide compass, sweet, and full of tone, perfectly under control, and in perfect harmony with his aspect. Not often has a finer instrument of speech been vouchsafed to a man.

"From the date of his oration to the end of his life Mr. Curtis never put off the harness or relinquished the arms of public service. He took an active part in the local politics of the county in which he lived, he became a prominent figure in the politics of the State of New York, he exercised a powerful influence by voice and by pen in shaping the policy of the republican party and of the national administration. When the war came, that war which to the generation born since its close seems so remote, but which to us who lived through it is in a sense always present, giving poignancy to the disappointment of many of the highly raised hopes of that heroic time—when the war came Curtis threw himself into the contest with passionate zeal, passionate but not blind or irrational. In the bitter sacrifices of the war he shared. In 1862 one of his younger brothers fell dead at Fredericksburg at the head of his regiment, thus gloriously ending a stainless life of twenty-six years. His brother-in-law, the fair young Col. Robert Shaw, dying at the head of his black regiment in the assault on Fort Wagner and buried with his niggers, became the immortal type to all generations of Americans of the ideal hero of human brotherhood. Of the work which had to be done at home no less essential than that in the field, no man did more, or more effectively, than Curtis.

"Of all the many public questions of importance which claimed attention in the years following the war, none was of greater concern than the reform of the civil service. The 'spoils system' had become rooted in the practice of the government, both local and national, and in the popular theory of its administration. This system by which public office was held to be not a place of trust to be awarded only to such as were competent by character and intelligence to discharge its duties, but a place of emolument given as reward or incentive for partisan or personal services—this debasing and corrupting system had in the course of years become the source of evils which threatened the very foundation of our institutions. One of the least of these evils was the lowering of the quality of the public service and the degradation of the character of the public servant. To hold public office was no longer a badge of honor, but a token of loss of personal independence and a badge of servitude to a patron. The system poisoned the moral springs of political effort and action; it perverted the nature and the results of elections; it fostered corruption in every department of the government, and tended to vitiate the popular conception of the duty of a citizen in a republic and of the very ends for which the government exists. To contend against this system, intrenched as it was behind the lines of long custom, defended by the host of selfish, unprincipled, and ignorant politicians, and openly supported by both the great parties alike, seemed an almost hopeless task.

"But Mr. Curtis did not shrink from the contest. He had faith in the good sense of the mass of the people if once they could be roused from their temper of optimistic indifference. The fight had already begun when he entered it, but he had scarcely entered it before he became its leader.

"In 1871 he was appointed by Gen. Grant upon the commission to form rules for admission to the public service and regulations to promote its efficiency. He was made chairman of the commission, and their report—the basis of all that has since been done in the establishment of the reform—was mainly his work. But the opposition to the project of reform was strenuous, was persistent. The aims of the reformers were often baffled, often defeated. But they were not disheartened. In 1880 the New York Civil Service Reform Association was founded, in 1881 the National association for the same end, and of both was Mr. Curtis chosen president. In both he held this office till his death. The duties were arduous, and were performed by him with consummate fidelity and ability. He was a magnificent standard bearer. Slowly but steadily the cause advanced. He did not live to see its triumph, but he never doubted that it would win the victory. It has triumphed, and for this triumph, with all its far-reaching, beneficent results, the honor is mainly due to Mr. Curtis, as well as the gratitude of his

country for her rescue from a grave peril and a great disgrace.

* * * * *

"Four years have passed since Mr. Curtis's death. The sense of personal bereavement and of public loss does not grow less as time goes on. The great cause of civil service reform has won its triumph more speedily than he hoped, but vigilance and activity will long be needed to defend its position. New questions have arisen and new perils threaten us. The times have grown darker. No lover of his country can look forward without anxiety. At this moment of popular delusion, of confusion, of parties, of excited passions, at this moment, when only a choice of evils seems to be before us, we long to hear—alas! that we should long in vain—that clear voice of prudent and sagacious council to which we were wont to listen for instruction and guidance. Never was there greater need than at this moment of enforcing upon the intelligence and the conscience of the people the truth that national safety and prosperity rest securely only upon the foundation of moral rectitude, of clearing away the sophistries by which the popular mind is confused and betrayed; of exposing the fallacies and stemming the passion of partizan zeal; of appealing to the true motives which should guide individuals in their political action. This was his work while he lived, and, following his example, this is our work now. The dangers and exigencies of the time are new. The perils that confront us are not transient, nor to be quenched or suppressed by spasmodic effort and the result of an election. The infuriate clamor for war, the eager cry for free silver and fiat money, the demand for subsidy under the name of protection, may be suppressed, but they are only the symptoms of disease, and to suppress them is no more a remedy for the disease than to check a fit of coughing by an opiate is a remedy for consumption. The diseases is the ignorance and the consequent lack of public morality of a large part of the people of our republic. To contend with this ignorance, to enlighten it, is our task. It is a long, a difficult, an uncertain fight that lies before us. It is the fight of civilization against barbarism in America. It is the new form of the old good fight, fought ever in different ages under different names.

"I was wrong just now in saying that we could not hear the voice of Curtis. He speaks: 'Whatever in human nature is hopeful, generous, aspiring—the love of God and trust in man—is arrayed on one side.' On that side he stood. On that side let us stand."

PSEUDO-PATRIOTISM.

Counterfeits of True Patriotism—The Demands of Real Patriotism

[Baccalaureate sermon delivered by the Rev. William De Witte Hyde, D. D., president of Bowdoin College, before the graduating class at Brunswick, Me., June, 1896.]

Another point on which true patriotism is called for is the civil service. Sneered at and

betrayed and starved and decried by politicians, the reform of the civil service has gone steadily forward until at length, after thirty years of agitation, 85,200 places, or substantially the entire national service, is brought under the rules. Much remains to be done to establish the reform and to extend it in states and municipalities; but the principle has at last achieved a permanent and substantial victory in the field of national politics. By this reform, offices cease to be party spoils and become opportunities for public service. This is the grandest triumph of true patriotism that has been accomplished in our day.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION.

[Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia College, before National Council of Education at Buffalo, July, 1896.]

THE UNDEMOCRATIC SPOILS SYSTEM.

"Much of the disinclination to engage in active political life that is noticeable among a large portion of our people is due, I believe, to the evil effects upon political standards and methods that flow from the debasing and degrading system of treating public office as a reward for partisan activity, that has gained so strong a hold in the United States. The spoils system is utterly undemocratic and utterly unworthy of toleration by an intelligent people. Suppose that it ruled the schools, as it rules so many other departments of public administration; then we should expect to see the election of a mayor in Boston, Chicago, New Orleans or San Francisco, followed by hundreds of changes among the public school teachers, made solely for political reasons. How long do you suppose that this association would permit that to go on without a protest that would be heard from Maine to Texas? Why should we, as good citizens, be more tolerant of such an abuse in other departments of the government? We have all noted with gratification the progress that is making towards the elimination of this evil. A determined band of men have kept the issue before the public for nearly a generation, and now they have the satisfaction of seeing a great portion of the national service wrested from the defiling hand of the spoils hunter. In the state of New York the people have put into their new constitution an emphatic declaration on the subject. The full effect of this declaration, splendidly upheld and broadly interpreted by the courts, is just beginning to dawn upon the foes of a reformed and efficient public service.

LOW IDEALS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

"From this advance of sound sentiment and honest policy we may take every encouragement. But much remains to be done. Public sentiment must be first interested, then educated. Efficient public service is a mark of civilization. To turn over the care of great public undertakings to the self-seeking camp followers of some political potentate is barbaric. We teachers are the first to insist that incompetent and untrained persons shall not be allowed in the service of the schools. Why, then, should we tolerate the sight of a house

painter instead of an engineer supervising the streets and roadways of a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants, or that of an illiterate hanger-on presiding over the public work of a great metropolis? These instances, drawn at random from recent political history, are typical of conditions that will be widely diffused throughout our public service. Those conditions exist because of bad citizenship, low ideals of public service, and wretchedly inadequate moral vision. They will not be remedied until each one of us assumes his share of the task.

"It is instructive, too, to note that the spoils system has diverted public interest in great measure from choice between policies to choice between men. Two hundred years ago men would have made great sacrifices for an opportunity to share in the making of the laws by which they were governed. Yet, when in 1894, the people of this state were called upon to vote, at one and the same election, for a governor and for or against a new constitution, containing many important and some novel propositions, more than a million and a quarter men voted for a candidate for governor, while less than three-quarters of a million expressed themselves regarding the proposed constitution. And this is by no means a solitary instance of the tendency that it illustrates. A rational and intelligent democracy will first discuss questions of principle and then select agents in accordance with their earlier determination. To fix our interest solely on individuals and to overlook or neglect the principles for which they stand is not intelligent."

The public-school system in Milwaukee is suffering from the familiar trouble of too much politics. The city has had an excellent and every way acceptable superintendent, who has just resigned his position because he can no longer endure the conditions under which he has suffered. "I enjoy greatly the work of the school board and would be glad to keep it up," he says, "but the responsibility and power are not commensurate, and I doubt if I can do it." The radical difficulty is that the superintendent, while nominally responsible for the management of the schools, is not allowed any latitude in his action, but is made the mere creature of the school commissioners. He can not even appoint or displace a teacher except the board approve, and the board, while in form acting as a body, in fact act in each case as is determined by the commissioner of the ward. "The result is," says the *Sentinel*, that "the charge of the schools and the authority that belongs to their superintendence are not vested in the superintendent, but in reality are held and exercised by eighteen petty ward sovereigns, holding office under appointment of ward aldermen, who are governed, in most cases, by considerations of politics and not by the best interests of the schools."—*New York Evening Post*, July 8.

The *Chicago Post* is making a systematic effort to get at a clear understanding of the

workings and condition of the public schools of that city, and to that end has addressed a series of letters to teachers and principals asking them to reply to the questions therein, assurance being given that their names shall not be disclosed under any circumstances. *The schools there are under political domination, and one purpose of the investigation is to learn the extent to which improper appointments are made and incompetent teachers retained.* So great is the timidity of the teachers and their fear that their identity will become known to the school authorities that many have sent in their communications without signature, but they show a remarkable agreement in their figures. The principals estimate that from 12 to 15 per cent. of the teachers in the schools are unfit for their positions and should be dropped. Many of them have been reported by principals from time to time as incompetent, but, owing to political influence, have retained their places and have even been promoted. One principal would drop 40 per cent. of the teachers for the good of the schools if she had the power.—*Indianapolis Journal*, June 28.

The first regular meeting of the school association was held in the Buffalo library building May 19. The president, Henry A. Richmond, in a short address, referred to the fact that for many years the school system had been in a very unsatisfactory condition, the nomination of superintendents being the result of political deals, and the appointment of teachers the reward of political service. With the advent of the new charter, which provided for a board of examiners and the application of the principles of civil service reform to the appointment of teachers, a new day had dawned, and already, under the vigorous impulse given by the present superintendent, the schools had begun the upward way.—*Buffalo Courier*, June 14.

SPOILS.

"As a general rule the southern (populist) delegates were not a creditable class. They practically admitted while in St. Louis that they were out for nothing but spoils. They said that there was nothing in it for them to indorse democratic nominees, and the same spirit will probably dominate their actions in the future."—*Jones, Chairman Democratic-Populist Committee, Washington Interview*, August 3.

* * *

Ex-Mayor Hewitt, in an interview published in the *Times*, has expressed the belief that Tammany indorsed the Chicago nominations "for the sake of greater spoils should Bryan win."

This adds a darker horror to the prospect of 16 to 1. Free coinage and free riot are bad enough; repudiation and national dishonor are shocking to men of moral sensibility. But Purroy as postmaster, John C. Sheehan collector of the Port and Sulzer, United States District Attorney—these things as the prospective fruit of regularity would kindle the fires of

revolt in the bosom of Richard Croker himself and make an enthusiastic bolter out of the most unflinching Andrew Jackson democrat.

Spread the news that Tammany is out for the Federal spoils! It will be a most effective sound-money campaign cry.—*New York Times*, August 5.

* * *

The annual salaries of the senators aggregate \$440,000, while the majority in control of the senate may distribute patronage worth \$360,912 each year. This sum is divided among 255 people of all grades of work and remuneration, making an average of \$1,431. The patronage ranges all the way from the secretary of the senate, who gets more than a senator, \$5,396, down to laborers at \$50 a month. It includes clerks to committees, pages, messengers, watchmen, clerks, mail-carriers, folders, firemen and engineers, and all branches of service. As nearly as possible the patronage is divided up among the senators according to a fixed rule, and a careful tab is kept on the lists of appointments and removals. The smaller the salary the more unstable the place. The range of salaries is high. Even in the more menial positions is this shown. The senators are generous in their distribution of the funds, and spare no opportunity to increase the budget of domestic expenses. Two years ago the democrats secured control of the senate by a deal with several of the populists, and there was a clean sweep. Every republican employe was dismissed and democrats and populists installed in their places. This distribution gave to each member of the combine about \$11,000 worth of patronage for their friends.—*Washington dispatch*, *Buffalo Express*.

* * *

The Kings county grand jury yesterday handed to Judge Aspinwall a presentment in which they state the penitentiary is in first-class order, but in reference to the jail they say: "We found the straw in the beds of the women's prison very dirty and the bathtubs and wash-tubs in very poor condition and not clean. The sanitary conditions were useless, and the corridor under the female prison was full of garbage and other refuse, which should be removed. We would recommend that a shower bath be placed in the frame building in the jail yard. We further recommend that a better quality of food be furnished the prisoners. We found the females detained as witnesses were compelled to mingle with other prisoners. We would recommend that a proper place be provided for such witnesses."—*New York Times*, May 30.

MERIT.

An investigation of the New York letter carrier service was begun last April. Thirty inspectors who had been doing similar work in western cities were ordered to New York. The result of their work was that out of 1,346 carriers charges were preferred by the inspectors against only fifteen of them. In no case was the offense of a serious nature, and one of the men was able to exonerate himself.

The movements of the inspectors were kept secret. No post-office employe was supposed to be aware of their presence in the city. Each inspector was assigned to a particular district. His duties were to watch the movements of certain letter-carriers from the time they left the office with mail for delivery until they returned to headquarters.

This system was practiced upon each of the 1,346 carriers, and occupied upwards of ten weeks. Four carriers were caught loitering along their routes. Five carriers stopped at their homes to eat meals while on duty. Five others were caught drinking while on duty. One of the carriers charged with loitering explained that he had stopped at his home to see his sick wife. He was exonerated. For these offenses suspensions of a few days were imposed. Postmaster Dayton is quoted as saying of the report: "We are conducting no dress-parade administration here. The entire post-office force will be gratified that the result of the investigation should be made public, showing the high degree of discipline that prevails. I have had no fear of the result from the beginning. The cause of our success is due almost entirely to the co-operation of Superintendent Morgan and others and the men themselves."—*New York Evening Post*, July 3.

* * *

At the last general meeting of the committee the civil service committee brought forward the following petition to President Cleveland, which was heartily indorsed:

To the President:

The Civic Club of Philadelphia, representing over five hundred women, whose object is to "promote by education and active co-operation a higher public spirit and a better social order," believing that faithful attention to duty deserves such recognition, respectfully presents for your consideration the following petition: That the women employed in the Philadelphia mint be placed under civil service regulations.

* * *

"We have been able to do an immense amount, indeed, I think I may justly say an almost incredible amount, in cleaning up the police department, in giving it an entirely new spirit, and in teaching the men, once for all, that laws can be enforced and must be obeyed even in New York city; and that the elementary principles of honesty and morality and the old common-sense methods of administering the department with business efficiency can be applied just as well to the police department as to any other branch of our government. But with the law as it now is, it is absolutely impossible for any one or two men to make the police department all that it ought to be. * * *

"The legislature, however, to its lasting discredit, not only refused to pass the power-of-removal bill, and therefore refused to give us the means of weeding out the scoundrels from the force; but also passed the so-called bi-partisan police bill, as thoroughly vicious and

pernicious a measure as could well be imagined. This bi-partisan police bill not only perpetuated the four-headed commission, but further divided the power and responsibility, instead of centering them. * * *

"With a four-headed board it is necessary that three should act as a unit in order that good work may be done; there is always a chance that three will work together, but the sapient legislature provided against this chance by actually making it necessary that the four should be unanimous when it came to discharging one of their most important functions, that of promotion. Furthermore, they took away from the board the power of making transfers and details, giving it as an independent power to their subordinate, the chief, who is irremovable, save for some cause which will stand the test of a trial in the courts, and who can not be disciplined in any way, save by due legal process. * * *

"Nevertheless, within certain limitations the board has some power, and by sheer force of will, and by resolute insistence upon the right, it can do and has done a very great deal. We can not guarantee, under the present law, no matter what may be our confidence in our subordinates, to suppress all forms of hidden corruption; but the immense mass of it we have completely cut away. We can not guarantee that some individuals here or there are not allowed to violate the law; but once for all we have put a complete stop to the custom of permitting the violation of the law by entire classes of privileged law-breakers. Indeed, the very completeness of our success in this direction almost causes people to forget what has been done. A year and a half ago it was accepted as a truism that the excise law could not be enforced in New York city; now, nobody for a moment questions that it can be enforced and is enforced. There is no justifiable complaint whatever about the way the police are enforcing the Raines law. The difficulties that do exist as regards its enforcement must be laid at other doors. So it has been with disorderly houses; the comptroller, Mr. A. P. Fitch, has been able to cause great loss and inconvenience to the different police officers from the chief down to the patrolmen by his discreditable course of conduct in trying to hamper the department in its effort to enforce the law as to disorderly-house keepers in precisely the same way that it enforces the law as to every other grade of law-breakers; but the comptroller has not succeeded, and will not succeed, in his effort to make us relent in our warfare against this class of criminals, the class of insidiously vicious who furnish so rich a harvest of blackmail in time past to the political organization of which the comptroller is now the chief representative in our public life. * * *

"We have made the police feel that they are the servants of the public and not their masters, and we have striven to make every citizen feel that if he is wronged by a policeman, his wrongs will be promptly righted if they will come before the commissioners with their complaint. We have made it evident that laws can and will be enforced, and we have shown that it is perfectly practicable to manage the police department on a basis of strict honesty and efficiency, without the slightest regard to politics, and to promote and appoint men with an eye single to their qualities and to the interest of the public at large."—*From interview of Theodore Roosevelt*, *New York Post*, July 27.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

VOL. II, No. 43.

INDIANAPOLIS, SEPTEMBER, 1896.

TERMS : { One dollar per annum.
10 cents per copy.

Published monthly. Publication office, No. 23 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind. Address, THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE. Indianapolis, Ind.

WE ARE OPPOSED TO LIFE TENURE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE. WE FAVOR APPOINTMENTS BASED UPON MERIT, FIXED TERMS OF OFFICE, AND SUCH AN ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAWS AS WILL AFFORD EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL CITIZENS OF ASCERTAINED FITNESS.—

Platform, National Convention of Looters, Chicago, July, 1896.

WHAT WE OPPOSE IN THAT PLANK IS THE LIFE TENURE WHICH IS BEING BUILT UP AT WASHINGTON, WHICH EXCLUDES FROM PARTY REP-

RESENTATION IN THE BENEFITS THE HUMBLER MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY.

—*Bryan's Interpretation.*

W. W. Durbin, chairman of the State committee, who had boarded the train at Lima, insisted on Mr. Bryan saying a few words at Ada, where he delivered the commencement oration at the Normal university last year. He left his breakfast and Prof. H. S. Lehr, president of the university, introduced the candidate as the next president. Mr. Bryan was received with cheers and said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—While I have not been speaking much on this trip I can not withstand the temptation to say a word here. The words so kindly spoken by Prof. Lehr, you will remember, are not

thought of since the nomination. He is one of the original Bryan men. When I was here a year ago he was a Bryan man. I think he wanted you to become acquainted with me, so if you wanted post-offices you would know where to come to get them. I am not distributing postoffices yet, but I hope to be before very long. (Applause.) I remember with a great deal of pleasure this city and the students here of the university, and I hope they will become students of the money question and be prepared to take their part in this fight. I thank you. (Great applause.)—*Mr. Bryan, at Ada, August 10.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE greatly desires any numbers of the July and August numbers not needed by the recipients.

THROUGH the fault of the publishing office some of those on the CHRONICLE'S mailing list have not received the July and August numbers. If those who are keeping a file of the paper will notify this office, the missing numbers will as far as possible be supplied.

WITH the defeat of Bryan the publication of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE will cease. It was begun nearly eight years ago in the midst of the struggle for the establishment and maintenance of the merit system in the federal service and the burden of its work has been in that struggle. By the far-seeing and statesmanlike measures of Mr. Cleveland during his present administration the victory has been completed. It is not that there is not yet much to be done, but the forces to accomplish it are abundant and united. The federal employes themselves have at last espoused the reform, and on every hand they rise up and demand its enforcement and extension. The country has accepted it and it regards with aversion and distrust any man who threatens to overthrow it. In state, county and city fields the merit system has made little more than a beginning. It is, however, only a question of time. Neither Tammany Hall nor the present city administration of Indianapolis can much longer resist the crushing influence with which the merits of the merit system now make their way. The examples of the federal service now found throughout the United States are a daily lesson to the whole people of the wisdom of transferring routine public

business from the field of politics to the field of the wage earner. It is true, however, that the cause still needs public agitation; but the press of the country has come over to the right side. There are notable cases of the press which have always been on the right side, and these give greatly increased space and time to the subject, while the press generally has changed from active or silent opposition to open advocacy. The newspaper which now advocates the spoils system is something of a rarity. The situation is believed to be a sufficient reason for the discontinuance of the CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

WE take Bryan's defeat as a matter beyond question. His beginning was demagogic enough but he has dropped now to even a cheaper grade. His proposal to destroy the merit system was proof of how little knowledge he had of the American people. This people by a vast majority are favorable to that system, and his declaration lost him instantly the votes of all civil service reformers and of all but a fraction of the federal employes. Bryan proved further that his knowledge of the true principles of civil administration is of the same half-baked, wild-eyed nature as his rolling declarations upon finance show his knowledge of that subject to be. It is all of the sand-lot order and whenever the American people have had a chance to get at such a man they have never failed to put him down, and they will not fail now. The fact that he proposes to destroy the greatest work which has been done for this nation since the abolition of slavery and that he proposes to reach the position of a destroyer by stirring up hatred between classes and sections will but serve to unite the great

body of the people the more firmly against him. His defeat will clear the atmosphere as it has not been cleared in many years. In declaring his defeat beforehand, it is assumed that there will not be the least relaxation of the effort against him. There can not be, or the ruin will fall upon us. We repeat that if any man has ever done any thing for the merit system, he should repeat that effort by a thousand times. And the effort must grow more intense and more prolonged as the election approaches. Private business and private interests are nothing. The time has come when every citizen should go to work for the republic. Bryan must not receive the vote of a single patriotic citizen. Let them be all on one side, and let Bryan and Tammany Hall, and the likes of Tammany Hall everywhere, be on the other.

PARTICULARLY noteworthy is the fact that the employes in the postal service handled during the last fiscal year 13,851,000 pieces of registered mail with the loss of only one piece in every 16,254.—*From Mr. Maxwell's report.*

It is difficult to treat Mr. Bryan's utterances on "life tenure" and "a fixed term in appointive offices" as the sincere expressions of an ignorant man. The CHRONICLE believes that his talk on the civil service is but another "bid" for a support from those whose passions for a loot he believes he can thus inflame. But will not those reform papers who see in him only the passionate and sincere advocate of mistaken principles ask him to explain how, for instance, in the four years of his single term in addition to purging this country of syndicates, monopolies, trusts, money changers, corrupt judges and juries, as he has laid out to do, he will also introduce into the railway mail service those "humbler classes of our citizens" for a "fixed

It assails the independence of the judiciary by the covert threat to reorganize the courts whenever their decisions contravene the decrees of the party caucus. It seeks to allure office-seekers and spoilsmen to its support by attacking the existing civil service laws, which good men of all parties have labored so long to establish, and to extend to all departments of the public service.—*From the call of the National Democratic party, Chicago, August 17.*

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW WAS PLACED ON THE STATUTE BOOKS BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WHICH HAS ALWAYS SUSTAINED IT, AND WE RE-NEW OUR REPEATED DECLARATIONS THAT IT SHALL BE THOROUGHLY AND HONESTLY ENFORCED AND EXTENDED WHEREVER PRACTICABLE.—*From the Republican Platform, 1896.*

"MR. CHAIRMAN, IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THIS COUNTRY IS PLEDGED TO ANY ONE THING MORE

THAN ANOTHER, IT IS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW AND TO ITS EFFICIENT EXECUTION—NOT ONLY THAT, BUT TO ITS ENLARGEMENT AND ITS FURTHER APPLICATION TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

"THE LAW THAT STANDS UPON OUR STATUTE BOOKS TO-DAY WAS PUT THERE BY REPUBLICAN VOTES. IT WAS A REPUBLICAN MEASURE. EVERY NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, SINCE ITS ENACTMENT, HAS DECLARED NOT ONLY IN

term without impairing its efficiency." Green hands handling 13,851,000 pieces of registered mail with the loss of only one piece in every 16,254 would indeed be a glory to his administration.

THE declarations of Mr. Bryan and his various conventions for overturning the merit system built up by years of the unremitting toil of many unselfish and noble men, has brought the usual pitiful spectacle of public employes cravenly trying to mollify the wrath of the spoils Jugger-naut. Last month it was the Washington clerks, who folded documents for the committee after working hours. This month it is the group of postal clerk delegates who called on Mr. Bryan at Lincoln and promised him their support. Further, the "fifteen white roses presented by the lady clerks of the New Albany post-office to our next president," would have been more symbolic of their own sure decapitation had they been red.

THE impropriety of any federal employe taking any public part in a political campaign is apparent. His time and strength belong to the government which pays him. He has no right to make himself offensive to the tax-payer who is taxed for his salary. This in no wise deprives him of the rights of suffrage. If he feels the call for an active campaign, he should quit the public service. But the insolent public servant who flaunts his opposition to the administration should be promptly kicked out of office. We particularly mean Baldwin, auditor of the treasury, and Bell, deputy commissioner of pensions, who have for weeks been making Bryan speeches, and discussing the bond issues of the administration "with fearlessness."

THE Tacoma (Washington) *Morning Union* has been, says the writer of the following refreshing letter to that paper, a consistent and courageous champion of civil service reform, both in Tacoma and in the National government, and has recognized it as a reform of fundamental and vital importance. He goes on to say:

There are those in the community who believe that the cause of civil service reform, standing as

it does for honesty in the administration of the government, is of equal importance with the free coinage of silver.

Let me call your attention to the fact that the Chicago platform practically declares against the principles of civil service reform and pledges itself to the adoption of what is at best only a modification of the "spoils system." It "opposes," in the words of Mr. Bryan, "the life tenure which is being built up at Washington, which excludes from participation in the benefits the humbler members of our society." There are two palpable untruths in this short sentence which are unworthy of a man of Mr. Bryan's moral and religious pretensions. Tenure of office during good behavior is not "life tenure," and no one knows this better than Mr. Bryan. An employe in the classified civil service has no more secure hold upon his position than any employe in a private business house has. Why could not the Chicago convention and Mr. Bryan say what they meant, viz: That they opposed tenure of office during good behavior? Evidently because it was necessary to arouse an unworthy prejudice against the legitimate beneficiaries of the civil service in order to champion the claims of the illegitimate would-be beneficiaries.

The second untruth in the above quotation is the assertion that the civil service "excludes from party representation in the benefits the humbler members of society." This is directly contrary to the facts. The civil service is the only system by which a "humble member of society" can obtain government employment without loss of self-respect. It may let in members of other parties, but it does not "exclude" any member of the prevailing party who is worthy.

"Fixed terms of office," which is the recommendation of the Chicago platform, means simply a periodical redistribution of the spoils which will give the party in power an opportunity to replace the incumbents of the opposite party with their own followers, as the fourth-class postmasters are now replaced under the reprehensible four years' term law. This is not civil service reform. It is the "other thing."

To this sound and straight forward argument, the *Morning Union* works out a pretty lame and curious answer, part of which is that "Anti-spoils" is a good citizen, who nevertheless is partisan:

"It is the failing of partisanship to cover up and hide the defects of partisans. 'Anti spoils' is a republican. He picks at, in another column, a side issue in the Chicago platform, *which side issue, from the standpoint of practical politics, was judiciously handled by the framers of that document.* As the matter stands, the main issue is the securing of bimetallism for this country, which has been growing worse and worse under the present gold standard. * * *

"We do not defend the civil service plank of the Chicago platform. * * *

"We are not partisan. We aim to be honest and fair always."

RECENTLY an address on sound money was given in Anderson, Ind., to a railway men's club. The speaker afterwards received a letter, part of which we gladly print:

I, however, wish to refer to that portion of your address in reference to the civil service. * * * I am a civil service reformer. I believe in it. It is one of the greatest blessings that has come to our country, and it took the blood of the noble Garfield to bring it about. One of its essential features is permanency of tenure. This is alike beneficial to the government and to the individual holding office. I notice that Mr. Bryan is opposed to what he calls the life-tenure, and I am convinced that should he succeed he will lend all his efforts to the rewarding of his followers and the destruction of civil service reform. I do not think sufficient attention has been given to this feature, and you ought to dwell on it more largely in your addresses.

THE 250,000 employes in the federal service who are receiving assessment letters and are being otherwise "coerced" to provide funds to elect Mr. Bryan should remember to take advantage of the secret ballot, and by that ballot protect themselves, their wives and children and their livelihood. We do not, however, counsel them to lose their manhood by adapting to their situation that further advice of this presidential nominee for the greatest office of a great country given to workingmen to wear a McKinley button, put up a McKinley picture, join a McKinley club, pay an assessment, but to use the secret ballot to vote for Bryan.

HE will suffer defeat, in our opinion, as surely as the sun rises; and, deserved as that defeat may be, we can not deny him the credit of being an earnest, sincere, honest man and a patriot who is working with all his might for what he deems the best interests and the true glory of his country.

This is the opinion of Mr. Bryan given by the *Springfield Republican*, known everywhere as a professed hater of spoils government. What a foe to everything clean and honest in government Tammany has been; what a tremendous power for evil it has been; what it has taken of strength, and time and money to expose it and to partially crush it is also known everywhere. And to Tammany Hall Mr. Bryan last week spoke and to Mr. Bryan Tammany Hall gave an ovation such as it never gave before. "The roar of applause

FAVOR OF ITS CONTINUANCE IN FULL VIGOR, BUT IN FAVOR OF ITS ENLARGEMENT SO AS TO APPLY MORE GENERALLY TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE. AND THIS, MR. CHAIRMAN, IS NOT ALONE THE DECLARATION AND PURPOSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, BUT IT IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS HIGHEST AND BEST SENTIMENT—AYE, MORE, IT IS SUSTAINED BY THE BEST SENTIMENT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC

ALIKE."—*Mr. McKinley in Congress, April, 1890.*

"The pledge of the republican national convention that our civil service laws shall be sustained and thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable is in keeping with the position of the party for the past twenty-four years and will be faithfully observed. Our opponents deery these reforms. They appear to be willing to abandon all the advantages gained

after so many years' agitation and effort. They encourage a return to methods of party favoritism, which both parties have often denounced, that experience has condemned and that the people have repeatedly disapproved. The republican party earnestly opposes this reactionary and entirely unjustifiable policy. It will take no backward step on this question. It will seek to improve, but never degrade the public service.—*From Mr. McKinley's Letter of Acceptance, August 27.*

shook the building." "The cheering did not come in waves, but in a steady prolonged roar." Why did Tammany Hall go mad over Mr. Bryan as he stood "smiling and happy" before them? It was the scent of spoil. They knew their man. If this republic has reached the point where this Tammany idol is a "patriot" "working with all his might for what he deems the best interests and the true glory of his country," Heaven save our country

A SMALL number of influential papers keep up the maudlin sentiment of Bryan's "honesty" and "sincerity." This is in face of such repeated declarations as that syndicates control our government, prosperity never followed the gold standard, dropping the silver dollar from the coinage was done secretly, and so on through a long list, every one of which is a palpable falsehood and must be known to be so by Bryan. In addition we have him daily talking about aristocrats and the rich robbing the poor. The poor in this country work for wages and wages rose fourteen per cent. in gold between 1873 and 1891; yet this man of sincerity and honesty spends half of his time trying to stir up the hatred of wage-earners against their employers. His whole daily course since his nomination has been a blazing falsehood. It is an axiom that wage-earners in this country are the best rewarded in the world, and their reward has been upon a rising scale for fifty years. They are a credit to American civilization. They have not been robbed by their employers and they do not feel that they have been robbed. There is a constant competition between labor and capital, but labor has no reason to feel dissatisfied with the way it has come off. Since 1893 a very large body of wage-earners have suffered the keenest anxiety for want of employment; but their course has not been one of bitterness and hatred of any other set of men. It has been patient and manly and an honor to them as citizens. In the meantime it would be well for respectable papers to stop talking about Bryan's honesty and sincerity.

WHEN Mr. McKinley becomes President, a determined onslaught will be made on him for offices. There is yet a considerable list which will be claimed as spoils, and the republicans have now active in the campaign many familiar personages who will go, after it is over, and demand pay. We do not know what Mr. McKinley intends to do about this, but we do know that there is no necessity of giving a single place as a reward for services. With the understanding that the vancancies, whether in fourth-class post-offices or in higher positions, are to be filled by a system which absolutely excludes politics, and by competitive tests whenever such tests are applicable, we are ready to admit that there are offices which have been seized by democrats merely as spoil, and which are not now under the civil service rules that might be vacated to make room for the new system. For instance, to vacate the Indianapolis postmastership to make room for a republican politician picked up on the street would be a gross and scandalous abuse of a President's power and a violation of the spirit of the republican platform and of Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance. But to vacate that place for the purpose of filling it by competitive promotion open to assistant postmasters of other cities would be an entirely proper proceeding, and a great advance in administrative reform.

The New York Evening Post of September 11, says:

The recent defalcation of an Iowa postmaster has brought to light a shocking development of the spoils system in that state. The offender's story is that his downfall dates from the time when money was extorted from him by democratic politicians as the price of their support for his office. He says that he was forced to give a note for \$500 to the chairman of the democratic county committee, and various amounts, aggregating \$400 more, to another prominent democratic politician, who has been a member of the legislature, for alleged services in going to Washington in his behalf. The defaulter's story seems to be universally credited, and it does not surprise the public as much as it ought, because ever since the redistribution of post-offices began in 1893 ugly rumors have been continuously in circulation in regard to democratic committeemen and others supposed to have "pulls" selling their influence to the highest bidder. One

democratic ex-congressman is declared to have written letters to various applicants for office saying that he would file their petitions free of charge, but adding, significantly, that if he were expected to "brief" the case, he should expect a fee. *The Des Moines Leader*, the democratic newspaper at the state capital, appears to believe these stories, and declares that "the matter should be probed to the bottom, and no matter what the social or political standing of the men concerned, full punishment should be meted out." It says plainly that "the democratic party must purify itself of such rottenness," since "no party can prosper with such jackals preying on it."

This illustrates what will happen on a great scale if Mr. Bryan has the opportunity he so eagerly awaited in his Ada speech: "I am not distributing post-offices yet, but I hope to be before very long."

GOVERNOR ALTGELD is a more dangerous man because he is a very shrewd man who knows how to run an administration so as to secure the commendation of the large number of business men who look no further than that in certain lines his administration is economically administered. He recently held his Cook county convention, and his real character is shown by an analysis of the convention made by Henry F. Donovan in the *Eagle*, as follows:

Of the delegates there have been on trial for murder	17
Sentenced to the penitentiary for murder or manslaughter and served sentence	7
Served terms in the penitentiary for burglary ..	36
Served terms in the penitentiary for picking pockets	2
Served term in the penitentiary for arson	1
Ex-bridewell and jail-birds, identified by detectives	84
Keepers of gambling houses	7
Keepers of houses of ill-fame	2
Convicted of mayhem	3
Ex-prizefighters	11
Poolroom proprietors	2
Saloon keepers	265
Lawyers	14
Physicians	3
Grain dealers	2
Political employes	148
Hatter	1
Stationer	1
Contractors	4
Grocer	1
Sign painter	1
Plumbers	4
Butcher	1
Druggist	1
Furniture supplies	1
Commission merchants	2
Ex-policemen	15
Dentist	1
Speculators	2
Justices of the peace	2
Ex-constable	1
Farmers	6
Undertakers	3
No occupation	71

Total delegates

In face of the above, the following from

the *Springfield Republican* of October 2, is interesting:

We have never believed him to be as black as his enemies have painted him, and feel that the country will have to revise its first impetuous condemnation of the man as an anarchist and intentional foe of law and order.

His methods and his "blackness" are of the same sort as those of Platt and Gorman, and Quay and Tammany, with certain other attributes considered by many dangerous in a republican form of government.

WHEN Mayor Strong came into office he appointed three fire commissioners. One appointment was for fitness, and the other two were in the nature of political returns to organizations that had supported him. The mayor at that time apparently defined a non-partisan administration as one which "recognized" all the organizations of influence which had supported him. The natural results followed. Politics still did their bad work in the board, and Mr. Sheffield's efforts were nullified. Through the death of Commissioner Ford, the mayor has again been obliged to fill the office, which he has done this time entirely with reference to fitness. Says the *New York Evening Post*, "a more suitable selection could not have been made." The regeneration of New York city is surely coming. If the next legislature will undo the work of Platt and Tammany in tying up the hands of the police board, the greatest step will be taken. Meanwhile let us rejoice that Colonel Waring's street cleaning force appreciate a man who runs his department strictly upon the merit system. They mean to celebrate his return from Europe by a grand reception.

THE influence of New York for municipal reform over the whole country is well put by *The Indianapolis News* in its reference to Col. Waring's work. It says:

We venture the prediction that, no matter who may be in power in New York in future, Tammany Hall or any other party, New York will hereafter have clean streets. Col. Waring has demonstrated that the streets can be kept clean; the people have had experience of clean streets, and appreciate what they mean; they will never consent to go back to the old way.

Moreover, New York will now be a model in this respect for all other cities. People from all other cities of the country are constantly visiting New York. They return home to ask why their streets can not be cared for as those of New York are. Little by little their asking will become louder, till it will have to be answered in the right way.

THE CHRONICLE is in receipt of the following letter, which is not written by some foreign student of our affairs residing in Lapland, but comes from a student in a considerable town in Illinois in the autumn of 1896:

Would you please give me the address and name of some work (if any can be had) favoring "civil service."

I would very much like to get a copy of a book devoted to this subject, or if you can let me know where I can secure copies of speeches made on this subject I would be greatly obliged.

My object for wishing same is I have the negative side of the following question in a debate at school, "Should offices be used as the spoils of political victory?"

What can the writer have been reading for the past eight years? Certainly not the newspapers. There has not been, we believe, a leading paper that has not had every day facts or comments illustrating the spoils system or the merit system or both. The newspapers have made many "books devoted to this subject."

THE letter of Attorney-General Harmon to a Virginia district attorney who had been acting as chairman of a campaign committee and whose resignation he accepted is so excellent that we give it in full:

"Whatever rule may prevail in other departments, it is well settled in this, as stated in my letter, that there is an impropriety in officers like you acting as committeemen to manage and conduct political campaigns. The reasons are so manifest that they should not require more than a mere suggestion. As United States attorney you determine whom to prosecute and whom not to prosecute. You conduct or recommend the discontinuance of prosecutions already commenced. You have admission to the grand jury rooms, and indictments are found or refused largely upon your advice.

"If I concede that you are, as you to-day claimed to be, one of those rare men who are beyond the reach of the unconscious operation of feeling of personal favor or disfavor, as I am sure you are beyond reach of the conscious operation of such feelings, still the general confidence of the community in your conduct as a public officer of justice is at least at risk, if, while holding that office, you so engaged in the exciting and often bitter political campaigns in which the entire community is ranged on one side or the other. Your political work necessarily brings you in direct contact with people of all classes whose assistance you seek to gain or whose opposition you seek to overcome. It is impossible for you to have done the work which devolves on members of a campaign committee, especially in times of high feeling and great excitement, without gathering a crop of friendly and unfriendly feelings which, as common experience teaches, very often have an unconscious influence on thought and action.

"It is more than likely that some of the persons with whom your political action so brings you in contact will be involved in your future official action. You may be able, as you think you are, to escape or repress in what you do as an officer all effect of the recollections of your campaign work, but you will be utterly unable, especially in cases where your action may appear to coincide with your supposed inclination, to make the community be-

lieve that your action has not been in any degree so affected. And, as has often been said by those who have established and maintained the high standing of our tribunals of justice, it is not only necessary that their officers should be in fact fair and impartial, but also that they should avoid all circumstances likely to give rise to suspicion that they are or may be otherwise.

"The rule which I have mentioned is not new. It has been often enforced both by my predecessors and by myself. I now report that your case comes plainly within it."

THE *Buffalo Express* suggests that William F. Mackey, assistant United States district attorney for the northern district of New York, and one of the principal local free silver leaders, take note of the recent letter of Attorney General Harmon.

MR. ROOSEVELT sends a letter to the *Buffalo Express* stating that eight hundred more patrolmen must be appointed in New York City within the next four months, and that the opportunity for good men, who have lived one year in the state, to secure work at good wages is open to all without regard to politics or religion. Mr. Roosevelt has said recently that of late the class of men who have presented themselves for examination has not been as high as it should be. There has prevailed of late the suspicion that, after all, pulls were necessary to secure appointments. This is because of the political tactics of the political commissioner, Parker. This must give Mayor Strong many peace-destroying twinges.

CIVIL SERVICE reformers owe it as a duty to make a careful study of the methods of conducting campaigns and elections. An agitation which arouses in every citizen a healthy interest in the questions involved in the campaigns is highly beneficial. Just how much needs to be done to arouse this healthy interest can not be told, but regularly organized machinery for use in campaigns will always be necessary. In Indiana and some other states the extent and reach of this machinery and the amount of time given by individuals during a campaign is surprising. The problem is this: that heretofore, as a general rule, such individuals, in case of victory, have demanded and have received the public offices in payment of the services so rendered. But these offices are now very largely cut off and in the near future will be entirely so. Those who have heretofore worked for offices and who will not hereafter work without them can be spared. As a matter of fact a very large number of them have been paid actual wages for the work they have done in campaigns, and their clamor for further pay of any kind has been without reason. We expect to see the character of party committees somewhat changed.

Now they are usually made up of politicians who "want something." When there is nothing to give, we expect to see their places taken by substantial citizens from patriotic motives entirely who will have executive agents selected for their peculiar fitness and paid adequately. This system is already springing up in Indiana. Much of the work of taking the poll, which is done ninety, sixty and thirty days before national elections, is paid for, and in some instances county chairmen, whose time is incessantly occupied, receive regular wages. The change from paying with offices to paying with wages would be an improvement of the healthiest kind. The efficiency of the workers will be incomparably improved, and it is doubtful if the new system will cost so much money as the old, because the funds will be handled by men of business instead of by politicians.

The grand jury in its recent report says of the poor farm in this city:

We found in this institution the same spoils system which we found in the county workhouse. All of the appointments, from superintendent down, are made by the county commissioners. Some of the appointees are aged and most of them have had no experience in the line of the duties imposed upon them.

The jury most earnestly recommended that this institution be placed in the hands of a man who is an expert; that he may be charged with the selection of his subordinates and held responsible for their conduct, and that a superintendent should not be removed except for cause.

We must go farther. The superintendent must be an expert and must not be removed except for cause, but he must not be charged with the "selection" of his subordinates. He must be charged with their dismissal for cause. These places must be open to be publicly competed for by any one, and those best fitted for the places must have them. If, after their probation, they are found to be qualified for their work, they must be kept so long as they do the work satisfactorily. Is it not strange that a community so highly civilized as is this, so deeply interested in social problems, should sit still and let its helpless old men and women, its blind and insane and idiot paupers be at the mercy of the appointees of political workers who if not the typical heelers have no fitness for these positions? It is barbarous.

WHEN our politician mayor, Mr. Taggart, broke down the merit system inaugurated by his predecessor and compulsory under the city charter, he probably did not foresee for how many humiliations he was preparing himself. The latest account we take from the Indianapolis *News* of September 29:

Charges of drunkenness and action unbecoming an officer have been preferred against Patrolman Timothy O'Connor, who will be suspended this evening at roll-call awaiting

his trial by the board of safety. Superintendent Colbert has been investigating recent complaints against O'Connor, who has been stationed at the tunnel. It is charged that O'Connor was drunk Sunday morning. As John Leaman, of 238 South West street, was going to his work at an early hour he encountered O'Connor coming home staggering, so it is charged. O'Connor objected to Leaman looking at him, and grabbing him, threatened to send him to police headquarters. Witnesses say that O'Connor drew his club, threatening to arrest Mrs. Leaman, at the same time striking toward her. Leaman then gave O'Connor a severe thrashing and sent him home.

O'Connor was dismissed by the last administration for inefficiency. He was before the present board for leaving his district and was fined. He has been the standing joke of two administrations. Many stories are in circulation of his wit and prowess. *It is told how he captured a primary for Mr. Taggart by pulling his mace, and, after threatening to send the opposition to the station, declared the Taggart delegation elected.*

We commend, for reflection, the account in another column of the recent suspension of two republican appointees of November last year and May this year for cowardice and worse so that at roll-call, the superintendent says their comrades fell away from them and would not speak to them. Whose pull secured these men their appointments?

OUR present police administration deserves a place in municipal history. A policeman during a period of weeks repeatedly left his beat for immoral purposes. He was finally suspended, and with his suspension a report of his sergeant was handed in stating the reasons. The suspended officer treated the matter very lightly and freely boasted that nothing worse would happen to him than a further suspension. His confidence in his pull was well founded. The board looked into the matter and suspended him for thirty days, and by order of President Maguire of the board, the charges although an official record were destroyed. The facts, however, were known to too many people, and some very black clouds began to gather in the municipal horizon. At the first appearance of these there was a hurrying to and fro in the city administration. If the matter could have been hushed up this policeman with a pull would have been back on the force to day; but the minute there was a sign that it might be dragged into daylight, the cowardly and corrupt officials who had had a hand in it caused the offending policeman "to resign."

BRYAN IN WASHINGTON ON THE CENTENNIAL OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

The 19th of September, the centennial of Washington's farewell address, as it was marked in this city by a political meeting in

the interest of William J. Bryan, who aspires to the seat of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, was a day of humiliation to persons who prize the country's honor. The patriotic message of Washington was read in full, and Mr. Bryan presumed to take from it texts with which to close his harangue. One hundred years from Washington to Bryan! A century from the farewell address to the Chicago platform! At the Bryan meeting, A. A. Lipscomb, an eloquent spellbinder, referred in glowing phrase to a long list of ancient worthies, calling each by name, and his audience made no response. When he got down to Andrew Jackson, however, and the crowd scented a name they had heard before, the applause was enough to make up for the silence which had been accorded to the unknown orators of the ancient world.

An earnest advocate of the civil service reform movement called at the congressional headquarters of the Bryan democracy a week or more ago, and requested that it should be suggested to the presidential candidate, who had been advertised to speak here, that no more appropriate topic for the time and place could be found than the spoils plank of the Chicago platform. This is the city where the greater part of the administrative force of the government are employed, and the centennial of Washington's farewell was certainly a fitting time to discuss a subject so vitally related to the federal government as the public service. Mr. Bryan took the hint, and of the two sections of the Chicago platform which he declared to be of especial interest to this city, one was the plank against a "life tenure in the public service." While he said nothing that he has not said before, his plan avowal on this occasion of his belief in the old spoils system, and his desire to reestablish it, was one of the saddest features of the whole spectacle.

Mr. Bryan wants the government employes to have a fixed term, so that when appointed they will know how long they have got to stay and when they are to go out, and with no prospect of "a life position in the public service." It has been often pointed out that the average length of service of those who come into clerkships through the civil service examinations is less than that of those who entered under the old spoils regime, and so if the length of time that a man's name remains on the pay-roll is really the vital point, the present system should be less objectionable than that which Mr. Bryan seeks to restore. It may safely be set down, however, that the Bryanite objection to civil service reform on the ground of life-tenure is a "bluff" designed to cover the spoilsman's ordinary aims. Government salaries on the fixed-term principle, and distributed among the "humbler classes of our citizens," as Mr. Bryan proposed in his celebrated Chicago convention speech, would mean just so much prize money for party workers. Not ten per cent. of the money thus paid need ever get for the taxpayer any legitimate return, while the civil service system means an approach to those business methods

by which every taxpayer's dollar shall secure one dollar's worth of public service honorably performed.

It is unnecessary to discuss the two systems. The spoils plan is entirely discredited on every side, and yet here was a candidate for the presidency boldly championing the old system with pious fervor after reading Washington's farewell address. One would mistake entirely the temper of Mr. Bryan's audience if one should assert that the speaker failed to carry his hearers on that point. There were no government clerks at the Bryan meeting, and Washington is divided on the civil service reform idea between the "ins" and the "outs." The latter are all "ag'in' it," and it was mostly the outs who attended the Bryan meeting, and no doubt his promise to treat the public service as so much plunder and spoil of war materially strengthens the ardor of his supporters.

It is probable that in the presence of the great financial issue this question of civil service reform may be neglected. Certainly, if the Chicago platform had agreed substantially with that at St. Louis, except in this particular, the friends of good government throughout the land would have made a vigorous campaign upon this one issue alone. In the presence of other, and perhaps larger dangers, this ominous threat may be comparatively overlooked.—*Washington letter to New York Evening Post, September 21.*

NEW YORK BRYAN-POPOCRATIC CONVENTION AT BUFFALO.

Senator Thomas F. Grady had been selected as temporary chairman. In his speech he said:

We are opposed to civil service reform as now interpreted and enforced, under which, while pretending to prescribe no other test than that of merit, in its present application exacts a collegiate and technical education as a requisite for employment in the public service. We recognize the fact that a vast majority of the youth of the country are now compelled to engage as wage-earners and bread-winners without any opportunity for advanced technical education, and we insist that honesty of character and the ability to discharge the duties of the position for which they apply, or to which they may be appointed, shall be the only test of fitness to which they shall be required to submit.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SPOILSMEN.

What Mr. Black's candidacy seems to promise is the breaking up of the "combine" between the political rascals of the two great parties which has been in force, to a greater or less degree, at Albany since the advent of Hill to the governorship in 1885. Under this combine the rascals stood together for mutual protection when either set of them was assaulted. They united in the old aqueduct "deal," with Mr. Fish as one of the manipulators and beneficiaries, and they have stood together pretty steadily ever since. *The reason why Mr. Fish can not abide Mr. Black is because*

the latter exposed and denounced him in his hidden efforts as speaker to protect the Murphy gang in Troy against hostile legislation. Fish learned in that experience that, however much of a republican partisan Mr. Black might be, he was not the kind of a republican partisan who was willing to "stand in" with the political rascals of the democratic party; he might be a member of Mr. Platt's machine, and might believe in machine politics, but he was incapable of accepting and wearing a set of diamond shirt-studs from Tammany legislators in return for services rendered, and was incapable also of accepting a \$5,000 office from Gov. Hill in payment of services rendered in lobbying an infamous "deal" bill through the legislature. It is for reasons of this kind that Mr. Black's nomination is at once discouraging to the Hill democrats and so distasteful to Mr. Fish that he thinks of leaving the country, two effects which constitute excellent reasons why honest men of all parties should vote for Mr. Black in confident belief that he will make a good governor.—*New York Post, September 11.*

* * *

Michael J. Dady, who left the republican party several years ago and joined the democrats, and who only last year returned to the republican ranks, is now one of the leaders in that party, and on Saturday night was selected as a member of the republican state committee from the third district. Mr. Dady has made considerable money in the contracting business. While John Y. McKane was running things at Coney Island Dady was his favorite contractor and secured many of the paying jobs at that place. He had an office with McKane at 44 Court street, Brooklyn.

He expects to secure the republican nomination for the assembly from the first district of Brooklyn. He is also anxious to become a colonel on the staff of the next governor if a republican be elected.

Is it not curious that this sort of "mugwump" is always in good standing with the machine; is never giped and sneered at, and finally gets his political office or job?

THE BRYAN SORT OF "COERCION" AND "INTIMIDATION."

A letter is being circulated among letter carriers, custom house employes, and other officials in federal employ, asking for funds to help elect Bryan and Sewall. Such solicitation is against the spirit and the letter of the law.—*Philadelphia Record.*

* * *

The Bryan campaign committee is sending under date of September 12, a letter to the postmasters of the country for help. We quote a part:

Will you oblige me by sending as soon as possible a list of 100 or more democrats in your state whom you consider likely contributors to our funds? I desire to address them urgent letters soliciting their assistance at this time.

Knowing the burdens that must fall upon you during the campaign, I hesitate to address you as to aiding us directly, but if you could make some pledge at this time on behalf of your state it would be exceedingly helpful.

You can see the importance of knowing what we can depend on at as early a date as possible.

I enclose you herewith a blank pledge of contribution. If you find it impracticable to give direct assurance of assistance could you undertake to circulate a number of these pledges?

Thanking you in advance for your interest and the assistance I am confident you will render to the effort to secure funds, I am faithfully yours,

DANIEL J. CAMPAU,
Chairman democratic campaign committee.

The Chicago Times-Herald is authority for the statement "that Gov. Altgeld this week ordered an assessment of \$5 each upon the employes of the Southern Illinois Hospital for the Insane at Anna, the money to be used for campaign purposes. The order applies to both male and female attendants at that institution. Many of the persons so assessed made vigorous protests, but they were informed very plainly that if the money was not forthcoming there would be several vacancies in Dr. Lentz's corps of assistants. They were further told that this contribution was not all that was expected, and that if the exigencies of the campaign demanded it, more money would be collected."

NO COERCION IN BALTIMORE.

When Mr. Hopkins, the collector of taxes, presented the monthly draft for the salaries of his department to Mayor Hooper last week, there were embarrassing consequences. The custom of the collector is to retain the money out of his collections, and afterward to have the draft signed in the regular form as matter of record. On Tuesday the salaries were paid, while the check was not signed for several days. The delay was owing to certain inquiries of Mayor Hooper, and the incident is important as illustrating the decaying system of campaign assessments.

When the check came before Mayor Hooper he asked the collector if it called for the full amount of the salaries, and represented the money that had been paid to the employes. *The collector at once admitted that the usual campaign assessment had been retained by him out of the salaries, but added that it had been done with the approval of the men.* He insisted that no one had been forced to contribute. The delicious part of his explanation was that, as there were both democratic and republican employes in the department, care would be taken to send the contributions proportionately to the democratic and republican committees.

Mayor Hooper firmly declined to sign the check until the assessments were refunded to the men by the collector. All the week the contention went on, but it ended in the refunding of the money, after which the mayor signed the check.

It was in Baltimore that George William Curtis made his last public address. It was on civil service reform, before the Civil Service Reform Association. At that time Baltimore

and Maryland were somewhat notorious for their anti-civil service reform records. The federal offices in the city were regarded with suspicion, and the post-office was the object of official inquiry by the civil service board. Gorman was apparently entrenched in power beyond any hope of dislodgment, and the most practical kind of practical politics ruled in the city and state. Civil service reform was treated with open derision and contempt.

And yet in these few years changes have come beyond the furthest expectations of Mr. Curtis's address. Gorman and Rasin have been overthrown. There is in the City Hall a mayor who practices as well as preaches civil service reform. And there has not been the slightest infringement of the civil service law in any of the federal offices. The post-office, which was formerly the cause of so much concern to the civil service reformers, is resting absolutely on the merit system, with the result of a wonderfully improved service.

The republicans, who carried the state last fall, won their fight largely on the plank in their platform calling for the merit system in all state and local offices. They had such a big majority in the legislature that the spoils-men of the party, led by the delegate who achieved local fame by the sentiment, "Let us not despoil the vineyard before we get some of the grapes," began a fight against any civil service legislation. Twice the bill was defeated, but the contest waged, and at the last moment a bill was passed submitting the question to the popular vote at the next general election. That election will come next year. This bill was not satisfactory to the friends of reform, but as it was the best they could get, they will make the contest at the polls. The spoilsmen declare they will win, but while they are boasting the merit system is making its way firmly in the public mind, and is gaining steadily by the object lessons such as are daily evident to the people.

Resolute Mayor Hooper has killed the system of extortion that has been for twenty years the financial reliance of such men as Gorman and Rasin. "I do not deny the right of any city employe to make a political campaign contribution," he says, "but I am opposed to coercion."

The city government of Baltimore remains in the same curious condition. While the heads of the departments, with a few exceptions, are republicans, almost all the employes are democrats. This is due to the quarrel between the mayor and the city council. Mayor Hooper at the beginning of the year did not please the councilmen in his appointments. They especially objected to a republican mayor appointing democrats. The mayor held out, and the councilmen combined and rejected his appointments. They went further than that. They passed ordinances taking from the mayor the power of appointment in all the important offices of the city. The mayor vetoed the ordinances, and they were passed over his objections by a margin of one

vote. This necessary two-thirds was secured by getting two of the democratic members to leave the chamber while the vote was cast. The council made its appointments, and when the new tax collector appeared before the mayor the mayor refused to swear him in. Then the matter was taken to the courts. The main question was whether a vote of two-thirds meant two-thirds of all the members or only two-thirds of the quorum present. The lower courts have had the case for six months, and it will reach the court of appeals next month.

Mr. Hopkins, the collector of taxes, is a democrat holding over until the decision is reached.—*Baltimore dispatch New York Times, September 7.*

IS THIS WORK TO BE DESTROYED?

A small application of civil service principles to the navy is indicated in an order made by the President placing ship writers in line of promotion to the grade of chief yeoman, whose compensation is \$60 per month. This was done by simply designating the first, second and third-class writers as yeomen of similar classes, and hereafter vacancies in the grade of chief yeoman will be filled from the men of first-class grade, who formerly found it impossible to rise above the rank of first-class writers. The order is expected to stimulate the zeal of these officers, who have heretofore been subject to degradation at the whim of the commanding officers by making them permanent members of an established corps.—*Washington Dispatch, October 3.*

* * *

Ten thousand employes of the war department were classified in the civil service yesterday, in accordance with the order of the President of May 6 last, which extended the operations of the law to practically all government employes except those laborers whose work does not require technical skill, or intelligence above an ordinary degree. The order has been interpreted by Secretary Lamont to include even laborers who perform duties requiring a comparatively mediocre intelligence, and in his own office but two persons, the confidential clerks of himself and Assistant Secretary Doe, remain outside the classified lists. The chief clerk of the department and all the heads of divisions are included in the lists.—*Washington dispatch, September 2.*

MR. BRYAN, YOU SHALL NOT COERCE PUBLIC EMPLOYES.

Official circulars were posted in the various departments of the custom house yesterday, in which Secretary Carlisle directs that all customs officers shall use every possible means to call the attention of employes to the provisions all the civil service law, so far as they relate to contributions of money for political campaign purposes. In pursuance of this order, Collector Kilbreth issued the following notice:

"All employes connected with this district are hereby notified that they are under no obligations whatsoever to make subscriptions for political or other purposes, and that they will

not be molested or in any way discriminated against for failure to so subscribe."

The notice was posted in the office of each deputy collector, the attention of the clerks was called to it, and each clerk was requested to affix his signature or initials to the notice as evidence that he had read it.—*New York Times, September 1.*

THE COMPETITION SYSTEM WINS ITS WAY.

The world moves. The application of Gen. Collis of the department of public works to have the inspectors of streets in his department selected by competitive examinations under the civil service rules is a sign of it. It is not many months since the exemption of these offices from the rules was regarded as one of the choicest privileges of the department. They are peculiarly suited for use as "patronage," being well paid and carrying considerable "influence," if used after the old political fashion. But Gen. Collis very shrewdly sees that the duties of the offices require the best men and that competitive examinations secure the best men. If he has any desire to get political advantage, he perceives that honest and efficient work in his department will give him more and better political advantage than the employment of politicians as inspectors.—*New York Times, September 7.*

ALTGELD'S VERSION OF PUBLIC OFFICE IS A PUBLIC TRUST.

He has spurned the charges of Mr. Forman but he appears to be sending out at the state's expense his explanation of how he comes to be requiring gold leases.

The jailor of Sangamon county has received a circular from the state board of charities inviting him to attend a conference of officials interested in charitable work, to be held in this city November 17 and 18. This circular was dated September 1, nearly three months ahead of the date of the proposed conference. It came by mail in an envelope bearing the official imprint of the state board, and with it was inclosed the gold rent explanation.

BROOKLYN ALDERMAN TRY TO CRIPPLE THE MERIT SYSTEM.

Here are three facts as to civil service reform in Brooklyn: (1) The commission of which Mr. Alexander E. Orr—a citizen of the very highest character and of sound judgment—is the president, asked for an appropriation of \$25,000 for its work for the year. That is a moderate sum; considering the extensive and permanent benefits conferred on the city by the work of the commission, it is a very small sum. (2) The board of estimate and apportionment, for reasons to which they probably yielded in good faith, but which, in view of what the civil service commission's work is really worth, were inadequate, fixed the appropriation at \$15,000, a cut of 40 per cent. (3) The board of aldermen, in a spirit of pure spite, ignoring the real interests of the city and their obligations to protect those in-

terests, cut the appropriation down to the merely nominal sum of \$5,000. The commission appealed to the courts, but Justice Dickey of the supreme court finds no authority to compel the common council to do its duty. He declares that the commission needs the money, but if the common council refuse it is an abuse of legal discretion that can not be prevented.—*New York Times*.

[The aldermen backed down and allowed \$15,000 on the advice of party leaders that it would be "bad politics" to cripple the commission.—Ed. CHRONICLE.]

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MILWAUKEE.

The city civil service law, under the provisions of which the method of employment of all the clerical force and all skilled and unskilled labor of the city was entirely changed, has now been in force fourteen months. Its system has proven so well adapted to the needs of the public service and promotive of a higher standard of proficiency that, in spite of defects in its executive administration, which have been recently corrected, the operation of the law may be now regarded as generally acceptable and its principles permanently engrafted on the civic system.

Even those who at first were loath to abandon the long prevailing practice of investing elective offices and political party committees with paramount influence in the distribution of appointments have become convinced that the plan of non-partisan selection and permanent tenure during good behavior will promote the efficiency of the public service, and moreover that reputable party organization will thrive better on principle than on patronage.—*Milwaukee Sentinel, September*.

BOSS MARTIN'S SHERIFF.

Of James Miles, nominated for sheriff in Philadelphia, the Municipal League of that city says: "His conduct in public office has been such as to justly earn for him the distrust of every friend of honest government and the confidence of its enemies." "If such a man," the *Philadelphia Times* (Ind. Dem.) says, "can be elected sheriff of Philadelphia, at the dictation of Lobbyist Martin, and that at a time when his own as well as Martin's connection with corrupt legislation in the city councils is fresh in the public mind, the hardest things that have been said by the critics of American politics would be justified."

THE REFORM SYSTEM IN ROCHESTER.

Should the new rules that have been prepared by the secretary of the civil service board of this city receive the approval of Mayor Warner and the state civil service commission, the cause of civil service reform here will take a great step forward. Under the new rules, all municipal employes will be divided into three classes. Those belonging to schedule A are exempt from civil service examination and include the superintendent of schools, the overseer of the poor, the cor-

poration counsel, the three police commissioners, and the three city assessors. All those subject to competitive examination belong to schedule B, which includes the city clerk, the fire marshal, the city sealer, etc. Schedule C includes all those obliged to take non-competitive examinations; but they must pass at a standing of eighty-five to secure appointment. To this class belong the assistants of the corporation counsel, who shall retain his charter right to appoint them from a certified list. No person included in the competitive class will be certified that stands on examination under 75 per cent.

All the appointees of the board of education except the superintendent of the public schools and the teachers will have to submit to the examinations of the civil service board. The appointment of teachers will also be subject to regulations. Candidates for such appointments will have to present regents' certificates of their proficiency. When the board of education wishes to appoint any teachers, the civil service commissioners will submit a certified list arranged according to the standing on the regents' examination. From this list, and not from the names presented by political friends, all teachers must be selected.

Two important provisions of the new rules relate to the registration of laborers and to the prohibition of political activity on the part of municipal employes. Hereafter all persons seeking work as laborers must register their names with the civil service commissioners. The appointments made by the several departments requiring laborers will be made in the following order: Veterans with families, veterans without families, others with families, others without families. It is believed that this provision will put an end to complaints to the mayor that persons not veterans have been able, in consequence of their political influence, to get more work than veterans themselves. The other provision prohibits the solicitation of votes at polls or elsewhere, the collection of campaign funds, and all interference with the political rights of any citizen. The penalty attached to this provision is dismissal from office.

There is no doubt that the rules will be approved by Mayor Warner. They were prepared by a commission of his own appointment, and they are taken to represent his own views. Their adoption and enforcement in this city depends, therefore, upon the state civil service board. Whether George Alldridge, who would find his power much curtailed by them, has sufficient influence with the board to secure their rejection remains to be seen.—*Rochester dispatch New York Post, September 25*.

SPECIMEN POLICEMEN UNDER THE PULL SYSTEM.

Patrolmen Ernest W. Smith and E. O. Marquette have been suspended by Superintendent Colbert, pending an investigation into charges against them. The charges comprise cowardice, neglect of duty and conduct unbecoming officers.

The suspensions grow out of the failure to arrest Edward Hathaway, wanted for burglary and grand larceny. Monday night at roll-call the superintendent informed all the patrolmen that Hathaway was wanted, that a warrant was held for his arrest, and he instructed all the men that if they saw him they must arrest him at once. Smith and Marquette went into the drug store of E. E. Stewart at Senate avenue and Twelfth street about 8:30 o'clock that night. Hathaway was there. He had been using the telephone. Marquette knew him, and shook hands with him. Smith, after some talk, walked to the rear of the store, and then the proprietor told Smith that the man talking to Marquette was Hathaway. Marquette and Hathaway went outside and Hathaway showed the patrolman his revolver. Then Marquette and Hathaway walked away. Afterward Marquette asked Smith why he had not followed them and helped him to arrest Hathaway. The policemen went to Hathaway's house in Highland Place and failed to find him there, although Marquette had conducted him to the front door and had told him to go in and go to bed. Later Marquette saw Hathaway on the rear end of a street car going down town. He boarded the car, and, according to Frank Wyatt, the conductor of the car, he placed his hand on Hathaway's shoulder and said: "Ed, I've got to arrest you. If you don't make any resistance I'll make it all right with you."

Hathaway got off the car and Marquette followed him. Then the two men, standing not ten feet from each other, drew their revolvers and fired, mostly in the air. Then Hathaway fled. It is not known what became of Marquette.

Persons who were in Stewart's drug store at the time Hathaway and the two policemen were talking, say that Hathaway said to Marquette: "You are a public servant, carry my valise." Marquette took the valise and carried it about. Hathaway and the patrolman had some talk on the sidewalk and Hathaway seemed to be serene and in full control of the situation.—*Indianapolis News, September 23*.

TILLMAN SPOILS.

Add to this the scandals of his administration, with the bond deal in which it is charged and generally believed that he shared the commission of the Augusta broker, Rhind, in refunding the state debt; the scandal of the state liquor dispensary when under his sole management, about which there have lingered many suspicions, and as to which he himself, in the last hours of a heated canvass, made damaging disclosures, which as governor he had concealed from the people for nearly a year, in breach of his public trust; his open and shameless employment of the army of dispensary officials and constabulary as his political emissaries throughout the whole state; and the repeated charge and general belief that the state liquor dispensary had also become utterly corrupt by the taking of rebates by the state officers for liquors purchased by the state, and the bribes alleged to be given for special liquor privileges granted by state officials—these and many other scandals were heaped upon the reform administration and its leader by reformers themselves, and particularly by John T. Duncan, the reform opponent of Gov. Evans on the stump, who, though heretofore unknown, and personally standing no chance of election, in every joint debate repeated these charges at length and in detail to the people.—*Charleston, S. C., letter to New York Evening Post, September 17*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE

LUCIUS B. SWIFT, EDITOR.

Volume I,

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION, MARCH, 1889, TO MARCH, 1893.

INDEX

By CHARLES ALLEN LEWIS.

- Abbott, P. S., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Abbott, R. T. F., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Ables, postmaster of St. Joe Station, Indiana political worker, 379, 380.
- Acceptance, letter of President Harrison of, strongly favoring civil service reform, 27.
- Active Club [republican]. See Baltimore investigation, 267.
- Adams and Vincennes post-office. See Chambers, 37.
- Adams, —, candidate for alderman. See Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Adams, Sec Tammany, 318.
- Adams, Pres. C. K., favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.
- Adams [congressman] and Chicago post-office, 22.
- Adams, E. P., federal employe, levies political assessments. See Kentucky.
- Adams, H., uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- Adams, J., on party spirit, 394.
- Adams, J. Q., president, 325.
- Adams, N. S., journalist, postmaster at Scott, Kan., 149.
- Adams, T. M., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York: advises merit system, 220, 221.
- Adams, W. W., appointed postmaster at Quincy, Mass., through Congressman Morse; vice Speare, removed, 100; a political worker, 162.
- Addison, Ia., Postmaster Cruikshank of, a political worker, 260.
- Addison, Joseph, inspector for men of merit in public life, 235.
- Addison, N. Y., Roberts, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
- Address, of G. W. Curtis (1892), distributed in Indiana, 338; inaugural of President W. H. Harrison, the public press and spoils, 17; inaugural of President B. Harrison, reform pledges in, 367; of mayor of Baltimore, Md., to Gorman, 236; to the citizens of Pennsylvania, against "Quayism," 249, 251, 252; issued by Pennsylvania republicans against Quay, extract from, 270.
- Addresses, on civil service reform, merit system, spoils system, etc., etc. See Church and Civil Service Reform; also (names) J. E. Campbell; S. S. Parr; H. Briggs; R. H. Dabney; C. Schurz; Donell; Lowell, J. R.; Roosevelt; R. H. Dana; G. W. Julian; C. B. Wilby; T. F. Bayard; Welsh; G. F. Williams; Johnson, J. H.; Swift, L. B.; Curtis, G. W.; Everett, W.; Bonaparte, C. J.; H. C. Lodge; Rogers, S. S.; Warner, C. D.; Sprague, H.; Sherman (senator); Civil Service Record; Foulke; Lambert, Rev. H.; Storey, M.; F. A. Walker; C. C. Allen; Collin; L. H. Gibson; D. C. Brown; C. T. Lane; Thurston; Niblack; Wort; McKain, A. A.
- Adel, Iowa, Journalist Hotchkiss appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Ader, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Adin, Cal., Editor Wilson appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Adkins, S. D., journalist, appointed postmaster at Freeport, Ill., 126.
- Administrative reform. See Andrews.
- Adreon, Cal., and appointment of Sears in post-office at Baltimore, 277.
- Agar, W. F., postmaster at Mahopac Falls, N. Y., a political worker, 162.
- Agnew, S., on English census service, 292.
- Agnus, F., editor and politician, 363.
- Ahearn, D., removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Aiken, J. M., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Aikin, W. A., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Airey, United States marshal at Baltimore, political worker. See Baltimore Investigation, 267, 328, 357, 372.
- Alta, Buena Vista county, Ia., Pickering, postmaster of, a political worker, 260.
- Abbot, Rev. L. and Indian, appointments; favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.
- Akron, Col., Journalist Irwin appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Akron, Ind., Editor Noyes appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Akron, O., postmaster of, appointed through influence of Sherman, 340.
- Alabama. See Clay, removal of; R. A. Mosely, Jr., politician, appointed collector of internal revenue for district of, 56; federal office-holders in, active politicians, 143, 348, 355; delegation to Minneapolis convention, fights in, 346; political assessments levied on federal office-holders in, 391.
- Alaska, O. T. Porter appointed United States Marshal for, 39; vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis; political activity of federal officers, 347.
- Albany, N. Y., O'Leary, postmaster at, 136; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Tammany steals in, 317; Warner spoken of as postmaster of, 46; Warner, postmaster of, enforces civil service law, 51, 136; Warner, postmaster of, in New York convention, 335.
- Albany Journal [republican] against civil service reform, 49.
- Albert Lea, Minn., Harkness, postmaster at, removed for cause by Cleveland, Stacy appointed; efficient. Removed and Harkness reappointed by Harrison. See also Dunnell, 39.
- Albion, Ill., Editor Colyer appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Albion, Ind., Editor Prickett appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Albright, A., low politician. See Philadelphia.
- Aldermau, E. R., editor, postmaster at Marietta, O., 301.
- Alderson, J. D., congressman, on house committee, on civil service, 86; on census service in West Virginia, 293.
- Aldrich, C. H., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Aldrich, senator, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Alexander, state senator of Pennsylvania, 133.
- Alexander, Mrs. C. M., appointed stenographer in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Alexander, D. S., United States district attorney in New York, political worker at Minneapolis, 342, 343.
- Alexandria, La., Barrett, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Alger, General, more popular than Harrison, 240.
- Spoken of for presidency, 299, 348.
- Allan, S. W., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Allard, C. A. See Baltimore investigation, 320, 326, 327.
- Allegheny Co., N. Y., postmasters' association, levies political assessments, 384.
- Allegheny, Pa., patronage in, 47; Gilliland, postmaster of, worker for Bayne, 135; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Allen, ex-congressman, levies political assessments, 322, 332.
- Allen, "The," low politician of New York City, history of. See also New York City, 249.
- Allen, C. C., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2.
- In report of, to civil service reform association of Missouri on civil service commission, 136.
- Prefers bureaucracy to spoils system, 308.
- Allen county, Ind., only office-holders in, for Harrison, 240.
- Allen, Eban, protests against removal of Milholand, as federal interference, 333.
- Allen, Edgar, federal court officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Allen, F. B., negro journalist, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Allen, J. B., congressman, secures appointment of Marse as postmaster at Colfax, Wash., 166.
- Allen, S. B., deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Alley, F., political worker against Chase, 353.
- Allison, A., editor, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Nashville, Ind., 398.
- Allison, senator, and D. B. Eaton, 111; secures appointment of Osborn, 334.
- Almy, candidate of Platt, at Ithaca, N. Y., 264.
- Almy, F., secretary Buffalo civil service reform association, 200, 387.
- Altgeld, governor of Illinois, flees from office-seekers, 415.
- Alton, Pa., Postmaster Beaumont of, worker for Delamater, 134.
- Altoona, Kan., Journalist Rhea, postmaster at, 148.
- American Horse, Indian chief and rising at Pine Ridge, S. D., 218.
- American Protective League, requests lists of voters from postmasters, 330; seeks to assess postmasters, 382.
- Americus Club. See Quay and Clarkson.
- Ames, J. B., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Anderson, A. T., appointed postmaster at Cleveland, O., 216.
- Anderson, C. W., federal employe in New York convention, 335.
- Anderson, Ind., spoils system in town government at, 331.
- Anderson, J. A., deputy sheriff, inefficient, 315.
- Anderson, W. G., Sr., police examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Andrews, C. C., address on administrative reform, 23.
- Andrews, E. L. See Seneca county, N. Y., 260.
- Andrews, G. W., postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., forced to resign, 165.
- Andrews, Ind., Courts, postmaster of, father of Editor Coutts, 316.
- Andrew, J. E., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 204; chairman house civil service committee, extensions proposed by, 305, 306; bill of, introducing merit system in labor service, commended, 321; and appointments under civil service rules, 350; and political activity of federal office-holders in Alabama, 355; chairman of house civil service committee, 86, 358; bill of, for reform in labor service, commended by workingmen, 331; bill of, to regulate appointments of fourth class postmasters; and to introduce Boston labor service system, 359, 388, 397; Secretary C. Foster, 330; opposed to congressional patronage system, 405.
- Andrews, W. H., chairman state republican committee of Pennsylvania, corrupt politician, 133, 134; political agent of Senator Quay, 38, 260.
- Angler, E. A., assistant United States district attorney, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Aunapolis, Md., appointment to naval academy at. See Turner, 100; Tucker, postmaster of, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Anti-Cobden club, of Philadelphia, resolutions of, demanding repeal of civil service law, 49.
- Appeal, to President, against civil service commission, threatened. See Indianapolis, investigation of post office of, 28.
- Appointees, unworthy, at various places, 39.
- Appointing power, resides in executive officers alone, 263.
- Appointments, from eligible lists, year 1889-90, 185.
- Internal revenue; squabble between Senators May and Sherman, 17.
- Applegarth, Rev. H. C., advocates civil service reform, 83.
- Apple River, to Daviess county, Ill., applicants for postmastership at, 109.
- Applicants, for office under spoils and merit systems, 185.

Arcola, Ind., Rockhill, postmaster of, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins; McGoogle appointed, 362.

Arkaion, Kan., Journalist Stoufer appointed postmaster at, 148.

Arkansas, patronage of, controlled by Clayton, 188. Political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348.

Armour, H. O., political worker for Platt, 333. At Minneapolis convention, 344.

Armstrong. See Baltimore investigation, 326.

Armstrong, consul-general Rio Janeiro, removed by Harrison for political reasons, 54.

Armstrong, G. C., journalist, postmaster at Moline, Kan., 149.

Arthur, C. A., tool of "Tom" Murphy, controls New York custom house, 191.

Arthur, President, and Pendleton act, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 12; and office-seekers, 24; Senator Harrison demands patronage in Indiana from, 31; removes Naval Officer Burt to make room for politician. See Burt, 52; Pardons E. S. Ransdall, 80; nominates M. Garrigus, corrupt politician, 88; appoints Langsdale postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89, 159; classifies departmental service, 185, 215; controls patronage, but fails of renomination, 262; appoints D. B. Eaton chairman civil service commission, 271, 272; denounces spoils system, 275; signs Pendleton bill, makes classification, etc., 276; appoints Isabella De La Hunt postmistress at Cannelton, Ind., 368, 374.

Asay, "Jim," disreputable politician, appointed through Congressman Hitt, 160.

Asbury Park, N. Y., E. G. Harrison appointed postmaster of, 386.

Ashton, J. H., post office employe. See Baltimore investigation, 267, 296.

Aspinwall, J., New York state senator, political worker for Nathan, 264, 371.

Assessments, political. See Baltimore investigation; see Indiana, Washington (city), South Carolina, West Virginia, Ohio, New York, Alabama, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania; see Indianapolis News; committee of national league (see) to investigate 1892; see Tammany Hall; see Old Dominion Republican League, 70; see Gunn, 72; in New York; see Roosevelt, Burt, Magone, Beattie, 97; see Quay, 134; see Curry, 160; see Grosvenor, Roosevelt, 161; in State and federal offices in Indiana, those levied on corporations, 171; under Harrison, 173; under Harrison and Cleveland, 255; advocated, see Stratton and Grosvenor, 178, 179; federal employes from Ohio subjected to, 179; see Dudley, 180; levied on federal employes from Indiana, 181; in federal and other offices in Connecticut, 183; in Virginia, made by republicans, 226; made by Iowa republican central committee, 240; denounced by President Hayes, 265; in Ohio, by state republican executive committee, 272, 280; in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; see Pendleton, Acton, 279, 280; under Harrison, see Mahone blackmailers, see Mahone, 281; in state offices at Albany, N. Y., 180; see Mahone, 305; in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, 282; condemned in Ohio, Pennsylvania, 286; see Wagner, 287; correspondence of Pennsylvania civil service reform association, regarding, 289; by Postmaster Higgins of Ft. Wayne, Ind. 302; bill of Conkling preventing, in New York, 318, 321; see Morton, O. T., and Allen, 322, 332; see Kentucky, 330; money got by, used by Platt against Harrison, 347; warning against, by civil service commission, 358; levied in North Carolina, 362; in Indiana and New York, 363; see W. H. Harrison, 370, 373, 375, 382, 385; of Indiana office-holders in Washington, 377; in post office at Indianapolis, 403, 411, 412; in Ohio, and in Washington departments, by Old Dominion Republican Club, 412; see Zollinger, 414.

Associations; see also civil service reform associations; business men's republican and spoils, 234; Indian Rights, 9, 42; twenty-first district republican, of New York City, invited to investigate custom house service in, 236; Ohio republican and printing office, 234.

Astor, W. W., and politics in New York, 173, 285.

Atchison, editor and Winamac, Ind., post office, 88.

Atkins, postmaster at Freeport, Ill., active politician, 143.

Atkins, Indian commissioner under President Cleveland, 217.

Atkins, S., local politician opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.

Atkinson, G. W., levies political assessments, 390.

Atlanta, Ga., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292.

Atlantic Monthly, for February, 1891, "An Object Lesson in Civil Service Reform," by Roosevelt, 192.

Atwood, Kan., Greason, journalist, appointed postmaster at, 148.

Auburn, Ind., Garden, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.

Auburn, N. Y., Knapp, postmaster of, worker for Platt, 143.

Auditor, removals in office of sixth, 55.

Augusta, Ga., census service in, inefficient, 295.

Augusta, Me., postmaster at, removed; place given to "Joe" Manley, 38; Manley, postmaster of, a political worker, 135, 150; Manley, postmaster of, congressional candidate opposing Burleigh, and non-delivery in Augusta of papers advocating Burleigh, 364; Stinson, nephew of Mrs. Blaine, appointed postmaster at, 371.

Augustine, Kan., Journalist Fenstermaker, appointed postmaster at, 148.

Aurelia, Ia., Marsh postmaster of, a political worker, 260.

Aurora, Ill., Journalist Hudder appointed postmaster at, 126.

Austen, Cal. See Tammany, 318.

Austin, C. H., editor, appointed postmaster at Lineville, Iowa, 142.

Austin, H. C., New York police officer given federal offices, 216.

Austin, Tex., DeGress, chairman Texas republican state committee, appointed postmaster at, 71.

Australia, civil service reform in, 111.

Australian ballot system, opposed by Boutelle; Reed, T. B.; Blaine, Gorman, 228.

Avery, supported by Congressman Hitt for assistant treasurer, 110.

Axon, L. H., and political assessments. See Kentucky.

Ayers, I., special treasury agent, pays political assessments, 279.

Bachelder, G. E., post-office inspector on removal of Postmaster Bundy, 176.

Bachman, postmaster of Carruna, Ind., 379; political worker, 380.

Backus, county treasurer at Indianapolis, 403; persuades Dunn, post-office employe at, to solicit political contributions, 411, 412.

Bacon, Rev. B. W., sermon on evils of spoils system, 102.

Bacon, D., journalist, postmaster at Nampa, Idaho, 155.

Bacon, F., mayor of Oregon, Ill., politician, 109.

Bacon, T., address annual meeting National League, noticed, 269.

Bad Axe, Mich., Journalist Maywood postmaster at, 149.

Bagby, low negro politician, appointed to railway mail service; unfit, 10, 21, 25, 27, 34, 35, 54, 94, 96, 112, 173.

Bagby, B., political worker for Harrison, 302.

Bailey, J. J., protests against Martin as internal revenue collector in Pennsylvania, 232, 374.

Bailey, J. M., candidate of Barnes faction for surveyorship of Albany district, 46; collector at Albany, political worker, 390.

Bailey, L. O., ward politician, city attorney for Indianapolis, opposes bill for new charter of, 212; deputy attorney-general of Indiana, 315.

Bailey, M. H., and political assessments, 384.

Bailey, T., applicant for postmaster of Portland, Ind., 88.

Bailey, W. A., Harrison delegate from North Carolina, 334.

Bain, congressman, on house committee of civil service, 86.

Bain Faction, in St. Louis, 304.

Bain. See Senator Harrison, 81.

Baird, postmaster at Ogdensburg, N. Y., removed, 126.

Baird, Colonel, politician, offered Brooklyn, N. Y., postmastership, 131.

Baird-town, O., Journalist Grimes postmaster at, 149.

Baker Ballot Reform Bill, ruined by Quay and Martin, federal office, 228, 229, 252, or 254.

Baker, D., postmaster at Mobile, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Baker, I. V. See Tammany, 319.

Baker, Judge, at Minneapolis convention, 343.

Baker, W. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.

Baldwin, post-office employe of Austin, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.

Baldwin, editor, appointed to position in government printing office, 126.

Baldwin. See Woodruff, 106.

Baldwin, C., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.

Baldwin, C. A., journalist, postmaster at Vicksburg, Mich., 149.

Baldwin, D. A., political worker, 182, 183; see also Kings county, New York, 371.

Bales, E. L., journalist, postmaster at Bloomington, S. Dak., 155.

Balk, W. A., post office employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.

Ball, Col., controls part of patronage in North Dakota, 216.

Ball, G. H., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.

Ballot, secret, good results of in Indiana, 389.

Ballantine, J., opposes political activity of federal office holders in New York, 336.

Ballantyne, R. C., appointed postmaster at Brackettsville, Tex., vice Gildea, removed for political reasons, 186.

Balmaceda, Pres., usurper in Chile, 261, 281, 364, 387; course of United States government with, 282.

Baltimore, Md., federal office holders interfere in primaries at, 219, 225, 226; investigation by Roosevelt, Rose and Bonaparte of interference of federal officers in elections at, 261, 267, 268; also federal interference in primaries, 277, 278; also of political activity of federal employes in primaries at, 287; also of political activity of federal officers in primaries at, 295, 296, 312, 320, 326, 329, 330; also of violations of law by federal employes at, 321, 322; also of political activity of federal office-holders in, 396; Roosevelt's report of investigation, 254, 255; political activity of federal office-holders at, 372, 373, 376; investigation, etc., 412; Wanamaker shields post-office employes for interference in elections, 350; conference, resolutions for publicity of examination papers,

10; resolutions of Tippecanoe Club, 49; custom house at, removals in, 53; evil effects of patronage on schools of, 211; public meeting of, condemns Gorman, 214; mayor of and Gorman testimonial, 236; Raisin, low politician, appointed naval officer at, through influence of Gorman, 237; Raisin, "boss" in, 251; violations of civil service law at, 366; federal officers at under Cleveland, 376; political assessments permitted by internal revenue collector, see Mudd and Coffin, 162; personnel of examiners at, 186; and state of politics, 283; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; Brown and Veazy postmasters of, and Sears, post-office employe at, 277; civil service in post-office at, 95; effect of secret eligible lists in post-office at, 53; conflict over control of post-office at, 84; Postmaster Veazy of, removals under, 53; Postmaster Brown of, spoilsman, 53; Johnson, postmaster at, conducts factional fight at, 121; removes employes without cause, 137; makes clean sweep, 189; makes clean sweep, testimony of before Roosevelt, 254, 255; in Maryland convention, 335; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 347; political assessment circular of civil service commission, 363; as a campaign fund raiser, 370.

Baltimore American [Repub.] advocates civil service reform, 65.

Banbury, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Britton, S. Dak., 155.

Bancroft, postmaster at Concord, Mass., to be re-appointed, 91.

Bancroft; see Hillism, 309.

Bangor, Me., census of 1890; well conducted in, 292.

Bangor, S. Dak., Journalist Grifffers, postmaster at, 155.

Banks, a negro, opposes Harrison; wants offices for negroes, 244.

Banks, congressman advocates appointment of J. J. McCarthy in payment of political debts, 31; fails to obtain office for political worker, 39; aids spoils methods of Pension Commissioner Raum, 130.

Bannon, A., patronage of, 134.

Barbadoes, consul at, 56.

Bardsley, tool of Quay, 250.

Bardsley; see Quay, 305; embezzler, 352.

Bargue, P., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.

Bario, efficient post-office inspector, removal for political reasons, 298.

Barker, Wharton, protests against Quay 95; letter to Harrison protesting against giving patronage to Quay, 104.

Barker, "Billy," low politician, 311.

Barnard, Judge, and Dutchess county, N. Y., frauds, 366.

Barnes, appointed consul at Chemnitz vice Merritt, removed for political reasons, 371.

Barnes, justice of peace, a political worker, 162.

Barnes, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 407.

Barnes, C. B., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Barnes, J. M., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Barnes, W., factional leader in Albany, N. Y., consults with Harrison over patronage, 46.

Barnett, I. O. G. federal employe, and political assessments. See Kentucky.

Barnett, J., door-keeper in Indiana senate, 408.

Barnett, J. S., federal employe, and political assessments. See Kentucky.

Barneveld, Wis., Journalist Jones postmaster at, 155.

Barstable (Mass.), collector of, appointed. See Goss, 46.

Barnum, collector, resignation asked, 22.

Barnum, J. S., editor, appointed postmaster at Princeville, Ill., 141.

Barrett, E. J., postmaster at Alexandria, La., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Barrett, W. E., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.

Barrow, C. A., secretary Kings county republican committee, 121; secretary general committee, political worker for Woodruff, 197.

Barrow, H. A., politician appointed deputy naval officer at New York.

Barry, P. M., term expires as postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 126.

Bartholdt, R., office-seeker, 14.

Bartlett, E. B., 311; delegate at Minneapolis convention, 345.

Batavia, N. Y., candidate for postmaster at. See Sawyer, 47.

Batchelder, General, federal officer, works for renomination of Harrison, 348.

Batcheller, assistant secretary of the treasury, 371.

Bates, W. R., requests poll of voters from Postmaster Daniels, 383.

Baxter, assessor, a political worker, 162.

Baxter, A. E., 259; U. S. marshal in New York, a political worker for Fassett, 265, 266, 269, 279, 280, 287.

Baxter, D., mayor of Rochell, Ill., politician, 109.

Baxter, F. K., political worker, to be appointed New York state railroad commissioner vice Spencer, removed, 356.

Bayard, T. F., secretary, favors civil service reform, 82; ex-secretary, and spoils system, 145.

Bayard, ex-secretary, extract from address be-

- fore alumni students of Ann Arbor Law School, on spoils system, 257.
- Bayard, secretary, Jewett claim, 290; and Elkins's claim against Brazil, 369.
- Bayfield, Wis., Journalist Bell postmaster at, 155.
- Baylis, Ill., Journalist Donley appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Bayne, T. M., congressman, advocates application of civil service reform to certain postmasters, 100; patronage of, 133; post-offices in his district used for his nomination, 135; and postmaster Gilleland, 299.
- Beach, D., journalist, postmaster at Valley Center, 149.
- Beal, U. S. minister to Persia, resigns to do political work, 382.
- Beallsville, O., Editor Keepers appointed postmaster of, 301.
- Beallsville, Pa., Journalist Robison postmaster at, 149.
- Beard, A. W., supported by Massachusetts senators for Boston collectorship, 22; appointed collector at Boston, vice Saltonstall removed, 129; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102; gives office to Journalist John L. Swift, 108; political worker, 162, 179, 269, 288, 334; removes democrats in custom house, 245; removals under, 322.
- Beardsley, railroad commissioner in New York, 356.
- Bearss, post-office inspector at Peru, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Bearss, A. C., worker for Harrison, appointed chief clerk in railroad mail service, 377.
- Beaty, J. W., worker for Harrison, 355.
- Beattie, surveyor, political assessments under, 197.
- Beattie, W. J., political worker. See Kings Co., New York.
- Beaumont, postmaster at Alton, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Beck, state senator of Indiana, son of, appointed page, 408.
- Beebe, E. R., journalist, postmaster at Princeton, Wis., 155.
- Beers, T. H., appointed supervisor of census, 301.
- Belden, congressman, and Syracuse, N. Y., postmastership, 46, 71; secures appointment of Editor Von Bergman, 132; opposed by Postmaster C. E. Smith, and Collector F. Hendricks, 356.
- Belknap; see Rochester, N. Y., 305.
- Bell, appointed by President Harrison, 27; second assistant postmaster-general, reinstates incompetent clerk in Massachusetts; removes competent clerk in Illinois, 30; candidate for governor of Texas, 159.
- Bell, C. G., journalist, postmaster at Bayfield, Wis., 155.
- Bell, J., a political worker, 160.
- Bell, J. A., post-office employe; see Baltimore investigation, 312, 320, 326, 328.
- Bell, J. L., superintendent of railway mail service, tool of Clarkson, 21; superintendent railway mail service, refuses access to records of removals, etc., 163.
- Bell, T., politician appointed to look after office-seekers, 46.
- Bellamy, W. H., political worker, 287; secretary republican county committee, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Benedict, G. G., editor, appointed collector of district of Burlington, Vt., 126.
- Benedict, R. D., defeated by ward politician Nathan, 121; candidate for congress, aided by Secretary Tracy, 135; defeated candidate controls patronage in New York, 142; congressional candidate opposes Nathan, 143.
- Benedict, Kansas, Journalist McMullin postmaster at, 148.
- Benjamin, Capt., federal employe, pays political assessments, 279.
- Benjamin, J., politician in Brooklyn, denounces Nathan, 304; ward politician in New York, 304; federal employe in New York convention, 335; political worker, 371.
- Bennett, S., political worker, appointed postmaster at Evansville, Ind., see Posey, 46, 153, 158, 377.
- Bennett, postmaster at Hartford, Conn. removal of Barrio, efficient post office inspector, 298.
- Bennett, postmaster at Warsaw, Ind., 316; political worker, 378, 380.
- Bennett, F., journalist, postmaster at Fulton, N. Y., 155.
- Bennett, J., postmaster at Kent, N. Y., a political worker, 162.
- Benson, Ill., F. E. Larned, son of editor, appointed postmaster at, editor, deputy postmaster, 148.
- Benton county, Mo., applicants for post-offices in, by, see Upton, 55.
- Berg, Dr., on Indiana State Board of Health, inefficient, 316.
- Berks County, Pa., control of patronage in, 47.
- Bernard, disreputable democratic politician in Cincinnati, 352.
- Bernard, C. M., Harrison delegate from North Carolina, 334.
- Berne, Ind., J. N. Sullivan appointed postmaster at and removed; political-worker Wagoner appointed, 88.
- Bernhamer, corrupt politician of Indianapolis, convicted of tally-sheet forgery, see Indianapolis.
- Berri, E. D., ward politician. See Kings Co., N. Y.
- Berry, schemes for postmastership at Colfax, Wash., 165.
- Berryman, W., deputy collector at New York city, a political worker, 265.
- Bertram, S., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Besancon, H. O., journalist, postmaster at Harold, South Dakota, 155.
- Beshore, S. S., politician, census supervisor 6th Indiana district, 104.
- Best, E. T. journalist, postmaster at Niligh, Neb., 149.
- Beverly, Mass., Postmaster Odell of, a political worker, 162.
- Beyerle, L. H., editor, appointed postmaster at Goshen, Ind., 30, 126, 316, 377, 378.
- Bickford, political worker, 134.
- Bickham, editor, relatives of, hold federal offices, 301.
- Bicknell, postmaster of Garrett, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Biddleman, deputy United States marshal, collects political assessments, 372.
- Bidwell J. E., recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Bigelow, W. H., appointed division superintendent of railroad mail service, 22, 186.
- Biggs, congressman, opposes civil service reform, 125.
- Biglin, B., employs democrats, 311, 312; baggage contractor at Castle Garden, a political worker, 265; cartage bid of for New York custom-house, to be accepted for political reasons, 216; gets position for his brother in New York custom-house, 258; political worker in New York convention, 335; cartage contractor, 358.
- Biglin, J. C., brother of "Barney" Biglin, gets office through him; promised Appraiser Cooper's place in New York custom-house, 258.
- Bingham, J. H., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Binghamton Republican [republican]. Roosevelt must not appear in earnest, 49; Dunn, postmaster of, a political worker, 266; Dunn, postmaster of, secures removal of pension examiner Van Alstyne, 304.
- Binkley, W., political worker for Foraker, charges federal interference as cause of his defeat, 301.
- Birch, J., applicant for postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.
- Birkett, chairman republican general committee, and appointments in Brooklyn Navy Yard, 45; distributor of patronage in Brooklyn Navy Yard, 55; state senator of New York, supports Congressman Wallace, 142; opposed by Nathan, 265; treasurer Kings county, N. Y., central republican committee, 198; ward politician in New York, 304; politician of Brooklyn, 106.
- Birmingham, Ala., Houston, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Birmingham, Eug., city government of, 284.
- Bishop, mayor of Buffalo, N. Y., extends operation of civil service law in city offices, 200.
- Bishop, sheriff of Ogle county, Illinois, politician, 109.
- Bismark, builds up German empire, 244.
- Blackford, E. G., fish commissioner of New York, removed; Hackney, politician worker, appointed by Hill, 310.
- Blackford, L. M., on "Morals of Civil Service Reform," 130, 136.
- Blackford, W. T., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Black, pension commissioner, attempts to remove Miss Sweet, 107.
- Black, J., and Petroff, 152.
- Black, R. A., republican "boss," see Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- "Blacklisting." See Stratton and Grosvenor.
- Blackwell, J., ward politician of Indianapolis. See Parnell Hall.
- Blaine, E., works for Blaine at Minneapolis, 345.
- Blaine J. G., secretary, and recommendations from General Brown, of office-seekers, 7; views on civil service reform in "Twenty Years of Congress," 9; defeat of, attributed to Pearson, postmaster at New York, 13; and "Joe" Manley, 38; and consulship at Barbadoes, 56; uses influence to secure family appointments, 71; and postmastership at Washington, Pa., 100; candidates of superseded by those of Quay, 112; on tariff, 169; subject to Quay, 173; begged to speak, 180; applicants for consulships under, 185; opposes Australian ballot system, 228; and Harrison, 240; and Harrison, 241; promises "fealty" to Harrison, 250; alienates reform element in 1884, 255; "knifed" by Nathan in 1884, 264; and Elkins's claim against candidate for presidency, 299; nomination of, favored by Quay, 300; workers for in Indiana, 302, 303; and Nathan, 304; supporters in 1876 in Maryland convention, 335, 337; a candidate at Indianapolis, 339, 340, 341, 342; at Minneapolis convention, 343; and Minneapolis convention, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348; and Elkins's claim against Brazil, 369; in 1884, 376.
- Blaine, Jr., J. G., son of Secretary Blaine, given office, 108; given office through Congressman Hitt, 110.
- Blaine, R. G., brother of Secretary Blaine, given office, 108.
- Blair, representative in Indiana legislature and spoils methods in, 406, 407.
- Blair, United States marshal and Monroeville post-office, 88.
- Blair, A. C., postmaster in Jackson county, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Blair, T., Indian agent, 217.
- Blair, J. C., editor, postmaster at Newell, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Blair, senator, civil service reform a humbug; opposed to it, 45, 49, 50, 65; and Eaves, 159.
- Bland, delegate to Minneapolis convention; opposing Harrison, 346.
- Blaukenburg, R., letter to Quay, 157.
- Bliss, C. N., and request of postmasters for list of voters, 330; political worker for Harrison, see New York, 333; treasurer national republican committee, 363.
- Bliss, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Greenleaf, Kansas, 149.
- Bloomfield, Ia., Postmaster Evans of, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Bloomington, Ind., branch of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, meeting of, addressed by T. Roosevelt, 1890, 108; branch of Indiana Civil Reform Association, officers of, 182; census service, turned over to spoils, enumerators make lists of voters, 293; McPheeters, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Bloomington, S. Dak., Journalist Bales, postmaster at, 155.
- Blount, A. R., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Blunt, ex-postmaster appointed customs surveyor, 150.
- Board, local examining at Indianapolis, efficiency of, 18, 42, 120; local examining at Indianapolis, 25, 26, 94; local civil service at Indianapolis, appointments to, 34.
- Boards, examining for civil service should be independent, 17; examining; see, also, examiners, 186; pension examining, appointed through influence of Senator Cullom, 30.
- Boatner, congressman on house committee on civil service, 86; upholds civil service commission, 204; Secretary C. Foster, 330.
- Bode, Ia., Postmaster Rassing of, a political worker, 260.
- Bogardus, E., whose son holds federal office, political worker for Hiscock, 265.
- Bogemann, Rev. E. C., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Boise City, Idaho, assay office, Wild, removed without cause by President Harrison. Place given to spoilsmen, 30.
- Bolton, J. A., soldier, a political worker, 159.
- Bonaparte, C. J., at Baltimore conference 1889, 2; address of, upon civil service reform, 25; duty of the President, 26; on spoils, heading to July number, 1889, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 32; address of, before National League, 1889, on civil service reform as a moral question, 59, 60, 61; annual address of, before reform associations of Maryland, 1889, 62; spoils system immoral, 69; to examine management of civil service, 77; address of, before Catholic Club of Baltimore, on Catholics and citizenship, 97; to address Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; to address annual meeting, 1890, of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 111; committeeman, report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; address of, before Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 1890, on "Scope and Difficulties of Civil Service Reform," 119, 126, 127, 128; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; on relations of civil service reform to other reforms, 153; on Gorman, 161; on Committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 166, 166; address before annual meeting National League, 1890, 169, 170; on committee of National League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; assists in investigation of interference of federal officers in elections, at Baltimore, 261, 266, 267, 291, 295; address of, before annual meeting National League, noticed, 269; on special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; on political corruption in Maryland, 317, 324; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; on Judge Bradley and Assistant Attorney-General Tynor, 357, 358.
- Bond, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Bone, postmaster at Shelbyville, Indiana, removed on secret charges, 177.
- Bonge, appointed postmaster at Cumberland, Indiana, 89.
- Boody, congressional candidate, 183.
- Boody, D. A., democratic candidate for mayor of Brooklyn, New York, 287.
- Boone, Cal., superintendent work-house at Indianapolis, 205, 206.
- Boonville, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37; Postmaster Hammond of, political worker, 380, Pate, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Booth, A. R., employe in navy yard, in New York convention, 335.
- Booth, W. C., promised place in Brooklyn. See Wallace, 72.
- Borden, supported by Massachusetts congressmen for Boston collectorship, 22.
- Borin, C., journalist, postmaster at Oberlin, Kan., 149.
- Bosler, J. W., 291.
- Boston Advertiser (republican), on CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 235.
- Boston Journal (republican), on civil service reform, 65, 66.

- Boston Post (democrat), opposed to spoils system, 85; accounts of spoils fights in treasury department and Indian service, 216, 217; on feudalism revived, in New York City and Brooklyn, 263.
- Boston Transcript (republican), on civil service reform, 65; attributes republican defeat of 1889 to patronage system, 76.
- Boston, Mass., municipal service in; a field for reform, 235; civil service system in, 68; competitive tests in police force of, 104; fire service in, 120; merit system in city offices of, 172; civil service methods used at, for laborers, 181; merit system in labor service of, 204; civil service reform in city offices in, 212; merit system in use in city departments of, 220, 221; merit methods of employing laborers commended; applied to navy yards, see Tracy, 221, 222; examination in use for police force of, 223, 224; merit system for laborers, 228; labor employment system of advocated for Indianapolis, 243; physical examinations for fire and police services of Boston, Mass., 243, 246, 247, 248, 249; civil service methods employed in city departments of, 273; city government of, 284; labor service system of, 317; labor system of commended, 349; labor service of, 357; no appointive officer at, allowed to work politically, 358; labor system advocated for federal service by Andrews, 359; labor service system of, bill of Andrews to introduce into federal service, 388; civil service reform association of; resolutions of on Postmaster Pearson, 23; civil service reform in custom house of, under Saltonstall, 71; removals without cause in custom house at, for relative of Secretary Blaine, 71; address before civil service reform association, by J. R. Lowell, 77; civil service reformers of, 93; employees in custom house at, political workers, 179; removal of Corse, postmaster of, for political reasons, 213, 215, 237; Collector Beard at, removes democrats in custom house, 245; ex-postmaster Corse of, entertained by Massachusetts Reform Club, Hart, new incumbent, commended by Corse, 251; Beard, collector of, a political worker, 269; customs, district of, classified, 1883, 276; Corse postmaster of, Saltonstall collector at removed, 282; Beard, collector at, a political worker, 288; removals under Beard, collector at, 322; Hart, postmaster at, Beard collector, and other federal officers, political workers, 334; Corse, postmaster of, removed for political reasons, 367; removal for political reasons of Corse postmaster of, 376; civil service reform association of, 415.
- Bosworth, T., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.
- Botty, H. C., political worker for ex-Alderman Rathwell, New York City, 199.
- Boulton, J. W., see Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Bourke, B., ward politician in New York City, 263.
- Boutelle, congressman, interview on patronage in Maine, 157; opposes Australian ballot system, 228.
- Bowden, congressman, controls spoil in Norfolk navy yard, 153; a political worker, 162.
- Bowles, F. T., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Boyd, state senator, and Noblesville, Ind., post-office, 89.
- Boyd, H., post-office employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Boyd, S. H., office-seeker, 14.
- Boyer, C. R., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Boyer, H. K., supported by Senator Quay for state treasurer of Pennsylvania, 38.
- Boyle, A., political worker, foreman in navy yard at Brooklyn, 142; political worker for Congressman Wallace, 183.
- Boyles, G. F., negro delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Boynton, General, and scramble for offices, 24.
- Boynton, H. V., on Cincinnati Tammany, 301, 302.
- Brackett, governor of Massachusetts, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Brackettsville, Tex., Postmaster Gildea removed for political reasons, Ballantyne appointed, 186.
- Brackston, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- Bradbury, W. F., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Bradford, Pa., postmaster at, see Flenniken, 99.
- Bradley, ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y., 196.
- Bradley, Cal., and Blaine "boom," 344.
- Bradley, Justice, and Mahone "blackmailers," 305; charge of to jury in Mahone "blackmailers" case, condemned, 321; and Mahone "blackmailers," 357, 358.
- Brady, and Elkins, 374.
- Brady, opponent of Mahone, 52.
- Brady, A., postmaster at Charlotte, N. C., Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 334, 348.
- Brady, J. D., appointed collector at Norfolk, Va., 52; collector internal revenue, political worker, 370.
- Braine, Admiral, warns Boyle, 142.
- Brandt, postmaster of Des Moines, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Brant, police captain in Elizabeth, N. J., given federal office, 216.
- Brattleboro, Vt., Postmaster Childs endorsed for re-appointment, 100; caucus on question of re-appointment of Postmaster Childs of, 108.
- Bray, Representative, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Bray, L. T., defeated candidate, opposes Hitt, 136.
- Brayton, see Collier.
- Brayton, E. M., politician in South Carolina, opposing Harrison, 382.
- Breckeuridge, Judge, civil service reformer of Missouri, 239.
- Breen, J. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Flanagan, Ill., 141.
- Brenner, J., political worker, see Kings county, N. Y., also, 371.
- Breslau, Journalist Dunlap appointed consul to, 126.
- Bretz, congressman, patronage of, 411, 419, 421, 422.
- Brewer, congressman, asks resignation of Cowan, postmaster at Ovid, Mich., 165.
- Brewer, postmaster at Vineland, N. J., removal of for political reasons, see Vineland, 39.
- Brewster, attorney-general, and Postmaster Pearson, 12.
- Bribery of voters, see Kercheval, 83; in offices and money, see Collier, 162; in Pennsylvania, 151; in elections advised to aid Republicans in Indiana, 190, 191; in republican caucuses in Cortland county, N. Y., by Hiscock, also Jefferson county, 264; for Harrison delegates in Indiana, 378.
- Brice, C. S., senator, and Gorman, 307.
- Bridgeport, Conn., removal of postmaster at, to give place to spoilsman, 29.
- Briggs, cartage contractor at New York custom-house, spoilsman, 332; cartage contractor, and Collector Erhardt, 358; cartage contractor at New York custom-house, 371.
- Briggs, H., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana civil service reform association 1889, 8.
- Briggs, H. G., appointed postmaster at Portland, Me., through influence of Speaker Reed, 150.
- Briggs, T. A., cartage bid of for New York custom-house, not accepted for political reasons, 216.
- Brimberry, B. F., negro, postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Brinsmade, A. T., federal office-holder, political worker, 280.
- Bristol, Postmaster Montgomery of. See Simond, 91.
- Bristow, Henry, politician appointed to look after office-seekers, 46.
- Britton, M., treasury inspector, removed for political reasons, 332.
- Britton, S. Dak., Journalist Banbury postmaster at, 155.
- Broadhead, comptroller, secures reinstatement of thief Weeks, in Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Brock, S. G., president Missouri state republican association, 383.
- Brocket, chief clerk, spoilsman, 24.
- Brockmeier, H., ward politician, see New York City.
- Brodsky, J. E., corrupt politician, 234; political worker, 268.
- Brogan, captain of police in New York City, 319.
- Bronson, B. H., signal officer, secret charges against, 312.
- Bronson, O. H., journalist, appointed postmaster at New Richland, Kan., 126.
- Brooke, General, and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Brookfield, N. Y., Journalist Spooner postmaster at, 155.
- Brookfield, W., supports Lee for place in New York custom house, 259; chairman republican state committee of New York, 279; at Minneapolis, 344; chairman New York state republican committee, 363; chairman, etc. 371.
- Brookline, Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association of, and Commissioner Roosevelt, sentiment in favor of civil service reform, 36.
- Brooklyn, Ind., retention of Gamble postmaster at asked, see Cooper, 112.
- Brooklyn (N. Y.) Times (republican), patronage a source of weakness, 65.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., places in navy yard at, at disposal of "The" Allen, see; spoils "committee" at, 24; appointments in navy yard at, how made, 45; navy yard at, control of patronage in, 55; appointments in custom-house at, 72; removal sought of Postmaster Hendricks of, 72; political workers of, get office through Congressman Wallace, 72; examination in fire department of, 93; fire service in, 120; Postmaster Hendrix removed, place offered to politician, 131; Collins spoken of for postmaster of, see Willis, 135; spoils system in navy yard at, 142; navy yard at, spoils system in, 148; abuses and spoils system in navy yard at, under Secretary Whitney, 148; examination questions used in police service at, 152; navy yard at, given up as spoil by Tracy, 153; removals in navy yard at under Cleveland and Harrison, 155; republican factional fights for control of machine in, 197, 198; merit system in use in city offices at, 220; examinations for positions in, 221; examination in use for police force of, 222, 223; examinations instituted by Secretary Tracy in navy yard at, statement of examining board, 236, civil service commission of commended, 239; feudalism revived in, 263; factional fights in among republicans, at primaries, 264; armory frauds at, see Tammany, 318, 319; Collins, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 336; Nathan and anti-Nathan factions in, 352; Page, chief of ordnance department at navy yard at removed, 355; prize fighter appointed at policeman in, 355; Collins, postmaster of, spoilsman, 360.
- Brooks, J. M., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Brooks, W. H., appointed internal revenue collector at Philadelphia vice Martin resigned. See Quay and Harmer, 241; collector internal revenue, suspected by Harrison as supporter of Quay, 300.
- Brookshire, congressman, patronage of, 393, 410, 413, 419; allows Voorhees to name postmaster of Terre Haute Ind., 405.
- Brophy, J. C., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Brosins, congressman and post-offices in his district, 72.
- Brovard, J., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Brower, congressman, fights successfully for control of patronage in North Carolina, 47.
- Browne, General, and office-seekers, 6, 7, 14; and Hyat, officer in house of representatives, 84.
- Browne, postmaster at Clay City, Ind., removed, 89.
- Brown, politician, 134.
- Brown, state senator of New York, and Tammany bridge scandal, 317.
- Brown, political worker, 334.
- Brown, postmaster of Franklin, Ind., asked to resign, 377.
- Brown, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in 407.
- Brown, A. H., removed from office and political worker appointed, 79.
- Brown, A. H., physician, physical examiner for police and fire services of New York and Boston, 246.
- Brown, C. G., worker for Hiscock, 386.
- Brown, D. C., address of on school and civil service reform, 23, 24.
- Brown, E., see Hillism, 309.
- Brown, F., postmaster at Baltimore and Sears P. O., employe at, 277; postmaster at Baltimore, 189; postmaster at Baltimore, spoilsman, 53.
- Brown, F. W., editor, postmaster at Dysart, Iowa, 142.
- Brown, Capt. G. L. R., Indian agent at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., exposes political assessment scheme, 384.
- Brown, G. N., politician of N. Carolina, 109.
- Brown, H. U., officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108.
- Brown, H. U., of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Browne, T., congressman, opposes civil service reform, an advocate of congressional patronage, 35, 49, 112; opposes appointment of Cravens, 84; secures appointment of Marsh as postmaster at Portland, Ind., 89; controls post-office of Knightstown, Ind., 118; given patronage by Harrison, 240; patronage of, 410, 411, 419, 420, 421, 422; and postmastership of Madison, Ind., 393.
- Brown, J. B., editor opposed to Congressman Hitt, 110.
- Brown, J. D., postmaster in Harrison county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Brown, L. H., journalist, postmaster at Hammondsport, N. Y., 155.
- Brown, L. W., United States consul to Glasgow, political worker, 390.
- Browne, W., postmaster at Russellville, Ind., removed, 89.
- Brown, R. B., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Brown, T. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Brown, V. H., Cunard agent in New York City, surety for Collector Fassett, 258.
- Brown, W., warden of Sing Sing prison, worker for Hill, 309.
- Brown, W. L., state senator (N. Y.), recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- Brown, W. L., and Fassett, collector at New York City, 258.
- Brown, W. W., railroad mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Brown, Z., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Brownsville, Texas, Customs Collector Rentfrow at, a political worker, 150; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Bruce, B. K., negro, register of deeds in District of Columbia, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 344, 345; political worker, 362, 382, 389.
- Bruder, C. F., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Brugman, Dr. A. F., 355.
- Brules, Indians, rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Bruner, E., sells city offices in San Francisco, 215.
- Brunt, J. R., postmaster at Osage Mission, Kan., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired; Park appointed, 187, 188.
- Brush, W. T., advises bribery to aid republicans in Indiana, 190, 191, 213.
- Bryant, M. B., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Bryant, W. C., political worker, see Kings county, N. Y.
- Brydia, C. S., editor, appointed postmaster at Saeamin, Ill., 141.
- Brynildsen, J., journalist, postmaster at Graceville, Minn., 149.
- Bryson, Commodore, testimony of regarding Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Buchanan, United States marshal, active politician, 143.
- Buchanan, C. N., solicits political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Buchanan, G., navy yard employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Buchanan, G. A., special treasury agent, political worker in New York, 336.

- Buchanan, G. N., deputy collector internal revenue in Mississippi, delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344, 348.
- Buchanan, J., President, civil service under, 124; spoils system under, 405.
- Bucher, G. F., postmaster at Carroll, Ill., works for Hitt, 136.
- Buck, applicant for postmaster of Portland, Ind., 88.
- Buck, A. E., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Bucyrus, O., Journalist Haffey postmaster at, through Senator Sherman, 149, 301.
- Budd, J. B., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Bueman, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Buffalo, N. Y., addresses by Loomis and Shephard before Central Labor Union of, 44; common council of disregards New York civil service law, 161; account of caucuses in, 196, 197; nineteenth of city offices outside of educational department covered by New York civil service act, 200; civil service reform in city offices in, 212; merit system in use in city offices at, 220; labor organizations of support civil service reform, 228; Morgan, customs collector at, a political worker, 265; civil service reform victories in city service of, 273; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; civil service reform established in, 286; civil service law in city departments of upheld, 281; census of 1890 not well conducted at, 293; postmaster and post-office employes of pay political assessments, 391; memorial of G. W. Curtis adopted by civil service reform association of, 391; civil service reform association of gives aid to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, eighth annual meeting, 32; civil service reform association of, annual meeting 1890, 137, active, 161; address of Rogers, president, list of officers of, 189, 200; annual meeting, 1891, thanks Secretary Tracy and Congressman Lodge, city government of applies merit system, 238; Express objects to patronage and spoils system, 66; Sunday Truth (labor) favors civil service reform, 84; Commercial (republican), civil service reform a humbug, 92.
- Bull, sitting, see Indian service, 182.
- Bunce, F. M., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Bundy, H. E., postmaster at Onconta, N. Y., removed on secret charges, 176.
- Burchell, United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Burchett, D. J., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Burchinal, W. D., surveyor of port of Baltimore, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Burden, H., fish commissioner of New York, resigns, 310.
- Burdett, J. O., chairman Massachusetts republican state committee, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Burdick, S., and political assessments, 384.
- Burgess, A., office-seeker, 15.
- Burgess, C. A., candidate for postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Burgess, H., political worker, 280.
- Burit, J., federal employe, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Burkall, coiner of New Orleans mint, refuses to allow political assessments to be made in his department, 383, 384.
- Burke, C. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Olin, Iowa, 142.
- Burke, D. F., assistant appraiser at New York, assisted at dinner to Clarkson, 245; federal official, political worker, 287; internal revenue collector, in New York convention, 335; assistant appraiser at New York City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Burke, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 201; low politician and spoilsman, see, also, Magee, 212; candidate for U. S. district attorney of Indiana, spoilsman, unfit, 414.
- Burke, J., page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Burke, J. F., candidate for alderman, see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Burke, Penn., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- Burleigh, governor of Maine, congressional candidate, opposing Manley, 364.
- Burleigh, H. J., congressman, 354.
- Burlington Hawkeye, advocates repeal of civil service law, 49.
- Burlington, Kansas, Lockwood, postmaster at, removed, Lane appointed, see Kelly, 188.
- Burlington, Vt., customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Burnette, W. S. R., postmaster in Jackson county, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Burns, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire-Chief Webster, 208.
- Burns, C. S., employe in naval office, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Burns, W., postmaster at Plymouth, Massachusetts, to be removed for political reasons, 187.
- Burr, A., spoils system attributed to, 262.
- Burr, C. A., deputy collector at New York City, pays political assessments, 279; political worker, 287.
- Burrell, O. B., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Burris, S. P., protectionist democrat, appointed postmaster at Talladega, Alabama, vice —, removed for political reasons, 186.
- Burroughs, G., journalist, postmaster at Hope, Kansas, 149.
- Burroughs, J. C., congressman, 279, 362.
- Burrows, L. G., editor, applicant for postmaster-ship of Lanark, Carroll county, Illinois, 109.
- Burt, naval officer at New York, favors merit system, removed by Arthur, re appointed by Cleveland, removed by Harrison, 52; removal of, 68, 94, 106, 107, 173, 237, 282; cessation of political assessments under, 97; naval officer at New York removed for political reasons through influence of Platt, 368.
- Burtin, J. S., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Burton, J., journalist, postmaster at Jamestown, Kan., 149.
- Buser, E. W., journalist, postmaster at Dawson, Neb., 149.
- Bush, C. C., heavily endorsed political worker, appointed postmaster at Reading, Cal., 186, 187.
- Bush, speaker, corrupt politician of New York, 318.
- Bushnel, A. S., political worker in Ohio, 280.
- Bushnell, Rev. H., opposes spoils system, 77.
- Bushong, deputy city clerk at Indianapolis, 207.
- Buskirk, low police justice at Indianapolis, 314.
- Buskirk, given place of page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Bussey, C., assistant secretary of interior, a political worker, 279, 370.
- Butler, comptroller, confidence of, and W. P. Montague, 56.
- Butler, politician, see Brooklyn navy yard, 45.
- Butler, appointed postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., vice Ratnour removed, 175.
- Butler, unfit consul-general to Egypt under Grant, 191.
- Butler, Dr. C. S., civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200.
- Butler, Ind., Jones, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Butler, J. M., and Plattism, 281.
- Butler, N. C., member local examining board at Indianapolis, 18, 42, 120, 129, 186; officer Indiana civil service reform association, 108; clerk United States court at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 230.
- Butler, R. R., recommended for commissioner of Indian affairs, unfit, 14.
- Butler, S., bond of office of, secured by convicted briber Kemble, 152.
- Butler, senator, favors civil service reform, 120.
- Butler, T., editor, appointed postmaster at Huntington, Ind., resigns, 126, 377.
- Butterfield, A. H., editor, given federal office, 126.
- Butterworth, congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24; member house committee on civil service, 86; favors civil service reform, 119, 120, 124, 204, 211; on tariff, 169.
- Butting, W. J., political worker, 182, 183.
- Buttrick, postmaster at Concord, Mass., recommended for re-appointment, 100.
- Byerly, see Warmouth, 105.
- Bynum, W. D., congressman spoilsman, 108; spoilsman, able and unscrupulous, 171; patronage of, 392, 405, 410, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Byrnes, police inspector in New York City, 249; police inspector in New York City recognizes thieves among census enumerators, 294.
- Caberton, W. B., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Cabinet, and office-seekers, 6; President Harrison, composed entirely of spoilsmen, 27.
- Cable, postmaster of Hartford City, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Cable, postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., removed, 71.
- Caddy, C. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Pendleton, Ind., 126, 377.
- Cadmus, W. H. N., political worker for Nathan; see Kings county, N. Y.; political worker, 183, 304.
- Cadwallader, R. H., journalist, postmaster at Louisville, Kan., 149.
- Cady, J. R., judge, in New York convention, 335.
- Cain, P., postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa, asked to resign, 165.
- Caldwell, congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24.
- Calhoun, see Illinois Senators Farwell and Cullom, 31.
- California, republican platform, 1884, demands civil service reform, 50.
- Calkins, W. H., Gresham supporter, appointed United States judge in Washington territory, 240, 377.
- Call, senator, on examinations for civil service, 118.
- Callan, N., prize-fighter, appointed on police force in Brooklyn, 355.
- Calloway, Neb., Journalist Mair postmaster at, 149.
- Cambria Co., Pa., purchase of, by republicans, 133.
- Cambridge, Mass., Civil Service Reform Association; resolutions of, on removal of Postmaster Pearson, 23; address before civil service reform association of, by J. R. Lowell, 77; civil service reform association and President Harrison, on Indian and other service, 202, 204, 205; civil service reform association of, report of executive committee of, on circulation of Civil Service Record, 1891, 239; civil service reform association urges extension of merit system to Indian service, 273; merit system in city offices of, 172; no appointive officer at, allowed to work politically, 358.
- Cambridge, Ohio, brother of Editor Taylor, postmaster at, 301.
- Cameron, senator, influence of destroyed by Senator Quay, 30; controls patronage in Pennsylvania, superseded by Senator Quay, 34; and patronage in Pennsylvania, 47, 72, 133, 162, 329; and Quay, 105, 245, 252, 305; confers with International Revenue Collector Martin, 183; endorses Martin, low politician, for collector internal revenue in Pennsylvania, 233; supporter of Blaine, 344; spoilsman, 413; spoilsman controlled patronage of Pennsylvania, 34.
- Campaign of 1884, objection to scholars in politics in, see address of Parr, Prof. S. S., 8; residential, effect of on civil service reform in Indianapolis fire department, 13.
- Campbell, correspondence with Congressman Banks, 31.
- Campbell, and collectorship of customs at Chicago, 47; candidate of Senator Farwell for Chicago collectorship, 95.
- Campbell, B. F., political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Campbell, F., New York state controller, spoilsman, 356.
- Campbell, J. E., ex-governor of Ohio, and Stevenson, 375; ex-governor of Ohio favors a clean sweep, 396, 408.
- Campbell, W. H., receiver of political assessments, 391.
- Campbell, W. J., chairman republican national committee and Harrison, 354.
- Campbell, W. P., promotion of, 136.
- Canaday, sergeant-at-arms, opposes Quay's wishes, removes Mann, a page, 160.
- Canandaigua, N. Y., Journalist Milliken, postmaster at, 155.
- Candler, congressman and post-office at South Farmington, Mass., 99; ex-congressman works for re-appointment of democrat Morgan, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Cannelton, Ind., post-office, 25; editor appointed postmaster at, 37; post-office at, see Clarkson, 54; Isabella De La Hunt appointed postmaster of by Arthur, removed by Cleveland, office given to editor; President Harrison refuses to re-appoint, 368; Zimmerman, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Caunon, congressman, and the second auditorship, 6; contest of with Illinois senators over appointment of Wilcox, 31; opposed to civil service reform, 30, 35, 49, 202, 204, 211; obtains reduction of salaries of democratic clerks opposed to him, 39; controls delegates for renomination, 160; forces of Catherwood, postmaster at Hoopston, Ill., 165; a machine candidate, 179.
- Cannon, J. A., candidate for postmaster at Kingston, Mo., 132.
- Canton, Conn., postmaster at, to be reappointed, 91.
- Canton, Kan., Journalist Davis appointed, 148.
- Cape Vincent, N. Y., Morse customs collector of, a political worker, see, also, Jefferson county, N. Y., 266; number employes in custom house at, not classified, 277.
- Capen, S. B., defends Cleveland's management of Indian service, 219.
- Cappeler, W. S., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Carbondale, Kan., Journalist Playford postmaster at, 148.
- Cardozo, Judge, see Hill, 306.
- Cardwell, G. B., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Carl, F. M., journalist, postmaster at Navarre, O., 149.
- Carner, William, see Cannon, 39.
- Carmonche, L. B., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Carnahan, Gen. J. R., misrepresents civil service examinations, 79.
- Carpenter, postmaster, removed for political reasons, 22.
- Carpenter, postmaster at Flushing, L. I., removed for refusing to become a spoilsman, 91.
- Carpenter, A. H. W., postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., removed without investigation of secret charges, 175, 176.
- Carpenter, C. C., postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Carpenter, M., and Petraft, 152.
- Carr, Archie, special agent for interior department, worker for Filly machine, 150.
- Carr, B., worker for Harrison, 240; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Carr, C. E., minister to Denmark, calls on Chairman Carter, 361; United States minister to Denmark, political worker, 382.
- Carr, J. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Oxford, Ind., 126, 377.
- Carriers, questions used in examination for, at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 56, 57, 58.
- Carroll, Co., Ind., see Fawcett, letter of, 98.
- Carroll, F. J., ward politician, see New York City.
- Carroll, Ill., Postmaster Bucher of, works for Hitt, 136.
- Carroll, Iowa, Journalist Hungerford appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Carroll, J., low politician, see Hudson county, New York.
- Carroll, L., candidate for postmaster of Concord, Ind., supported by State Senator Chandler, opposed by State Senator Corning, 72.
- Carrollton, Ill., Postmaster Smith of, removed through influence of Senator Cullom, 188.

- Carrollton, Ohio, son of Editor Tripp, postmaster at, 301.
- Carruna, Ind., Bachman postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Carson, J. M., on Martiu, low politician, see.
- Carson, P., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Carson, P. S., 89.
- Carter J. S., Michener's candidate, 144, 377; land commissioner, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 339, 342, 344; worker for Harrison, 354; chairman republican national committee, confers with Platt, 359, 360, 361; gets lists of federal employes for assessment purposes, 363; chairman republican national committee, and political assessments, 382; chairman, etc., confers with Quay, 390, 406.
- Carthage, Ind., Editor Charles appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Cartwright, C. M., journalist, postmaster at Hunter, N. Y., 155.
- Carver, opponent of Mahone, 52.
- Cary, E., address of before annual meeting national league, noticed, 269; on committee of national league to investigate interference of officeholders, 319, 320, 338; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357.
- Case, F. P., political worker for Dazell, 299.
- Casebee, J., journalist, postmaster at Casper, Wyo., 155.
- Casey, brother-in-law of President Grant, a federal officer at New Orleans, 191.
- Casey, Iowa, Martha Cowman, wife of Editor Cowman, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Casper, Wyo., Journalist Casebee postmaster at, 155.
- Cass, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Catherwood, J. S., postmaster at Hoopston, Ill., forced to resign, 165.
- Catholics and citizenship, see also church, 97.
- Catterson, R., on committee of public safety at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 212, 220.
- Cavanaugh, employe in post-office at Pittsburgh, dismissed without cause, 133.
- Cavanaugh, deputy sergeant-at arms in house of representatives, removed for political reasons, 250.
- Cavanaugh, J. P., recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Cavour, builds up Italy, 244.
- Cedar Rapids, Ia., Daniels, postmaster at, 262; Lincoln, postmaster of, political worker, 370.
- Cedar Rapids, Ia., Gazette, civil service reform honesty in politics, 92; on using postmasters as political agents, 262.
- Census of 1890, not trustworthy, 173; act providing for requires selection of supervisors with reference to fitness and not to party affiliations, 292; civil service reform in, 19; no examination necessary, 49; disposal of offices in, see Porter, 72; made common spoil, 94; filled by republicans, 112; appointments to in Indianapolis made by Moores, 129; places in given as spoil, 131; spoils method allowed by Superintendent Porter in, 157; in England, absence of spoils methods in, 157; appointments defended, 182, appointments to, discord over, 183; examinations for clerkships in, alleged to be held, 190; investigation of feared by Superintendent Porter, 233, 234; corruption and spoils system in, 260; turned over to spoil, 288; investigation of reform in, by official committee of national league, 291, 29; enumerators used to get lists of voters, 293; refuses request for recount of New York city, 294; civil service reform in under Harrison, 372.
- Central Labor Union of Buffalo, N. Y., addresses before, see Loomis and Shepard, 44.
- Central Park, N. Y., "race course" hill, 320.
- "Century of dishonor, a" in Indian service, 182.
- Certificates of good character abolished, 34.
- Chadron, Neb., removal on secret charges of Wilson, postmaster at, 175.
- Chadwick, Rev. J. W., advocates civil service reform, 48, 82.
- Chadwick, F. E., naval officer on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, New York, 222.
- Challis, F. H., editor, disappointed candidate for deputy collectorship, 84.
- Chambers, L. C., journalist, postmaster at Liberty, Texas, 155.
- Chambers, Smiley N., reasons for appointing as United States district attorney, 7; appointed United States district attorney for Indiana, 14; and post office at Vincennes, Ind., 37; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; and W. W. Dudley, 78, 374; case of, 94; speech of, regarding bribery, 154; a political worker; extracts from speech of, on democratic corruption, 158, 219; an active politician, 162; worker for Harrison, 316, 317, 334; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343; political worker, 353, 362; 370, 377, 378, 380, 381, 389.
- Champaign, Ill., Spaulding appointed postmaster at, 38.
- Chance, M., United States inspector of immigration, at convention republican league, 259.
- Chandler, C., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York, advises merit system, 220, 221.
- Chandler, state senator, and Concord, Ind., postmastership, 72.
- Chandler, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 407, 408.
- Chandler, congressman, civil service reform a fraud, 73.
- Chandler, and re-appointment of Turner as postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Chandler, senator, works for J. B. Smith, 143.
- Chandler, senator, controls patronage of navy yard at Kittery, Maine, 148; spoilsman, 160 supports Blaine, 1892, 340; controls patronage of New Hampshire, 340.
- Chandler, W., candidate for constable; see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Chapin, mayor of Brooklyn, and civil service reform, 82.
- Chapin, A. C., and Hill, 356.
- Chapin, E. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Toula, Ill., 141.
- Chapin, L. P., applicant for postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.
- Chapin, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, N. Y., opposes McLaughlin, 318, 319.
- Chapman, B. S., postmaster at Derby, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Chardon, O., Editor Converse appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Charity Organization of Indianapolis, 111.
- Charles, E., editor, appointed postmaster at Carthage, Ind., 126, 377.
- Charlestown, navy yard at, patronage of, controlled by Congressman Lodge, 69; clean sweep in navy yard at by President Cleveland, 69; navy yard at, conduct of Tracy in, 153; state legislature urges legislation to secure merit system to navy yard at and elsewhere, 274.
- Charleston, S. C., Crum, negro, nominated as postmaster at for vote at Minneapolis, not confirmed, 363.
- Charlotte, N. C., Brady postmaster at, Harrison delegate, 334; Brady, postmaster of delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Charlton, T. J., 399.
- Charter, of Indianapolis, requires application of merit system to all city departments except fire and police, 243.
- Chase, secretary, opinion of civil service reform, 39.
- Chase, appointment of condemned, 51.
- Chase, D. C., federal officer in Hamilton county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Chase, I. J., see Russellville, Ind., 89.
- Chase, I., favored by Harrison for governor of Indiana, 343, 347.
- Chase, governor, candidate for re-election, of Indiana, and Ransdell, 352, 353; a candidate for governor of Indiana, and administration, 320, 379; opposed by United States District Attorney Chambers and his assistant Cockrum, 351.
- Chase, Kan., Journalist Loman postmaster at, 148.
- Chase, R. H., journalist, postmaster at Ludell, Kan., 149.
- Chase, S. H., ex-judge, a political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Chatham, J. J., journalist, postmaster at Nogales, Ariz., 155.
- Cheadle, congressman and candidates for postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., appoints Royer, 47, 89; spoilsman, 55, 85, 92, 145; applicants for postmaster at Lafayette, Ind., 71, 84; endeavors to repeal civil service law, 77, 112; recommends MacDonald, 84; secures appointment of D. W. Fleming, 84; opposes appointment of Cravens, 84; supports Garrigus, corrupt politician, 88; opposes civil service commission, 119; against civil service reform 122; defeat of for renomination, 129; and post-office at New Hall, Ind., 149; opposed to civil service law, 153; snubbed by Harrison when asks for patronage, 240; opposes Harrison, 317; denied patronage in Indiana, 377.
- Cheatham, congressman, secures nomination to office for Young, ward politician, 183.
- Cheatham, H. P., negro, worker for Harrison in N. Carolina, 334.
- Cheek, J. A., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Chelsea, Mass., Gazette, denounces civil service reform as claptrap, 364.
- Chemung Co., N. Y., republican convention of to nominate delegates, fights against Fassett and Platt, 259; factional fights in, 304; canal robbery, see Hill, 306; factional republican quarrels in, Collector Fassett and, 374.
- Cheney, ex-governor of New Hampshire, 143.
- Cheney, pension agent, active politician, 143.
- Chester, A., candidate of Draper faction at Albany, N. Y., see Draper, 46.
- Cheney, 291.
- Cheney, J. C., political worker, 354; president Indiana republican club at Washington, composed of federal employes, 382.
- Cheney, N. M., journalist, postmaster at La Porte, Pa., 149.
- Cheney, O. A., journalist, postmaster at Pitrodie, S. Dak., 155.
- Cheraw, S. C., disreputable character appointed postmaster at, 55.
- Chester county, Pa., applicants for post-offices in subservient to their congressman, 55; defeat of Delamater in, 134.
- Chestnut Level, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Chicago, Ill., collectorship of customs at, see Nixon, 47; civil service in post-office at, 95; per cent. removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; convention, 356.
- Chicago Standard, advocates civil service reform, evils of patronage system, 30.
- Chicago Tribune [republican], advises Harrison to pay no attention to office-seekers, 65.
- Chicago News, on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 206.
- Child, S. M., postmaster in Harrison post-office, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Child, T. A., prominent Ohio republican, and dismissals from government printing office, 234.
- Childs, postmaster at Brattleboro, Vt., endorsed for reappointment, 100; caucus on question of reappointment, 108.
- Chile, see Balmaceda, 282.
- Chittenden, opposed to spoils system, 251.
- Chivington, Col., Journalist Liggett appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Choate, R., and Webster, 324.
- Chrisman, aided by Senator Farwell for collectorship of Chicago, 14.
- Christian Leader, and Pearson, postmaster at New York, advocates civil service reform, 30.
- Christian Union, on Postmaster Pearson of New York, 43; objects to "Quayism" and Clarksou, 257.
- Chubb, H. S., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Church, Dr. S., police examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Churchill, F., delegate to Minneapolis convention, brother of postmaster, 348.
- Church, and politics, see, also, Crosby, 155, 156, 257; and civil service reform, see Lambert; see names of clergymen; appeal to clergy to preach on, see Welsb, 40; and civil service reform, 48, 56, 65, 73, 74, 102, 190, 193; see Learned, Kaufman, Hickok, Richmond, Weatherby, McKnight, McDuffy and Applegarth, 81; see Nelson, Smyth, Dix, Collier, Chadwick, Huntington, Tuttle, Nickols, Rhodes, Holland, Snyder, Noble, Wilson, Prudden, Hall, Rev. H., 81; see Roosevelt, dinner to, at Indianapolis, 227, 229; see minister as citizen, 239.
- Church, Catholic, opposed to appointment of Indian Commissioner Morgan, 79; and civil service reform, 137.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, municipal patronage of, control by Governor Foraker, 71; meeting at, of league of republican clubs; election of Clarkson as president, 219; spoils system must be kept out of new charter for, 235; Smith, customs collector at, political worker for Sherman, 249; merit system in post-office at, 257, 355; Zumstein, postmaster of, carries out spirit of civil service law, 257; custom house at, not classified, number of employes in, 277; Tammany against Sherman, 297; Tammany, 301, 302; postmaster and collector at, political workers for Sherman, 302; reformers in, opposed by united republican and democratic machines, 352.
- Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette [republican], rejoices in rate of removals, 49; attributes defeat to patronage, 65.
- Cincinnati Times-Star [republican], on civil service reform, 92.
- Circleville, Ohio, editor, appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Civil service, congress, and, 86; federal report on, in Indiana, 1886, 37; statistics given by Moore, M. C., regarding, 128.
- Civil service commission of Brooklyn, report of for 1889, 152; examination questions commended, 239; of Massachusetts, examinations of, 74; examines applicants for clerkships in census service, 190; report of, 92; sixth annual report of, 152; seventh report of, showing progress of reform in Massachusetts, 204; eighth report, 317; of New York City, 225; not very commendable, 239; of New York State, see Sickles, 34; report of, 92; seventh annual report of, 152; annual report of 1890; statement regarding extensions to state hospitals, 200; not very commendable, 239; Riley, chief examiner of, removed by Tammany; commission powerless to act, 414.
- Civil Service Commission, United States, 10; at Indianapolis, 25; investigates at Indianapolis, 27; investigates custom house at New York City, and Troy (N. Y.) post-office, 29; Roosevelt and Sixth Auditor Coulter, 34; orders Tousey dismissed from Indianapolis post-office, 34; keeps secret names of signers' certificates, 34; secretary of investigates and makes unfavorable report on post-office at Milwaukee, July, 1888; refuses request for special examination of Collector Geer, of Port Huron, 36; should have authority to call and swear witnesses, 36; and New York custom house, Troy, N. Y., post-office, railroad mail service at Grand Rapids, Mich., 36; and Postmaster Van Cott, of New York, 42; and N. C. Butler and W. P. Fishback to local board at Indianapolis, 42; and Census Bureau, see Harrison, President, 42; permit publication of examinations questions, 51, 56, 57, 58; of, appointed by Harrison, especially good, 59; admirable, 65; endorsed, 66; and political assessments, 70; examinations under for year ending June 30, 1888, 74; a humbug, 77; report of, 77; see Harrison, President, 81; and the civil service, 86; and Mahone, 86; and eligible list, 93; petition for appropriation for, 93; petition for larger appropriation for started by Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, 102; investigation of by congress, 103; report of on conduct of Milwaukee post-office by postmas-

ter Paul, 103; undemocratic, see Cummings and Vance, 116; debate over appropriation for in house of representatives, 119; investigation by congressional committee, 119; praised, see resolutions of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; Harrison requests aid for, 122; commended, see Missouri, civil service reform association of, 136; charges against, see Grosvenor, Houk, and Roosevelt, 115, 146; investigates post-office at Philadelphia, 144; 7th annual report of, 184, 185, 186; charges of Wanamaker against, 185; examinations held in year 1889-90 by, appointments, 185; inefficient methods of alleged, see Wanamaker, 193; opposition to and charges against, see Cannon, Plumb, Grosvenor, 202, 203, 204; treasury supervising architect not obliged to accept subordinates provided through, but does, 224; politics of applicants for office passing examinations of, unknown to, 224; exposes methods of Raum, Jr., 228; threatened by congress, 229; attacked by Clarkson, 230, 231; and prosecution of Raum, 238; attacked and defended, 250, 251; examinations ordered for promotions in Washington offices, 254, 261; charges of favoritism of denied by Roosevelt, publicity of all documents and books of promised, 266, 267; under Presidents Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison, see also Grant and Hayes, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275; first report 1884, extent of classified service, 276; and violations of law in Omaha, Neb., post-office, 281; necessity of more money for, 282, 287, 288; eighth report of, 289; asks Harrison to order competitive examinations for census service, 292; requires physical examination in railway mail service, 305; praised by National League, 321; gives information regarding political assessments to United States District Attorney Jolly, 330; warning of, against political assessments, 358; under Harrison, proposes extensions, 372; of House of Representatives and Baltimore investigation, 373; discovers political assessments, 375, 383, 385; praised, 376; report of for 1891-92, 396, 397.

Civil service examinations, see examinations; defects in system of local boards, 1; publicity of examination papers and records urged, 1; examinations of little value, 69; for Brooklyn and New York City police force, worthless, 355, 356.

Civil service commissioners, see Roosevelt Lyman, Thompson, Johnson, etc.

Civil service law of States; of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, decisions and opinions of courts on, 44, 281; of New York disregarded by common council of Buffalo, N. Y., 161; of New York held valid by New York courts, 200; of Massachusetts, some features of, 204; evasion of in New York City service, 319, 320; of United States, see also Pendleton act; plan to evade, see Grosvenor, violations of, see violations, 25; violations of in Milwaukee post-office, see Paul, postmaster, 36; and census bureau, see Harrison, President, 42; opinions of courts, 44; see Ewart, 47; objection to by Congressman Hall, 47; opinions on, see Chandler, Reagan, Payson, Cutchins, Dolph, Hitt, Simmonds, 73; see Pendleton and Eaton, 79; Senator Gorman opposed to, 79; broken at Milwaukee by postmaster under Cleveland, 103; opposed by Browne, 112; upheld, see Lodge, favored by Cleveland, 122; upheld, see Henderson, 122; opposed, see Cheadle and Grosvenor, 153; supported by Lodge and McKinley, M. C., 168, 169; rigidly observed in post-office at Indianapolis, 186; Raum attempts to override, 203; commended by Secretary Tracy, 221; Wanamaker's evasion of defended by Gorman, 225; G. B. Raum, Jr., sells privilege of selection under, 238; to be relaxed, to allow federal officers to work for Harrison, 240; and National League, 271; and the courts, 281; violated in Alabama, 355; construed favorably to Baltimore office-holders, politically active, 357, 358; as construed by Judge Bradley, and Assistant Attorney-General Tyner, 357, 358; Harrison claims vigorous enforcement of, 366; should be extended, 5; not extended in application by Harrison, despite platform pledges, 189; extension of, urged upon President Harrison by Massachusetts republicans, see Lodge, Roosevelt, Rogers, Wolcott, 192; order of President Harrison, extending it to part of Indian service, 221; President Harrison should put navy yards under, 222; extended by Cleveland to railway mail service, 224; extended by Harrison to Indian service, 230; somewhat extended by Harrison, 237; application of, only to federal offices having 50 employees, condemned, 238; extension of to all free delivery cities, requested by national convention of letter carriers, 253; should be extended to post-office and navy departments, 257; extended to fish commission by Harrison, 332; extensions under Harrison, 371, 372; extensions of, under Cleveland and Harrison, 376; proposal to extend under Harrison, 387; extended to all free delivery post-offices, and weather bureau service, 403; should be extended wherever applicable, 413.

Civil service law, repeal of, demanded, 49; attempt at, see Cheadle, 77; proposed by Senator Farwell and opposed, see Columbus Republican, 83; unwise, see South Bend Times, 83; bill of Senator Paddock to withdraw railroad mail service from operation of, 92; desired, see Rich-

ardson, 96; repeal of sought after, see Cheadle, congressman, 112; bills of republicans for, 358; bills for under Harrison, 388; bill of De Armond to suspend for first year of every president's term, 404.

Civil service reform, and the public school, see Curtis, C. T. Lane, D. C. Brown, duty of teachers to enter politics, see address of Parr, Prof. S. S.; relation of to other reforms, address by C. J. Bonaparte before annual meeting National League 1890; of prime importance, see St. Louis Republic; favored by Massachusetts legislature, see Boston and Cambridge; all other reforms should be subordinated to, see Swift; morals of, see Blackford; advocated, see DeLand; see Wirt, Senator, addresses of; newspapers devoted to, see good government, Civil Service Record, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Civil Service Reformer; see also patronage; see convention and platform; see press; and church, see church; see also address; in Indiana under Cleveland's first administration, 1; pledges of republican party of, see Foulke, W. D., 4; how it can be accomplished (see address of Dabney, R. H.), 7; reasons for (see address of McKain, A. A.), 8; attitude of democratic party in Indiana to, see address of H. Briggs, 8; movement for, if successful must be within party lines (see address of Lane, C. R.), 8; and teachers, 11; in Indianapolis fire department, 13; advocated by a professor, 16; advocated by a clergyman, 16; and Postmaster General Dickinson, 18; opinions of, 18; and the post-offices, 18; and census bureau, 19; and Senator Ingalls, 22; and the schools, by Brown, D. C., 23; movement for, stronger than ever, 27; status of, 28; progress in extending in federal service, number of places covered, examinations, persons examined, successful competitor, 32; under State laws, in New York, in Massachusetts, 32; Congressman Perkins opposed to, 35; opposed by Browne, Perkins, Cannon, Taylor, Houk, 35; objections to by Congressman Browne, 35; objections to considered, 35; Congressman Cannon opposed to, 35; sentiment in favor of at Brookline, Mass., 36; necessary to improve condition of Indians, see Welsh, 39; opinion of, held by ex-Secretary Chase, 39; see Hoar, 43; controversy over, between Loomis and Buffalo Evening News, 44; objections to by Hall, Ewart, Taylor, Blair, Ingalls, Houk, Shearman, Evans, Cannon, Browne, Perkins, 49; general opposition to, resolution and newspaper condemnation of, 49; objections to by S. R. Stratton and federation of republican clubs of 3d Maryland District, 49; favored by President Hayes, 50; pledges that President Harrison and cabinet to reform, 52; see Houk, Darlington, Evans, Shearman, Plumb, Harrison, Cleveland, 55; as a moral question, see Bonaparte, 59; address on by Lucius B. Swift, 137; advocated by St. Louis Republic, 138; disregarded by administration of Harrison, see Pennsylvania, 156; action of Harrison's administration in regard to condemned, 156; result of 1890 elections in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania strengthen cause of, 173; antagonism to, responsible for republican defeat of 1890, 173; election of 1890 in New York, disastrous to, 173; advocated by Everett, 174; growth of sentiment for, sketched, 174; circular letter of Cushing on, 174; hostility to of Clarkson and Wanamaker, 177; opposed by Houk, advocated by Senator Sherman, 177, 178; opposed, see Grosvenor, 178; see Cleveland, 181; opposed by Clarkson and Wanamaker, 188; opposed by Raum, commissioner of pensions, 190; opposed by editor of Delphi Journal, a postmaster, 191; disregarded by President Grant, 191; an object lesson in, see Roosevelt, 192; President Harrison deserves some credit for, 59; a necessity and a prime importance, 59; as a moral question, see Bonaparte, 60, 61; considered a humbug by Ohio republicans, 62; denounced by republicans of West Virginia, 62; Harrison not bound to enforce spirit of according to New York republicans, 62; denounced by Iowa republicans, 62; Neither party cares about it, see Indiana, 62; denounced in New Hampshire by republicans, 62; denounced as a sham by Pennsylvania republicans, 62; Maryland republican clubs denounce, 63; denounced by republican central committees in New York, 63; in Massachusetts and Maryland under Cleveland, 63; disregarded by Harrison's administration, 64; in Homiletic Review for October, 1889, 65; advocated, 65; opinion on by republican papers, 65; opinions on, republican party pledged to, 66; plan for agitation of before National League, annual meeting, 1889, 66; opinion of Foraker on, 68; violation of Harrison's promises of leads to republican defeat of 1889, 68; in Boston city service, 68; see Lodge, 69; in fire department at Indianapolis, 69; and fight against Gorman, in Maryland, State of, 70; not responsible for republican defeat of 1889, but patronage system, see Boston Transcript, 76; advocated by newspapers, 76; lecture on before students of Hanover College, Indiana, see Donnell, 77; supported by Pendleton, Willis, Cleveland, Bayard, Endicott, Whitney, Grace, Hewitt, Grant, Chapin, O'Brien, 82; advocated, see Marion Chronicle, 83; advocated, see Logansport Journal, 83;

favored by Indiana State republican press, 83; favored by Buffalo Sunday Truth, Labor, 84; "some popular objections to," see Morton, 85; sham bills for, see Rosecrans, 85; favored, see Sperry, 91; and republican press, 92; session of house committee on, 96; methods used in Eastern Dispensary, New York City, 101; advocated, see Crooker, 102; advocated, see Bacon and Strong, 102; attitude of reformers to, see letter of G. W. Curtis, 103; sentiment favoring at Indiana State University and Franklin (Ind.) College, 108; sentiment favoring in Utah, 111; some popular objections to, see Morton, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119; growth of sentiment favoring, 119; advocated, see Butler, 120; opposed, see Perkins, Cheadle, Spinola, Grosvenor, 122, 123; advocated, see President Hayes, Moore, Greenhalge, Hill, 123; opposed by Houk, Coleman, Dunnell, Biggs, 124, 125; advocated by Cutchin, Tracey, Butterworth, McKinley, McComas, 124, 125; victory for in house of representatives, see Curtis, 125; "the scope and difficulties of," see Bonaparte, 126, 127, 128; "morals of," see Blackford, 130; its later aspects, by W. D. Foulke, Economic Tract No. XXXI, 200; great progress of in cities of Massachusetts, 204; under Harrison and Cleveland compared, diverse opinions of Harper's Weekly and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, further funds for commission refused, 211; favored by Dawes, Butterworth and others, opposed by Cannon, 211; in Massachusetts and New York cities, 212; all other reforms should be subordinate to, 213, 214; Thurston, president league of republican clubs speaks in favor of, 219; recognized as the leading issue by Massachusetts republicans, 219; silence regarding, see Cleveland and Harrison, 220; methods, use of advised in street cleaning department of New York and Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 220, 221; Secretary of Navy Whitney secretly opposes, 222; in Washington, D. C., in letters in Civil Service Record for April, 1891, 224; opposed by Wanamaker, 224; popular in Indiana, federal, state officers, and citizens favoring, 227, 229; supported by labor organizations of Buffalo, New York, 228; all other reforms should be subordinated to, 228; favored, see Wilby, 235; pupils in Indiana schools know nothing about, 236; attitudes of Cleveland and Harrison towards, compared, 237; the main issue, 244; favored by Chittenden, 251; favored by Harrington, appointed chief of weather bureau, 253; favored by national convention of fire superintendents, 253; advocated by Lowell, Jones, 254; present status of, by Rev. H. Lambert, criticized, 255; advocated by M. Storey, ex-Secretary Bayard, 257; D. B. Eaton, on, 257; pledges of republican party "not good after election," 260; see address of Lambert, 261; as an issue, 261; address of Foulke on, before social science congress at Saratoga, 1891, 262, 263; practicability of conceded by highest public officers, 271; in Buffalo, N. Y. city offices, 273; advocated in republican national platforms 1884, 1888, 275; praised by Cleveland, message 1886, by Windom, annual report 1889, 276; status of, 282; under Harrison and Cleveland, 282, 283; in census service, see report of National League act, 291, 295; opposed by Census Superintendent Porter, 292; favored by Public Service, 306; prize for essay on offered by W. G. Law, 308; bureaucracy objection to compared to spoils system, 308; opposed by Beard, collector at Boston, 322; favored by laborers, see Andrews, 331; in republican national platform, 1892, 337; Cleveland and Harrison compared, in regard to, 338; in national democratic platform 1888, 1892, in Indiana state democratic and republican platforms, 1892, 349; pledges of by Harrison, silence regarding in 1892, 357; under Cleveland and Harrison, strength of popular dislike for, 364; the real issue, 365; address on by G. W. Julian, 365, 367, 370, 376; see Welsh, 366; under Cleveland and Harrison, 367, 370; in letter of acceptance of Cleveland 1892, 375; under Harrison and Cleveland, 376; prospects for under democratic administration, 388; under Harrison and President-elect Cleveland, 389; O. T. Morton on, 396; in 1892, annual message of Harrison, 397; change of popular feeling regarding, 403.

Civil service reform associations, see national league of, Cambridge, Boston, Indiana, Maryland, New Haven, Massachusetts, New York, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Missouri, Newton, Pennsylvania, Bloomington, Philadelphia, Brookline, Milwaukee, civil service reform association of; see also Malden, Geneva, N. Y. Lawrence, Kan.

CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, opinions of by Indiana newspapers, 13; non-partisan, intends to advocate only civil service reform, 42; opinions of, 110; sent to college libraries, 192; policy of, 235.

Civil Service Record, Boston, March, 1889, 2; for April, 1889, plan for treatment of fourth-class postmasters, 18; articles in on civil service reform in Boston police force, 104; D. B. Eaton in, on removal of Saltonstall, 105; and growth of sentiment favoring merit system, 119; and Brooklyn, N. Y., navy yard under Secretary Whitney, 148; illustrates civil service labor examinations, 152; for October, 1890, contains speeches before National League meeting, 1890, 162; exposes methods of Porter, superintendent of census, 190; on reform bill introduced in Pennsylvania legislature, 204; on

- Flower's condemnation of congressional patronage, 201; condemns removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 215; prints examination papers of national census bureau and of Massachusetts census department for employes, April, 1891, 219, 220; for April, 1891, contains letters on merit system in Washington, D. C., 224; on examination questions used in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., under Tracy, 236; commended, completes tenth year, E. B. Greene makes index for, 237; circulation of, 1891, 239; on "bosses," 251; on spoils system, 261; merges with Civil Service Reformer into Good Government, 357.
- Civil Service Reformer, Baltimore, March 1889, 2; article in advocating clerical advocacy of civil service reform, 30; on political assessments at Baltimore, 162; prints specimen applications for office of those failing to pass examinations, on abuse of census service, 204; on evil effects of patronage on schools of Baltimore, 211; for March, 1891, exposes Gorman, 214; for March, 1891, on corruption in politics, 214, 215; on Gorman, 219; on common cause among spoilsmen, 228; commended, 237; merges with Civil Service Record into Good Government, 357.
- Claffin, W., ex-Governor of Massachusetts, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service committee, 102.
- Clapp, A. M., and political assessments, 287.
- Clarion, Iowa, Editor Harwood appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Clarion, Pa., Journalist Patrick, postmaster at, 149.
- Clark, Alderman, of Indianapolis, supports Fire-Chief Webster, 208.
- Clark, collector at Chicago, 95.
- Clark, ex-collector of customs at El Paso, Tex., 266.
- Clark, Dr., New York assemblyman, introduces bill for municipal reform in Oswego, N. Y., 415.
- Clark, A. B., officer Indiana civil service reform association, 108.
- Clark, A. B., editor, disappointed office-seeker, opposes Sherman, 301.
- Clark, E. P., on Jacksonian "rotation" scheme, in August, 1891, Forum, 257.
- Clark, G. W., politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Clark, H., ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y.; see Hill, 307.
- Clark, J., candidate as second auditor, 6.
- Clark, J. H., political worker, 160.
- Clark, M. H., in New York convention, 335.
- Clarkson, C., private secretary to J. S. Clarkson, 175.
- Clarkson, J. S., editor, appointed first assistant postmaster-general, 14; number, etc., of removals and "resignations" under, 22, 27, 35, 39, 41, 49, 62, 75, 76, 77, 91, 94, 130, 131, 149, 164, 173, 188, 253, 261, 376; see also removals; and office seekers, 14; and railroad mail service, 21; and office-seekers, 24; and Isabella De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannelton, Ind., 26; "the unspeakable," 27; tries to help Love, accused of selling offices, despite contrary evidence declares him innocent, 32; and post-offices, 37; appoints L. D. Levan, a disreputable character, postmaster at Wilson, N. Y., 39; spoilsman, 43; appointments in Iowa under, 46; and Syracuse post-office, 46; negotiates with Mahone, 52; and post-office at Cannelton, Ind., and at Long Island City, 54; appoints postmasters, 55; removes postmaster at Strawberry Point, Iowa, appoints political worker, resolutions by residents denounce this action, 55; condemned by Milwaukee Sentinel [republican], 66; largely responsible for republican defeat in Iowa in 1889, 67; and postmaster at Lawrenceville, Va., 74; spoilsman, 92; appoints J. H. Flenniken postmaster at Bradford, Penn., 99; investigates case of Love, 99; postmaster-general, 103; and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; letter to from Cooper regarding postmaster at Freedom, Owen county, Ind., 112; banquetted at Boston, 119; and Harrison, 121; condemned, 125; thinks national sentiment against civil service reform, 128; and civil service reformers, 130; speech of at Boston before Norfolk club, 130, 131; gives patronage in Missouri to Filley, 132; condemned, see C. T. Russell, Jr., 136; correspondence of with R. H. Dana, 144; gives office to his cousin, 150; retires, laudation of, 154; and Dana, 154; and Postmaster McKenna of Long Island City, N. Y., 175; letter regarding removal of Evans, on secret charges, 175; and Greenhow, postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., 176; hostile to civil service reform, 177; removes postmasters "upon expiration of four years' service, and second commission not yet expired," 189; opponent of civil service reform, 188; spoilsman, 191; denounced, 193, 194; attacks civil service commission, 230, 231; advice of to young republicans on plan of campaign, 235, 236; dinner to, 245; appointment of, hurts civil service reform, 255, 256; takes place of Quay on National Republican Committee, condemned, 257; and Platt, 260; injures civil service reform, see Lambert, 261, 269; on mugwump, 269; spoilsman, 272; and civil service reform, 274; on "bosses," 278, 281, 282, 314, 317; and young republicans, 329; and post-office in saloon building, 331; deserts Harrison, 332; deserts Harrison, 337, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 350; enlogizes Quay and Dudley, 346; placated, 353, 354; works for Harrison, 359; on national republican committee, 363; general, 373; on post-offices as a factor in politics, 361, 369; member national committee, etc., confers with Quay, 390.
- Clarkson, N. C., cousin of assistant postmaster-general appointed postmaster at Hamilton, Mo., 150.
- Classification, once ordered can not be postponed, postponement not necessary, act of bad faith, 10.
- Classified service, ought the to be increased, address, see Rogers; extensions of Cleveland and Harrison, 275; extent of in 1884, 276; extension of under Harrison, 366; civil service commission recommends extensions of, 397.
- Clay, H., opposes spoils system, 274.
- Clay, Rev. J. H., negro, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Clay, Mary L., postmaster at Huutsville (Ala.) removed by President Harrison on report of special agent, without cause, 29.
- Clay City, Ind., objections to appointment of Mrs. Wilber as postmistress at, 89.
- Clayton, B. S., appointed postmaster at Columbia, S. C., vice Gibbs, removed, 74.
- Clayton county, Iowa, resolutions of veterans of, denouncing Clarkson, 55.
- Clayton, Powell, obtains appointment of True as postmaster at Eureka Springs, Ark., dispenser of patronage, 55; controls patronage in Arkansas, 188.
- Clear Lake, Ia., fight over post-office at, 121.
- Clearwater, A. T., judge, a political worker for Platt, 265.
- Clements, congressman and civil service law, 123.
- Clements, E. M., introduces bill in Virginia legislature for non-partisan police and fire service, 87.
- Clements, I., politician, appointed pension agent at Chicago, 107.
- Clements, J. W., office-seeker, 24.
- Clerks, questions used in examination for, at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 56, 57, 58.
- Clelland, E., removed from post-office at Quincy, Ill., for political reasons, 148.
- Cleveland, Grover, as governor, civil service law of New York due largely to, appoints good commission, 271.
- Cleveland, President, extensions of civil service law under, see also civil service law; order of that railway mail service be classified, 10, 21, 22, 29, 81, 224, 372, 403; retains republican postmaster at Norwich, Conn., beyond four years, see Norwich, Conn.; and the Indianapolis post-office, 3; and the spoilsmen, 5; and civil service reform, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 12, 20; number of appointments, April, 1889, 16; and Missouri offices, 24; and Thomas, and Dowling, 25; and Higgins, 25; removes Isabella De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannelton, Ind., for "offensive partisanship," 26; and Troy, N. Y., post-office, 29; allows republican postmaster at Bridgeport, Conn., to serve out term, 29; retained postmaster at Jersey City until end of term, 29; retains republican postmaster at Norwich, Conn., over his term, 29; at suggestion of Congressman Matson appoints H. G. Douglas, editor, postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30; removes Hankness, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., for cause, appoints Stacy, 39; promises of and their fulfillment in Indiana, 41; civil service reform, promises of, 43; abuse of civil service law by administration of, 49; re-instates Naval Officer Burt, see Burt, 52; and Kansas post-offices, 55; civil service reform under, see Eliot, 60; and civil service reform in Massachusetts, and Maryland, 63; patronage largely responsible for his defeat, 65; see Lea, 68; makes clean sweep in Charleston navy yard, 69; see Lodge, 69; gives patronage of Maryland to Senator Gorman, 70; appoints editor postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., 71; removes four-year office-holders in Maine, 73; attitude of toward civil service reform, 82; weakened by patronage, 83; and Indian Rights Association appoints Oberly Indian commissioner, 86; appoints Spear postmaster at Quincy, Massachusetts, 86; removes Luke, postmaster at Jeffersonville, Indiana, 88; allows office-holders to be political workers, 88; secret charges under, 96; on civil service reform, 98; appoints Turner postmaster at Newtonville, Massachusetts, and Childs postmaster at Brattleboro, Vermont, 100; appoints Pyle postmaster at West Chester, Pennsylvania, 101; abuse of Indian service under, 102; appoints Mrs. Mulligan to succeed Miss Sweet, 107; gives patronage of Maryland to Gorman, 111; criticized by Senator Harrison regarding civil service, 119; favors civil service law, 122; and fourth class post-offices, 124; talk with Biggs, see Biggs, 128; circular of, warning employes in government offices against political working, 135; appoints Montgomery patent commissioner, appoints politician assistant commissioner, removes Montgomery, appoints B. J. Hall, 139, 140; accused of bribing the press, 144; abuses in Norfolk (Va.) navy yard under, 147; bribery of press under, see Harrison, senator, 149; brother in-law of, an office-holder, 150; appoints Ross postmaster at Washington, D. C., 153; removes employes in Brooklyn navy yard, 155; antagonized by party machine, because of civil service views, 171; object of tariff message of, 172; civil service reform and, 173; removes Fortune postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., 175; and secret charges, 177; gives office to Higgins, disreputable politician, see Gorman, 181; appoints Vandever Indian agent, 181; on necessity of civil service reform, 181; and departmental service, 185; number applicants for office in Washington under, 185; removals under, 185; makes clean sweep of postmasters, 189; spoils system responsible for defeat of, 210; civil service commission under criticized, 211; removals in Indian service under, 217; makes almost clean sweep in Indian service, 219; silent regarding civil service reform, 220; appoints Morgan postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224; gives patronage to Quay and Voorhees, 235; loses by comparison with Harrison in respect to civil service reform, 237; Indian service under, given over to spoils, 239; appoints son of Senator Vest, to diplomatic service, totally unfit, 242; disaffection of Maryland under, gives patronage of to Gorman, 254; controls patronage but fails of re-election, 262; administration of, 266; honestly supports civil service commission, 272; message on civil service reform, 1886, 276; violations of law in post-office at Omaha under, 281; and Harrison, 282, 283; president appoints capable woman postmistress at Olneyville, R. I., 288; promotes Stearns, secretary, 288; and removals on secret charges, 297; clean sweep of Indian agents under, made, 308; on federal patronage, 316; and reform, 325, 326; present political assessments under, in Baltimore federal officers, 328; compared to Harrison, as to civil service reform, 338; ex-federal officers under work for at Chicago convention, post-office at Philadelphia under a scandal, 350; opposed at Chicago convention because favored by "mugwumps," 351; and regular democratic organizations in New York, 355; Kings county, N. Y. democratic leaders promise support to, 356; and spoils system, 358, 359; and Harrison, comparison regarding civil service reform, 364; and civil service reform, 367, 369; Cleveland, civil service reform under, 372, 374; civil service reform in letter of acceptance, 1892, 375; in 1884, 1888, 376; civil service reform under, 376; during the war, 381, 385, 386; President-elect, victory not a license to revel in spoils, 387; and extension of civil service law, 388; and civil service reform, 389; war record of, 389; applicants for office in Indiana during second term, 392, 394; refused while candidate to promise spoil to Sheehan, 395; address of, on issues, 395, 396; civil service commission under, first term, should reappoint Roosevelt, 397; endorsed for denunciation of spoils system, 398; obligations of, 404; opposes election of Murphy as senator from New York, 404; and congressional patronage, 405; applicants for office in Indiana, for second term, 409, 411; since election, 413; applicants for office in Indiana, under [second term], 415, 422.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Anderson appointed postmaster at, 216; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Cleveland Leader [republican], civil service reform advocated, 92.
- Cleveland, Rev. Dr., favors civil service reform, 73; favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Cleveland, W. J., philanthropist, on Indian troubles at Pine Ridge, S. Dakota, 211, 217, 218.
- Clinton, Iowa, Editor Mahin appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Clinton, J., low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Club, Young Men's Republican, of Des Moines, Iowa, Clarkson advice to, on plan of campaign, 235, 236.
- Clugage, J. P., editor, applicant for postmastership at Sullivan, Indiana, 88; appointed postmaster at Sullivan, Indiana, 377.
- Cockran, B., Tammany politician, levies assessments for personal use, 184; opposes nomination of Cleveland because favored by "mugwumps," 351.
- Cockrell, and patronage in census bureau, 234.
- Cockrum, J. B., assistant United States district attorney for Indiana, 14; declares charges against Dudley not founded on fact, 41; a political worker, 158, 162, 219, 260, 353, 354, 370, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 389; worker for Harrison, 316, 317; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Coffey, acting mayor of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Nathan, 352.
- Coffey, T. J., letter to from Kemble, 270.
- Coffin, senator, levies political assessments on federal office-holders in Baltimore, Md., 162.
- Coffin, C. B., republican politician, works for reappointment of Morgan, democrat, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Cogswell, general, desires removal of Stearns in favor of Dodge, 250.
- Cogswell, W., congressman, letter of to Johnson, postmaster of Manchester, Mass., 187; secures removal of Stearns for political reasons, and appointment of Dodge, 288.
- Colbert, captain Indianapolis police, arrests Moore, gambler and post-office employe, is asked to call arrest a put-up job, see Moore; and office seekers, see equally divided politically, 213.
- Cole, H., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Cole, T., on eligible list of N. Y. police force, induced to try to buy immediate position, is fleeced, see Tammany, 224, 225.

- Coleman, congressman, controls patronage of Louisiana, 71; opposes civil service reform, 121.
- Coleman, C. E., negro, R. R. mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Colfax, Wash., Postmaster La Rue of, forced to resign, 165.
- Collectors of internal revenue, editors appointed, 30.
- College graduates, young and civil service examinations, 26.
- Colleges, and duties of citizenship, 104.
- Collier, Dr., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Collier, surveyor of port, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Collier, W. H., republican committee chairman, attempted bribery of, 162.
- Collin, professor in Cornell University, defends Hill, 305; defended for defense of Hill, 313.
- Collins, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 407.
- Collins, C., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Collins, C. C., relative of Mrs. R. Croker, appointed police captain, 356.
- Collins, Edith, in charge of examination for police matron at New York, see Maloney.
- Collins, F. W., U. S. Marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Collins, G. J., spoken of for Brooklyn, N. Y., post-office, 135; postmaster at Brooklyn, N. Y., political worker for Harrison, 336; spoilsman, 360.
- Collins, J., deputy collector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 265, 279; low politician, desires clean sweep of democrats, 311; in New York convention, 334; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Collins, P. A., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Collyer, Rev. R., advocates civil service reform, 82.
- Columbia Club, republican organization at Indianapolis, 332; and spoils system, 338.
- Columbia, District of, D. M. Ransdall, politician, appointed marshal of, 34; central republican committee of favors spoils system, 63; Ransdall appointed marshal for, 68; clerk of committee of removed by Senator Ingalls, who appoints his own son, 215; Ransdall, U. S. marshal for, gets offices for relatives, 244; civil service commission recommends extension of classified service to all employes in, 397.
- Columbia, Pa., post-office at, see Brosins, 72.
- Columbia, S. C., B. S. Clayton appointed postmaster of, vice Gibbs, removed, 74.
- Columbus, Ind., dissatisfaction among applicants for postmaster of, 89; Hartman, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 379; Finney supported for postmaster of by Congressman Cooper, 398.
- Columbus, Neb., Postmaster Hensley, of, forced to resign, 166.
- Columbus, Ohio, applicants for post-office of and Senator Sherman, 67; spoils system in asylum at, 304.
- Columbus Republican opposes repeal of civil service law, 83.
- Colville, W. W., federal office-holder, supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Colyer, W., editor, appointed postmaster at Albion, Ill., 111.
- Commercial Club, of Boston, address before on iniquity of spoils system by Roosevelt, 194.
- Commission, civil service, see civil service commission.
- Commission, Indian, controversy about, 22.
- Committee, national republican, offended by Harrison, 240; enlogizes Quay and Dudley, 257.
- Conaty, J. B., dishonest juror and bondsman for Sullivan, corrupt politician, see Indianapolis.
- Concord, Ind., fight over postmastership at, 72.
- Concord, Mass., reappointment of postmaster at, see Bancroft, 91; Buttrick recommended for reappointment at, 100.
- Concord, N. Hampshire, Postmaster Robinson of, active politician, 143.
- Coudit, E. M., politician, favored by administration, 180.
- Conference, civil service reformers at Baltimore, 1889, 2.
- Conger, U. S. minister to Brazil, political worker, 382.
- Conger, Col., speech of against Harrison, 240.
- Conger, A. L., patronage of, works for Blaine, 340, 341, 345; political worker, 389.
- Conger, S., appointed census supervisor 3d Indiana district, gives patronage to M. Moores at Indianapolis; politician, 101, 132; lets politicians appoint enumerators, 182, 190; turns service over to spoil, 293.
- Congregationalist, on Collector Erhardt, and decent politics, 257.
- Congress, members of harassed by office-seekers, 6.
- Congressional Patronage, see Patronage, Congressional.
- Congressmen, and internal revenue collectorships, 14; 140 recommend Butler, R. R. as commissioner of Indian affairs, 11; of Penn. control patronage of, after Senators Cameron and Quay, 72.
- Conklin, snpt. Central Park menageries, 320.
- Conkling, A. R., bill of, preventing political assessments in New York, 318.
- Conkling, R., Senator, and President Garfield, 14, 361; spoilsman, 413.
- Conn, Congressman-elect, 392; patronage of, 410; patronage of, 420, 422.
- Connecticut, republican platform 1872 and 1874, advocates civil service reform, 50; political assessments of federal and other offices in, 183; requisition of forger from, refused by Gov. Hill of New York for political reasons, 214; schemes of Hill in, 309; postmasters in and elsewhere, compelled to give list of voters, 330.
- Conuell, Congressman, and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72, 108.
- Conner, J. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Toledo, Ill., 141.
- Connersville, Ind., Fearis, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Connett, Alderman, and Indianapolis fire department, 13; obtains removal of Fire Chief Webster, 36; spoilsman and low politician, 207; Blaine supporter, bribed by Harrison with office, 362; politician at Indianapolis, given office as bribe, 366.
- Couduolly, postmaster, Scranton, Penn., 101.
- Conroy, F., Indian machinist, refused employment to give place to white man, 218.
- Conroy, P., appointed postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., see Hiscock and Flood, 150.
- Conroy, W., murderer, low politician, pardoned by Gov. Hill, 320.
- Consul, Swiss, and charges of corruption, 24.
- Consulships, great number of applications, 16; applicants for, 24; Editor A. Reed appointed to, at Dublin, 30; R. Spooner appointed to Prague through influence of Senator Spooner, 30; applications for, 75; number of applicants for under Harrison, 185.
- Convention, see also platform; national democratic, 1892, at Chicago, see Chicago; national republican at Minneapolis, 1892, see Minneapolis; republican national, 1888, D. McLean, delegate to rewarded, 30; republican national convention at Chicago, 1888, 121; Indiana democratic, July, 1890, denounces abandonment of civil service reform, 180; Ohio republican, June, 1891, condemns spoils methods of democratic governor, 257; state democratic of Maryland, July, 1891, condemns spoils methods of Harrison administration, 257; of republican league at Syracuse, August, 1891, federal office-holders at, 259; republican, Seneca county, N. Y., factional fights in, August, 1891, 259, 260; Iowa state, 1891, federal officers at, 260; republican state of Alabama, 1892, charges political activity of federal office-holders in, 355.
- Converse, J. O., editor, appointed postmaster at Chardon, O., 301.
- Conway, E., deputy U. S. marshal in Indiana, ward politician, 108; worker for Harrison, 302, 317, 379; political worker in Indiana, 144, 353, 377, 378.
- Cook, Mrs., letter of to Indian Commissioner Morgan, showing abuses of Indian service in S. Dakota, 202.
- Cook, C. A., U. S. dist. att'y, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- Cook, J. W., letter to H. Welsh on Indian service, 79.
- Cook, Major, federal officer, a political worker, 162.
- Cooley, W. B., chief clerk P. O. department, letter of Postmaster Smith, 188.
- Coolidge, T. J., appointed minister to France for political reasons, 382.
- Coombs, W. J., candidate for congress, 178; opposing Wallace, 374.
- Cooper, state senator of Penn., 133.
- Cooper, ward politician of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Cooper, E. H., negro editor, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 243, 244.
- Cooper, G. W., favors keeping reform promises, is prevented from active work in Ohio campaign in 1889, 68; asks for retention of postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112, 174; and investigation of Pension Commissioner Ramm, 190, 238, 373; patronage of, 398, 399, 409, 411, 416, 422.
- Cooper, H. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Tampa, Fla., 141.
- Cooper, H. M., internal revenue collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cooper, M. W., appraiser at New York Custom House, and Platt, 258.
- Cooper, T. V., editor and political worker, appointed through influence of Sen. Quay, see Quay, 39; Collector at Philadelphia, spoilsman, 85; works for Senator Cameron, 162; defends Quay, 219; a political worker with Quay, 260, 270, 280; political worker for Harrison, 299, 300; confers with Quay, Reid and Carter, 361, 362, 390; and political assessment circular to raise campaign funds in Pennsylvania, 363.
- Corbaley, chief deputy sheriff at Indianapolis, 315.
- Corboy, P. J., recommends O'Donnell, 60.
- Cornell, ex-governor of New York, 311, 319.
- Cornell University library, 350.
- Cornan, C., postmaster at Ovid, Mich., forced to resign, 165.
- Corning, state senator, applicant for postmastership at Concord, Ind., 72.
- Coruing, J. W., deputy surveyor at N. Y. city, pays political assessments, 279.
- Corpus Christi, Tex., custom-house at not classified; number of employees in, 277.
- Corsa, W. H., federal employe in New York convention, 334.
- Corse, Gen'l, postmaster at Boston, removed for political reasons, 203, 215, 237; entertained by Massachusetts reform club, 251; removed for political reasons, 282, 367, 376.
- Corsicana, Tex., Politician Zadek, appointed postmaster at, 187.
- Corydon, Ind., Hendson, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 382.
- Cotton, E. S., candidate for postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Coulter, J. M., president Indiana state university, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Coulter, T. B., sixth auditor, interpretation of republican promises, his proceeding stopped by Roosevelt, 34; removes subordinates for political reasons, 39; removes Smith, 45; spoilsman, 47; intends clean sweep, 55; member of Ohio Republican Association, 234.
- Council Bluffs, Ia., Treynor, postmaster, political worker, 260.
- Counts, J. A., journalist, father of federal officeholder, worker for Harrison, 316.
- Covill, L. W., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Covington, Ind., Editor Vogt appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Covington (Ind.) Friend, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Covode, investigation, 124.
- Cowen, J. K., writes history of Gorman regime, 237.
- Cowie, J. A., ward politician and Gibbs faction, see also New York City, 241, 242, 265.
- Cowing, Judge, convicts Conroy, murderer pardoned by Governor Hill for political reasons, 320.
- Cowman, Martha, wife of Editor Cowman, appointed postmaster at Casey, Iowa, 142.
- Cox, Secretary, and Maxwell land grant, 369.
- Cox, G. B., low politician in Cincinnati, worker for Foraker, 302; allied with Foraker, 336; disreputable republican politician in Cincinnati, 352.
- Coy, "Sim," corrupt politician of Indianapolis, career of, see Indianapolis, forges tally-sheets, sent to penitentiary, pardoned by Harrison; and Starn, R. S., 17; effect of pardon of, on city election, 59; disreputable politician of Indianapolis, 203; opposes passage of bill for new charter of Indianapolis, 212; adherent of elected president city council at Indianapolis, 221, 228; low politician, aids republicans in Indianapolis, 269; Elkins compared to, 289; like Hill, 306, 307; and tally-sheet frauds, 313.
- Craft, G. T., postmaster of Maplewood, N. H., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Craik, R., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Craft, W. H., career as R. R. mail substitute clerk, 12.
- Craft, snpt of carriers at Indianapolis, political worker, 378.
- Cramer, brother-in-law of Pres. Grant, given office, 191.
- Crane, postmaster of Sedan, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Crane, W. J., candidate for alderman, see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Cratsenberg, A. J., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Cravens, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 406, 407.
- Cravens, J. O., appointed collector of internal revenue, spoilsman, 35, 38, 41; removals by, 51, 53; opposed by congressmen of Indiana, 84; internal revenue collector in Indiana, political worker for Harrison, 302, 303, 316; gives office to anti-Harrison man, 347; collector and deputies in Indiana, political workers, 378, 379.
- Crawford, A., low politician, see Philadelphia, 233.
- Crawford, D., see Hillism, 309.
- Crawford, Mrs. R. A., charges of favoritism regarding appointment of denied by Roosevelt, 266, 267.
- Crawley, chief clerk of Indiana house of representatives and office-seekers, 406, 407.
- Creighton, W., negro, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Creigmyer, —, indorsed for postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., by Cheadle, 84.
- Crescent Club, low democratic organization in Baltimore, Md., 308.
- Cresco, Iowa, Editor Webster appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Creswell, ex-postmaster-general, office-seeker, 24.
- Crisp, Speaker, election of, 289.
- Crockett, postmaster of South Bend, Indiana, a political worker, 153, 158; political worker for Harrison, 316, 377, 378.
- Croker, R., Tammany boss, and McLaughlin, 245; defends Tammany, 305, 322; Tammany leader, 298; supporter of disreputable politicians, 309, 317, 414; his patronage, 319, 333.
- Croker, Mrs. R., relative of appointed police captain in New York, 356.
- Cronin, Father, supports civil service reform, 137.
- Cronkite, Major, federal official, pays political assessments, 279.
- Crocker, Rev. T. H., on evils of spoils system, 102.

- Croper, H. M., political worker, appointed collector of internal revenue for Arkansas, 39.
- Crosby, A. D., deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cross, H. G., journalist, postmaster at Petersburg, Neb., 119.
- Crounze, Assistant-Secretary, spoilsman, tries to get office for his son, 253, 254; to resign to enter political work, 370.
- Crouse, state senator of Penn., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Crouse, G. N., supported for congress by Collector Hendricks and Postmaster C. E. Smith, 386.
- Croussore, J. W., appointment and removal of as postmaster at Oakford, Ind., 96.
- Crowley, R., ex-congressman, opposes Hiscock, 259.
- Crown Point, Ind., Editor Wheeler postmaster at, 302, 377.
- Cruiger, S. V. R., political worker for Harrison in New York, 332.
- Cruikshank, G. L., postmaster at Addison, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Crum, W. D., negro, nomination of for postmaster at Charleston as political reward, withdrew, 363.
- Crutcher, G., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Cuba, N. Y., Journalist Glenn, postmaster at, 155; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Cullman, Ala., Parker, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cullom, Senator, and Cook Co. (Ill.) offices, 6; spoilsman, 21, 25; obtains appointment fourth-class postmasters, and examining pension boards, 30; and appointments in Ill., 31; and Farwell demand that commission of Wilcox be withheld because they were not consulted, 31; and office-seekers, 37; spoilsman, 79, 95, 107; and post-office at Lanark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109; obtains removal of Smith, postmaster at Carrollton, Ill., and appointment of successor, 188; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342; supporter of Blaine, 344.
- Cullom, H., employed in N. Y. City government, assessed for political purposes, pays twice, refuses third time, removed, commits suicide, 45.
- Cullop, spoilsman in Indiana legislature, 406, 407.
- Cummings, A. J., congressman, civil service commission is undemocratic, 116; speech on spoils system in navy yards, 145; and navy yard at Kittery, Me., 146.
- Cummings, councilman of Indianapolis, receives street railway bribing check, 207.
- Cuneo, P., editor, postmaster at Upper Sandusky, O., 301.
- Cuuey, N. W., negro, and collector of customs at Galveston, Texas, political worker, 150, 158, 159; given patronage of Texas, 173; disreputable politician, 180, 266; and Minneapolis convention, 346, 348.
- Cunningham, appointed head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho, upon removal of former incumbent, makes clean sweep, 30.
- Cunningham, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.
- Cunningham, G. I., U. S. marshal, offers bribes, 162; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cunningham, Kan., Journalist Smith, postmaster at, 149.
- Cunniugham, W. S., and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 308.
- Curran, M. P., removed without cause from Boston custom-house, place given to L. A. Dodge, relative of Secretary Blaine, 71.
- Curran, W. R., postmaster at Hoboken, N. J., removed for political reasons, 54.
- Currier, F. D., naval officer at Boston, a political worker, 143; an active politician, 160, 179.
- Curry, W. W., makes political assessments for Indiana, 153, 377; circular letter of making political assessments, 160; spoilsman, 181; political worker, 389.
- Curtin, Gov., and Quay, 105.
- Curtis case, 281.
- Curtis, Dr., disgraceful physician, in Central Insane Hospital of Indiana, 211.
- Curtis, G. W., address before N. Y. Civil Serv. Ref. Ass'n, 23; an "imposter," 49; address of before annual meeting of National League 1889, 59, 61; rep. journals favor civil service principles of, 76, 86; letter on attitude of civil serv. reformers on reform, 103; on absurdity of spoils system, 120; and civil service law, 125; on victory in house of representatives for civil service reform, 125; speech at laying corner-stone of Washington Arch 1890, 129; accuses Cleveland of subsidizing the press, 144; president National Civil Service Reform League, 153; before annual meeting National Civil Service Reform League, 161, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172; address before annual meeting National League 1890, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172; to address public schools of Philadelphia on public school and civil service reform, 205; address of before department of superintendence of national educational association on "The Public School and Civil Service Reform," 211; address of before annual meeting National League of Civil Service Reform Associations 1891, 261; address of before annual meeting National League 1891, 269, 275; writes civil service clause in republican national platform 1888, 281; correspondence of with Secretary Foster and Wauamaker over political activity of Van Cott and Hendricks, 289; address of before National League annual meeting 1892, on party and patronage, 321, 326, 329; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; career of, 366, 367; memorial, adopted by Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, 394.
- Curtis, J., speaker of Indiana house of representatives, patronage of, 106, 107.
- Curtis, J. E., physician at Indiana Central Insane Hospital, extorts fee for death certificate, 311.
- Curtis, N. W., congressman, 354.
- Cushing, M., circular letter of on civil service reform, 171; agent for Wauamaker, letter to civil service reformers, 188.
- Cushing, W. E., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Cushman, postmaster at Newburg, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Custer, Gen'l, see Indian service, 182.
- Customs, 22; deputy collectorship of at Port Townsend given to relative of Pres. Harrison, 30; collectors of, applicants for position as under Harrison, 185; house at N. Y., applications for, position in, 75; house N. Y., employees in become political workers, 108; at St. Louis, Mo., employees in workers for Filley machine, 150; house at Lockport, N. Y., patronage of controlled by Hiscock, 259; houses, and extension of merit system, 275; houses, should be classified, 403; service, examinations for, 1891-92, 396.
- Cutchins, congressman, and civil service law, 73.
- Cutcheon, Congressman, stands by civil service law, 124.
- Dabuey, Prof. R. H., part of address at annual meeting of Indiana Civ. Serv. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 7.
- Dabozy, D. B., office-seeker, 15.
- Dady, Mike J., spoilsman; see also Kings Co., N. York, 24; promised federal office in N. Y.; see Wallace, 72; corrupt politician of Brooklyn, N. Y.; career of, 106, 336; Worker for Nathan, 354.
- Daggett, "Al," corrupt politician of Brooklyn, N. Y., career of; see also Brooklyn, N. Y., 106.
- Dailey's ranch, cowboys kill Indian boy at, and precipitate trouble, 218.
- Daily, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 406.
- Dakota, Delegate Mathews of, dictates appointments in, 30.
- Dallam, journalist, appointed deputy U. S. revenue collector, 148.
- Dalton, O., Journalist Scott postmaster at, 149.
- Dalton, W. J., deputy street-cleaning commissioner in N. Y. City, ward politician, 291.
- Daly, M. J., political worker, 371.
- Dalzell, gives way to Senator Quay, 30; controversy with Sen. Quay over Pittsburg, Pa., post-office, 87, 90, 112; opposed to Quay, 133, 280; and Quay, 299.
- Dana, police commissioner of N. Y. City, a Croker tool, helps in boosting Collins by beating Civ. Ser. law, 356.
- Dana, Ill., Editor Pritchett appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Dana, R. H., at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; address of, before National League, 1889, on taking 4th class post-offices out of politics, 67, 68, 74; to examine management of civ. service, 77; committeeman report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; correspondence of, with Clarkson, assistant postmaster-general, 144; and Clarkson, 154; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 172; on committee of Nat. League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; on special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; on committee of publication of "Good Government," 357.
- Dancy, J. C., negro, customs coll. at Wilmington, N. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Danforth, state treasurer (N. Y.), receives political contributions, 180.
- Daniel, L. M., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Daniels, postmaster at Cedar Rapids, Ia., 262.
- Daniels, G. B., postmaster of Withey, Mich., asked for poll of voters, 383.
- Danville, Ill., Editor Jewell appointed postmaster at, 141; Postmaster Jewell of, a political worker, 160.
- Danville, Ind., Editor King supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 398, 399.
- Dany, J. C., negro, collector of customs at Wilmington, N. C., delegate for Harrison, 334.
- Darby, W., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Dargan, on house committee on civil service, 86.
- Darling, E., postmaster in Crawford county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Darlington, S., congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 37, 51.
- Darnall, S. A., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Darnell, councilman, and Indianapolis fire department, 13; controls patronage in city offices, 104; and street railway bribery, 207.
- Daugherty, chairman Allen county (Ind.) republican committee, opposes Harrison, 303.
- Daus, R. L., worker for McLaughlin, see Tammany, 318, 319.
- Davenport, I., candidate for governor of New York, 1885, 351.
- Davenport, "Johnny," chief supervisor of elections at New York, 21; makes tool of "The" Allen, see also, 249; letter of questioning rights of voters, 387.
- Davidson, A. J., deputy pension commissioner, a political worker, 279.
- Davis, ballot-box stuffer, see Hudson county, N. Y.
- Davis, senator, spoilsman, 21; opposes E. G. Hay, 84.
- Davis, fireman in Indianapolis fire service, 36.
- Davis, "Bill," councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Davis, "Bill," P. O. employe at Indianapolis, political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Davis, C., political worker for Platt and Hiscock, 265.
- Davis, C. F., offer of Eubanks to sell office to, 99.
- Davis, D. P., father of Journalist Davis, postmaster at Harrison, Neb., 149.
- Davis, I., appointed postmaster at Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- Davis, Ill., Editor Potter appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Davis, "Jim," see also Indianapolis, 207.
- Davis, Rev. J. A., negro, opposes Harrison; wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Davis, J. B., applicant for postmastership of Monroeville, Ind., given office in Indian Service, 88.
- Davis, M., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Davis, S. P., applicant for postmaster at Cumberland, Ind., 89.
- Davis, W., postmaster at Kane, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Davis, W. R., journalist, postmaster at Canton, Kan., 148.
- Davison, J. T., see Hiscock, 259.
- Dawes, Sen., letter to, from Congressman Banks, advocating appointment of J. J. McCarthy, 31; and Boston custom-house, 71; and Collector Saltonstall, 94, 105; controls census patronage in Mass., 104; favorable to civil service reform, 211; requests retention of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Dawson, Neb., journalist Buser, postmaster at, 149.
- Dawson, T., soldier, given place in Indiana senate, 408.
- Dawson, Wm., chairman W. Virginia republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390.
- Day, deputy sheriff, a political worker, 162.
- Dayton Journal, (rep.), spoils system a necessity, 49.
- Dea, and Brattleboro, Mass., postmastership, 100.
- Deane, G. B., custom-house contractor, in New York convention, 334; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom-house, 358.
- Deane, W. G., given place by Collector Erhardt, for political services, 150.
- De Armond, congressman, bill of, to suspend civil service law, during first year of every president's term, 404.
- Deas, E. H., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Decatur, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37; Quinn, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Decker, O. H., appointed consul-general Rio de Janeiro through influence of his relative, Judge Settle, 47.
- Deen, H. W., journalist, postmaster at Jackson Court House, W. Va., 155.
- Deery, E. H., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- De Freest, clerk of N. Y. house of representatives and patronage, 215.
- De Grass, J. C., appointed postmaster at Austin, Texas; local politician, 71.
- Degress, politician of Texas, 159.
- De Haven, J. D., congressman, indorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- De Kalb Co., Ind., postmasters in, political workers, 380.
- De La Hunt, Isabella, appointed postmistress at Caunelton, Ind., by Arthur, on recommendation of Sen. Harrison, removed for political reasons by Cleveland, Harrison refuses to reappoint, 25, 177, 308.
- Delamater, state senator of Pa., charged with bribery, career of, 133, 134, 135, 138, 299, 353; candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, 143; opposition to in Pennsylvania, 161; defeated candidate for governor of Pa., financial ruin of, 183, 233; forced on Quay, 249; tool of Quay, 250.
- De Land, J. L., federal examiner, on merit system, 83; on examinations in treasury department, 152; friend of civil service reform, report of on workings of merit system, 200; devises rules for promotion in treasury department, 298.
- Delaney, J., postmaster at Orlando, Fla., removed on secret charges, Fletcher appointed, 176.
- Delano, congressman, and post-offices in N. Y., makes changes in, 47.
- Delaware, repub. platform 1882 advocates civil service reform, 50; political activity of federal office holders in, 334; vote of for Harrison and others at Minneapolis, 347; political activity of federal officers in, attempted bribery by, 347, 348, 389, 401, 402.

- Delaware, Ohio, Gazette, son of editor of, federal office holder, 301.
- DeLemas, B., sec'y republican committee of Alabama, levies political assessments, 391.
- Della Plain, Tex., Journalist McLain postmaster at, 155.
- Delmar, Ala., ignorant negro appointed postmaster at, 47.
- Delphi, Ind., Journal [repub.], editor of given office through, 85, 97; advocated republican bribery in elections as only means to win, opposes civil service reform, 191; condemns civil service examination system, because democrats get offices, 243; charges favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267.
- Democrats, list of, voting in Indiana senate on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, majority against, 201.
- Democratic platforms, see platforms.
- DeMotte, postmaster at Valparaiso, Ind., a political worker, 153, 377, 378; worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Dennis, Rev. H. D., applicant for postmastership at Lanark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109; defeated applicant for postmastership of Lanark, Ill., 136.
- Denny, C., mayor of Indianapolis, charges against, 207; ex-mayor of Indianapolis, on the mugwump, 269.
- Denton, J. S., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Denver, Colo., per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Deuver, Ind., Fite postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Departmental service, classified by Pres. Arthur, 185.
- Departments, heads of, and congressional patronage, 47; proposal of Congressman Andrews to extend civil service law to heads of divisions in, 306.
- DePauw, family uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- DePauw, N. T., worker for Harrison, 316.
- Depew, C. M., interview on spoils system, 38; on evils of patronage, 75; address at Pittsburgh on promotion among railway employees, 189; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 341, 342, 343, 344; and Collector Hendricks at head of republican party in New York, 348; worker for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Derby, Ia., Postmaster Chapman of, a political worker, 260.
- Derby, Dr. R. H., resigns from N. Y. City health dept., because it becomes a political machine, 356.
- DeRuiter, street commissioner of Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Des Moines, Ia., advice of Clarkson to young men's republican club of, on plan of campaign, 235, 236; Brandt, postmaster of, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Despo, candidate for alderman at Indianapolis, 208.
- Detroit, Mich., customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Deveraux, J., able ass't superintendent city delivery at St. Louis, 131.
- Devreux, J. H., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Dewey, J. F., journalist, given office in Chicago custom house, 126.
- Dice, —, post-office inspector, a political worker, 179.
- Dick, G. N., federal employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Dick, W. F., chairman Ohio republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390, 391.
- Dickey, J. M., anti-Platt political worker, 260.
- Dickinson, postmaster general under Cleveland, averse to civil service reform, 18, 20; gives spoils in Michigan to democrats, 45; and contributions to party funds, 100; and civil service reform, 274.
- Dimmick, D. A., appointed consul at Barbadoes through influence of Secretary Blaine, 56.
- Dimond, General W. H., chairman republican state committee of California, endorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Dingley, congressman, supports civil service commission, 205.
- Disson, F., negro, post-office employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Disston, H., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Ditney, Ind., Ketcham, postmaster of, solicited for political contributions, 387, 392.
- Divver, P., low politician, appointed police justice by Mayor Grant, well recommended, 184; appointed to judgeship by Governor Hill of New York, 212, see Tammany, 317.
- Dix, Rev. M., D. D., favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 18; advocates civil service reform, 82.
- Dobbins, P. B., receiver of political assessments, 390.
- Doble, A. K., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Dobson, H. A., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Dockery, congressman, upholds civil service commission, 204.
- Dodd, assistant postmaster at Indianapolis, and those eligible for appointment, 9.
- Dodd, faction, see New York City.
- Dodge, F. L., editor, appointed postmaster at Hanford, Cal., 126.
- Dodge, L. A., relative of Secretary Blaine appointed an appraiser in Boston custom house, 71; succeeds Stearns, appraiser in Boston custom house removed for political reasons, 250, 288; appraiser at Boston, political worker, 334.
- Dodson, C., deputy revenue collector, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Doerbaum, J. F., employe in post-office at St. Louis, Mo., worker for Filly machine, 150.
- Dolliver, J. P., congressman, requests resignation of Postmaster Cain, see Cain, 165.
- Dolph, Congressman, and civil service law, 73.
- Donaldson, La., Weber appointed postmaster of, on request of Collector Warmouth, 241.
- Donato, J. G., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Donavan, C., unsuccessful candidate for congress, ward politician, see New York City, 199.
- Donavan, E. J., signs petition for larger appropriation for Civil Serv. Com., 102.
- Donley, D. E., journalist, appointed postmaster at Baylis, Ill., 141.
- Donnell, J. T., address of at Hanover College, Ind., upon civil service reform, 77.
- Donnelly, J. B., U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Doran, T. T., see Cannon, 39.
- Dorchester, commissioner of Indian schools, creates office for benefit of his wife, 38; removals under in Indian service, 79.
- Doremus, recommended for census service, 121.
- Dorsey, S. W., and star route scandals, 291; and Elkins, 281, 369.
- Doty, E. A., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2.
- Dougall, A. H., candidate for postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., 45.
- Dougherty, chief of division, removed by Coulter for political reasons, 55.
- Dougherty, fire chief at Indianapolis to succeed Webster, removed for political reasons, removed and Webster reappointed, 120, 207, 208.
- Douglass, F., ex-U. S. minister, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346.
- Douglas, G., applicant for Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.
- Douglas, H. G., editor appointed under Cleveland postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30.
- Douglass, S. J., census supervisor, asks political work of subordinates, 293.
- Dow, F. N., for collector of customs at Portland, Me., 22.
- Dowling, low politician, and Cleveland administration, 28, 35, 94.
- Dowling, labor commissioner of New York, spoilsman, removals under, civil service rules suspended for, 414.
- Downing, J. H., discharged from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., by Sec'y Whitney, 147.
- Downing, J., confesses to bribery, 151.
- Doyle, sec'y civil service commission, investigates political assessment cases, 392.
- Doyle, H., page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Doyle, M. J., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Draper, leader republican faction at Albany, N. Y., supports A. Chester for surveyorship of Albany district, 45.
- Drapo, J. F., indorsed by Sen. Quay, 100.
- Draper, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 379.
- Drummond, S. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Lancaster, Cal., 141.
- Dryden, postmaster of Martinsville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Dublin, Editor A. Reed, appointed consul at, 30.
- Du Bois, delegate from Idaho Terr., spoilsman, uses influence; see Wild, 30; senator, supporter of Blaine, 341.
- Ducey, Rev. Father, and attempt to purify politics in N. Y. City, 130.
- Ducey, W. A., succeeded by Deane, appointed by Collector Erhardt at New York, 150.
- Dudley, W. W., obtaining offices for adherents, 2, 7; and offices, 189, 192, 214, 227, 256, 281, 282, 305, 373, 414, 24, 92, 154, 160; letter of, called "Blocks of Five" letter, 41, 78; negotiates with Mahone, 52; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; case of, see Edmunds, Sen., 87; and Harrison, 121; levies political assessments, 180; condemned by young men's republican club of Massachusetts, 219; desires indorsement of his "political activity," 244; enlogized by National Republican Committee, 257; Elkins compared to, 289; eulogy of by Clarkson, 359; and republican leaders, 354; and "blocks of five," 368; and Michener, 377; and S. N. Chambers, 380; warrant for not issued by U. S. Dist. Att'y Chambers, 380.
- Duer, E. F., postmaster of Princess Anne, Md., removed for political reasons, Lankford appointed, 108.
- Dufalo, F. F., consul at Havre, Harrison petitioned to retain, by N. Y. cotton exchange, 54.
- Duffy, T. L., laborer, given office by Gold, township trustee at Indianapolis, 256.
- Dugan, L., treasury inspector, removed for political reasons, 332.
- Duhurst, F. G., 335; receiver of political assessments for Maryland, 391.
- Dunbar, J. G., congressional candidate, and Raum, 373.
- Dunean, H. C., letter to from Cooper (M. C.) asking retention of postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112.
- Duncan, J., applicant for postmastership of Martinsville, Ind., 399.
- Dunham, federal employe, political worker at Boston, 334.
- Dunlap, H. J., journalist, appointed consul to Breslau, 84, 126.
- Dunlap, W. L., U. S. marshal for Indiana and civil serv. reform, 10, 14, 96, 108; asks Postmaster Browne of Franklin, Ind., to resign, 37, 377; a political worker, 144; worker for Harrison, 316, 320, 337, 343, 353; and republican clubs in Indianapolis, 362; worker for Harrison, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381; appoints "floaters" as deputies, 387, 389.
- Dunn, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Dunn, postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Dunn, C. J., P. O. employe at Indianapolis, at instance of democratic committeeman Backus, solicits political contributions, removed, 403, 411, 412.
- Dunn, G. W., postmaster at Binghamton, N. Y., a political worker, 266; secures removal of pension examiner Van Alstyne, 304.
- Dunn, I., deputy coroner at Indianapolis, shaves witness fees, 314, 315.
- Dunnell, obtains removal of Stacy, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., and reappointment of Harkness, political worker, previously removed for cause, 39; opposes civil service examinations, 124.
- Dunning, F. H., journalist, postmaster at Sanbright, Tenn., 155.
- Dunton, A. G., appointed postmaster at Huntertown, Ind., vice Latham removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, 362.
- Dunvell, C. J., political worker for Nathan, 264.
- Durbin, W., see Cannon, 39.
- Durbin, W. T., and office-seekers, 37; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; politician, secures some appointments, 71, 84.
- Durham, Judge, removed from comptrollership, 21.
- Duryee, S. W., chief clerk in patent office under Pres. Arthur, removed; re-appointed, 140.
- Dutchess county, N. Y., election frauds in, committed by Hill, 306.
- Dwight, J. W., uses influence for appointment of Robinson, postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y., 264; N. Y. delegate to Minneapolis convention, and supports Blaine, 344, 345.
- Dysart, Iowa, Editor Brown appointed, 142.
- Eagle, Edward, editor, worker for Delamater, etc., 134.
- Eagle Park, Idaho, Journalist Wheeler postmaster at, 155.
- Eagle Pass, Tex., custom house at not classified; number of employes in, 277.
- Eastern Dispensary of New York City, civil service methods in, 101.
- Eastman, A., journalist, given office in internal revenue service, 126.
- Eastman, R. B., supervising architect of Brooklyn, N. Y., to be removed for mal-administration, 234.
- Easton, D. J., journalist, postmaster at Union City, Mich., 149.
- Easton, Md., Mulliken, postmaster of, in state convention, 335.
- Eaton, postmaster at New Orleans, pays political assessments, 383.
- Eaton, D. B., memorial on Postmaster Pearson before N. Y. Civil Service Reform Association, 23; draws bill for present civil service law, 75, 79; advocates civil service reform, 82; on removal of Saltonstall, 105; praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110; letters to Senator Allison; letters replying to Senator Hoar, 111; and civil service law, 125; on civil service reform, in June, 1891, North American Review, 257; studies English civil service, at invitation of Hayes; appointed chairman civil service commission under Arthur, 271; on Tammany, 317.
- Eaves, J. B., nomination of rejected by senate, 150; disappointed office-seeker, a political worker, 159; in N. Carolina, 334; stamp clerk at Statesville, N. C., resigns; levies political assessments; sons of given office, 362.
- Eden, "Billy," easy-going place-holder, 315.
- Editor — appointed consul at Palermo, Italy, 240.
- Editors, rewarding of for political services, see Press, 30.
- Edmunds, evils of patronage, 25; and investigation of case of W. W. Dudley, 87.
- Edsall, I. W., removal of by Flower, 319.
- Edwards, A. J., ass't postmaster at Pittsburgh, Pa., supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Edwards, Miss., negro Perkins, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Edwards, R., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Edson, C. H., see Harlow, postmaster, 100.
- Edson, Dr. C., appointed sanitary supt. at N. Y. City vice Ewing, removed by Tammany, 356.
- Egan, P., appointed minister to Chile as political reward, 282; U. S. minister to Chile, political worker, 382, 389.
- Egger, C., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Ehlert, H., low politician, flees from creditors, 226.
- Eidman, F., internal revenue collector in New York, a political worker, 265, 287; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Eiter, ex-postmaster, political worker, 370.

- Elbert, Dr. S. A., negro, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 243.
- Eligibles, list of civil service commission orders posting of, at Indianapolis, 25; at Indianapolis post-office, June, 1889, 29; in Indianapolis post-office, list of, 48; publicity of lists of, opposed by ex-Commissioner Oberly, 53; list of, and civil service commission, 93; made public, gives satisfaction, 186.
- Elliot, C. W. (Pres. Harvard Univer.), address of before Bay State Club comparing administration of civil service under Cleveland and Harrison, 60; Pres. Harvard University, civil service reformer, 204.
- Elizabeth, N. J., federal patronage in, see Kean, 216.
- Elizabeth, Pa., wife of Journalist Wiley postmaster at, 149.
- Elkham, W. Va., Journalist Greenawalt postmaster at, 155.
- Elkins, "Steve," and Kerens, "Dick," 22; wants larger share of patronage in West Virginia, 71; and Platt, scheme to defraud the government, 258; appointed sec'y of war, corrupt politician, career of, 289, 290, 291; appointment of as sec'y of war, unjustifiable, 298; political worker for Harrison, 336; and Minneapolis convention, 338, 339; confers with New, 340; sec'y of war, career of, 354, 368, 369, 374; appointed to alienate from Blaine, 376; confers with J. C. New, 379; sec'y, etc., political worker, 387, 390.
- Ellart, S., inspector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 108.
- Ellettsville, Ind., Sharp, postmaster of, political worker, 880.
- Elliott, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Elliott, Congressman, 162.
- Elliott, B. K., judge Indiana supreme court, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; mentioned as candidate for governor of Indiana, 353, 381.
- Elliott, D. W., clerk in post-office at Ind'p'l's, 25.
- Elliott, G. F., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Elliott, G. L., appointed postmaster at Reelsville, Ind., removed, 89.
- Ellis, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.
- Ellis, F., mayor, appointed postmaster at Muucie, Ind., 217; political worker for Harrison, 316, 362, 370, 378.
- Ellis, W. P., appointed postmaster at Washington, Ind., despite sale of office to Sefrits, 121.
- Ellison, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.
- Elmira, N. Y., postmaster at named by Congressman Flood, 53; Flood, postmaster of, a political worker, opposes Platt and Fassett, factional fights at, 259; a political worker, 265, 266; removed for political reasons, 297, 303, 304; Rathbun appointed, removed, 303, 304, 305; removed on secret charges, Rathbun appointed, 312; removal of through influence of Fassett, 331.
- Elmwood, Neb., Journalist Mayfield postmaster at, 149.
- El Paso, Tex., forty-nine applicants for collectorship of customs at, 45; Flanagan, political worker, appointed customs collector at, 266, 286; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Emans, corrupt political worker for Hill, 306.
- Emerson, L. W., ward politician, tired of factionalism, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Emery, L., ex-state senator, charges Delamater with bribery, 134, 135.
- Emmert, P. W., journalist, postmaster at Erwin, Tenn., 155.
- Emmetsburg, Iowa, Editor Utter appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Employees, federal, in Massachusetts active politically, 179; at Washington, number of compelled to go home to vote, 179.
- Emporium, Pa., Journalist Gould postmaster at, 119.
- Encinitas, Cal., Editor Smith appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Endicott, Sec., favors civ. service reform, 82.
- England, competitive tests in civil and military service of, 118.
- England, methods used in census service of, 291, 292.
- England, G., a Nathan henchman, 304.
- English, postmaster at New Haven, removed, 96.
- English, A. M., journalist, postmaster at Fontana, Kan., 149.
- English, J., low politician, see Hudson Co., N. Y.
- English, W., low politician, see Hudson Co., N. Y.
- Engraving and Printing, conduct under E. O. Graves, 45.
- Enochs, Congressman, on federal interference in election of Sherman, 301.
- Ensley, N., appointment as pension agt. at Indianapolis opposed, 89, 96; pension agent in Indiana appoints his son chief clerk in pension office, vice J. L. Riley, 108; worker for Harrison, 303, 316; at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379; and political assessments, 363; political worker, 378.
- Ensley, O. R., given office by his father, pension agent, 108.
- Ensor, J. F., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Ensor, J. F., U. S. dist. att'y, and political activity of federal office-holders in Maryland, 335; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Enyart, M.-L., editor, appointed postmaster at Macy, Ind., 126, 377.
- Ephrata, Penn., democratic postmaster of removed; republican appointed, 72.
- Episcopal Church, pastoral letter of House of Bishops of, favoring clerical advocacy of civil service reform, see Church, 73.
- "Equally Divided Politically," proviso in charter that offices in city service of Indianapolis be, 212, 213, 220, 222, 228, 235.
- Erhardt, J. B., collector at New York, and office-seekers, 38; deputies of, active politicians, 108; spoilsman, see Deane, 150; discontent of office-seekers with, 174; removals under, 183; and fraudulent cartage bids, 216; "resigns," Fassett appointed, 255; resignation of, 257; and Platt, 258; "frozen out" by Platt, 260; and office-seekers recommended by Platt and Gibbs, 261, 265; and Platt, 350; forced to resign for adherence to civil service reform methods, 358; and cartage bids, 371; forced to resign for resisting spoilsman, 373.
- Ernst, J. A., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Genevieve, Mo., 126.
- Erwin, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Erwin, Tenn., journalist Emmert, postmaster at, 155.
- Esbridge, Kan., journalist Melrose, postmaster at, 149.
- Estee, M. M., indorses Bush, political worker, 187, 201.
- Estey, and Brattleboro, Mass., postmastership, 100.
- Eubanks, A. C., candidate, letter of, 23; and sale of offices, 99.
- Eugharth, E. E., postmaster at Roduey, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Eureka Springs, Ark., appointment of True as postmaster of, denounced by republicans of, 55.
- Enstace, A. C., N. Y. civil service commissioner, worker for Hill, 309.
- Enstis, delegate to Minneapolis convention, supports Blaine, 344.
- Evans, G. O., fiscal agent for Penn., corrupt politician, 270.
- Evaus, H. C., postmaster at Bloomfield, Iowa, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Evans, H. C., congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 49; opposed to civil service law, 55; secures appointment of politician Park, as census enumerator, 293.
- Evansville, Ind., Postmaster Bennett of, politician, see also Posey, 46; Postmaster Bennett of, a political worker, 153, 158, 377; republicans favor Gresham, 240.
- Evansville, Ind., Courier, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see, also, Magee, 210.
- Evansville, Ind., Journal [republican], 49; opposes Harrison, 378.
- Evansville, Minn., Journalist Lawrence postmaster at, 149.
- Evarts, W. M., Fassett deserts at suggestion of Platt, 259; Jewett claim, 290, 353.
- Everett, W., civil service reformer, 174.
- Ewart, H. G., congressman, opposed to civil service law, 47; objects to civil service reform, 49; supports politician Pritchard, 159, 161; levies political assessments in South Carolina, 390.
- Ewing, W., endorsed by his relative, Secretary Blaine, for collector at Pittsburg, 100.
- Ewing, Dr. W. A., removed from New York City health department for political reasons, 356.
- Examinations, civil service, general.
- Examinations, specimen papers of those failing in, see Civil Service Record; of civil service commission, assaults against and defense of, see Roosevelt; examination questions, 3; for appointment should be made public, 10; for civil service, objections to, considered, 11; special ordered for post-office at Indianapolis, 18; age of competitors in, at Bloomington, Ill., 26; civil service, a farce at Troy (N. Y.) post-office and New York custom house, 29; number of employes in New York and Indianapolis post-offices exempt from, 42; for civil service, said to be not pertinent questions asked in, 49; papers should be opened to public inspection, 53; questions used in for clerks and carriers at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 51, 56, 57, 58, see Call, 118; for positions in patent office, 141; in treasury department, see De Land, 152; paper used at Baltimore, 157; by civil service commission, number of persons examined, year 1889-90, appointments, 185; during 1889-90 for various branches of civil service, unsuccessful and successful applicants, see report civil service com., 1889-90, 185; central board of, suggestions as, see civ. service com. annual report, 1889-90, 185, 186; papers marked in, for civil service, made public, 186; census Superintendent Porter alleges, for clerkships, 190; "pass" discredited, 192; for various departments of service need improvement, see Wanamaker, 193; and eligibles for position as clerks and carriers at Indianapolis, 218; used in national and Massachusetts state census service, 219, 220; to be required for promotion from unclassified to classified service, 221; civil service, instituted for positions in navy yards by Sec'y Tracy, 221, 222; employes under treasury supervising architect, selected by, although not required by law, 224; of civil service commission, 230, 231; questions used in, at Brooklyn, N. Y., navy yard, 236; civil service, evasion of under G. B. Raum, jr., 238; C. W. Watson, chairman, committee on, of N. Y. civil service reform association, 239; for Indianapolis post-office to be held August, 1891, 243; for clerks and carriers for Indianapolis post-office, number of applicants, 253; competitive under civil service commission, ordered for promotions in Washington offices, 254; competitive for candidates for West Point, instituted by Congressman Warwick, does not accept result, see McKinley, 254, 262; competitive, Wanamaker establishes promotion by, in P. O. department, 256, 257; civil service, prejudice against hard to dispel, 257; system and civil service commission, prejudice against in the south, 273; promotion by competitive, 286; competitive for census service of England, Ireland and Scotland, and U. S. A., 292; competitive for promotion, introduced by Wanamaker in department offices, and post-offices, 297, 298; physical required for employes in R. R. mail service, 305; of August, 1892, in Indianapolis post-office, results of, 306; under civil service commission, 1891-92, in various departments, 306, 307.
- Examinations, civil service, municipal; questions used in for Buffalo police service, 41; No. of held, Mass. civil service commission, 74; questions used in, fire dept. at Brooklyn, N. Y., 93; questions used in, for Brooklyn police service, 152; for labor service see Civil Service Record, 152; for positions in police service at Indianapolis, Boston, and Brooklyn compared, see equally divided politically, 222, 223, 224; competitive and civil service methods should be instituted in city service at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 228; physical, for fire and police services of Boston, Mass., 243, 246, 247, 248, 249; in Indianapolis, for physicians in city hospital, 322; under N. Y. City civil service board for police matron, a complete failure, Mrs. Maloney, beggar, appointed, 104.
- Examiner (chief), investigates violations of civil service law in post-office at Milwaukee, Wis., Sept., 1888, 36.
- Examiners, local boards of, suggestions as to, see civil service com. annual report 1889-90, 185, 186; local board of, personnel of at Baltimore and Indianapolis, 186.
- Fahsel, on local examining board at Milwaukee, 103.
- Falling, A. H., applicant for postmastership at Oswego, N. Y., 126.
- Fairbanks, C. W., republican politician in Indiana, on business methods in politics, 137.
- Fairbanks, Crawford, Terre Haute distiller, 346, 419.
- Fairchild, ex-secretary of treasury, 169; on tariff message of Pres. Cleveland, 172; appoints Maynard ass't sec'y of treasury, 310.
- Fairfax, commander of Kittery navy yard, testifies as to abuses, 147.
- Fairmount Club, see Baltimore investigation, 295.
- Farlow, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Farmer, S. C., postmaster in Wright Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Farmington, Me., Pratt, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Farnum, H. S., postmaster at Uxbridge, Mass., removed on secret charges; C. T. Scott appointed, 175.
- Farragut, Iowa, Journalist Notson appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Farrell, commissioner, spoilsman, 315.
- Farrington, J. M., ward politician, see Kings Co., N. Y.; opposing Nathan, 304.
- Farwell, senator, and Cook co. (Ill.) offices, 6; and applicants for Chicago offices, 14; spoilsman, 17, 21, 25, 79, 92; and Sexton, postmaster at Chicago, 22; and Senator Cullom, 31; and office-seekers, 37; recommends O'Donnell, 59; proposes to repeal civil service law, 83; and Farwell Club of Indianapolis, 85, 92, 269; on control of Illinois patronage, and Clark, customs collector at Chicago, 95; indorses Hartoug for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109; indorses application of Scalan, political worker, 132.
- Farwell Club, of Indianapolis, 79, 83, 86, 112, 119; end of, 85.
- "Fassett" report, on effect of civil service law in New York City and elsewhere, 219.
- Fassett, A. D., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Fassett, J. S., undertakes to name postmaster for Elmira, N. Y., 53; appointed collector at N. Y. City to make clean sweep, vice Erhardt, "resigned," 255; methods of, political worker for Harrison, 258, 259; political worker, 265-6, 269; appointment of condemned, 272, 373, 374; candidate for governor of New York, aided by custom house employes in N. Y. City, 278; campaign of, 279, 280, 287, 288; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 297, 303, 304, 331; attempts removal of Postmaster Van Duzen, 331; and Harrison, 345, 346, 352, 353, 337, 342, 344.
- Faulkner, C. R., member Indiana legislature, illiterate politician, gets federal office through congressmen and Senator Voorhees, 222.
- Fawcett, letter of to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE on Delphi Journal and Owen, 97.
- Fay, H. H., appointed postmaster at Newport, R. I., see Rhode Island, senators of, 150.

- Fearis, postmaster of Union, Ind., worker for Harrison, 316, 378.
- Fearis, J. H., postmaster of Connersville, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Federal office-holders, political activity of, see states, cities, Minneapolis convention.
- Feland, J., internal revenue collector in Kentucky, political assessments under, 330; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Fellows, J. R., low politician, see Hillism, 199, 309.
- Felton, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344, 359.
- Fensley, W., federal office-holder, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Fenstemaker, W., journalist, postmaster at Augustine, Kan., 148.
- Ferguson, C. E., and Orlando, Fla., post-office, 176.
- Ferris, G. C., whose son holds federal office, a political worker for Hiseock, 265.
- Fessenden, S., 354, 359.
- Feudalism revived, account of in N. Y. City and Brooklyn, by Boston Post, 263.
- Field, John, as postmaster of Philadelphia, 15, 300; suggested by Senator Quay for postmaster at Philadelphia, 22; withdraws resignation, 310.
- Fielding, R. W., candidate for U. S. marshal, defeated, 132.
- Filer, C. W., federal office-holder and political worker, 179.
- Filley, C. I., office-seeker, 14, 24, 131; spoilsman, defeated applicant for St. Louis postmastership, controls 4th class post-offices in Missouri, see also Spirely, 132, 150; to work for Harrison, 226; opposed to Harrison in Missouri, 336; delegate at Minneapolis convention, for Blaine or Harrison, 345, 386.
- Finch, councilman and Indianapolis fire department, 13; spoilsman, 207.
- Findling, —, removed from fire service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 235.
- Finkenhauer, G., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 333.
- Finney, G. E., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Columbus, Ind., 398.
- Flippen, F., page in Indiana legislature, 406, 408.
- Fippen, J. M., representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, son of appointed page, 108.
- Fire service in N. Y. City and Indianapolis, 36.
- Fire superintendents, national convention of, condemns spoils system in fire services, 253.
- Firethunder, E., Indiana blacksmith, defrauded, 218.
- Fischer, C. B., on inefficient census service in N. Y. City, 294.
- Fischer, I. F., political worker, see also Kings Co., N. Y.; politician aiding Woodruff, 106; navy yard patronage at New York, 182, 183; worker for Nathan and Platt, 304, 336; may "deal in legislative privileges" at Albany, 311.
- Fischer, J. H., federal employe, in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Fish commission, U. S., placed under civil service law, 332; of New York, Hill makes machine of, 310.
- Fish, H., Jr., and Gibbs, 288; corrupt politician in N. Y. legislature, and Hill, 307.
- Fishback, W. P., 18; added to local examining board at Indianapolis, 25; hitch in appointment of on local civil service board of Indianapolis, 34; member local examining board at Indianapolis, 42, 120, 129, 186; U. S. master in chancery, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 232.
- Fisher, G. P., corrupt politician appointed first auditor of the treasury, 32, 38, 374.
- Fisher, R. J., promoted to be assistant patent commissioner, efficient, 140.
- Fitch, A. B., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Fitch, C. E., editor, appointed collector of internal revenue at Buffalo, N. Y., 108; at convention republican league, 259; a political worker, 265; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Fitch, C. P., census officer, a political worker, 160.
- Fite, postmaster at Denver, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Fitler, mayor of Philadelphia, 30, 143.
- Fitzgerald, J. E., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Fitzpatrick, delegate to Minneapolis convention, opposing Harrison, 316.
- Fitzwilliams, E., customs inspector at Boston, a political worker, 179.
- Flagler, B., political worker for law collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., 259.
- Flanagan, custom house employe, active politician, 179.
- Flanagan, Ill., Editor Breen appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Flanagan, W., political worker in Texas, 159; spoilsman, 245; appointed customs collector at El Paso, Texas, vice Clark, worker for Harrison, 266, 282, 286, supports Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346, 374, 396.
- Fleming, D. W., recommended for office by Cheandle, 84.
- Flenniken, J. H., appointed postmaster at Bradford, Pa., on recommendation of Ray, removed on protest of H. C. Frick, 99.
- Fletcher, P. O. employe at Frankfort, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Fletcher, E. B., postmaster at Morris, Ill., political worker and editor, 126, 186.
- Fletcher, I., appointed postmaster at Orlando, Fla., vice Delaney, removed on secret charges, 176.
- Fletcher, J., candidate for supervisor, see Buffalo, N. Y.
- Flickinger, S. J., editor, secures federal office for his brother, 301.
- Flynn, E. H. journalist, postmaster at Spencer, W. Va., 155.
- Flitten, A., political worker under Postmaster Johnson, in Maryland, 335.
- Floater, numbers of in Indiana, 78, 171.
- Flood, H., postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 4, 53; political worker, opposes Platt and Fassett, 259; a political worker, 265, 266; removed for political reasons, denied permission to hear real charges, 297, 303, 304; removed, Rathbun appointed, 303, 304, 305; secret charges against, Rathbun appointed, 312; removed through influence of Fassett, 331.
- Flood, T. S., congressman, quarrels with Corporal Tanner over spoils, 54; names his brother postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 54; obtains appointment of Courcy as postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., 150; opposes Fassett, 259, 303.
- Flora, Ill., Editor Reed appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Florence, Ind., Langsdale, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Florence, S. C., negro Wilson postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Florida, chairman republican state committee of, rewarded, 30; political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348.
- Flow, E. S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Flower, R. P., as congressman, condemns congressional patronage, 204; candidate of Croker, Tammany "boss," for governor of New York, 245; governor of New York, worker for Hill, appoints Maynard judge, 309, 310; and Tammany, 319; removes Leaycraft, 332; votes for, as governor of New York, 352; and fish protection in New York, 356; suspends civil service rules in New York, 414.
- Floyd, low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Flushing, L. I., Carpenter, postmaster at, removed for political reasons, 91.
- Flynn, M. B., see Hill, 307.
- Foley, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201; spoilsman, opposes new charter for Indianapolis, see also Magee, 212.
- Folger, Commodore, praises merit system in Washington, D. C., navy yard, 331.
- Follett, J. E., address on civil serv. ref., 23; praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Fontana, Kan., journalist, English postmaster at, 149.
- Fontanelle, Iowa, Editor Rany appointed postmaster at, 112.
- Foraker, Governor, and Ohio offices, 21, 336; civil service reform "all rot," 68; controls patronage in Cincinnati, 71; defeated, 75; and Senator Sherman, 249; opponent of Sherman, 297; charges federal interference in election of Sherman, 301, 302; and Ohio delegation at Minneapolis, 343.
- Forbes, C. S., journalist, appointed deputy internal revenue collector, 84, 126.
- Ford, candidate for postmaster of Pittsburgh, 91.
- Ford, T., see Hillism, 309.
- Fordham, C. H., negro, deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Foreign service, see also consulships, 30.
- Forrester, G. B., politician, see Brooklyn, N. Y., 197.
- Fort Dodge, Ia., Postmaster Cain of forced to resign, 165; Carpenter, postmaster at, a political worker, 260.
- Fortune, A. H., postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., removed, 175.
- Fort Wayne (Indiana), civil service reform sentiment at, 16; candidates for postmaster of, 15; should have civ. service law applied to local federal offices, 85; Postmaster Kaough of, under Cleveland, political worker, 88.
- Higgins, postmaster of, a political worker, 88, 153, 158, 362, 377, 378; and his deputy, political workers, 162; ordered to levy political assessments, 302; political worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; has poll of taken by P. O. employes, 380.
- Gazette, opposes Harrison, 378.
- Foster, political worker, aided by Sen. Moody, 78.
- Foster, C., ex-gov., and Fostoria, O., post-office, 91, secretary of treasury, so-called resignations under of Macgregor, 216; ex-congressmen apply for office in treasury department under, patronage to be given only to republicans, 217; member Ohio Republican Association, 234; given patronage to turn Ohio from Blaine to Harrison, 240; and spoilsmen, 250, 253, 254, 290; and Platt, 258; favors Platt, 264; advises Ohio office-holders to do "their duty," 280; defends Hendricks, collector, at N. Y. City, 289; establishes rules for promotion in treasury department, 298; suspends employes suspected of disloyalty to Harrison, 300; said to be interested in Toledo Commercial, 301; asked to remove democrats, 311, 312; and political assessments by federal office-holders in Kentucky and Baltimore, 330; and removal of Milholland and Murray, supporters of Platt, 332, 334; political worker for Harrison in Ohio; permits political activity of federal employes in Maryland convention, 335; and
- delegate from Utah; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 338, 339, 345; political worker, 354; political worker for Harrison, 359, 360; and Baltimore investigation, 372.
- Foster, E., journalist, postmaster at Gladwin, Mich., 149.
- Foster, J. Ellen, husband of, rewarded with office, 56.
- Foulke, W. D., at Baltimore conference, 1889; address of on reform promises of republican party, 2, 4; declaration of impartiality of, 16; to examine management of federal civ. service, 77; address before Commonwealth Club, Dec. 16, 1889, 80; chairman investigating committee appointed by National League, 85; on Wanamaker's course in Shidy case, 103, 104; officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; chairman's report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; chairman committee of National League, on presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 186, 188; work of, for good government, 173; chairman committee of National League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; exposes evasive methods of Wanamaker, 190; address of, on civil service reform, "Its Later Aspects," 200; becomes president of Swarthmore College, 201; elected president Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 239; address of, on civil service reform before Social Science Congress at Saratoga, 1891, 262, 263; on secret executive sessions of the senate, 261, 269; address of before annual meeting National League, 1891, 269; chairman special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; before Boston Reform Club on broken republican pledges, 365, 371, 374; in 1884, 376, 385.
- Fountain, G. W., editor, appointed postmaster at New Carlisle, Ind., 126, 377.
- Four year term, bill of Martin, to limit all federal employes to, 404.
- Fowler, E. C., acting 1st asst. p. m. genl., letter of conditionally denying information regarding postmasters, 277, 297.
- Fox, E. P., efficient superintendent postal station at St. Louis, 131.
- Fox, R. L., chief clerk republican state committee of New York, 279.
- Frank, N., congressman, aiding office-seekers, 15; and Nledringhaus, correspondence over spoils, 22; says Harrison has ignored real workers and disorganized his party, 68.
- Frankfort, Ind., P. O. employes Irvin and Fletcher of, political workers, 380.
- Frankfort, S. Dak., Journalist Tapley postmaster at, 155.
- Frank Leslie's [repub.] advocates civ. service reform, 65.
- Franklin, Ind., Postmaster Browne asked to resign, 37, 377; opposition to postmaster appointed at, 88; Harris supported for postmaster of by Congressman Cooper, 398.
- Franklin (Ind.) College, sentiment favoring civil service reform at, 108.
- Franklyn Falls, N. H., Moore, republican congressman, recommends re-appointment of democratic postmaster, 100.
- Frazer, W. D., ass't U. S. dist. att'y, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Freeburg, Pa., Journalist Magee postmaster at, 149.
- Freedom, Ind., Suffall postmaster at removed for political reasons, Watts appointed, see also Cooper and Michener, 112, 377.
- Freeman, of Indianapolis, on secret charges system, 177.
- Freeport, Ill., Journalist Atkins appointed postmaster at, 126; active politician, 143.
- Frelinghuysen, sec'y, and Jewett claim, 290.
- French, collector internal revenue in New Hampshire, political worker, 143, 371.
- French, state senator of Indiana, relative of appointed page, 408.
- French, S. B., ward politician, see N. Y. City, 198, 199; ex-police commissioner, in N. Y. City, "The" Allen works for, 249.
- Frick, H. C., secures appointment of Patterson as postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99.
- Friedman, asst. secretary Indiana senate, 408.
- Friedsam, D., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Friel, P. H., political worker, 134.
- Frost, aided by patronage at navy yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Frothingham, E. G., customs examiner, active politician, 179.
- Fry, senator, keeps more employes in Portland, Me., custom house than necessary, 242.
- Frybarger, J., not to be postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., 47.
- Fulk, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 407.
- Fuller, J. C., appointed in Brooklyn custom house, 72; political worker for Nathan, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Fuller, J. M., political worker for Harrison, 304.
- Fullerton, and postmastership at Colfax, Wash., 165.
- Fulmer, L., ward politician of Indianapolis, 205, 207.
- Fulton, J. M., inefficient census enumerator in N. Y. City, 294.
- Fulton, M. K., candidate for postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149.
- Fulton, N. Y., Journalist Bennett postmaster at, 155.

- Furlong, postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
 Furst, low political worker in Cincinnati, O., 352.
 Gabriel, "Bill," federal office-holder, political worker, 280.
 Gallegher, —, disreputable politician, 181.
 Gallagher, brutal policeman, see Tammany, 318.
 Gallagher, C. H., given federal office through influence of Higgins, 334.
 Gallagher, Major, an Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
 Gallinger, senator, supporter of Blaine, 344.
 Gallup, police commissioner of N. Y. city, a Croker tool, 356.
 Galveston, Texas, Delegate Rentfro, appointed collector of customs at, 46; Cuney, customs collector at, a political worker, 159; Cuney, customs collector at, 266; custom-house at, not classified, number of employes in, 277.
 Gamble, L. H., postmaster at Brooklyn, Ind., retention of asked, see Cooper, 112.
 Gandy, J. P., journalist, postmaster at Gandy, Neb., 119.
 Gandy, Neb., Journalist Gandy postmaster at, 149.
 Gano, deputy collector at N. Y. city, pays political assessments, 279.
 Gans, W. A., opponent to police justice Smith; see New York City, 198, 199.
 Gant, J. A., postmaster of Marion, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
 Gapen, P., treasurer insane hospital board at Indianapolis, corrupt politician, 206.
 Gardiner, postmaster at Troy, Ind., political worker, 380.
 Gardiner, R. H., republican politician, works for re-appointment of democrat Morgan, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
 Gardner, postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., succeeded by Furlong, 109.
 Gardner, W. E., journalist, given office, 84.
 Garfield, president, and Senator Conkling, 14, 88, 369; address of, before president at Williams College on congressional patronage, and article on spoils system in Atlantic Monthly, July, 1877, 114; murdered by disappointed office-seeker, 129; spoils system responsible for death of, 204; against patronage system in census service, 291; and Senator Conkling, 361; appoints Pearson postmaster at N. Y. city, vice James, appointed p. m. general, 367.
 Garland, attorney-general, 177.
 Garrett, Ind., Bicknell, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
 Garret, J. J., negro, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Garrigus, M., corrupt politician, works for Pres. Harrison, but gets no office despite Cheadle, 88.
 Gaskin, appointed postmaster at Reelsville, Ind., 89.
 Gasper, "Joe," councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 207.
 Gasper, J. P., postmaster at Kingsley, Ia., forced to resign, 165.
 Gates, E. M., postmaster at Watertown, N. Y., furnishes political information, 392.
 Gates, M. E., president Amherst College, chairman Indian commissioners, urges reform methods, 205, 273.
 Gauss, C., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall, 194, 195.
 Gavisk, Father, favors civil service reform, 73.
 Gaylord, Kan., Journalist Headly postmaster at, 149.
 Gee, editor, opposes Harrison in Alabama, 346.
 Geer, collector of Port Huron, Mich., spoilsman, asks for special examination, refused, 36.
 Geneva, N. Y., civil service reform association of, 239.
 Genoa, Ill., Editor Hartman appointed postmaster at, 141.
 Georgia, federal officers in, candidates for congress, 162; political activity of federal officers in, 348.
 Gerard and Meyer, attempt to vote under false names of, see New York City.
 Gere, C. H., editor, applicant for postmastership at Lincoln, Neb., 72; appointed postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
 Gerrard, J., political worker, candidate for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.
 Gest, obtains appointment of unworthy applicant as postmaster at Plymouth, Ill., 47.
 Gibbes, W. H., removed from postmastership at Columbia, S. C., 74.
 Gibbs, F. S., ward politician, see New York City, 199; notorious politician, and republican primaries, 211, 212; political worker opposed by Platt, places given to friends in of N. Y. federal offices, 265; notorious politician, Platt supports him by use of federal patronage, 287.
 Gibbs, W. B., postmaster of Jackson, Miss., active politician, 47, 348; delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344.
 Gibson, L. H., address of, on "Relation of civil service to comfortable living in cities," 366.
 "Gift of offices," address on, by L. B. Swift, 145.
 Gilbert, C. H., commends Civil Service Chronicle, 364.
 Gilbert, J. M., defeated candidate of Senator Hisecock, 132.
 Gildea, C. A., postmaster at Brackettsville, Tex., removed for political reasons; Ballantyne appointed, 186.
 Gilkeson, B. F., Senator Quay speaks for, 17; Quay's henchman appointed second controller of the treasury, 30; removes W. P. Montague for political reasons, 56; appointment of, 241; political worker for Quay, 270, 280.
 Gill, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
 Gillette, A. B., candidate for postmaster of Hartford, Conn., favored by politicians, 84.
 Gilliland, J. A., postmaster at Allegheny, worker for Congressman Bayne, 135; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
 Gillycuddy, Dr., and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
 Gilpin, L. L., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.
 Ginn, S. P., refuses office rather than agree to pay political assessments or be subject to Mahone, 72.
 Gladfelter, L. E., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 278, 312.
 Gladstone, W. E., and Irish home-rule, 223, 230, 244.
 Gladwin, Mich., Journalist Foster, postmaster at, 149.
 Glasgow, Scotland, city government of, 283, 284.
 Glass, H., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 278, 279, 295.
 Glazebrook, doorkeeper of Indiana house of representatives, and subordinates, 406, 407.
 Gleason, political worker, see Pine Ridge Indian agency, 218.
 Gleason, H., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Glen Hall, Ind., Mustard appointed postmaster at, vice Stepp, "resigned," 149.
 Glenn, postmaster at Cuba, N. Y., in N. Y. convention, 335.
 Gleun, J. C., U. S. marshal, a political worker, 160.
 Glenn, J., appointed U. S. marshal through influence of Judge Settle, his relative, 47.
 Glenn, W. J., journalist, postmaster at Cuba, N. Y., 155.
 Gloucester, Mass., Mansfield, postmaster of, 362.
 Godfrey, appointed postmaster at New Albany, Ind., makes a clean sweep, 45; works for Michener, 144; political worker for Harrison, 316; at Minneapolis convention, 377, 378, 380.
 Godkin, E. L., editor, at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; arrested through Tammany, 314.
 Goesling, H. H., candidate, makes spoils promises, 260.
 Goff, ex-representative, controls much patronage in West Virginia, 71.
 Gold, S. N., township trustee at Indianapolis, should refuse to remove F. Wright, 111; removes valuable officers, 146; defends his spoils methods; criticism of, 256.
 Golson, W. L., journalist, postmaster at Llano, Tex., 155.
 Gooch, aided by patronage of navy yard at Kittery, Maine, 147.
 Good Government, formed by merging Civil Service Record and Civil Service Reformer, 357.
 Goodale, Miss, friend of the Indians, 217, 218.
 Goode, —, city marahal, ward politician, see New York City.
 Goode, M., requests patronage, 311, 312; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Goodland, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37.
 Goodland, Kan., Journalist Tait postmaster at, 149.
 Goodman, C., disreputable political worker for Gorman, career of, 307, 308.
 Goodrich, J. C., efficient postmaster at Short Hills, N. Jersey, removed; Grocer Kessler appointed, 386.
 Goodrich, W. W., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.; low political worker for Nathan, 288, 304; chairman Kings Co., N. Y., republican committee, 371.
 Gordon, postmaster of Auburn, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
 Gore, of Boston, qualifications of office-holders according to, 45.
 Gorman, senator, and Maryland reformers, 2, 3, 5, 21, 28, 35, 43, 45, 68, 80; spoilsman, 92, 119, 170, 171, 175; "system" of in Maryland, 15, 161; secures appointment of democrat as postmaster at Lanrel, Md., although a republican had been named, Wanamaker allowing Gorman's claim to control the place, 38; compared with Mahone, 67; would have lost control of Maryland but for Cleveland, 70; opposed to civil service law, 79; and ballot reform in Maryland, 87; controls patronage in Maryland, 93, 111; "boss" in Maryland, 172; secures office for Higgins, disreputable character, 181; spoilsman, and disreputable politician, 413, 281, 289, 298, 329, 213, 214, 245, 256; "appreciation" of in Maryland, 219; dreads office-holding aristocracy, 227; defends spoils system of Wanamaker; opposes Australian ballot system, 228; and patronage in census bureau; conspires with Mahone, 234; and Cleveland; as presidential candidate, 235; presidential candidate; gets office for low political workers, 236, 237; attacks civil service commission, 250, 251; and Raisin, 251; controls federal and state patronage of Maryland, 254; boss in Maryland, 278; and his political worker, Goodman, 307, 308.
 Goshen, Ind., Editor Beyerle appointed postmaster at, 30, 126; Beyerle, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316; Beyerle, postmaster at, 377; political worker, 378.
 Goss, editor, appointed collector of Barnstable, 46.
 Gostonia, N. C., Jenkins postmaster of, Harrison delegate, 334.
 Gould, C. B., journalist, postmaster at Emporium, Pa., 149.
 Gould, Jay, gives bribes, 171.
 Gowdy, J. K., political worker for Harrison in Indiana, 302, 303; chairman Indiana republican state committee, and Halford, 360, 362; campaign fund circular of, 382; confers with U. S. Treasurer Nebeker, 370.
 Goyles, G. W., negro, Harrison delegate at Minneapolis, 344.
 Grace, mayor of New York City, and civil service reform, 82; obtains removal of Squire, see Hill, 307.
 Graceville, Minn., Journalist Brynildsen postmaster at, 149.
 Graham, political worker for Quay, 300.
 Graham, W., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
 Grand Army Post at Woodhull, Ill., denunciation of Congressman Henderson.
 Grand Rapids, Mich., civil service commission at, 36.
 Grand View, Ind., Editor Knight appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
 Grant, mayor, see New York City, and civil service reform, 82; tool of B. Cockran, 184; supported by Gorman, 214; of N. York on street cleaning, 220, 273; and Wilmer, 290; and Staats Zeitung, 317, 318.
 Grant, C. W., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.
 Grant, President, indorsed for selection of commissioners under civil service act, 50; and Indian service, 182; accused of nepotism, uses offices as as bribes, 191; as general, 231; and charges against officials, 238; executive order of, instituting reform methods, 271, 274; and Fisher, 374, yields to spoilsman, 186, 308, 414.
 Graves, E. O., civil service reform under in bureau of printing and engraving, 32, 45; removed by Pres. Harrison, 52, 94, 173, 237, 282, 368, 376.
 Gravesend, N. Y., ruled by "Boss" McKane, 352.
 Gray, F., journalist, postmaster at Ivanhoe, Kan., 149.
 Gray, I. P., ex-governor of Indiana, 206; spoilsman, mentioned for presidency, 235, 244; as applicant for various offices, 396.
 Grayson, Ky., Journalist Littlejohn, postmaster at, 149.
 Greacen, R. A., supports Lee for place in N. Y. custom-house, 259; requests patronage, 311, 312.
 Greason, J. D., journalist, postmaster at Atwood, Kan., 148.
 Greaves, M. A., on selection of census enumerators in N. Y. City, 294.
 Green, F. V., reports to Mayor Grant on street-cleaning in New York; advises merit system, 220, 221.
 Green, G., supervisor of Brooklyn, N. Y., rendered insane by office-seekers, 45.
 Greenawalt, J. R., journalist, postmaster at Elkhorn, W. Va., 155.
 Greencastle, Ind., applicants for postmaster of, squabble among, Hays appointed, 7, 89.
 Greene, E. B., makes index for Civil Service Record, 237.
 Greene, J. M., tries to collect political assessments of employes in Indian service, 384.
 Greenfield, Ind., I. Davis, appointed postmaster at, vice Howard, removed, 89.
 Greenfield, Iowa, Editor Hunt appointed postmaster at, 142.
 Greenhalge, on house committee on civil service, 86; recommends re-appointment of Bancroft, postmaster at Concord, Mass., 91; favors civil service reform, see also Buttrick, 100, 123; upholds civil service commission, 204.
 Greenhow, W. H., postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., removed on secret charges, 176.
 Greenleaf, Kan., Journalist Bliss, postmaster at, 149.
 Greensburg, Ind., Hendricks, postmaster of, worker for Harrison, 316, 378.
 Greenwood, S. Dak., physician at Indian agency at, leaves duty to engage in political work at times of sickness, 202.
 Greiner, postmaster at Terre Haute, a political worker, 153, 158; political worker for Harrison, 316, 377, 378; at Minneapolis, 342, 343, 346, 379; political worker, 379.
 Gresham, Neb., journalist Rhodes, postmaster at, 149.
 Gresham, O., son of W. Q., favors civil service reform, 227, 229; defeated as republican delegate, 302.
 Gresham, W. Q., supported at Chicago convention by Illinois, 7; letter of to Postmaster Pearson, referring to secret charges, 12; p. m. general under Arthur, removes Vandervoort, 215, 216, 220; more popular than Harrison with republicans, 240, 302; and Harrison, 370; popularity of, in Indiana, 376, 377.
 Griffen, F. D., journalist, postmaster at Bangor, S. Dak., 155.
 Griffin, C. F., and political assessments in Indiana, 363; political worker for Harrison in Indianapolis, 379.
 Griffin, T., and janitors in Indiana legislature, 406.
 Griffith, president Indiana senate, spoilsman, 408.
 Griggs, S. I., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
 Grimes, G. G., journalist, postmaster at Bairdstown, Ohio, 149.

- Groesbeck, L., U. S. bank examiner, a political worker, 266.
- Grogan, S., able superintendent of city delivery at St. Louis, 131.
- Groner, V. D., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Grosvenor, congressman, spoilsman, 68, 161; against civil service reform, 123, 178, 253; charges of, against civil service commission, 145, 146, 202, 203, 204; opposed to civil service law, 153, 178; and Roosevelt, 162.
- Grosvenor, C. H., editor, given federal office, 301.
- Grosvenor, D., makes political assessments, 161; federal office-holder and spoilsman, 178, 179; spoilsman, rewarded by Harrison, 237.
- Gunby, E. R., collector at Tampa, Florida, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Gundlock, P., henchman of Filly, postmaster at Station A, St. Louis, 150.
- Gunkle, F. W., deputy U. S. marshal in Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Gunner, J. H., active politician, appointed deputy of Collector Erhardt, 108; deputy collector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 268, 311; in New York convention, 335; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Gwin, superintendent, and Craft, W. H., 12.
- Habberton, J., address on "The Ideal Citizen," 98.
- Habercorn, L. W., newspaper correspondent, appointed fifth auditor of the treas., 30.
- Habernel, J. F., postmaster of Indiana House of Representatives, 406.
- Hack, postal clerk, political worker, 144.
- Hack, P. O. employe, political worker, 377.
- Hackett, C. W., worker for Platt, chairman N. Y. state republican executive committee, 360, 361, 371, 388; requests lists of republicans from postmasters, 370; and political assessments, 382.
- Hackney, D. G., worker for Hill, appointed fish commissioner of New York, vice Blackford removed, 310.
- Hackney, W. P., disgust of with Kansas congressmen and senators, 15.
- Haddam, Kan., Journalist Tarsel, postmaster at, 149.
- Hagerstown (Md.), Herald [repub.], civil service reform advocated, 92.
- Hahn, M., see Tammany, 318.
- Hahn, W. M., chairman republican state executive committee, Ohio, asks political contributions, 280.
- Haines, G. B., and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.
- Haines, Wm., relative of Pres. Harrison, given office, 30.
- Hale, Annie, wife of Journalist Hale, postmaster at Spring Valley, O., 149.
- Hale, senator, controls patronage in Maine; keeps more employes in Portland (Me.), custom house than necessary, 242.
- Halford, E. W., journalist, private secretary to Pres. Harrison, and applications for office, 6, 14, 163, 175, 282; and office-seekers, 37; secures appointment of brother-in-law and others, 38; goes home to vote, 180; and printing office, 234; brother of editor of Youngstown, O., Telegraph, supporting Sherman, 301; at Indianapolis, 360; political worker, 359, 340, 343, 377, 379, 382, 389; appointed paymaster in army, 414.
- Halifax, N. C., Hannan, negro, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hall (M. C.) denounces civil service law, 47, 49.
- Hall, B. J., appointed patent commissioner, efficient, 140.
- Hall, D. S., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hall, M. F., journalist, postmaster at Phillippi, W. Va., 155, 180.
- Hall, T. A., subscribes for CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for Y. M. C. A. of Illinois, 350.
- Hallett, C. W., and Long Island City post-office, 100.
- Halstead, M., nominated minister to Germany, editor of Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette, 14; on force bill, 169.
- Hamilton, Gail, obtains appointment of E. A. Dimmick, consul to Barbadoes, 56.
- Hamilton, Mo., Clarkson, N. C., appointed postmaster at, 150.
- Hamlin, carrier, see Indianapolis post-office, investigation of, 28, 34.
- Hammell, M. A., journalist, postmaster at Mullen, Neb., 149.
- Hammond, postmaster of Booneville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Hammond, A. G., apoluted postmaster at Wyoming, Ill., vice—, removed for political reasons, 176.
- Hammond, F., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 296.
- Hammond, Ind., postmaster at, inefficient, 90.
- Hammond, T., congressman, patronage of, 410, 416, 417, 422.
- Hammondsport, N. Y., Journalist Brown, postmaster at, 155.
- Hampton, W., governor, pardons Smalls, convicted of bribery, 39, 101; senator, letter to Wanamaker on removal of Gibbes, postmaster at Columbia, S. C., 74, 190.
- Hancock Co., Ind., appointments from, 71.
- Hancock, T. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Neoga, Ill., 141.
- Hanford, Cal., postmaster at removed, Editor Dodge appointed, 126.
- Hanlon, M. A., treasury inspector, political worker, 287.
- Hanna, federal officer, political worker for Harrison, 297.
- Haunon, J. H., negro, postmaster at Halifax, N. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hansbrough, patronage pledges of to secure election as senator from N. Dakota, 216; senator, supporter of Blaine, 341, 345.
- Hanscom, I., and navy yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Hardson, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.
- Hare, Bishop and Rosebud, agency, Dak., 48; denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130; alleges Indian abuses, 202.
- Harig, "Bill," ward politician of Baltimore, 308.
- Harlem, N. Y., Tammany street railroad scandal in, 317.
- Harley, C., politician, census supervisor 5th Indiana district, 101.
- Harlow, postmaster at Whitman, Mass., recommended for reappointment, 100.
- Harlow, H., applicant for postmastership at Plymouth, Mass., 189.
- Harlow, J. B., appointed postmaster of St. Louis, 88, 131; institutes reform methods, 136; conspiracy to remove, 226; ordered to give office to political worker for Harrison, 304.
- Harmer, congressman and Quay, 241.
- Harmon, G. W., promised place in Brooklyn custom house, see Wallace.
- Harmony, acting secretary of navy, and Portsmouth, N. H., navy yard, 147.
- Harn, G. V., editor, appointed sugar inspector, 301.
- Harald, S. Dak., Journalist Besancon, postmaster at, 155.
- Harper, G. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Robinson, Ill., 141.
- Harper's Weekly, civil service commission under Harrison and Cleveland compared, 211; comparison of Cleveland and Harrison in regard to civil service reform, 338; on what to expect of Cleveland, 358, 359.
- Harrigan, appraiser, resignation asked, 22.
- Harrigan, sergeant-at-arms in N. Y. legislature; his patronage, 215.
- Harrington, G. W., democrat, postmaster at Monson, Mass., recommended for reappointment, 188.
- Harrington, Prof. M. W., appointed head of weather bureau, 245; favors civil service reform, 253.
- Harris, A. W., customs inspector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Harris, H. E., journalist, postmaster at Utica, O., 149.
- Harris, Rev. J. A., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.
- Harris, O. T., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Harris, R. H., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268.
- Harris, S., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Franklin, Ind., 398.
- Harrisburg Telegraph [rep.], civ. service reform a sham, 49.
- Harrison, Pres., removes postmaster at Norwich (Conn.), without cause and appoints spoilsman, see Norwich, Conn.; nominates Wallace, spoilsman, to be postmaster at Indianapolis, 2, 3; and civil serv. ref., in letter of acceptance, 1, 4, 9, 69; and civ. serv. ref., has not made promises, 5, 10; appoints S. N. Chambers U. S. dist. att'y in Indiana, 7; as senator, remarks on evils of patronage, 9; inaugural address and civil serv. ref., 9; order of, postponing classification of R. R. mail service, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 13, 44; disputes with senators over patronage, 14; number of appointments to April, 1889, 16; overrun with office-seekers, 16; congressmen dictate appointments, 17, 93; civil serv. commission appointed by, 17; "public duties" of, dispensing patronage, 18; census bureau under and civil serv. law, 19; and spoils system, 20; and Pearson, postmaster at New York, 20; and nepotism, 21, 30, 84; and R.R. mail service, 21, 22; cabinet of formed according to Senator May's demands, 22; gives patronage of Missouri to Kerens, 22, applicants to be treated with consideration, 24; and Vandervoort and Bagby, 25, 34, 211; not keeping promises in Indianapolis post-office, 26; gives patronage of N. York to T. Platt, 27; hastily removes foreign ministers, 27; gives patronage of Pennsylvania to Senator Quay, 27, 47, 135, 138; inability to satisfy spoilsman, 27; removes Indian commissioner Oberly, 27; cabinet of composed entirely of spoilsmen, 27; removes Strauss, minister to Turkey; appoints "Sol" Hirsch, 29; removes postmaster at Jersey City without cause, 29; removes Postmaster Clark, of Jacksonville, Florida, for political reasons, 29; removes postmaster at Bridgeport before term expired, 29; removes Postmistress Clay, at Huntsville, Ala., without cause, 29; appoints Editor J. B. Stone collector internal revenue first Michigan district, 30; removes without cause head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho; appoints spoilsman, 30; rewards political workers; declares he will not cease appointments until offices are exhausted, 30; and Senator Cullom, 31; appoints G. P. Fisher, disreputable politician, first auditor of the treasury, 32; appoints D. M. Ransdall marshal District of Columbia, 34, 80; "discriminating test" of, 35, 36, 100; appoints White, editor and spoilsman, internal revenue collector, 37; appoints Robert Smalls, a convicted criminal, in face of well-known record and strong protest, 39; makes spoil of offices, 41; refusal of to have anything to do with Dudley, 41; searching examination of management of civil service by, promised, 41; refuses request of civil service commission to place census bureau under civil service law, 42, 88, 131; treatment of Indians by administration of, 42; civil service reform promises of, 43, 52, 61, 62, 63, 65, 292; rules of for appointment, 44; removals of postmasters under, 45; and collectorship of customs at Chicago, 47; and Congressman Brower, 47; and postmasters, 49; removes Naval Officer Burt, 52; gives patronage of Virginia to Mahone, 27, 52, 70; rewards Tanner for services, and later removes him, 53; uses offices to affect elections in Louisiana, 54; appealed to by MacCourt, 54; removes Postmaster Curran of Hoboken, N. J., for political reasons, 51; gives office to T. B. Willis as a political reward, 55; appoints E. Nathan, low politician, collector int. rev. for Brooklyn (N. Y.) district, appoints Lyon surveyor of port, 55; not enough credit given to, for administration of civil service law, 59; appoints Throop, political worker, collector of Terre Haute (Ind.) district, 59; congratulated on appointments by Mass. republican convention, 63; administration tramples civil serv. ref. under foot, 64; denounced for violation of pledges, by national league, 1889, 66; appoints J. N. Huston U. S. treasurer, objects to giving him Indiana patronage, gives it to Michener, 67; denounced for abuse of civ. service, by H. C. Lea, 68, 111; can stop political assessments, 70; gives patronage of Louisiana to Congressman Coleman, 71; removes postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., for political reason, 71; and postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., 71; and appointment of postmasters, 74; responsibility of, 75; as senator and spoils in Indiana, 75; attributes defeat in 1889 to disappointed office-seekers, 75; and distribution of patronage in New York, 75; letter to General Macon, 77; extract from message on civil service commission; postpones execution of order classifying R. R. mail service, 80, 81; as Sen., criticises Pres. Cleveland for bribing the press, 81; weakened by patronage, 83; must stand by the platform (see Winchester Herald), 83; appoints E. G. Hay, a friend, U. S. district attorney, 84; rewards A. D. Shaw, 84; unsatisfactory to republicans so far as patronage is concerned, 84; and civ. service law, 86; his test for office; postmasters at Springfield and Quincy, Mass., 86; and W. W. Dudley, 87; and Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88; promotes J. B. Harlow to be postmaster at St. Louis, 88; as Sen. and Pres., and Garrigus, 88; and Mitchell, 1st. postmastership, 89; and Greencastle, Ind., postmastership, 89; criticised at Noblesville, Ind., 89; discontent with, 89; and post-office at Hammond, Ind., 90; and Baltimore postmastership, 90; and Massachusetts civil service reform association, 92; memorial to from civ. service reform ass'n of Philadelphia, 92; civ. service reform in first year of, 94; and Collector Saltonstall, 94; and R. Williams, 95; appoints Clark collector at Chicago, 95; secret charges under, 96, 175; appoints Kinney postmaster at Hartford, Conn., 99; reappoints Lyman civil serv. commissioner, 103; letter to from W. Barker, protesting against Quay, 104; appoints Warmouth, ruffianly politician, collector at New Orleans, 105; nomination of, see Quay, 106; appoints Clements, political worker, pension agent at Chicago vice Mrs. Mulligan, 107; and appointment of examiners for pension office, 108; appoints Editor Fitch collector of internal revenue at Buffalo, N. Y., 108; conference with Congressman Hitt over post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; as senator, criticises Cleveland's course with regard to civil service, 119; and congressmen, 120; and patronage system, 76, 120, 173; spoils pledges of, 121; and postmastership of Stanberry, Mo., 121; requests aid for civil service commission, 122; and Garfield, 129, 130; removes Hendrix, postmaster at Brooklyn, N. Y.; offers place to political worker, 131; appoints Editor Von Bergman, 132; claims on, 132; condemned by Maryland Civil Serv. Ref. Assoc. for giving patronage to Quay, 136; appoints Mitchell patent commissioner, 140; abuses in Brooklyn navy yard under administration of, 142; complaints to of Warmouth, 143, 144; nominates Eaves; gives patronage of N. Carolina, 150; censured, 153; promotes Sherwood to be postmaster at Washington to succeed Ross, transferred, 153; and U. S. Attorney Chambers, 151; removes employes in Brooklyn navy yard, 155; praised; civil service methods advocated, see Indiana republican platform, 1890, 156; condemned for disregard of civil service law, see Pennsylvania, Indiana and New Hampshire platforms, 1890, 156; nominates democrat, Kirkpatrick, postmaster at North Hadley Falls, Mass., 157; nominates Eaves, a corrupt politician, 159; removals under: spoils system under, 159, 188, 269; gives patronage of Texas to Collector Cuney, 159; correspondence of with Foulke, W. D., over presidential post-offices, see also post offices, presidential, 163; good appointments of, 169;

gives offices as rewards for party service, 171; a greater spoilsman than any predecessor, 174; as senator, speech in senate on iniquity of secret charges system; see Shelbyville, Freeman, De La Hunt, 176, 177; gives patronage to Sewell, 180; and McFarland, disreputable politician, 181; gives patronage of navy yard at New York to Fischer, 182; uses offices to gain renomination, 183; and customs offices: Washington offices, 185; advised to appoint Avery postmaster at Plymouth, Mass., 187; removals under for cause, according to Clarkson, 188; secures control of Indiana republican state committee, 189; striving for renomination, 192; course of in Indian affairs: letter to Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association regarding, 86, 98, 102, 182, 202, 204, 205, 217, 219, 239; removes U. S. district attorney at Washington, D. C., 211; and Delphi (Ind.) Journal, 213; nominates W. R. Leeds, disreputable politician, as U. S. marshal in Penn., 216; appoints Mayor Ellis postmaster at Muncie, Ind., 217; silent regarding civil service reform, 220; order of putting part of Indian service under civil service law: forbids promotion without examination from unclassified to classified service, 221, 230, 231; should put navy yards under civil service law, 222; reappoints democrat, Sherlin, postmaster at Sandwich, Mass.; democrat, Morgan, at Newton, Mass., 224; federal office-holders interfere in primaries at Baltimore in behalf of, 225, 226; "Boss" Filley, of Missouri, works for, 226; and G. B. Ramm, Jr., 228; Martin, appointed collector internal revenue, aids Quay to ruin ballot bill in Penn., 228, 229, 232, 233; and Roosevelt, civil service commissioner, 232; makes terms with Quay, 235; promotes Thompson, assistant postmaster at Indianapolis, to be postmaster; consequent promotions, 235; renomination of, reasons for and against; course regarding civil service reform, 237, 240, 248, 287; republican opposition to, workers for, 240; appoints W. H. Brooks collector internal revenue in Pa., vice Martin, resigned, 241; negroes do not get patronage under, 243, 244; gives patronage of New York to Platt, 245; workers for, 249; removes Stearns for political reasons, 250; reasons of for removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 251; patronage as used by, and party platform, 1888, 253; orders promotions in Washington offices made on competitive examinations under civil service commission, gives patronage of Maryland to republican machine, 254; accepts "resignation" of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, appoints Fassett to make clean sweep, 255; betrays civil service reform, 260, 282, 319; extensions of civil service reform under, compared to Dictator Balmaceda, 261; controls patronage, but it is a source of weakness, 262; appoints Flanagan, political worker, collector of customs at El Paso, 266; civil service commission is good under, 271, 272; precise scope of extension of civil service law in Indian service, under, 273; and R. R. mail service, extends civil service law to certain employees in Indian service, 275; and violations of law in Omaha post-office, 281; rewards Flanagan, 286; uses patronage in Indiana for renomination, 297, 316, 317; uses federal patronage in Pennsylvania and elsewhere to secure renomination, removes supporters of Quay, 298, 299, 301; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 303, 305; and Mahone "blackmailers," 305; compelled to give patronage, 311, 312; and independents, 313; commended and censured by National League, 321; political activity of federal office-holders under, 33, 350; and appointment of Martin, 351; gives patronage to Boss McKane, 352; and candidacy of Chase for governor of Indiana, 353, 344, 355; "ceaseless activity of," 357; not opposed to political assessments, 181, 353, 359, 360, 361, 362; seeks to reward Delegate Crum, negro, with postmastership of Charleston, S. C., 363; Senator Sawyer, chairman senate committee on post-offices, aids nomination of, 364; Julian on abuse of civil service under, 365; enforces civil service law "with vigor and impartiality," 366; appoints Leaycraft, political worker, 371; civil service reform under, 80, 371, 372, 373, 374; and Minneapolis convention, 375, 376; civil service reform under: should be defeated, 376, 389; and political activity of federal office-holders in Indiana, 376, 381, 383, 385, 386; bans renomination with offices, 387, 408; and extensions of civil service law, 388, 390; opposes appointment of Hanlon, 393, 395; civil service reform in annual message 1892 of, 397; extension of classified service under welcomed, 398, 402; classifies all free-delivery post-offices, and weather bureau service, 403; merit system under, 404; extension of civil service reform under, not urged by republicans, 405; administration of ruined by spoils system, 413, 414; appoints Private Sec'y Halford paymaster in army, 414; accused of bribing the press, 144.

Harrison, Carter, appointed U. S. marshal by Pres. Harrison, his brother, 21, 30, 369.

Harrison, E. G., appointed postmaster at Asbury Park, N. Y., vice Toland, 386.

Harrison, Rev. H., Thanksgiving sermon of denouncing Clarkson, 193, 194.

Harrison, H., commends CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 364.

Harrison, J. C., father of Journalist H. Harrison, postmaster at Smithfield, O., 149.

Harrison, J. P., postmaster at Ln Verne, Ia., a political worker, 260.

Harrison, J. S., brother of Pres. Harrison, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 339.

Harrison, Neb., father of Journalist Davis, postmaster at, 149.

Harrison, Russell, son of Pres. Harrison, influence of used for office-seekers, 38; political worker for his father, 189, 359, 378; solicits campaign funds for Pres. Harrison, 210; assists at dinner to Clarkson, 215; and Elkins, 290.

Harrison, Dr. T. H., president of state benevolent boards of Indiana, a spoilsman, 206.

Harrison, President W. H., the public press and spoils (in inaugural address), 17.

Harrison, W. H., Pres., forbids political assessments and political activity of federal office-holders, 370.

Harrison, W. H., Pres., on bribery of press, 376.

Harrity and Phila. post-office, 53.

Harrodsburgh, Ind., Woodard, postmaster of, political worker, 380.

Hart, H., alderman of New York City, sec sale of offices under Tammany, 224, 225.

Hart, M. L., journalist, postmaster at Ravenna, Kan., 149.

Hart, T. N., mayor, Boston, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102; ex-mayor, Boston, appointed postmaster at Boston, vice Corse, removed, 215; commended by Corse, his predecessor, 251.

Hart, W. D., appointed postmaster at Meriden, Ncb., vice McGinness, forced to resign, 166.

Hart, W. H., third auditor, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; federal employe and printing office, 234; goes home "for rest," 362; political worker, 382; spoilsman, 112; and removal of Sniffall, 377.

Hartford, Conn., Kinney and Gillette, applicants for postmastership of, 84, 99; Bennett, postmaster of, and removal of Barrio, efficient P. O. inspector, 298.

Hartford City, Ind., Cable, postmaster of, political worker, 379.

Hartley, A. H., appointed in post-office at Scranton, Pa., removed for political reasons, appointed to place in R. R. mail service, removed by Harrison, 101.

Hartman, A., applicant for postmaster of Columbus, Ind., 89; postmaster of Columbus, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.

Hartman, D. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Genoa, Ill., 111.

Hartong, A. W., druggist, candidate for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109; postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., works for Mitt, 136.

Hartshorn, S. N., political worker for Major McKinley, rewarded, 52.

Hartwig, defeated congressional candidate, demands patronage, 99.

Harvey, G., political worker for Harrison, deputy coll. int. rev. in Indiana, 302, 303, 316, 378.

Harvey, J. W., appointed postmaster at Russellville, Ind., 89.

Harwood, J. C., editor, appointed postmaster at Clarion, Iowa, 141.

Hassler, Ang. E., journalist, postmaster at Pawnee City, Ncb., 149.

Hastings, General, opposes Delamater, 134, 143; candidate for governor of Pa., 249; political worker for Quay, 280.

Hathaway, postmaster of house of representatives, makes removals at suggestion of congressmen, methods of, 242.

Hatton, F., editor of Washington Post, and scramble for offices, 5, 76, 79, 92, 96, 161; spoilsman abuses Commissioner Roosevelt, 52; charges of against Commissioner Roosevelt, 101; and investigation of civil serv. com., 103.

Hayre, consul at, see Dnals, 54.

Hawes, J. W., and factional fights in N. Y., see New York, 241, 242.

Hawkins, U. S. marshal for Indiana district, oppression by, 9.

Hawley, Sen., supports Kinney as postmaster of Hartford, Conn., 84, 99.

Hawley, Pa., Langham, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 176.

Hawthorne, Nat'l, removed from office, 46.

Hay, E. G., friend of Harrison, recommended by Sen. Washburn, appointed U. S. dist. att'y for Minnesota, 84.

Hayes, Pres., declaration in favor of civ. service reform, 50; letter of acceptance of, in favor of civ. service reform, 50; and loyalty, 75; pardons brother of D. Ransdell, 244; on evils of political assessment and political activity of federal officers, 265, 316; friendly to civil service reform; executive order of, instituting, 123, 271.

Hayes, W. J., congressman, refused knowledge of reasons for removal of Evans, postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., 175.

Hayes, W. M., postmaster at Kingston, N. Y., political worker, 280.

Haynes, —, attempts fraudulent voting in primaries, see New York City.

Haynes, R. A., relative Pres. Harrison, given office, 38.

Hayes, J. M., appointed postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.

Headington, N., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.

Headley, L. C., journalist, postmaster at Gaylord, Kan., 149.

Healy, M. J., requests patronage, 311, 312.

Heath, Rev. J. W., candidate for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.

Hebbard, C. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Roseville, Ill., 141.

Hebring, H., customs collector at Geneseo, N. Y., at convention republican league, 259.

Heckler, removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.

Hedden, collector at New York, removals under, 183.

Hedges, C., appointed chief of postal division of sixth auditor's office, Associated Press agt., 47.

Heerman, C. A., and Mahone, 52.

Heintz, L. J., street commissioner in N. Y. City, 234.

Hellen, Mrs., appointed stamp clerk at Winston, N. C., through influence of Judge Settle, her relative, 47.

Hemingford, Neb., Journalist Paradis, postmaster at, 149.

Hench, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils system in, 407.

Henderson, congressman, nolds civil service law, 122, 125.

Henderson, J. J., congressman, and postmaster of Woodhull, Ill., 47.

Henderson, W., leader in tally sheet (sec) prosecution at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.

Henderson, W., a leader in factional fight at Baltimore, 121; faction of, see Baltimore investigation, 268, 267, 277, 295; and Stone faction at Baltimore, 372.

Henderson, W. E., political worker for Eaves, 159.

Henderson, W. T., disappointed office-seeker, 144.

Hendricks, delegate to Minneapolis convention from Alabama, opposing Harrison, 346.

Hendricks, postmaster at Greensburgh, Ind., worker for Harrison, 316, 378.

Hendricks, A. H., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Hendricks, republican politician and spoilsman, and Gov. 1111 of New York, 211; supporter of Senator Hiscock, 216; political worker for Hiscock and Platt; appointed collector at N. Y. City, 264, 266, 269; collector at N. Y. City; political worker, 279, 287, 354, 357; defended by Sec'y Foster (assessment case), 289; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 359, 360, 337, 343, 344; to lead campaign in New York, 347, 348; management of custom house by, 358; opposes Congressman Belden, 386.

Hendricks, T. A., ex-vice-president, his place in politics, 244.

Hendrix, efficient postmaster at Brooklyn, removed. Baird, politician, refuses appointment, 72, 131.

Henkel, W., at Minneapolis convention, 344.

Henry, J. A., journalist, postmaster at Jonesville, Minn., 149.

Henry, J. J., republican, condemns removal for political reasons of Corse, postmaster at Boston, see also Civil Service Record, 213.

Hensley, W. N., postmaster at Columbus, Ncb., forced to resign, 166.

Hepburn, solicitor of treasury, calls on Chairman Carter, 361.

Hepburn, A. B., appointed controller of the currency, 371.

Hepburn, W. P., federal office holder in Washington Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.

Herbert, congressman, and political activity of federal office-holders in Alabama, 355.

Herndon, Kan., Journalist Rathbone, postmaster at, 149.

Herod, W. W., candidate for mayor of Indianapolis; declares himself one of the "boys," 269.

Hess, J. W., worker for Harrison, 316; promises offices if elected, 378.

Hewitt, mayor of New York City, and civil service reform, 82.

Hicklin, councilman, and appointments to fire service of Indianapolis, 120; ward politician and spoilsman, 203; supports Fire Chief Webster, 207, 208.

Hickok, Rev. Dr., on civil service reform, 83.

Hicks, J., editor, office-holder, 14.

Higbee, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407; and spoils methods in, 406.

Higgins, A., Sen., appoints Hinchman postmaster at Bridgeville, Del., 38; obtains appointment of Fisher as first auditor of treasury, of Knowles as consul to Bordeaux, 38; political manipulator, 160; at Minneapolis convention, 344; aided by Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, 363; attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.

Higgins, E., and Cleveland administration, 25; appointment of condemned, 51; ex-office holder, henchman of Gorman, disreputable character, 181, 237, 314, 364.

Higgins, E. R., candidate for postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., 45; postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., a political worker, 153, 158; ordered to levy political assessments, 302; political worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; political worker, 372, 377, 378; orders P. O. employes to take poll of Ft. W., 380.

Higginson, J. W., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.

- High, dictation of in Berks county, Penn., 47.
- Hildebrand, J. M., appointed surveyor of customs at Indianapolis, 38; a political worker, 144; denounced for political inactivity, 303; worker at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Hill, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 406.
- Hill, congressman, favors civil service reform, 123.
- Hill, D. B., governor of New York, see Feudalism Revived; opposed to civil service reform, 82, 239, 261, 289; tools of, 196, 211; appoints "Paddy" Divver to a judgeship, 212; refuses requisition of Connecticut forger for political reasons, 214, 215; makes spoils bargains with Senator Hisecock, 216; workers for, oppose Fassett, by corrupt methods, 259; supporters of "knife" Cleveland, 282; Tammany leader, 298; career of, and Hillism, 305, 307, 309, 310, 311, 351, 396; defense of by Professor Collin, steals N. Y. legislature, 313; and Tammany, 317, 320; senator, gives Brooklyn bridge patronage to McLaughlin, 350; and fish protection at Lake Keuka, appoints saloon keeper Sheridan keeper at, 356; Kings co., N. Y., democrats, 356; imitators of in Indiana, 414; Sheehan, worker for, 415.
- Hill, F. B., negro, deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Hill, J., negro, postmaster at Vicksburg, Miss., worker at Minneapolis, 343, 348.
- Hill, J. C., federal officer, resigns to do political work, 362.
- Hilliard, G., calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. city, 258; at Minneapolis convention, 344; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom house, 358.
- Hills, W. C., journalist, appointed postmaster at Smithland, Iowa, 142.
- Hines, G. A., candidate for postmaster at Brattleboro, Mass., 100.
- Hirsch, L., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Hirsch, "Sol," the "Tom Platt" of Oregon, appointed minister to Turkey, 29.
- Hiscock, C., appointed through influence of Senator Hisecock, his brother, to office, vice L. D. Monery, 150; political worker for him, 264.
- Hiscock, F., Sen., spoilsman, 43, 353, 354, 360, 386; and postmaster at Syracuse, 46; obtains appointment of Smith, editor, as postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., 71; notoriously corrupt, 71; and appointment of Von Bergman, 132; opposes appointment of Conroy, postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., 150; controls patronage in N. Y., gets office for his brother, C. Hisecock, 150; on performance of party pledges, 168; supports Merritt for postmaster of Lockport, N. Y., bargains for spoils with Hill, 216; recommends appointment of Wheeler, 241; patronage of, and factional fights against, 259; patronage of, secures office for brother, gives bribes, 264, 265, 266; indorses Payn, 312; supporter of Blaine, 344.
- Hitch, C. P., Harrison worker at Chicago convention, appointed U. S. marshal southern district of Ill., 30; political worker, 179.
- Hitt, congressman on civ. service law, 73; and his struggles in distributing patronage, see also Rochelle (Ill.), post-office at, 109; renomination of, 136; nominated, 137, 143; secures appointment of Asay, disreputable politician, 160.
- Hoar, Judge, recommends Bancroft postmaster at Concord, Mass., for reappointment, 91; indorses Postmaster Buttrick, 100.
- Hoar, Sen., letter to from Congressman Banks, asking aid for J. J. McCarthy, 31; letter of to Civil Service Record, declaring American people to be not yet aware of worth of civ. serv. ref., 43, 60; and Boston custom house, 71; and Collector Saltonstall, 94; controls census patronage in Mass., 104; thinks customs collectors should be in political harmony with president, 104; and removal of Saltonstall, 105; and Eaton, D. B., 111; on collectorship at Boston, 129; transmits letter of Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association to President Harrison, 205; and Corse, postmaster at Boston, 213, 357; requests retention of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Hoar, S., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 203.
- Hobart, supporters of and Blunt, 150.
- Hobart, A., at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; and resolutions of Mass. Civil Service Reform Association, 1892, 398.
- Hobart, G. A., politician, surety for Fassett, collector at New York City, 258.
- Hobbs, purchases postmastership at Mitchell, Ind., see also sale of offices, 89.
- Hobbs, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Hobbs, E. H., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Hoboken, N. J., Postmaster Curran at, removed for political reasons, 54.
- Hodson, J. H., disappointed office-seeker, 144.
- Hoffman, F. N., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Hogan, D., gains office through influence of Congressman Smith, 38; collector of internal revenue, a boss, 143.
- Hogan, M. C., U. S. supervisor of elections in New York, 390.
- Hohlt, W. H., politician, see Indianapolis, see also Parnell Hall, 195.
- Holcomb, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.
- Holderman, superintendent of fire telegraph at Indianapolis, refuses to teach intended supplanter, 235, 243.
- Hollowell, Me., removal of postmaster at, on secret charges, 39.
- Holman, congressman, renomination of, 37; congressman, patronage of, 393, 400, 411, 417, 419, 421, 422.
- Holman, bank examiner in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Holmes, A. J., sergeant-at-arms of house of representatives, removes his deputy, Cavanaugh, for political reasons, 250.
- Holmes, L., republican member New Bedford (Mass.) city committee, seeks retention of democratic postmaster; correspondence with Wanamaker, 29, 176.
- Holt, S. R., politician of Indianapolis, opposes bill for new charter of; officer of new city government, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; on positions in city service being "equally divided politically," 220; examinations for police force under, 222; and city service, 228; appoints under "equally divided politically" rule, 235.
- Holton, I., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster at Plainfield, 399.
- Holyrood, Kan., Journalist Woodmausee, postmaster at, 149.
- Homilectic Review, October, 1889, and civil service reform, 65.
- Hooker, G. W., spoilsman, and Brattleboro, Mass., postmastership, 100.
- Hoopeston, Ill., Editor Warner, appointed postmaster at, 141; Postmaster Catherwood of, forced to resign, 165.
- Hope, Kan., Journalist Burroughs, postmaster at, 149.
- Hopkins (M. C.) on house committee on civil service, 86; indorses Hartong for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Hopley, J., journalist, postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149, 301.
- Hopper, F., nominee for council, see Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Hord, F., representative in Indiana legislature, opposes gerrymander of 1893, 414.
- Horn, C. W., journalist, postmaster at Plain City, O., 149.
- Hornellsville, N. Y., removal of Greeubow, postmaster at, on secret charges, 176.
- Horr, J. F., collector at Key West, Fla., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Horseheads, N. Y., factional struggles against Platt and Fassett at, see Chemung Co.; Van Duzer, postmaster of, a political worker, 265; Postmaster Van Duzer of, and removal of Flood, 304; Chemung county democratic convention at, run by Hill workers, 309.
- Hotchkiss, A. C., journalist, appointed postmaster at Adel, Iowa, 141.
- Houk, L. F., congressman, of Tennessee, opposed to civ. service reform, 35, 49, 54, 161; spoilsman, secures office for his son, 84; opposes civil service commission and reform, 124; charges of against civil service commission, 145, 146; opposed to civil service reform; sees evils of spoils system, 177, 178.
- Houk, J. C., appointed through influence of his father, 84.
- House of Representatives, Hathaway, postmaster of, spoilsman, removals under, 242.
- Houston, R. L., postmaster of Birmingham, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hovey, A., governor, of Indiana, 17; of Indiana, appoints farmer as mine inspector, 192; on investigating insane hospital scandals at Indianapolis, 206.
- Hovey, C. J., son of Gov. Hovey, appointed postmaster at Mt. Vernon, Ind., 71; postmaster, etc., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Howard, Gen., on Indian abuses, 182.
- Howard, J., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Howard, N. P., postmaster at Greenfield, Ind., removed, 89.
- Howard, R., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Howard City, Mich., Journalist Lowrey postmaster at, 149.
- Howarth, —, journalist, appointed census enumerator, 142.
- Howe, H. H., federal employe, pays political assessments, 279.
- Howell, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.
- Howell, J. C., commandant navy-yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Howell, W. A., nominated to be postmaster at Milwaukee, vice Paul, resigned, 47.
- Howell, W. C., relative of President Harrison given office, 90.
- Howells, J. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Jefferson, Ohio, 301.
- Howland, W., candidate, charges political activity of federal employes, 179.
- Hoysradt, state senator of New York, corrupt politician, see Hill, 307.
- Hoyt, governor of Pennsylvania subject to Quay, 151.
- Hoyt, W. E., brother-in-law of President Cleveland holds office, 150.
- Hubbell, J., congressional campaign, 1882, 272; campaign and Curtis, 306; and political assessments, 373, 390.
- Huber, Pa., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- Hudder, J. H., journalist, appointed postmaster at Aurora, Ill., 126.
- Hudson, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201; low politician and spoilsman, opposes new charter of Indianapolis, see, also, Magee, 211.
- Hudson, postmaster of Corydon, Ind., political worker, 379, 382.
- Hudson, J. S., delegate to republican national convention, secures removal of Duer, postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., and appointment of Lankford, 408.
- Hudson Co., N. Y., factional democratic fights in police aid Davis faction, 199, 200.
- Huey, lawyer, and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.
- Huffer, S. W., candidate for postmastership at Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Hughes, asst. postmaster of Philadelphia, political worker for Quay, 270, 280.
- Hughes, A. M., leads Tennessee delegation for Harrison, 341.
- Hughes, E. N., applicant for Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.
- Hughson, J., given office through influence of Priv. Sec. Halford, 38.
- Huginir, appointed postmaster at Newport, Minnesota, 21.
- Hugo, V., on America, 210.
- Hulett, W. L., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Humphrey, mayor of Concord, N. H., 143.
- Hungerford, J. B., journalist, appointed postmaster at Carroll, Iowa, 141; a political worker, 260.
- Hunt, and office-seekers, 38.
- Hunt, police judge of Manchester, active politician, 143.
- Hunt, C. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Greenfield, Iowa, 142.
- Hunt, W. L., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Clairsville, O., 301.
- Hunter, commissioner, spoilsman, 315.
- Hunter, J. T., asks for financial "suggestions," 383.
- Hunter, N. Y., Journalist Casteright postmaster of, 155.
- Hunter, R. H., internal revenue collector in New York, a political worker, 265.
- Huntertown, Ind., Latham, postmaster at, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, Duntont appointed, 362.
- Huntington, Bishop, advocates civ. service reform, 40, 82.
- Huntington, Ind., Editor Butler, appointed postmaster at, 126, 377; Rogers, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Huntsville, Ala., Clay, Mary, postmaster at, removed without cause.
- Hurst, S. M., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Husted, speaker, secures nomination of Pentreath for postmaster of Yonkers, N. Y., 150; chairman republican executive committee of New York, 279; corrupt politician, see Hill, 307.
- Huston, G. N., 7, 78, 85, 96; treas. of U. S., 14; chairman Indiana republican state committee; controls patronage of Indiana, 67, 112, 121, 154; obtains office for Scanlon, for political services, 132; of national republican committee, 359; worker for Harrison, and distributor of patronage, 377; and political assessments, 382, 383.
- Hyatt, J., efficient officer in house of representatives, removed for political reasons through influence of McPherson, 84.
- Iches, editor, appointed postmaster at Newark, O., 301.
- Idaho., governor of officially compliments management of assay office at Boise City, whose chief removed without cause by Harrison, 30; Boise City, head of assay office at removed without cause, 30.
- Iding, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Ide, C. E., defeated candidate, 132; politician, 386.
- Illig, police commissioner at Buffalo, works for Trautmann; uses intimidation, see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Illinois, see also convention, platform.
- Illinois, congressmen of and offices, 6; senators of and President Harrison, 6; delegation and the offices, 7; congressmen and offices, 15; delegation from, favoring appointment of Asa Matthews as first comptroller, 21; congressmen of and Chicago post-office, 22; removals in, 22; Bloomington, examination at, 26; postmasters in democratic congressional districts appointed through influence of Sen. Cullom, 30; Harrison worker appointed U. S. marshal for southern district of, 30; Congressman Cannon of, spoilsman, 30; Senators Cullom and Farwell and Wilcox matter, 31; congressmen and senators of refused control of patronage by Harrison, 240; political activity of federal office holders in, 335, 336, 341; CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to be sent to Y. M. C. A. of, 350; Governor Altgeld of flees from office-seekers, 415.
- Impeachment, President liable to, for abuse of civil service, 17.
- Independent, on resignation of Quay as chairman National Republican Committee, 257.
- Indian commissioner, Butler, low politician, recommended by congressmen for, 14; Oberly removed by Pres. Harrison, 27; Morgan, 38; Morgan favorable to civil service reform, asks re-

- tention of his predecessor, 11; Morgan upholds Harrison's Indian policy, 202.
- Indian commissioners declare Indian service in better condition than ever before, 205.
- Indian Rights Association, 12; and abuse of Indian service, 86; seventh annual report of on Indian service, 102; refused knowledge of cause of removal of Vandever, 181; efforts of, 182; conference 1891 favors application of civil service reform methods to Indian service, 288; report of commissioners condemning spoils system in Indian service, 308.
- Indian schools, Dorchester, commissioner of, 38.
- Indian service, extension of civil service law to, advocated, 10; Junkin, W. W., appointed inspector in, 14; congressional patronage and, 36; rules of Commissioner Morgan concerning tenure of office in, 44; letter of Welsh favoring civil service reform in, 47; evils in, 86; spoils system in, 94, 173, 192, 308; "home rule system of Pres. Harrison, 102; disgrace of, Pres. Grant and, see A Century of Dishonor, 182; gross abuses in, correspondence regarding, see Morgan, Harrison, Cook, Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, 202, 204, 205; in better condition than ever before, see Indian commissioners, proposal to extend civil service law to agency clerks and employes in, 205; removals in under Cleveland and Harrison, 217; places in given as spoil, see Pine Ridge, 218; H. Welsh on removals in, Capen on removals in under Cleveland, 219; partially put under civil service law by Pres. Harrison, 221, 273, 372; evils of spoils system in, H. Welsh on, in Scribner's magazine for April, 1891, 224; used as spoils by Sec. Noble, 226; merit system introduced in, 230, 251, 289, 321; debauched by Harrison, 237, 376; spoils system in, H. Welsh on, 239; extension of merit system to commended, 286; thorough application of reform to demanded, 288; political assessments levied on employes in, 375, 384, 385, 388; examiners for 1891-92, 397.
- Indiana, see also Convention, Platform.
- Indiana, civil service reform in under Cleveland's first administration, 1; democratic party in, civil service reform, 8; number of postmasters appointed in, from March 4 till July 20, inclusive, 1889, 34; rotation in office in, 45; moral republican organ of thinks neither party cares about civil service reform, 62; fourth class post-offices used to strengthen republican machine in, 67; Huston chairman republican state committee, 1888, 67; federal offices in, used to make a machine, 68; reform sentiment in, 93; state university of, civil service reform sentiment at, 108; distribution of spoil in causes republican defeat, 111; republican congressmen of, and spoils, 112; status of merit system in, 119; state civil service in, devoted to spoils, 137; 20,000 floaters in, 171; patronage of given to Michener, 173; republican club, for spoils, see Curry, 181; republican factions fight over chairmanship of state committee, 189; bribery by republicans advised in, 190, 191; farmer appointed mine inspector of, by Governor Hovey, 192; state federation of trade and labor unions of, demand non-partisan control of state institutions, see Magee, 201; foundation of state board of charities of, opposed by State Senator Burke for not being partisan, 201; Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, defeated, 201, 202, 208, 209, 210; Dr. Harrison, president of state benevolent boards of, a spoilsman, 206; text of Magee bill authorizing board of state charities to regulate employment of officers of benevolent institutions of, according to merit system, 208, 209; illegal and spoils appointments made in state senate, spoils system and scandals in hospitals of, 211; 212; Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions discussed, 214, 215; "boss" ridden, 219; civil service reform popular in, federal, state officers and citizens, favoring, 227; school children of, never speak on questions of public policy, 236; opposition to Harrison in, 240; federal officers in, political workers for Harrison, 260; under Cleveland given over to spoils, 282; federal patronage in, 297; federal patronage used in, for re-nomination of Harrison, 302, 303; central and southern hospitals for insane, evils of spoils system in, 315; Harrison uses federal patronage in, for re-nomination, 316, 317; spoils system in, civil service reform the proper issue, 322; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 337, 340, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 352, 353, 354, 362, 370, 374, 375, 382, 387, 389, 390; Chase, favored by Harrison for governor of, 343; Hill men of, defeated at Chicago convention, 350; state republican committee assesses candidates for office, also pension office at Indianapolis, 363; democratic politicians of, spoilsman, 365, 366; report to committee of National League, on political activity of federal office-holders in, 375, 381; republican state committee of, levies political assessments, 387, 392; democrats aspiring to office, 387, 392, 395; good results of secret ballot in, 389; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 392, 394, 399, 401; spoils system in, legislature of 1893 under, 405, 408, 414; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 409, 411; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 415, 422.
- Indiana, civil service reform association of, 67, 88; membership of, 4, 9, 17, 25, 41; annual addresses at, 7; membership of, 41; announcement of annual meeting 1890, 85; annual meeting of 1890, list of officers, 108; notice of annual meeting, 111; annual meeting 1890, address of Bouaparte, C. J., 119, 120, 126, 127, 128; and Clarkson, 131; work of, 173; Bloomington branch of, 182; exposes scandals of partisan management of state charitable institutions, 214; annual meeting 1891; W. D. Foulke elected president of, 227, 239.
- Indiana School Journal and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13.
- Indiana Co., Penn., political fights in, 133.
- Indianapolis, municipal service in, 2; post-office at, 2, 9, 18, 34; post-office at under Cleveland, 5; civil service reform in fire department of, 13; Wallace, postmaster of, violates civil service law, 28, 73; post-office at, spoils system in, 26; post-office, investigation of by civil service commission, 27; list of eligibles at post-office at, 29; Fire Chief Webster of removed for political reasons, 36, 69; Hildebrand appointed collector of customs at, 38, 68; composition of local examining board at, examination at, 42; employees in post-office at exempt from examination, 42; Postmaster Wallace at and local board, 43, 48; post-office at under Postmaster Jones, 45, 51, 53, 80; Commissioner Roosevelt at, 46; agent of associated press at given office, 47; list of eligibles for post-office of, 48; questions used in examination at, August 6, 1889, 51, 56, 58; city election influenced by removal of Fire Chief Webster, 59; civil service commission and post office of, 59; non-partisan appointments in post-office at, 87; post-office at, no removals in except for cause, fairness of examination in, 94; examinations for physicians in city hospitals, 107; deputies in custom house as political workers, 108; civil service reform in township trustee's office at, 111; charity organization of, 111; excellence of examining board at, 120; vacancies in fire department of, civil service methods advocated for, 120; appointments to census service in made through M. Moores, 129; in efficient census enumeration at, 132; control of offices in fire service at, 137; Postmaster Wallace of, secretly a political worker, 144; Township Trustee Gold removes efficient officers, 146; examinations for postal service in, passed by negro, 146; federal office-holders at state convention at, 153, 158; spoils system in, township embracing, 171; spoils system in, for city laborers, 181; per cent. of removals in, classified and unclassified service in, post-office at, 185; personnel of examiners at, civil service law observed rigidly in post-office at, 186; commercial club of, and proposed charter of, Indianapolis, 104, 189, 190; methods used in, "primaries" in, 192; patronage of state insane hospitals at, controlled by Markey, ward politician of Indianapolis, 195; Social Turu-Verein of indorses Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 209; efforts against spoils system in city departments, 202, 203; local politics and career of corrupt politicians in, tally-sheet forgeries in, 205; 206, 207, 208; bribery by street railway company of, 206, 207; fire service at, efforts to turn over to spoils, 207, 208, 235; wholesale removals of employes in fire and police service of, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; new charter for government of, its passage, provisions and faults, new officers under, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; examinations for clerks and carriers in post-office at, 218; death of Postmaster Wallace of, a loss to the public service, 219; trouble arising from positions in city service being "equally divided politically," street cleaning service of, 220, 221; city assumption of various important functions condemned while spoils system exists, see equally divided politically, 220; system of appointment to police force of, compared with those of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Boston, Mass., see equally divided politically, 222, 223, 224; Thompson acting postmaster at, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; need of examinations and civil service reform in city service at, see equally divided politically, 228; adherent of Coy, disreputable politician elected president of council of, 228; post-office under merit system, 230; promotion of Thompson ass't postmaster at to be postmaster, and consequent promotions, 235; spoils system in city government of, merit system required for all city departments except police and fire, see charter, 243; examination for places in post office at, to be held August, 1891, 243; number of applicants at examinations held August, 1891, for carriers and clerks in post-office at, 253; Gold, township trustee at, defends himself for spoils methods, criticism of, 256; election of Sullivan as mayor of, over Herod, by independent votes, board of public works and controller of, commended, 269; city services in turned over to spoils, 289; Phipps, efficient employe in city service of, removed for political reasons, 297; Postmaster Thompson of, and other federal officers at, political workers, 302, 316, 317, 320, 378, 382; tally sheet frauds in, 313; spoils in city and county offices at, 314, 315; board of public safety of, 317; examinations for physicians for city hospital, 322; Thompson, postmaster of, subordinates work for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379; need of Boston labor service in, 357; Moores, republican politician, attempts to coerce Thompson, postmaster at, 366; Dunn, P. O. employe at, removed for soliciting political contributions of other employes at instance of Democratic Committeeman Backus, 403, 411, 412; Congressman Bynum allows Turpie to name postmaster of, 405.
- Indianapolis, Catholic Record advocates civil service reform, 76.
- Indianapolis Journal (rep.) on Indianapolis post-office, 9; declares civil service reform not a moral question, 56; strongly advocates civil service reform, 65; interview in on political ingratitude, 181, 182; defends census appointments, 182; and bribery by republicans in Indiana, 191; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 205, 206, 207; accounts of spoils fights in various places, 217; on Roosevelt dinner, see at Indianapolis, 232; on independents, 313; on use of patronage to secure re-election of a President, 348; on use of patronage by Harrison to secure re-nomination; by Cleveland, 250.
- Indianapolis News (independent), and civil service reform, 11; and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; attributes republican defeat of 1889 largely to patronage system, 76; on Clarkson and Maryland republican clubs, 154; on political assessments, 183; account of nominating caucus, see Parnell Hall, 194, 195; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, 205, 206, 207, 208; on rush for office under new city government of Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 213; an independent journal, opposes spoils system, 331; on the "mugwump," 351.
- Indianapolis Sentinel (dem.) and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; complaints against violations of civil service law in Indianapolis post-office, 27; supports Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 202, 209, 210; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, 207, 208; condemns democratic antagonism to Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215; accounts of spoils fights in various places, 217; on Roosevelt dinner at Indianapolis, 232; commended, 269; favors civil service methods in Indiana state institutions, 350; on what to expect of Cleveland, 358.
- Indianapolis Taglicher Telegraph, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Ingalls, Senator, spoilsman, 5, 17, 27, 43, 65, 85, 161, 192, 211; Kansas and office seekers, 6; senator and President Harrison confer over offices, 22; correspondence with H. Welsh over Indian commissioner, 22; opposed to civil service reform, 49; and civil service law, 51; on purity in politics, 119, 130, 145; retracts statements on purity in politics, 190; guilty of nepotism in District of Columbia offices, 215.
- Ingraham, Judge, and Dutchess co., N. Y., election frauds, 306.
- Inspectors, post-office, requirements of, 193.
- Interior Dept., and request for census recount in N. Y. City, 294.
- Iowa, number of appointments in by Clarkson, 45; Editor Weinstel appointed collector of fourth district of, 56; republicans of denounce civil service law and demand its repeal, 62; spoils system in given full swing with disastrous results, 67; reform in, 111; political assessments made by republican state central committee of, 240; federal officers at state republican convention 1891, 260; becoming democratic, 281; political activity of federal office-holders in, 346, 382.
- Iowa State Register and Junkin, W. W., 14; Clarkson's paper and examinations, 49.
- Irvin, P. O. employe at Frankfort, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Irvin, judge, and "tally-sheet" forgeries at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Irwin, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- Irwin, D. W., journalist, appointed postmaster at Akron, Cal., 126.
- Issues, permanence of, other reforms should be subordinate to civil service reform, 214, 220.
- Ithaca, N. Y., Robinson postmaster of, political worker for Platt, 264.
- Ivanhoe, Kan., Journalist Gray postmaster at, 149.
- Ives, H. S., see Hillism, 309.
- Ivins, W. M., exposes methods of Hill, 307.
- "J. S.," advertisement of, offering to buy office, 22.
- Jackson, President, and bribery of press, 17; spoilsman, 20, 43, 105; and postmasters, 49; cabinet of, 63; offices under, a perquisite of the Executive, 115; and the civil service, 125; spoils system attributed to, 262; Webster condemns spoils system under, 270, 271.
- Jackson, J., ass't U. S. att'y, delegate to Minneapolis, 348.
- Jackson, Miss. Gibbs postmaster at, 47; Gibbs postmaster of, Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 344, 348.
- Jackson, O. L., votes for, bought away, 151.
- Jackson Court House, W. Va., Journalist Deen postmaster at, 155.
- Jacksonian rotation, see Clark, 257.

Jacksonville, Florida, Postmaster Clark of, removed by Pres. Harrison, 29.

Jacobi, Dr. A., withdraws from N. Y. City health dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.

Jacobs, J. L., federal employe, political worker in New York, 336.

Jacobs, L., and cartage contract of N. Y. custom house, 358.

Jacobus, J. W., U. S. marshal, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; a political worker, 265; in New York convention, 334, 370; appoints "floaters" as deputies, 387.

James, postmaster at New York, 32; ex-postmaster-general testifies to worth of Postmaster Hendrix at Brooklyn, N. Y., 131; postmaster at New York appointed P. M. gen'l by Garfield, 367.

James, C. G., employe in N. Y. post-office, a political worker, 265.

James, J., applicant for Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.

Jamestown, Kau., Journalist Barton postmaster at, 149.

Jaueway, Dr., resigns from N. Y. City health department because it becomes political machine, 356.

Jasper, Minn., Journalist Kiug postmaster at, 149.

Jefferson Co., N. Y., factional fights in republican primaries of, political activity of federal office-holders, 264; postmasters and other federal employes in, political assessments levied on, 391, 392.

Jefferson Co., Pa., bribery in, by republicans, 133.

Jefferson, O., Editor Howells appointed postmaster at, 301.

Jefferson, T., "four-year" law on, 45, 46; on nepotism, 46; and the civil service, 125.

Jeffersonville, Ind., the civil service in, see New Albany Tribune, 83; Postmaster Luke of, 88; anti-Harrison worker appointed internal revenue collector for, 302.

Jeffersonville (Ind.) News, on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215.

Jenckes, of Rhode Island, see Eaton, 105.

Jenckes, Rev. Dr., favors civil service reform, 73, 227, 229; a partisan, 137, 138.

Jenkins, L. L., postmaster at Gastonia, N. Carolina, delegate for Harrison, 334.

Jenkinson, I., editor, appointed postmaster at Richmond, Ind., 126, 377; works for Harrison, 249.

Jenks, corporation counsel at Brooklyn, N. Y., exposes methods of McLaughlin, 318.

Jenks, J. W., Prof., civil service reformer, 182.

Jennings, C. E. M., editor, disappointed office seeker, opposes Sherman, 301.

Jersey City, N. J., postmaster at removed without cause, 29; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.

Jessup, M. K., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York, advises merit system, 220, 221.

Jewell, W. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Danville, Ill., 141; political worker, 160.

Jewett, appointed postmaster at Oregon, Ill., see Hitt, 109.

Jewett claim, and Elkins, 290.

Jewett, C. W., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.

Johnson, chief of division, removed for political reasons by Coulter, 55.

Johnson, postmaster at San Antonio, a political worker, 159.

Johnson, Congressman, patronage of, 419.

Johnson, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.

Johnson, Pres. Andrew, and scramble for offices, 24; appoints Elkins U. S. dist. att'y in N. Mexico, 368; spoils since, 413, 414.

Johnson, C. F., editor, appointed consul-gen'l to Frankfort-on-the-Main, 301.

Johnson, C. H., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268.

Johnson, E. A., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.

Johnson, F. W., sale of office to by Porter, D. E., 154.

Johnson, G. W., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 296.

Johnson, H. C., letter advocating civil service reform to Postmaster Richensteen at L. I. City, 100.

Johnson, H. U., congressman elect, distributes patronage, 217.

Johnson, U. S., district attorney at N. York, takes part in political squabbles, 106, 198, 352, 371.

Johnson, J., U. S. district attorney, works for retention of Boyle, 142; U. S. dist. att'y at Brooklyn, N. Y., a political worker, 265; U. S. dist. att'y in New York convention, 335.

Johnson, J. B., on local examining board at Milwaukee, 103.

Johnson, J. H., on "The Merit System of Appointing City Officials," 162.

Johnson, J. H., conditionally refused access to records of removals in postal service, 163.

Johnson, J. H., distributes Curtis address of 1892, 329, 338.

Johnson, J. L., passes civil service examinations for incapable applicant, 238.

Johnson, Kan., Journalist Webster postmaster at, 149.

Johnson, M., revenue collector, bets on Harrison, 344.

Johnson, R. M., efficient postal employe at St. Louis, 131.

Johnson, T. B., collector at Charleston, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Johnson, W. J., postmaster at Manchester, Mass., removed after four years service, second commission unexpired, 187.

Johnson, W. W., politician, appointed postmaster at Baltimore, Md., 90; conducts factional fights, 121; removals under without cause, charges against filed, 137; political worker, 144, 357, 372, 373; works for Harrison in primaries at Baltimore, Md., 225, 226; makes clean sweep, testimony of before Roosevelt, 189, 254, 255; see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268, 277, 278, 296; Johnson faction at Baltimore, see Baltimore investigation, 295; in Maryland convention, 335; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 347; and political assessment circular of civil service commission, 363; as a campaign fund raiser, 370.

Johnston, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.

Johnston, G. D., civil service commissioner, and political assessments, 358.

Johnston, G. D., civil service commissioner, and duties of federal employes, 384; does not favor rapid extension of classified service, 397.

Johnston, N. Y., Postmaster Murray of, fighting for good service in, 72.

Jones, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344.

Jones, postmaster of Butler, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.

Jones, postmaster at Scranton, Pa., through influence of Congressman Scranton, 101.

Jones, A., postmaster at Indianapolis, 1; interview on giving up office, 5; removal deserved, 9; and special exam. at Indpls, spoilsman, 18; removals under, and Moore, gambler, 28; opposed to civ. service reform, 80; appointment of, condemned, 51.

Jones, G., proprietor N. Y. Times, enemy of spoils system, 254.

Jones, I. A., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.

Jones, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Barneveld, Wis., 155.

Jones, J. W., low politician; his "reforms," 183; journalist, postmaster at Oelrichs, S. Dak., 155.

Jones, "Long," works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342.

Jonesville, Minn., Journalist Henry postmaster at, 149.

Jolley, G. W., U. S. dist. att'y in Kentucky, prosecutes federal office-holders for levying political assessments, 330.

Judson, postmaster of Prattsville, N. Y., insane through fear of loss of office, 415.

Julian, G. W., address of on civil service reform, 365, 367, 370, 375, 376; opposing Harrison, 386.

Justice, H., civil service reformer, closes his subscription to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 350.

Kane, Pa., Postmaster Davis of, worker for Delamater, 134.

Kannett Square, Chester Co., Pa., applicants for postmaster of, 55.

Kansas, office-seekers in, 6; discontent over spoils, 15; Congressman Perkins of opposed to civil service reform, 35; changes in post-offices in, under Harrison and Cleveland, 55; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 382; political assessments in Indian service in, 384, 385.

Kansas City, Mo., postmaster of appoints relative Pres. Harrison his deputy, 84; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.

Kaontz, postmaster at Lafayette Corners, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.

Kaough, postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., under Cleveland, political worker, 88.

Kaufman, Rev. W. H., on civil service reform, 83; on sentiment favoring civil service reform in Utah, 111, 317.

Kawanna, Ind., Editor Newton appointed postmaster at, 126.

Kcagh, T. B., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.

Kean, ex-Congressman, gets federal offices for police officers, 216.

Keating, J. P., disreputable politician, gets office through R. Croker, 309.

Keegan, G., fraudulent voting name, see New York City.

Keeller H., customs inspector, pays political assessments, 279.

Keenan, J., see Hill, 307.

Keepers, G. A., editor, postmaster at Beallsville, O., 301.

Kehoe, M., treasury agent, Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 344.

Keisburg, J., appointed to office by Township Trustee Gold at Indianapolis, 146, 256.

Keith, P., postmaster at Strawberry Point, Iowa, veteran soldier, removed see Clarkson, 55.

Keller, J., custom-house employe at Philadelphia, political worker for Harrison, 301.

Kelley, councilman of Indianapolis, supports fire-chief Webster, 208.

Kelley, C., emigrant inspector, political worker for Harrison, 302.

Kelley, Pat., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.

Keller, R., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.

Kellogg, L. E., journalist, postmaster at Waterville, Wash., 155.

Kellog, W. P., Coleman supersedes him in control of patronage in Louisiana, 71, 304; opposes Harrison at Minneapolis, 344, 346; and War-mouth in Louisiana, 374.

Kelly, Miss, daughter of Congressman Kelly, given office in Burlington, Kan., post-office, 188.

Kelly, H., Congressman, secures removal of Lockwood, postmaster at Burlington, Kan., and appointment of successor, Lane, 188.

Kemble, W. H., corrupt politician, see Quay, 106, 152; ally of Quay, and convicted, 270.

Kendallville, Ind., Standard (repub.), favors civil service reform, 83.

Kenealy, M. E., journalist, postmaster, at Sitka, Alaska, 155.

Kennedy, Congressman, condemns Quay, 156, 157.

Kennedy, C., railway mail clerk, in Iowa, a political worker, 260.

Kennedy, E. K., ward politician, see Kings Co., N. Y.

Kennett, Pa., Advance (repub.), the way to get office, 55.

Kenny, —, and census enumeration of New York City, 294.

Kent, N. Y., Postmaster Bennett of, a political worker, 162.

Kentucky, office-holders in, allowed to serve out terms, 73; Jolley, U. S. Dist. Att'y in, prosecutes federal office-holders, for levying political assessments, 330.

Kenyon, J. S., sec'y republican state committee of New York, 279; at Minneapolis, 344.

Keata, Iowa, Editor Smock, appointed postmaster at, 142.

Kercheval, S. A., corrupt politician rewarded with office, 83; worker for Harrison, 240.

Kerens, and Russell Harrison, 359; member of national republican committee, 363.

Kerens, R. C., and offices in Missouri, his influence, 22; and clients, 24; political workers for Harrison, 304.

Kern, J., state senator of Indiana, and spoils methods, 408.

Kerns, postmaster at Smethport, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.

Kerr, state att'y, of Maryland, and political frauds in, 335.

Kerwin, M., editor, appointed collector internal revenue 2d New York district, 126; assisted at dinner to Clarkson, 245; collector in New York, a political worker, 265, 279; Minneapolis convention, 344.

Kessler, grocer, appointed postmaster at Short Hills, N. J., vice Goodrich, removed for political reasons, 386.

Kessler, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Ottawa, Kan., 149.

Ketcham, C. K., postmaster at Ditney, Ind., solicited for political contributions, 387, 392.

Kewanna, Ind., Editor Newton appointed postmaster at, 377.

Key West, Fla., custom-house at not classified; number of employes in, 277.

Keyes, Miss L. C., postmaster at Yonkers, N. Y., succeeded by politician, 150.

Keyes, W. R., journalist, postmaster at Mountain City, Tenn., 155.

Kidd, J. H., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Kinzie, C. H., statistics collector, a political worker, 160.

Kiernan, J., inefficient census enumerator in N. Y. City, 294.

Kilshimer, J. B., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.

Kimball, see Baltimore investigation, 327, 328.

Kimmell, Louis, editor, appointed deputy U. S. marshal, 126.

King, sheriff, inefficient, at Indianapolis, 315.

King, A. E., and post-office at Baltimore, Maryland, 84.

King, D. H., reports to Mayor Grant on street-cleaning in New York; advises merit system, 220, 221.

King, S., efficient employe in township trustee's office at Indianapolis removed, 145, 256.

King, S. S., journalist, postmaster at Jasper, Minn., 149.

King, W., editor, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Danville, Ind., 398.

Kings Co., N. Y., republican general committee, account of fights over, 197, 198, 304; factional fight in among republicans at primaries, 264; political assessments made by chairman of republican committee of, 287; Nathan republican boss of, 352; and Harrison, Nathan controls, 354.

Kingsley, Ia., Postmaster Gasper of forced to resign, 165.

Kingston, Mo., Editor Spirely appointed postmaster at, 132.

Kiugston, N. Y., Hayes postmaster at, a political worker, 280; Woolren, postmaster of, political worker in New York, 336.

Kinley, E., ward politician, see New York City.

Kinmundy, Ill., Editor Lawson appointed postmaster at, 141.

Kinney, J. C., appointed postmaster at Hartford, Conn., through influence of Senator Hawley, 84, 90.

Kinsey, W. M., congressman aiding office-seekers, 15.

Kirkpatrick, J., democrat, nominated for postmaster at South Hadley Falls, Mass., through Congressman Wallace, 157.

Kirkus, Rev. W., favors clerical advocacy of civil service reform, 30, 48.

- Kirwin, J., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Kissel, J., navy yard employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Kittery, Mc., spoils system in navy yard at, 145, 148; navy yard at, see Tracy and Reed, 153; work on war ships in navy yard at, for political reasons, 217.
- Klemme, W. H., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Knapp, J. N., postmaster at Auburn, N. Y., worker for Platt, 143; chairman New York State Republican Committee, on Platt, 258; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Knight, ex-Senator G. A., endorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Knight, W. E., editor appointed postmaster at Grand View, Ind., 126, 377.
- Knightstown, Ind., Postmaster Sample resigns, see Congressman Browne, 118.
- Kniseley, worker for Harrison, appointed internal revenue collector, 377.
- Knowles, political worker, rewarded, see Higgins, Sen., 38.
- Kramer, C., appointed postmaster at Columbus, Neb., vice Hensley, forced to resign, 166.
- Kramer, W., candidate for sheriff, 179, 180.
- Kuhn, A., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.
- Kunzemann, J., disreputable politician, alderman New York City, 184.
- Labor, organizations of Buffalo, N. Y., support civil service reform, 228.
- Labor, and civil service reform, see Andrew, 331.
- Labor, and trades-unions of Indiana, demand non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201.
- Labor Signal favors non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 209, 215.
- Lacey, E. P., applicant for postmaster at Sullivan, Ind., 88.
- Lacey, S., wife of Editor Lacey appointed postmaster at Westcliffe, Colo., 148.
- La Cyge, Kan., Journalist Lane postmaster at, 149.
- Lafayette, Ind., Candidate Throckmorton for postmaster of, and Congressman Cheadle, 71; applicants for postmaster of, 84; Postmaster Smith of aids Michener and La Follette, 144; Postmaster Smith of a political worker, 153, 158, 377, 378; republican delegation of, and Harrison, favors Gresham, 240; worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; P. O. employes of distribute campaign documents, 389.
- La Fayette, Ind., Courier (rep.) condemns spoils system, 76; opposed to congressional patronage, 83.
- Lafayette Corners, Pa., Postmaster Koontz at, worker for Delamater, 184.
- La Follette, candidate for congressman, defeated, 129; controls census service patronage, 293; candidate for congress, supported by Michener, 144, 377.
- La Grange, Ind., Editor Rerick appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- La Grange, Ind., Standard (repub.), patronage an evil, 83.
- Laird, A. J., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lake, David, corrupt politician, working for Congressman Wallace, nominated for U. S. Marshal, 132.
- Lamb, Ind., Simpson, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Lamb, W. H., old employe, appointed supt. of mails in St. Louis, 136.
- Lambert, Rev. H., pres. civil service reform association of Newton, Mass., 136; views of on present status of civil service reform criticised, 255; address of on influence of Clarkson and Wanamaker on civil service reform, 261.
- Lamont, candidate for postmaster at Apple River, Jo Daviess Co., Ill., 109.
- Lanark, Ill., candidates for postmaster of, Root given place, 109, 136.
- Lancaster, Cal., Journalist Drummond appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Lancaster, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Lancaster Co., Pa., Sen. Cameron "accorded" collectorship of internal revenue in, 47.
- Lander, Wyoming, Journalist Wynn, postmaster at, 155.
- Lane, C. R., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana Civil S. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 8; sec. Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; on census enumeration in Indianapolis, 293.
- Lane, C. T., address of on school and civil service reform, 23.
- Lane, D. H., political worker for Quay, 299.
- Lane, E. C., journalist, postmaster at La Cyge, Kan., 149.
- Lane, J. A., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.
- Lane, J. L., federal employe, and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Lane, S. M., appointed postmaster at Burlington, Kan., through influence of Congressman Kelly, vice Lockwood, removed, 188.
- Langdon, Gen., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Langdon, C. J., letter to by Walcott on removal of Postmaster Flood, 312.
- Langham, chairman Indiana Co., Pa., republican committee, 133.
- Langham, P. J., postmaster at Hawley, Pa., removed on secret charges, 176.
- Langsdale, appointed postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., by President Arthur, 89.
- Langsdale, postmaster at Florence, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Langston, ex-congressman, reconciliation of with Mahone, in interest of Harrison, 240, 241.
- Langston, see Bowden, 162.
- Langston, ex-minister, supports Blaine, 340, 345.
- Langston, J. M., and Mahone, 52.
- Lanier, C., barber at White House, goes home to vote, 180.
- Lankford, W. F., appointed postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., vice Duer, removed for political reasons, 408.
- Lansdon, B. C., editor, appointed postmaster at Nebo, Ill., 141.
- Lansing, A. W., journalist, postmaster at Plattsburgh, N. Y., 155.
- La Porte, Pa., Journalist Cheney, postmaster at, 149.
- Larke, F. D., journalist, postmaster at Rogers City, Mich., 149.
- Larkin, T., see New York, factional fights in, 241.
- La Rue, postmaster at Colfax, Wash., forced to resign, 165.
- Latham, R., postmaster at Hunterstown, Ind., removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins; Dunton appointed, 362.
- Latz, chemist for Indianapolis board of health, 314.
- Laurel, Del., Smith, postmaster of, attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.
- Laurel, Md., postmaster at, see Gorman, 38.
- Laurence, A. C., journalist, postmaster at Evansville, Minn., 149.
- Law, civil serv., and its friends exemplified in Indianapolis post-office, 26.
- Lawler, fellows in district of, made application for O'Donnell, 60.
- Lawler, T., local politician, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Lawler, T. G., postmaster at Rockford, Ill., works for Hitt, 143.
- Lawrence Co. (Indiana), applicants from, 16.
- Lawrence, Kan., civil service reform association of, 239.
- Lawrenceburg, Ind., Lucas, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Lawrenceburg, Tenn., Journalist Schrader postmaster at, 155.
- Lawrenceville, Va., postmaster at removed through influence of Mahone, despite promise to contrary, 74.
- Lawshe, A. L., editor appointed postmaster at Xenia, Ind., 71, 126, 377; political worker, 379.
- Lawson, J. D., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Lawson, R. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Kinmundy, Ill., 141.
- Lea, H. C., ou patronage, 387; advocates civil service reform, denounces President Harrison's course with the civil service, 68; on pledges of reform of republican party, 92; opposed to Senator Quay, 95; open letter to President Harrison protesting against patronage of Quay, 111, 112; appeal of to voters against Quay and Delamater, 138.
- Leach, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.
- Leach, F. W., receiver of campaign levies, 134; republican politician in Pennsylvania, 361.
- League, National, of civil service reform associations, see National League.
- League, republican, convention at Syracuse, August, 1891, federal office holders at, 259.
- Learned, F. E., son of editor, appointed postmaster at Benson, Ill., 148.
- Leaycraft, W. H., political worker Candidate Benedict, 142; port warden at New York, political worker for Woodruff, 198; calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258; political worker, 304; political "boss," 311; office-seeker, 332; "boss," given office by Harrison, 355, 371.
- Lebanon, N. H., brother of Churchill postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lee, E. C., "pull" of in N. Y. custom house, supported by Platt, appointed janitor, 258, 259; at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Lee, J. E., negro, collector at Jacksonville, Fla., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lee, L. W., postmaster at Neodesha, Kan., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Lee, M. C., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Leech, D., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Leech, E. O., director of mint, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344.
- Leeds, J. W., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Leeds, W. R., disreputable politician, nominated by Harrison for U. S. marshal in Pa., 216, 374; political worker for Quay, 270, 280; political worker for Harrison, 299, 300.
- Leet, "boss" in N. Y. custom-house, 191.
- Leffson, F., and Fassett, 265.
- Lehigh Co., Pa., control of patronage in, 47.
- Leighton, Pa., J. P. Smith postmaster at, removed for political reasons, 39.
- Lehlbach, Congressman, on house committee of civil service, 86; politician favored by administration, 180.
- Leibhardt, P., superintendent dead letter office, political worker, 382.
- Leland, C. Jr., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lemcke, state treasurer of Indiana and Sullivan, corrupt county clerk of Marion Co. (Indianapolis), 206.
- Lemon, G. E., pension claim agent and Raum, 130.
- Leua, Ill., Journalist Lewis appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Lenox, Iowa, Editor Van Houten appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Leonard, Editor, political worker for Blaine, 302.
- Leonard, A. H., republican in Louisiana and War-mouth, 362.
- Leonard, J. R., 96; appointment as deputy, see Ransdall, 80; relative of Ransdall gets office under, 244; federal employe, worker for Harrison, 362, 382.
- Leonard, W., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302, 378.
- Letter carriers, national convention of at Detroit, requests extension of civil service law to all free delivery cities, 253.
- Leupp, F. E., editor Good Government, 357.
- Levan, L. D., appointed postmaster at Wilson, N. Y., 39; removal of, 45.
- Leverett, G. V., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Levy, Indian agent at Yankton, removed, 98.
- Levy, B. A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Lewis, assemblyman 21st district in New York City, 75.
- Lewis, C. A., distributes Curtis address (1892) in Indiana, 338.
- Lewis, C. S., officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108.
- Lewis, E. B., journalist, postmaster at New Holland, O., 149.
- Lewis, F. A., asst. supt. of Society for Prevention of Crime in N. Y. City, see Tammany, 317.
- Lewis, J., customs inspector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lewis, J. A., applicant for postmastership at Martinsville, Ind., 399.
- Lewis, M. M., journalist, appointed postmaster at Lena, Ill., 126.
- Liberty, Tex., Journalist Chambers, postmaster at, 155.
- Lieber, Albert, ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.
- Liggett, C. F., journalist, appointed postmaster at Chivington, Col., 141.
- Lincoln, Abraham, Pres., on evils of spoils system, 25; gives Cameron secretaryship of war in return for political aid; dismisses him, 34, 64; and civ. service reform, 76; see Welsh, 161; opposed to removals to make place for friends (1846), 211; promises of to the soldiers, 220, 274; on dangers of the spoils system, 56, 329, 367.
- Lincoln, G., postmaster at Cedar Rapids, Ia., political worker, 370.
- Lincoln Independent Republican committee of Pennsylvania condemns Quay and Delamater, 156, 161.
- Lincoln, Neb., Gere, editor, appointed postmaster at, 108; Gere, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lincoln, R. T., 15; and anti-Quay republicans, see Welsh, 161; not a candidate in 1892, 340; U. S. minister to England, political worker, 382, 389.
- Lind, congressman, on house committee on civ. service, 86.
- Lindemuth, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 407.
- Lindley, pension examiner in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Lindsey, T., political worker for Harrison, 299.
- Lindsley, J. G., ex-congressman, political worker for Platt, 265.
- Lingenfelser, H., see Baltimore investigation, 326, 327, 328.
- Lineville, Iowa, Editor Austin appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Linton (Ind.) Call condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Lippincott, Judge, trying fraudulent election officers, see also Hudson Co., N. Y., 200.
- Lipscomb, P., son of journalist, postmaster at St. George, W. Va., 155.
- List of eligibles, see Eligibles, 48.
- Litchman, C. H., political worker, rewarded, 39; treasury agent, a political worker, 179.
- Lititz, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Little Bat, Indian chief, and rising at Pine Ridge S. Dak., 218.
- Little Wound, Indian chief, and Indian rising at Pine Ridge S. Dak., 218.
- Littlejohn, G. W., journalist, postmaster at Grayson, Ky., 149.
- Llano, Tex., Journalist Galson, postmaster at, 155.
- Loane, see Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Lock, R. D., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lockport, N. Y., twenty federal offices in Niagara Co. filled with republicans, 30; Mayor Oliver of, spoilsman, and N. Y. civil service commission, 34; rival candidates for postmaster of; Ward, editor, and Politician Merritt, supported by Senator Hiscock, 216; federal offices of controlled by Hiscock, 259.
- Lockwood, E. M., postmaster at Burlington, Kan., removed through influence of Congressman, Kelly, 188.

- Loda, Ill., Editor Weaver appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Lodge, H. C., congressman, spoilsman, 30; obtains office for political worker, 39; evils of patronage system, un-American, speech at Lowell, July 4, 1879, 39; evil of patronage; heading to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Aug., 1889, 41; letter of to, Civ. Service Record on civ. service reform, 69; controls patronage of Charleston navy yard, 69; and Boston custom house, 71; bill of regulating appointments of fourth-class postmasters, 115; votes aid to civil service commission, 119; bill of to regulate appointment of fourth-class postmasters, 120; and spoils in navy yard at Charleston, 153; supports civil service law, 122, 168, 169; urges extension of civil service reform, 192; upholds civil service commission; exposes Grosvenor, 203, 204; bill of for selection of fourth-class postmasters on basis of merit, 238; bill of providing for non-partisan appointment of fourth-class postmasters, commended, 321; on civil-service reform under Harrison and Cleveland, 376.
- Logan, Senator, spoilsman, 413.
- Logan, O., Journalist Pursell postmaster at, 119, 301.
- Logan, R. W., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Logansport, Ind., D. W. Tomlinson recommended as postmaster of, 88; Postmaster Tomlinson of, a political worker, 153, 158, 260, 377; federal officers work for Harrison at, 316.
- Logansport, Ind., Journal favors civ. service reform, 83; Journal bought by supporters of Harrison, including Postmaster Tomlinson, 260.
- Logansport (Ind.) Pharos, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Loman, G. W., journalist, postmaster at Chase, Kan., 148.
- Long, deputy postmaster of Vevay, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Long, member national republican committee, and political assessments, 382, 383.
- Loesch, John, political worker, see Karr, 160.
- Long, G. I., journalist, appointed postmaster at Manson, Iowa, 142.
- Long, J. D., ex-gov. Mass., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.
- Long, W., councilman of Indianapolis, low politician, 206.
- Long Island City, N. Y., Postmaster McKenna of, removed for political reasons, 45; removal of McKenna, postmaster of, Richenstien appointed, 54; Postmaster Richenstien of, 100; Postmaster McKenna of, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Loomis, F. M., address of Central Labor Union, of Buffalo, N. Y., controversy with Buffalo Evening News on civil service reform, 44; weakening influence of office holding, 75.
- Lorenz, P. O. employe at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Lorimer, "Billy," recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Louisburg, Kan., Journalist Cadwallader postmaster at, 149.
- Louisiana, see Warmouth, patronage of, conflict over, see Kellogg, 71; patronage of given to Warmouth, collector at New Orleans, 241; federal patronage in used for re-nomination of Harrison, 304; political activity of federal officers in, 315, 346, 348, 357, 383, 384; political assessments in, 383.
- Louisville Commercial (repub.), civ. service reform beneficial to party discipline, 65.
- Lourie, postmaster at Portland, Ind., removed, 46.
- Louthan, C. M., deputy int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Love, J., candidate, views of on patronage; office-brokerage, 23; defeated candidate and sale of offices, see "Sale of Offices," 32, 99.
- Love, J. W., employed in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Loveland, state senator of Indiana, opposes spoils methods, 408.
- Loving, J. T., postmaster at Richmond, Va., removed for political reasons, 21.
- Low, ex-gov., indorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Low, E. B., political worker, appointed postmaster at Westport, N. Y., through influence of Congressman Weaver, 249.
- Low, J., collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., through influence of Hiscock, 259; customs collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., a political worker, 265.
- Low, W. G., offers prize for essay on civil service reform, 308.
- Lowe, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Lowe, C., P. O. employe, political worker, 302, 378.
- Lowell, J. R., on evils of spoils system, in address of Cambridge and Boston Civil Service Reform Associations, 77; civil service reformer, 204; opposed to spoils system, 254.
- Lowell, Mrs. J. S., in charge of examination for police matron at N. York, see Maloney.
- Lowell (Mass.) Courier (repub.) declares Sen. Blair, of New Hampshire, not a good republican for denouncing civil service reform, 65.
- Lowery, Judge, levies political assessments, 287.
- Lowes, J. E., political worker in Ohio, 280.
- Lowrey, B. J., journalist, postmaster at Howard City, Mich., 149.
- Lowrey, J. E., asks political contributions from Ohio employes in Washington departments, 280.
- Lowry, postmaster at Portland, Ind., removed; Marsh appointed through influence of Browne, 88.
- Lowry, congressman, nomination of, 37.
- Lowry, federal employe, and printing office, 231.
- Lozier, chaplain, political worker, 389.
- Lucas, Rev., thinks civ. service reform a humbug, 73.
- Lucas, postmaster of Lawrenceburg, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Lucas, bank president, gambles in stocks with Wanamaker, 246.
- Ludell, Kan., Journalist Chase postmaster at, 149.
- Luke, A. M., postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ind., removed by Cleveland, reappointed by Harrison, 88.
- Lush, R., ward politician, see New York City.
- Lush, R. M., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Lusk, V. S., political worker for Harrison in North Carolina, 334.
- Lu Verne, Ia., Postmaster Harrison of a political worker, 260.
- Lyford, book commissioner for New Hampshire, 143.
- Lyman, civil service commissioner and special examiner at Indianapolis, 18, 49, 81, 372; and R. R. mail service, 21; unfit, allows postmaster at Milwaukee to ignore civil service law, 103; and political assessments, 358; and duties of employes, 384; report of, 397.
- Lynch, A. F., see Quay, 106.
- Lynch, J. R., negro, 4th auditor of treasury, political worker, 47; 4th auditor of the treasury, delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345.
- Lynch, T. M., worker for Flower, appointed port warden, career of, 319.
- Lyon, C. D., editor, appointed postmaster at Milo, Iowa, 142.
- Lyon, G. W., appointed by Pres. Harrison surveyor of Port of Brooklyn, N. Y., 55; supports Platt faction, 183; and Fassett, collector at, 258; in New York convention, 334; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343.
- Lyon, W., U. S. attorney, active politician, works for Delamater, 143; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Lyon, W. C., editor, formerly postmaster at Newark, O., 301.
- MacCourt, P. C., removed by Sec'y Windom, appeals to Pres. Harrison, 51.
- MacDonald, W. A., recommended by Congressman Cheadle, 84.
- MacDuffy, Rev. M. V., on civil service reform, 83.
- MacGovern, supports Gillette for postmaster at Hartford, Conn., 84.
- MacGovern, "Pat," and Hartford, Conn., postmaster-ship, 99.
- MacGowan, Capt. A. B., denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130.
- MacGregor, Capt. J. G., so-called resignation of, 216.
- MacKnight, Rev. Dr. W. J., on civil service reform, 83.
- MacNeal, street car company and ordinance, bribery used against, 207.
- MacVeagh, W., ex-attorney general, on Mahone in Virginia, 31; to examine management of civil service, 77; on committee of National League to investigate congressional patronage, 115; on committee of National League to investigate patent office, 139, 140, 141; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; on committee of National League, reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; and Quay, 245; and defalcation made by Quay, 252; on official committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295.
- Macaulay, "Dan" treasury employe, political worker, 362.
- Macaulay, T., Lord, 228.
- Macdonough, A. R., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Mace, J. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Saybrook, Ill., 141.
- Mack, chairman Iowa State Republican Committee, makes political assessments, 240.
- Macy, Ind., Editor Euyart appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Madison, James, on abuse of civil service by Presidents, 17, 29; letter to, from Thomas Jefferson opposing spoils system, 45, 46; advises impeachment of any President making removals for political reasons, 62; on removals, 115.
- Madison, Ind., spoils system in town government of, 331.
- Madison Co., Ind., appointments from, 71.
- Madison, Wis., census of 1890 not well conducted in, postmaster of controls census patronage, 293.
- Magee, C. L., opposed to Quay, 280, 353; allies with Quay, 299; and Quay reconciled, 361, 363.
- Magee, J. H., and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110, 356.
- Magee, R., favors civ. service reform, 80; state senator of Indiana, bill of, for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, opposition to and support of, defeated, 201, 202, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215; speech of, at dinner to Roosevelt, 227, 229; and spoils methods, 408.
- Magone, collector and office-seekers, 38; political assessments under, 97; secures appointment of
- Ducy as head of custom civ. service at New York, 150; removals under, 183.
- Mahan, John, editor, appointed postmaster at Muscatine, 46.
- Mahany, R. B., U. S. minister to Ecuador, political worker, 382.
- Mahin, E., editor, appointed postmaster at Clinton, Iowa, 126.
- Mahone, W., a spoilsman, 5, 35, 43, 45, 171, 211, 227, 289, 350, 369, 376, 387, 413; patronage of Virginia given to by Pres. Harrison, 27, 28, 41, 52, 56, 67, 72, 94, 111, 138, 172, 173, 174; history of political career of, 31; secures appointment of J. G. Watts as U. S. marshal, 38; assisted by republican national committee, gets control of Virginia patronage, 38; exercised patronage of Virginia with disastrous effects, 67, 68; and election in Virginia, 70; and postmastership at Lawrenceville, Va., 74; methods of condemned, 75; and civil service commission, 86; controls Petersburg, Va., 1882, 87, 111, 138; blackmailing system of, 228; conspires with Gorman, 231; Pres. Harrison responsible for failure to prosecute, 237; reconciliation of with ex-Congressman Langston, in interest of Harrison, 240, 241; course of prosecution against agents of, for political assessments, 281, 282; "blackmailers," trial and acquittal of, 305, 376; deserts Harrison, 332; "blackmailers," and Judge Bradley, 357, 358; and election of Harrison, 370, 413.
- Mahoney, Tom, ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Mahopac Falls, N. Y., Postmaster Agar of, a political worker, 162.
- Mail service, railway, see railway mail service.
- Maine, senators fight over spoils, 22; democrats holding four-year offices being retained, 73; patronage of, see Boutelle, 157; political activity of federal office-holders in, 364.
- Mair, G. B., journalist, postmaster at Calloway, Neb., 149.
- Malden, Mass., civil service reform association of, 239.
- Malone speech of Pres. Harrison, 357.
- Malone, M., worker for ex-Judge Rooney and Congressman Wallace, given office, 143.
- Maloney, J., employe in Indianapolis insane hospital, low character, 314.
- Mamer, collector, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Manchester, Mass., Postmaster Johnson of, removed after four years' service; second commission unexpired, 187.
- Manchester, N. H., Postmaster Piper of, active politician, 143.
- Manchester (N. H.), Republican, civil service reform a humbug, 50.
- Manchester, Vt., Journalist Simonds postmaster at, 155.
- Manderson, Senator, and applicants from Nebraska, 6; and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72; secures appointment of Gere, editor, as postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108.
- Maneely, W., fraudulent voter, see Martin.
- Manker, Coroner, at Indianapolis, 314, 315.
- Manley, J., appointed postmaster at Augusta, Me., 38; chairman state republican committee, 150; congressional candidate opposing Burleigh, and non-delivery of papers advocating Burleigh, 364; resigns, 371; confers with Quay, 390.
- Mann, —, census supervisor in West Virginia, spoilsman, 293.
- Mann, G. H., appointed through Quay, removed, 160.
- Mannfield, Fla., Editor Miles appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Mannheim, Pa., politician appointed postmaster at, 12, 72.
- Manning, ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y.
- Manning, D., Sec'y, promotes MacGregor, removed by Sec'y Foster, 216; and Maynard, 310; recommends appointment of Graves as chief of bureau of printing and engraving, 368.
- Mansfield, postmaster at Gloucester, Mass., 362.
- Manson, Iowa, Journalist Long, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Manson, M. D., efficient internal revenue collector in Indiana, removed for political reasons, 59; letter of President Harrison to, 77; removal of, 94.
- Maplewood, N. H., Craft, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Marche, T., acting supt. free delivery service, letter to, from Murray postmaster at Johnston, N. Y., 72.
- Marcy, Governor, and the civil service, 125; "spoils," 270, 271.
- Mare Island, Cal., navy yard at, patronage of given to ward bosses, 226.
- Marietta, O., Editor Alderman postmaster of, 301.
- Marietta, Pa., post office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Marine, S. A., editor, appointed pension agent, 126.
- Marine, W. M., collector at Baltimore, see Baltimore investigation, 326, 327, 328; political worker, 354, 389.
- Mariou, Ind., Gant, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Marion, Ind., Chronicle [repub.], favors civil service reform, 83.
- Marion, Ohio, Independent, son of editor of gets federal office, 301.
- Marion Club [repub.], of Indianapolis, 362.
- Marion Co., Ind., local politics and career of corrupt politicians in, see Indianapolis; office-seekers in rewarded, 88; 50 applicants for jani-

- torship of court-house of, 185; medical society condemns appointment of Dr. Elbert as pension examiner vice Stone removed, 192; medical society of endorses Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 201, 210.
- Markey, T., councilman of Indianapolis, low politician, methods of, 53, 195, 196, 206, 316; supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Marlatt, W. P., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 111.
- Marriott, J. H., see Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Marsh, P. O. employe, of New Albany, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Marsh, bank president, and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.
- Marsh, C. T., postmaster at Oregon, Ill., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Marsh, E. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Portland, Ind., 46, 88, 126; political worker, 377, 380.
- Marsh, W. C., postmaster at Aurelia, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Marshall, T., government contractor, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Martin, editor, postmaster at Port Clinton, O., 301.
- Martin, Congressman, favors selection of postmasters by vote, 399; bill of to limit term of federal employes to four years, 401; patronage of, 411, 419, 420.
- Martin, C., political worker against Chase, 353.
- Martin, D., low politician, Sen. Quay obtains appointment of, as collector internal revenue, 30, 351; agt. of Sen. Quay, resolutions, 49; confers with Quay, 183; aids Quay to ruin ballot reform bill in Pa. legislature, 228, 229; political freebooter, 232, 233, 239, 361, 370, 388; resigns internal revenue collectorship at Philadelphia, 241; political worker for Quay, 280, 299, 300, 361, 374; member for Pennsylvania of republican national committee, 347.
- Martin, D. W., postmaster at Oakford, Ind., succeeded by Crousore, latter removed, Martin reappointed, 96.
- Martin, H., post-office employe in Baltimore investigation, 268, 277, 295, 296.
- Martin, J., politician, see Tammany, 318, 319.
- Martinsville, Ind., Dryden postmaster of, political worker, 380; J. A. Lewis and J. Duncan applicants for postmastership of, 399.
- Marvin, U. S. commissioner, testifies to worth of Barrio, removed P. O. inspector, 298.
- Maryland, see also Platforms, Conventions; Senator Quay in, 28; civ. service in under Cleveland, 15, 63; federation of republican clubs in 3d district of, and reform pledges of republican platform, 63; effort to loosen Sen. Gorman's hold on, meets with some success, 70; statistics of election of '89 in, 70; ballot reform in, see Gorman, 87; patronage of, given to Gorman, 93, 111, 236, 237; Roosevelt before civil service reform association of, 132; republican clubs and Clarkson, 154; republican factions in, 189; boss-ridden, 219; state and federal patronage of controlled by Gorman under Cleveland, by republican machine under Harrison, 254; 1890 census well conducted in part of, 292; under Cleveland given over to spoils, 282; spoil given to Higgins in, 314; Bonaparte on political corruption in, 317, 324; political activity of, federal officers in, 335, 337, 347, 348, 363, 370; political assessments levied on federal office-holders from, 391.
- Maryland, civil service reform association of, letter to by G. W. Curtis, 103; resolutions of condemning congressional patronage, 136; requested to investigate political activity of federal officers, 219.
- Mason, ex-mayor of Vineland, N. J., refutes charges against Brewsterly, removed postmaster at Vineland, 39.
- Mason, Congressman, and Chicago post-office, 22.
- Mason, A. B., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Mason, G. H., P. O. employe in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Mason, J. W., commissioner of internal revenue, and the offices, 21; active politician, 159, 180.
- Maspeth, L. I., postmaster at, removed to make room for politician, see Mooney, 39.
- Mass, J., federal employe, in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Massachusetts, civil service commission of, see Civil service commission of; see also Platforms, Conventions; civ. service law of, see Civ. service law; merit system in, 45, 52; civil service reform in, under Cleveland, 63; congressmen of, and congressional patronage, 93; petition circulated in for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 93; legislature of favors civil service reform in navy yards, 93, 274; result of elections of 1890, to strengthen civil service reform cause, 173; civil service reform in use in state and city offices in, 212; young men's republican club of recognize civil service reform as leading issue, 219; reform club of H. Welsh speaks before, on Indian service removals, 219; examination papers used in state census service of, 219, 220; reform club of gives dinner to Corse, 251; methods used by state of, in collecting statistics, 291; 1890 census well conducted in, 292; labor service system recommended by Congressman Andrew 306; labor service in, 321; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 362; congressmen of request retention of Corse postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Massachusetts Civ. Service Reform Ass'n and Pres. Harrison, 92; starts petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. commission, 102; condemns removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, see also Civil Service Record, 213; resolutions of, 1892, 398.
- Massey, G. V., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Mastlin, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Shannon, Ill., 141.
- Mathers, deputy U. S. marshal in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Mathews, delegate from Dakota dictates appointments in his territory, 30.
- Mathias, J., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Matson, congressman, secures appointment of postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30; in document No. 2 of Ind. Civil Service Reform Association, 30; henchmen work for renomination, 37.
- Matthews, A., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Matthews, Asa, appointed first comptrollership of the treasury, 21; and printing office, 284; political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Matthews, A. L., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, C., governor-elect of Indiana, and office-seekers, 405.
- Matthews, "Johnny," gambler, friend of police justice Divver, 184.
- Matthews, S. S., deputy postmaster at Winona, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Matthews, T. B., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, W. H., negro, deputy collector internal revenue in Georgia, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, W. S., sec'y state republican executive committee, Ohio, and political assessments, 280.
- Maxwell land grant, and Elkins, 290, 369.
- May, Colonel, politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- May, Pa., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- May, Rev. J., spoils system, immoral, 55; on Quayism, 162.
- Mayers, J. T., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 331.
- Mayfield, A. W., journalist, postmaster at Elmwood, Neb., 149.
- Maynard, J. H., deputy att'y-gen. of New York, and Dutchess Co., N. Y., election frauds, 306; corrupt worker for Hill, appointed appellate judge by Flower; career of, 309, 310.
- Mayo, Commodore, commandant navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Mayors of cities of N. Y., and N. Y. civil service commission, 34.
- Mayse, W., authorized to receive political subscriptions, 179.
- Maywood, J., journalist, postmaster at Bad Axe, Mich., 149.
- McAdam, Judge, buys nomination of Tammany, 184.
- McAlister, R., political worker and briber, 134.
- McAlpin, E. A., appointed postmaster at Sing Sing, N. York, in reward of party services, 108; at convention republican league, 259; president of N. Y. state league of republican clubs, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- McCain, G. W., efficient officer, removed from police service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 220, 228.
- McCarren, P. H., ward politician of Brooklyn, N. Y., 263; East River Bridge, bill of scandal of, 317.
- McCarthy, J. J., customs inspector, active politician, 179.
- McCarthy, J., nominee of Congressman Banks, superseded by nominee of Congressman Lodge, 39.
- McCanley, J. C., postmaster at Searcy, Ark., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Rogers appointed, 187.
- McCaull, P. H., int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- McChesney, Dr. C. E., Indian agent, false charges against, 130, 218.
- McClellan, Congressman, patronage of, 422.
- McClellan, L., office-seeker in Indiana Senate, 407.
- McClelland, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- McClung, D. W., relative of Pres. Harrison, appointed collector internal revenue First Ohio district, 30.
- McClure, C. M., appointment of, charges of favoritism regarding, refuted by Roosevelt, 266, 267.
- McClure, D., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- McComas, Congressman, upholds civil service law, 125; upholds civil service commission, 203.
- McComas, member of national republican committee, 363.
- McConnellsville (O.) Herald, editor of appointed to federal office, 301.
- McCoy, S. M., political worker for Cuney, 159.
- McCreery, C., given office by Gold, township trustee at Indianapolis, 256.
- McCulloch, Rev. O. C., an independent, 313.
- McDaniel, Lock, political worker for Cuney, 159.
- McDonald, fish commissioner, gets civil service law extended to fish commission, 332.
- McDonald, Ex-Senator, on permanence of political issues, 214; his place in politics, 244.
- McDonald, Kan., Journalist Sedgwick postmaster at, 149.
- McDonald, R. T., opposed to Harrison, 303; appeals to Clarkson against political activity of federal officers, 317, 362; ou political activity of federal office-holders in Indiana, 379.
- McDonough, C., ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y., 196.
- McDougal, C., ex-U. S. marshal in N. Y., calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- McDowell, congressional candidate bribes, 151.
- McElvaine, W. J., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- McFarlane, low politician, 54, 94, 96, 112.
- McFarland, H., appointed in government printing-office, totally unfit, 34; henchman, 35; disreputable politician, 138, 173, 181; federal office-holder, a political worker, 269, 378, 382.
- McGill, J., worker at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- McGinness, W. T., postmaster at Minden, Ncb., forced to resign, 166.
- McGoogle, Dr., appointed postmaster at Arcola, Ind., vice Rockhill, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, 362.
- McGrew, federal employe and printing office, 231.
- McGroarty, J., port warden of Brooklyn, N. Y., career of, 319.
- McGroarty, N., anti-Harrison man "placated," 347.
- McHenry, Ill., Editor Van Slyke appointed postmaster at, 141.
- McHugh, State Senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.
- McIntosh, J., letter to regarding Kingsley, Ia., post-office, see Gasper, 165.
- McIntyre, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 407.
- McKain, A. A., part of address at annual meeting of Indiana Civil S. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 8.
- McKane, J. Y., corrupt politician working for Congressman Wallace, 132; low politician in New York, given patronage, 352.
- McKay, N., presents "San Domingo" cutlass to Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, "to be used in beheading democrats," 258.
- McKean, appointed postmaster at Pittsburg, Pa., through influence of Quay, 90; spoilsman, 133.
- McKee, F., relative of Pres. Harrison appointed deputy collector of customs at Port Townsend, 30.
- McKelvey, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 407, 408.
- McKenna, Congressman J., secures removal of Mrs. McKinley, 90.
- McKenna, J. A., postmaster at Long Island City, removed despite protests and petitions, 45, 54; removed on secret charges, 175.
- McKenzie, A., controls patronage in N. Dakota, 216.
- McKiuley, Mrs. L. W., postmistress at Winters, Cal., removed through influence of McKenna, 90.
- McKinley, W., political workers of rewarded, 52; platform of, 105; favors civil service commission, 119; thanked by Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; supports civil service law, 124, 168, 169; fulfillment of party pledges, 168; holds competitive examinations for candidates for West Point, 254, 262; candidate for governor of Ohio, 280; political assessments for, 287; vote for in Minneapolis convention, 340, 343; tariff bill of in Louisiana, 345.
- McKnight bill, passage of, see Tammany, 317.
- McLain, J. R., journalist, postmaster at Della Plain, Tex., 155.
- McLaughlin, applicant for postmastership at Franklin, Ind., 88.
- McLaughlin, inspector in police department, examiner of police at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- McLaughlin, political boss, 132, 318, 319, 411; patronage of in N. Y. state offices, 215; boss of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Croker, 245; and Hill, 309, 356; Hill gives Brooklyn bridge patronage to, 350; deals with Nathan, 352.
- McLean, A., given office by Tammany; career of, 355.
- McLean, D., politician, delegate to republican national convention, appointed general appraiser port of N. Y., 30; becomes political worker, 108.
- McMackin, J., custom-house employe in N. Y. City, a political worker, 279.
- "McMains" charges against Elkins, 291.
- McManes, J., 30; and appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, as collector of internal revenue in Penn., 232, 233, 241, 351, 374.
- McMillan, Senator, controls federal office-holders in Michigan, 335; supporter of Blaine, 344, 346.
- McMillin, Congressman, and civil service law, 124.
- McMullen, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- McMullin, C. A., journalist, postmaster at Benedict, Kan., 148.
- McNagney, Congressman, patronage of, 410, 422.
- McNew, J., clerk in Indiana Senate, 408.
- McNulta, Gen'l, attributes republican demoralization in Illinois to Harrison's use of patronage, 240.
- McNutt, A., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- McPheeters, postmaster of Bloomington, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- McPherson, controls patronage in Penn., 81.
- McQuinn, B., postmaster in Benton Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- McVickar, Rev. W. M., favors clerical recognition of civ. service reform, 40.
- McWhinney, T. A., political worker in New York, 264.
- Meacham, F. L., journalist, appointed postmaster at Plainview, Miss., 126.

- Meade, C. W., police justice, in New York convention, 334.
- Melrose, W. H., journalist, postmaster at Eskridge, Kan., 149.
- Memphis, Tenn., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292; Patterson, postmaster of, celebrates re-nomination of Harrison, 347.
- Merit system, in fighting trim, 25; and individual manhood, 256.
- Merrill, Col., endorsed by Harrison's regiment, 89.
- Merritt, H. F., consul, removed for political reasons, 371.
- Merritt, J. A., politician, supported by Senator, Hiscock for postmaster at Lockport, N. Y., 216.
- Merser, G. A., on committee of National League to investigate political assessments, 338.
- Meschert, removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Messerne, C. F., officer in Indian service, asked for political contribution, 385.
- Metcalf, Dr., of Indiana State Board of Health, inefficient, 315, 316.
- Metcalf, appraiser at port of St. Louis, active politician, 143.
- Metzger, R., republican politician, on political activity of federal office-holders in Indianapolis, 378.
- Meyer, H. A., Nathan's candidate for mayor of Brooklyn, 287.
- Michener, L. T., chairman Indiana Republican State Committee, uses 4th class post offices to make republican machine, 67; obtains removal of Sniffali, postmaster at Freedom, Ind., and appointment of Watts, 112; and Harrison, 121, 354; attorney-general of Indiana, controls federal patronage of, 144, 173, 377, 378; politician, partner of Dudley, 189; worker for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 340, 342, 345.
- Michigan, Editor J. B. Stone appointed collector internal revenue 1st district of, 30; distribution of spoils in, by the democrats, results in defeat, 45; political activity of federal office-holders in, 335, 348, 390.
- Middlefield, O., Journalist Murdock postmaster at, 149.
- Middleton, A. R., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Middleton, D. C., chairman Jefferson Co., N. Y., republican committee levies political assessments, 392.
- Middleton, J. H., postmaster at West Hoboken, N. J., removed and no reasons given, Klumpp appointed, 176.
- Miles, Genl., on Indian abuses, 182; and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Miles, G. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Mannfield, Fla., 141.
- Milholland, J. E., chief inspector of immigration at New York, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; at convention of Republican League, 259; political worker, 265; federal employe, removed for political activity, 332, 334.
- Miller, A. J., office-holder, a political worker, 162.
- Miller, J., postmaster at Utica, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Miller, S. D., son of att'y-general, gets office, 242; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 339, 346.
- Miller, T., congressional candidate, offers bribes, 162.
- Miller, T. A., postmaster at Tuscaloosa, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Miller, T. C., physician, son of and competitive examinations for West Point, see Warwick.
- Miller, Warner, heads political faction, 75, 264, 353, 354; faction of, opposed to Platt, 259, 260; and Harrison, 337, 347; "placation" of, 360, 361.
- Miller, Attorney-Gen., appointees must be good men and republicans, 25, 35; and office-seekers, 37; rules of for appointment, 44; innendo of Delphi Journal, 85; goes home to vote, 180; an independent in 1872; denounces Pres. Grant, 191, 192; and fraudulent cartage bids at N. Y. custom house, 216; and G. B. Raum, Jr., 228; and printing office, 234; and Raum investigation, 238; solicits campaign funds for Harrison, 240; invites criticism, 310; and Baltimore investigation, 329, 330; estimates Minneapolis convention, 345, 338; and Baltimore investigation, 372; and removal of Justice Sandford, 374; and political assessments, 387, 391, 392; political worker, 291, 389.
- Millersburg, O., editor appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Milligan, Congressman, civ. service reform, state of civ. service in his district, 73.
- Millikan, F. M., sec'y Indiana republican state committee, asks for political contributions, 387.
- Milliken, W. F., supported by T. Reed (Me.) for customs collector, 22; and J. Manley in Maine, 364.
- Milliken, N. J., journalist, postmaster at Canandaigua, N. Y., 155.
- Milo, Iowa, Editor Lyon appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Milwaukee, Wis., investigation of post-office at by civ. service commission adverse to postmaster, 36, 53; Paul, postmaster of resigns, 14, 47, 103, 104; Editor Watrous appointed collector at, former incumbent removed without cause, 71; civ. service reform in post-office at, 95; Postmaster Paul of removes Shidy, witness against him, 101, 103; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Milwaukee Sentinel [repub.], condemns Clarkson, 66.
- Miniden, Neb., Postmaster McGinness of, forced to resign, 166.
- Ministers, see also church.
- Minister as citizen, from address of Congressman G. F. Williams, 239.
- Ministers, duty of to advocate civ. service reform, 74.
- Ministers, foreign, haste in removing, by Pres. Harrison, 27.
- Minneapolis, republican national convention at 1892; federal office-holders of delegates to, 337, 348, 357; nominations of, indorsed by Indiana federal office-holders at Washington, 354; Indiana delegates to refuse to pay assessments, 363; political activity of federal office-holders at, 349, 350, 364, 365, 370, 375, 379, 382; selection of delegates for, and political activity in, of federal office-holders in Indiana, 378, 380.
- Minneapolis Journal (rep.), denounces Harrison's surrender to spoils system, 177.
- Minnesota, senators of, at war over spoils, 30; political activity of federal office holders in, 344, 348.
- Mississippi, appointees to Indian service from, under Cleveland, 219; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 339, 345, 344, 343, 337, 382.
- Missouri, removals in, 22; patronage in, 24, 52; spoils system in, 51; control of patronage in Sixth district of, 55; republicans of, think Clarkson too slow, 62; sale of offices in, 93; patronage in, given to Filley, 226; political activity of federal office-holders in, 336, 345, 346; Kerens for Harrison, chosen committeeman of delegation of, to Minneapolis convention, 346; political assessment of federal employes from, 333.
- Missouri, civil service reform association of, annual meeting of, 38; and removals in postal service, 92; report to on the civil service, 136; annual meeting, 1891; proceedings, 239.
- Mitchell, Sen., controls patronage in Oregon, 32; and Indians, 42.
- Mitchell, U. S. district att'y, and proposed prosecution of Van Cott and Hendricks, 287.
- Mitchell, B., federal employe, political worker in Indiana, 353.
- Mitchell, C. H., appointed patent commissioner by Harrison; efficient, 140.
- Mitchell, Ind., sale of postmastership at, see Wood and Hobbs, 89.
- Mitchell, W. A., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 268, 277, 296.
- Mizell, J. R., U. S. marshal, letter to C. C. Kirk, 90.
- Mizer, J. R., chairman Florida republican state committee, appointed U. S. marshal, 30.
- Moberly, Missouri, postmaster at, uses census enumerators as political workers, 131.
- Mobile, Ala., Baker, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Mohler, O. E., editor, "no Harrison republicans outside of office-holding ring," 240; on supporters of Harrison, 378.
- Moline, Kan., Journalist Armstrong postmaster at, 149.
- Molloy, J. R., sec'y Ohio republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390, 391.
- Moloney, Mrs. L., beggar, placed at top of eligible list for police matron of N. Y. City through political influence, 404.
- Monaghan, W., chairman Ohio republican state committee, given office, 46.
- Monahan, State Senator J., uses influence for O'Donnell, 59.
- Moncrief, Prof., 11; letter on ministers and civil service reform, 15.
- Money, J., chairman Tennessee delegation to republican national convention, 1888, appointed U. S. minister, 39.
- Monroe, Ia., Editor Vandermast appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Monson, Mass., reappointment of democrat Harrington postmaster at, recommended by Congressman Rockwell, 188.
- Montagne, removal of for political reasons, 56.
- Montana, political activity of federal office-holders in, 337, 339, 342, 344.
- Montgomery, patent commissioner, spoilsman, 139, 140.
- Montgomery, postmaster at Bristol, Conn., recommended for re-appointment by Congressman Simonds, 91.
- Montgomery, Editor, see Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- Montgomery, J. A., appointed superintendent in Chicago post-office, 14.
- Moody, Sen., and Indian service, opposes Morgan, Indian commissioner, 79; appoints his son to office, 84; and Yankton Indian agency, 86; controls patronage in Indian service, 218.
- Montoux, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Moony, Miss., postmaster at Maspeth, L. I., removed on secret charges, place given to politician, 39.
- Moore, congressman and postmaster at Nashua, N. H., 73; favors civil service reform, 100, 123.
- Moore, E. H., gambler, discharged by Postmaster Jones, re-appointed by Postmaster Wallace, at Indianapolis, 18, 25; defended by Wallace and Asst. Postmaster Thompson, 28.
- Moore, A., deputy U. S. marshal and political worker in Indiana, 302, 353, 370, 375, 379.
- Moore, G. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Nara Springs, Iowa, 142.
- Moore, M., low political worker, controls patronage under Census Supervisor Conger, 129, 182; controls patronage in census service at Indianapolis, gets lists of voters of enumerators, 293; believes in political assessments, 332; chairman Republican County Committee at Indianapolis, attempts to bully Postmaster Thompson, 366.
- "Morals of Civil Service Reform," by L. M. Blackford, 136.
- Morey, Congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24.
- Morgan, state senator of Indiana, and spoils methods, 408.
- Morgan, editor and office-seeker, 16.
- Morgan, Indian commissioner, appoints his wife his private sec'y, 38; rules governing tenure of office in Indian service, 44; opposition to appointment of, 78; removals under in Indian service, 78, 79; and congressional barons, 86; not responsible for home rule policy, 98; upholds Harrison's Indian policy, 202; does not control appointments, 217.
- Morgan, G. H., democrat, re-appointed postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Morgan, W. B., customs collector at Buffalo, N. Y., a political worker, 265, 390.
- Morley, John, on slavery, 116.
- Morning Star (Baptist), advocates civil service reform, 30.
- Morris, alderman, political worker for Harrison in New York, 332.
- Morris, Ill., Journalist Fletcher appointed postmaster at, political worker, 126, 186.
- Morris, S. V., brother-in-law of Pres. Harrison, given office, 108.
- Morrison, D., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Morse, E. A., opposed to retention of Spear, postmaster at Springfield, Mass., 86; and Postmaster Harlow at Whitman, 100; secures appointment of Adams, postmaster at Quincy, Mass., 100; gets office for his nephew, 108; correspondence of regarding postmastership of Plymouth, Mass., 187.
- Morse, F. C., appointed postmaster at Colfax, Wash., vice La Rne, forced to resign, 165.
- Morse, H. E., customs collector at Cape Vincent, N. Y., a political worker, see also Jefferson Co., N. Y., 266.
- Morse, S. B., negro federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Morss, S. E., of Indianapolis Sentinel, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; supporter of Cleveland at Chicago convention, 350.
- Morton, C. B., politician in Brooklyn, opposing Nathan, 304, 371.
- Morton, Vice-President, opposes appointment of Ritchie, postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126; surety for Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258; Fassett favors at suggestion of Platt, 259; confers with Quay, 390.
- Morton, O. T., on popular objections to civil service reform, 85, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119; attends dinner at Indianapolis to Roosevelt, speech of, 227, 229, 231; and levying of political assessments by Allen, 322, 331; on civil service reform, 396.
- Mosley, R. A., politician, appointed collector internal revenue in Alabama, 56; faction of, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 346; in Alabama, leader of Harrison faction, 348.
- Mott, J. J., opposes Eaves, 150, 159.
- Moulton, W. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Stuart, Iowa, 142.
- Mt. Morris, Ill., F. Tice appointed postmaster at, see Hitt, 109.
- Mt. Vernon, Ind., editor, son of Governor Hovey, appointed postmaster at, 37, 71; postmaster at and Sen. Harrison, 96; Hovey, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Mountain City, Tenn., Journalist Keyes postmaster at, 155.
- Mounts, H., deputy collector at Indianapolis, worker against Chase, 352, 353, 379.
- Mowry, L. D., removed by Von Landberg, Hiscock appointed, 150.
- Moyer, H. B., journalist, postmaster at Freeburgh, Pa., 149.
- Mudd, S. E., congressman, political worker, 144; candidate, and political assessments, 162; ex-congressman, demands removal of Roosevelt, 226, 254.
- Mugwump defense of in Indianapolis News, 351; abuse of by republicans, 405.
- Mullen, Neb., Journalist Hammell postmaster at, 149.
- Mulligan, Mrs., appointed pension agent at Chicago, to succeed Miss Sweet, 107.
- Mulligan letters, 365.
- Mulliken, postmaster at Easton, Ind., in state convention, 335.
- Multnomah Co., Oregon, census service in, inefficient, 295.
- Muncie, Ind., political situation in, discontent of office-seekers, 88; applicants for postmastership of, Ellis appointed, 217; Ellis postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316, 362, 370, 378.
- Mundelle, R. B., discharged by Jones, postmaster at Indianapolis, reinstated by Wallace, postmaster at Indianapolis, 27, 34.
- Munroeville, Ind., Stewart appointed postmaster of, resigns; G. Webster appointed; applicant Davis given another position, 88.
- Munson, A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.

- Murchison letter, 92.
 Murdock, C. B., journalist, postmaster at Middlefield, O., 119.
 Murphysborough, Ill., Postmaster Andrews of forced to resign, 165.
 Murphy E., mayor of Troy, Tammany chief, patronage of in N. Y. state offices, 215; corrupt politician, 307, 396; given office, 319; and prison patronage, 330; opposes mugwumps, 351; and nomination of Cleveland, 355; Cleveland refuses, while candidate, to pledge spoils to, 395; Cleveland opposes election of, as senator from New York, 404; obtains suspension of civil service rules in New York for benefit of worker Sternberg, 414; Sheehan worker for, 415.
 Murphy, M. C., appointed warden port by Gov. Flower, 319.
 Murphy, "Tom," controls N. Y. custom-house, 191.
 Murray, postmaster at Johnston, N. Y., and post-office department at Washington, 72.
 Murray, C. F., requests patronage, 311, 312.
 Murray, C. H., spoils circular of, for places in census service, 157; spoilsman, appointed census supervisor in N. Y. City, 294; supporter of Platt, removed, 333, 334; political worker in New York convention, 334; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
 Murray, J., supt. custom-house at N. Y. City, resigns, 258.
 Muscatine, John Mahon, editor, appointed postmaster at, 46.
 Mustard, J., appointed postmaster at Glen Hall, Ind., vice Stepp, "resigned," 149.
 Muzzy, L. R., journalist, postmaster at Pulaski, N. Y., 155.
 Nampa, Idaho, Journalist Bacon, postmaster at, 155.
 Nashua, New Hamp., postmaster at, 73.
 Nashville, Ind., Allison, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 398.
 Nathan, E., political worker, appointed collector internal revenue of Brooklyn (N. Y.) district, by Harrison, 55, 170, 191; wins fight in 23d ward in New York City, 121; political worker, for Congressman Wallace, 142, 150; backed by Platt, 143; uses power of office to intimidate voters, 178; trades votes for Wallace, 179, 180; engages in factional fights in Brooklyn and New York, 197, 198; corrupt political worker and boss, 264, 265, 304, 311, 332, 350, 371; political worker for Fassett, 287; in N. Y. convention, 335; worker for Platt, against against Willis, worker for Harrison, 336; boss in Kings Co., N. Y.; deals with McLaughlin, 352; controls machine in Kings Co., N. Y.; worker for Platt, 354, 355; uses office as political weapon, 374.
 National Baptist, on political status, as regards civil service reform, 257.
 National League of Civil Service Reform Associations; speeches before annual meeting of, 1890, see Civil Service Record; annual meeting at Philadelphia, Oct. 1-2, 51; annual meeting, 1889; resolutions of on agitating civil service reform, 66; appoints committee to investigate management of federal civil service, 77; investigating committee of, 85; special committee of, investigates patent office, 139, 140, 141; annual meeting of 1890; proceedings; report on presidential post-offices, 145, 153, 161, 172; investigation by special committee of, upon removals upon secret charges, 175, 176, 177; report of special committee of, on political changes in presidential post-offices, 186, 187, 188; resolutions of requesting Maryland Civ. Serv. Ref. Assoc. to investigate political activity of federal officers, 219; circular of executive committee of on status of civil service reform, 282; resolutions of at annual meeting, 1891, 286, 287; investigation of census service by special committee of, 291, 295; address before annual meeting on "Party and Patronage," by Curtis; also resolutions of, 321, 326, 329; committees appointed to investigate political assessments and political interference of federal office-holders, 338; report to committee of, investigating political activity of federal employes in Indiana, 375, 381.
 Nattinger, E. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Ottawa, Ill., 126.
 Navarre, O., Journalist Carl, postmaster at, 149.
 Navy yard, at Brooklyn, N. Y., see Brooklyn, 45; at Brooklyn, N. Y., clean sweep in, see Dady, 106; at Kittery, Me., spoils system at under Sec'y Tracy, 145; at Brooklyn, N. Y., examinations under Sec'y Tracy at, statement of examining board, 236; at Norfolk, Va., and Portsmouth, N. H., merit system introduced in by Tracy, 251; introduction of merit system into requested by Mass. legislature, see Tracy, 271, 276; application merit system to commended, 286; Sec'y Tracy institutes merit system in, 221, 222, 230, 298, 306, 321, 326; at Brooklyn, N. Y., employes in ordered to work for renomination of Harrison, 336; at Brooklyn, Page, chief of ordnance dept., removed, 355; Sec'y Tracy introduces Boston labor system in, 331, 357, 376.
 Neal, U. S. attorney, active politician, 143.
 Nebeker, U. S. treasurer, spoilsman, tries to get office for his son, 253, 254; political worker, 370, 382.
 Nebo, Ill., Editor Lansdon appointed postmaster at, 141.
 Nebraska, office-seekers in, 6; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 370; political assessments in Indian service in, 381, 385.
 Neely, C. F. W., editor, applicant for postmaster-ship of Muncie, Ind., 217.
 Nell, J. I., recommended by Illinois senators and congressmen for assistant treasurer, 110.
 Negroes, desire "representation," 243, 244.
 Nelson, I. D. G., condemns democrats for defeating Magee bill for non-partisan control of Indiana state charitable institutions, 215.
 Neodesha, Kan., Postmaster Lee of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
 Neoga, Ill., Editor Hancock appointed postmaster at, 141.
 Nepotism, see also Thomas Jefferson on, Cleveland. Nepotism, under Harrison, 21, 30, 253, 282, 369.
 Nettleton, acting secretary of treasury, and so-called resignation of Macgregor, 216.
 New, J. C., Editor, distributor of patronage in Indiana, 7, 85; appointed consul-general to London, 14; and Harrison, 121; works for renomination of Harrison, 334, 337, 340, 342, 344, 345, 357, 377, 379.
 New Albany, Ind., postmaster Godfrey at, spoilsman, 45, 393; works for Michener, 144; political worker for Harrison, 316; at Minneapolis convention, 377, 378, 380; Marsh, P. O. employe at, political worker, 380.
 New Albany Evening Tribune (rep.) and Civil Service CHRONICLE, 13; advocates civil service reform, 83.
 New Bedford, Mass., carpenter, postmaster at, removed on secret charges without investigation, 29, 175, 176.
 New Carlisle, Ind., Editor Fountain appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
 New Castle, Ind., W. F. Shelley, dentist, appointed postmaster at, 132.
 New Castle, Ind., Courier (rep.), advocates civil service reform, 76.
 New Hampshire, administration organ denounces civil service reform, 62; patronage of given to Chandler, 340; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 371.
 New Haven, Conn., Sperry, postmaster at, favors civil service reform, 91; removal of English, postmaster at, 96; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Sperry, postmaster of, testifies to worth of Barrio, P. O. inspector removed, 298; civil service reform association of and post-office at, 96.
 New Holland, O., Journalist Lewis postmaster at, 149.
 New Holland, Pa., postmaster at removed through influence Brosius, 72.
 New Jersey, political activity of federal office holders in, 347.
 New Mexico, vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis, 347.
 New Milford, Pa., Journalist Vail, postmaster at, 149.
 New Orleans collector at, Ex-Gov. Warmouth appointed, 44; Collector Warmouth of, obtains appointment of Weber as postmaster at Donaldson, La., 241; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; and state politics, 283; relative of Harrison appointed naval officer at, 369; Eaton, postmaster of, pays political assessments, 383.
 New Richland, Kan., Journalist Bronson appointed postmaster at, 126.
 New Sharon, Iowa, Editor Vail appointed postmaster at, 142.
 New York City, see Pearson, postmaster at, and Van Cott, postmaster at, places of federal offices in, at disposal of "The" Allen, see post-office at, 12, 45; given over to spoilsmen, 28; custom-house at, civil serv. com. investigates, 29; post-office at, saving by merit system in, 35; Fire Chief Shay, retired on pension, 36; custom-house at, civ. service commission investigates, 36; Russell Harrison secures appointment for friend as postal stampast. at, 38; reform club of, work of, against tariff, 42; sixth assembly district of, resolutions of against civ. service reform, 49.
 New York Custom-House at, removals in, 54; applications for position in custom-house at, 75; effect of patronage in twenty-first assembly district of, 75; custom-house employes at, aid politicians and go on committees, 108; fire service in, 120; attempt to purify politics in, 130; per cent. of removals in, classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Willis, naval officer at, a spoilsman, 191; custom-house at, controlled by "Tom" Murphy, C. A. Arthur, Leet, and Stocking, 191; account of factional fights for control of party machine in, 198, 199, 241, 242; custom-house at, cartage frauds practiced at, 216; street-cleaning department should be under merit system, 220, 221; custom-house at, Roosevelt invites 21st district republican association of New York City to investigate custom-house service at, 236; removal of Burt, naval officer at, for political reasons, 63, 237; civil service commission, not very commendable, 239; employes in custom-house of, appointed through influence of Platt; Collector Erhardt "resigns," Fassett appointed, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261; Feudalism revived in, 263; Erhardt, collector of, and office-seekers recommended by Platt, 264; Heudricks, political worker for Hiscock and Platt, succeeds Fassett as collector of, 264, 266, 269; James, P. O. employe at, and others, federal employes, political workers, 265; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; customs house employes in political workers for Fassett, 278; government of, 281, 285; Tammany methods in, 291; census service in inefficient, 294; thefts of Hill in, 306, 307; "sugar frauds" in custom house at, see Hillism, 310; state of politics in Brooklyn and, 350; Tammany makes political machine of health department of, 356; Boston labor system used for street work at, 357; employes in sub-treasury at ordered to vote republican ticket, 390; civil service board of (Tammany) and fraudulent appointment of Mrs. Maloney, 404.
 New York Herald, on "Paddy" Divver, 184.
 New York Evening Post, attributes republican defeat of 1889, chiefly to spoils system, 76; on civil service law, 92; on progress in civil service methods, 224; exposes corrupting influences of Tammany, 289, 290.
 New York Press (rep.), declares republican party favors extension of civil service law, 65.
 New York Sun, for spoils, 93.
 New York Times, account of caucus in Buffalo, N. Y., 196; accounts of spoils fights in several states, 215, 216, 217; on Raum and Harrison, 238.
 New York Tribune, on Postmaster Pearson, 12; supports Mahone, 53; advocates civ. service reform, 65; on "Paddy" Divver, 184; defends Platt against Erhardt, 255; silent regarding civil service pledges of Harrison in 1892, 357; subsidized by Harrison, 369.
 New York World, charges of against Senator Quay, 112; on "Paddy" Divver, 184.
 New York State, see civil service commission of, platform, convention; delegation from and its demands, 21; patronage of given to T. Platt by President Harrison, 27, 52, 56, 68, 173, 245, 258, 259, 261, 282, 332, 368, 376; delegate to Republican National Convention appointed general appraiser at port of, 30; Niagara Co., removals in federal offices of, 30; congressional patronage in (see Quackenbush), 32; post-offices in (see Delano), 47; competitive system in, 52; republicans in think President Harrison not bound to keep reform pledges, 62; republican committees of denounce civil service reform, 63; weakening influence of office-holding in, 75; clergymen of, oppose impure political methods, 155; disregard of civil service law of, 161; state courts of, uphold N. Y. civil service law, 161, 200, 281, 286; elections of 1890 in, disastrous to civil service reform, 173; postmasters in, appointed by Congressman Sherman, 180; quarrels over patronage in legislature of, 215; evasion of civil service law in cities in, reform associations of New York and Brooklyn are to blame, 219; R. P. Flower, candidate of Croker, Tammany "boss" for governor of, 245, 261; corruption in, 281; political assessments in, 180, 282, 286, 287, 391, 392; Hillism in, 309; legislature of stolen by Hill and Tammany, 306, 313, 314; political corruption long-seated in, appointing council of, 325; political activity of federal office-holders in, 272, 332, 334, 335, 336, 337, 342, 348, 359, 360, 361, 371, 384, 385, 387, 390, 391; republican discord in, 351, 352; nomination of Cleveland and democratic regular organizations in, 355; republican association requests lists for assessment purposes, 363; Riley, chief examiner of civil service commission of, removed by Tammany, 414.
 N. Y. Civil Service Reform Association, annual election, 23; annual meeting 1891, report of executive committee on efficiency of N. Y. state and various city civil service commissions, 239; correspondence with treasury and P. O. departments over political activity of Van Cott and Hendricks, 289; committee of, investigates civil service examination in N. Y. City service, 319, 320; and prison appointments, 331.
 Newark, N. J., per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post office at, 185.
 Newark, O., Iches, editor, postmaster at, 301.
 Newaygo, Mich., Journalist Shaw postmaster at, 149.
 Newberry, General, confirmed as postmaster at Chicago, 6.
 Newburgh, Ind., Cushman, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
 Newburg, N. Y., Taggart, postmaster of, political worker for Platt, 260; census of 1890 well conducted in, 292; primaries at, run by workers for Hill, 309.
 Newcomb, J., postmaster, a political worker, 159.
 Newell, Ia., Editor Blair, postmaster at, a political worker.
 Newins, politician in Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing Nathan, 304.
 Newport, R. I., Fay appointed postmaster at, 150.
 Newton, C. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Kawanna, Ind., 126, 377.
 Newton, Mass., Democrat Morgan appointed postmaster at, 224; civil service reform association of, address before, on influence of Clarkson and Wanamaker, by Rev. H. Lambert, 136, 261.
 Newtonville, Mass., Turner indorsed for reappointmen, 100.
 Niblack, Judge, votes against Pendleton act; address of on civil service reform, 138, 139; ex-judge Indiana supreme court, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
 Nichols, trades votes in behalf of Congressman Wallace, 179.

- Nicholls, E. T., commandant of navy yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Nichols, J., treasury chief of division, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- Nicholls, J. A., quarantine commissioner, supports Congressman Wallace, 142; corrupt politician, 311.
- Nicholson, M., of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Nicoll, dist. attorney, and Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, 319.
- Niedringhaus, F. G., and Harrison, 14; aiding office-seekers, 15; and federal appointments in Missouri, 22.
- Niligh, Neb., Journalist Best postmaster at, 149.
- Nipher, Prof. F. E., supposed telegram to by Secretary Rusk and reply, 244, 245, 253.
- Nithey, Mich., poll of voters asked of Daniels, postmaster of, 383.
- Nixou, editor and collectorship of customs at Chicago, 47.
- Nixon, deputy controller of currency, political worker, 389.
- Noble, Rev. Dr., on parties and government, 82.
- Noble, Secretary, on putting census bureau under civil service law, 19; accedes to wishes of Senator Mitchell regarding patronage of Oregon, 32; and Indian agents Rosebud agency, Dakota, 48; refuses to state causes of removal of Vandever, 181; spoilsman, 70, 191, 291; to blame for Harrison's Indian policy, 202; spoilsman and Indian service, 98, 221, 226; on Raum scandals, 237; establishes rules for promotion in interior department, 298; and federal patronage in St. Louis, 304; requests removal of Collector Wennecker, of Missouri, 336; and political assessments in Indian service, 375.
- Noblesville, Ind., postmaster at appointed, 47; Cheadle recommends Frybarger, afterwards Royer, for postmaster at, 89; Royer, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Nogales, Arizona, Journalist Chatham postmaster at, 155.
- Nolan, E., federal employe, political worker, 302, 375.
- Nora Springs, Iowa, Editor Moore appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Norfolk Republican Club of Boston and Clarkson, 119, 131.
- Norfolk, Va., Brady appointed collector at, 52; navy yard at, repairs in, for Mahone's benefit, 59; navy yard at, spoils system in, 147, 153; merit system introduced in navy yard at by Tracy, 251.
- Norris, C. O., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- N. Carolina, patronage of given away by Harrison, 150; negroes of demand spoils, 159; political situation and fights in, 159; secret charges in, 312; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 362, 373; political assessments levied in by Eaves, 362.
- N. Dakota, patronage of, given to A. McKenzie, also to Ball, 216; political activity of federal officers in, 348.
- Northrup, editor Syracuse Courier, postmaster at, see Syracuse, 46.
- Norton, C. E., pres. Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, and Harrison, 204, 205.
- Norton, M., letter to from Davenport questioning right to vote, 387.
- Norwich, Conn., post-office at under Cleveland, removal of postmaster of by Harrison, 29; census of 1890 not well conducted at, 293.
- Notson, J. T., journalist, appointed postmaster at Farragut, Iowa, 142.
- Nowland, custom-house deputy at Indianapolis, political worker, 108.
- Nowlin, E., republican politician, census supervisor 2d Indiana district, 100.
- Noyes, L. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Akron, Ind., 126, 377.
- Nugent, J. R., food contractor in barge office at New York, requests patronage, 311, 312; food contractor in barge office, in New York convention, 334; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- O'Brien, 330, 331.
- O'Brien, E. C., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 345, 348.
- O'Brien, H., mayor of Boston, and civ. service reform, 82.
- O'Brien, J., corrupt politician, and Hill, 307.
- O'Brien, J. J., spoilsman and bribe-taker, 170, 171.
- O'Connell, police surgeon, and examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- O'Connor, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- O'Day, D., supports Delamater on behalf of Standard Oil Company, 134.
- O'Donnell, groom of G. B. Raum, Jr., employed in pension office, 190.
- O'Donnell, J., jury-briber, given office through influence of Senator Farwell and others, 59.
- O'Donohue, J. J., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- O'Dwyer, Dr. J., resigns from N. Y. City Health Dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.
- O'Mara, J., violates health laws, given office by board of health at Indianapolis, 316.
- O'Neill, ex-Congressman, and his political assessment, 150.
- O'Neill, C., naval officer on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 221.
- O'Rourke, J., appointed foreman in Brooklyn navy yard, efficient, 142; appointed master boiler-maker in Brooklyn navy yard under Cleveland, removed under Harrison, gets back on examination, 236.
- Oakford, Ind., postmaster at, see Martin and Croushore, 96.
- Oberlin, Kan., Journalist Barin postmaster at, 149.
- Oberly, Indian commissioner, 9, 48, 86; and Senator Ingalls, 22; removed by President Harrison, 27, 44; ex-commissioner opposes publicity of eligible lists, 53.
- Odell, postmaster at Beverly, Mass., a political worker, 162.
- Odell, B. B., Jr., political worker for Platt, 260.
- Oeh, P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 295, 326, 327.
- Oelrichs, S. Dak., Journalist Jones, postmaster at, 155.
- "Offensive Partisanship," removals for, see report special committee Nat. League, 1889-90, 188.
- Office, scramble for, 3, 6.
- Office-brokerage, see Eubanks; also sale of offices, 23.
- Office-holders, republican, leave Washington to vote, 162.
- Ogden, Ind., postmaster of, distributes campaign documents, 390.
- Ogdensburg, N. Y., Postmaster Baird removed, Editor Smith appointed, 126; custom-house at, not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Ohio, and spoils, 15; Darke Co. postmaster in, removed, 23; republicans of, and Gov. Foraker, 24; republicans of, think civ. service reform a humbug, 62; campaign of 1889 in, run by Congressman Grosvenor, spoilsman, 68; status of merit system in, hopeful, 119; political assessments of federal employes from, 179; republican association of, and printing-office, 234; patronage of given to Sherman, 210; defeat of Foraker for governor of, owing to use of patronage, 240; political assessments in, 272, 280, 282, 287, 390, 412; federal patronage used by Harrison in, for re-election of Sherman, 297, 300, 301, 302; political activity of federal office-holders in, 335, 336, 346; vote of at Minneapolis divided between Blaine, Harrison and McKinley, 340, 343; patronage of given to Sherman, 340; relative of Harrison appointed collector of internal revenue in, 369.
- Olathe, Kan., Journalist Perkins appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Old Dominion Republican League, attempts to aid Mahone by political assessments, frustrated by civil service commission, 70; political assessments by, in Washington departments, 412.
- Oler, C. H., efficient railway mail clerk, 224.
- Olin, Iowa, Editor Burke appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Oliver, mayor of Lockport, N. Y., and Sickles, N. Y. civil service commissioner, 34.
- Olneyville, R. I., postmistress of, removed for political reasons, 288.
- Olsen, ward politician of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Omaha, Neb., Vandervoort, disreputable politician, appointed mail superintendent at, 215, 216; violations of law by postmaster of, 251.
- Omaha Republican (rep.), on curse of office-seeking, 65.
- Oneonta, N. Y., Postmaster Bundy of, removed on secret charges, 176.
- Onondaga Co., N. Y., factional fights at, republican caucuses in, political activity of federal office-holders, 264, 265.
- Orcutt, F. E., collector internal revenue, a political worker, 160, 162, 179.
- Oregon, "Sol" Hirsch, the "Tom Platt" of, 29; patronage of Sen. Mitchell in, 32.
- Oregon, Ill., Jewett appointed postmaster at, see Hitt, 109; Postmaster Marsh of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Orlando, Fla., Delaney, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, I. Fletcher appointed, 176.
- Osage Mission, Kan., Postmaster Brunt of, removed, after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Park appointed, 187, 188.
- Osborn, S. C., federal employe, worker for Allison, 334.
- Osborne, United States Minister, in Brazil and Jewett claims, 290.
- Osborne, Judge, grants writ of mandamus against Nathan, for corrupt practices, 265.
- Osborne, Congressman, obtains office for his son, 84.
- Osborne, J. B., given office through influence of Congressman Osborne, 84.
- Oskaloosa, Kan., Journalist Roberts postmaster at, 149.
- Osseo, Wis., Journalist Thomas, postmaster at, 155.
- Ostendorf, J. H., deputy collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Oswego, N. Y., Editor Place, spoilsman, appointed postmaster at, 126; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; Clark, N. Y. assembly man introduces bill for municipal reform in, 415.
- Otis, E. L., applicant for postmastership at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Otis, W. F., federal employe, congratulates Pres. Harrison, 317.
- Ottawa, Ill., Journalist Nottinger appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Ottawa, Kan., Journalist Kessler postmaster at, 149.
- Overin, G. D., federal employe, political worker for Harrison, 334.
- Overstreet, H. G., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Ovid, Mich., Postmaster Cowan of, forced to resign, 165.
- Owen, Congressman, and office-seekers, 14; spoilsman, 21, 30, 85, 90; suggests postmasters, 55; opposes appointment of Craveus, 84; recommends appointment of Tomlinson as postmaster at Logansport, Ind., 88; and Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88; secures appointment of inefficient postmaster at Hammond, Ind., 90; and editor of Delphi Journal, 97; given patronage by Harrison, 240.
- Owen, W. D., superintendent immigration, 39; political worker, 382, 390.
- Owings, W., low politician and murderer, gets office through Gorman, 237.
- Oxford Co., Pa., applicants for postmaster of, 55.
- Oxford, Ind., Editor Carr appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Pacific Unitarian Conference, resolution of, that ministers should officially advocate civil service reform, 65.
- Paddock, Sen., and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72; attempt of to withdraw railway mail service from civil service law, 92; secures appointment of Editor Gere as postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108.
- Page, E. F., chief of ordnance dept. in Brooklyn navy yard, removed, 355.
- Painesville, O., editor of Telegraph appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Palermo, Italy, editor appointed consul at, 240.
- Palmer, as presidential possibility, 235.
- Palmer, public printer and applications for office, 37.
- Palmer, F. W., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Palo Pinto, Mo., Postmaster Trollington buys influence of Upton and gets office, 55.
- Paoli, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37.
- Paradis, J. F., journalist, postmaster at Hemingford, Neb., 149.
- Park, politician, appointed census enumerator through Congressman Evans, 291.
- Park, E. B., appointed postmaster at Osage Mission, Kan., vice Blunt, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187, 188.
- Parker, Lieutenant, relative of Pres. Harrison, given office, 30.
- Parker, A. X., U. S. deputy atty., a political worker, 279.
- Parker, J., politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Parker, M. F., postmaster at Cullman, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Parkhurst, Rev. C. H., on purity in politics, 119; exposes immoralities of Tammany rule, 319.
- Parkinson, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Parks, W. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Petersburg, Ill., 141.
- Parnell Hall, nominating caucus for city officers of Indianapolis, account of, 194, 195.
- Parr, Prof. S. S., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana Civil Service Ref. Ass'n, 1889, 8.
- Parsons, U. S. marshal, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 345.
- Parsons, G. D., ex-mayor of Elmira, N. Y., dismissed from U. S. Express Company for political reasons, 259.
- Parton James, on civil service reform, 18.
- Party, evils of strict adherence to, 236.
- Party and patronage, address, see Curtis.
- "Party Boss," political advice of, 194.
- Passage, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 407.
- Pate, postmaster of Boonville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Patent office, investigation of civil service in by committee of National League, 139, 140, 141; examinations and classified positions in, 141.
- Patrick, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Clarion, Pa., 149.
- Patronage a source of weakness, see Foulke, Brooklyn Ferries, 65, 68; party and, addresses, see Curtis; troubling republican party, 6; evils of, 25, 30, 41; evils of distribution of public, Senator Harrison on, 46; Depew on, 75; Wilmington Morning News (rep.) on, 75; La Grange Standard on, 83; evils of, see Platt, Boston Transcript, Indianapolis News, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Philadelphia North American, N. Y. Evening Post, Philadelphia American, 76; source of weakness to Cleveland and Harrison, 83; system denounced by republicans of Wayne Co., N. Y., 156; evil effects of on schools of Baltimore, 211; condemned in state charitable institutions as barbarous by Indianapolis Sentinel, 202; evils of, in England, 270; system condemned, 271; system, in census service, bill of Garfield against, 291; system not according to organic law, 305; abuse of by Harrison, see National League, resolutions 1892, 321; and the constitution, 323; use of by a president to secure a re-election impossible, see Indianapolis Journal, 318.
- Patronage, federal, see also patronage, congress-

- sional; see Towner; see Sewell; of patent office, 139, 140; of treasury department used by Foster to turn Ohio from Blaine to Harrison, 240; meager distribution of to negroes, 243, 244; given to negro Langston, 340; used by Harrison to secure renomination, 298; of Indiana used by various people, 38, 84, 144, 173, 297, 316, 317, 376; of Maine, navy yard at Kittery, Me., used for Gooch and Frost, 117; of Missouri, see also Filley, 52; New York, given to Platt, 27, 52, 56, 68, 94, 121, 142, 173, 241, 255, 259, 263-266, 281, 282, 288, 376; see also W. Barnes; see Birkett, 55; Woodruff, 106; Lake and McKane, 132; of New York custom-house, disposal of, 216; of navy yard at Mare Island given to ward bosses, 226; of N. Carolina, 17, 150; of Ohio used by Sec'y Foster, 91; of Pennsylvania, that of Collector Cooper in, see Cooper; of Pennsylvania, used by Harrison to secure renomination, 299, 301; of Texas, given to Cuney, 173; Virginia, given to Mahone, 27, 31, 38, 41, 52, 56, 67, 68, 70, 74, 94, 376.
- Patronage, state and local; in offices at Indianapolis, see Markey; in fire service, 137; to be controlled by mayor, 190; municipal at Cincinnati controlled by Gov. Foraker, 71; quarrels over in legislature of New York, see Sheehan, De Freest, Webster, Murphy and McLaughlin, 215; in New York state affairs, use of, 216; of Brooklyn, New York, bridge, quarrel over, see Croker, 215; in New York and Tammany, 318.
- Patronage, congressional, R. R. mail service open to, 27; see Cin. Commercial Gazette, 65; evil of, 66; as practiced in U. S. Senate, 72; see report of committee of National League on, see also Garfield, 113, 114, 115, 188; is doomed, 120; condemned by resolutions of Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, 136; see letter of Wanamaker to Postmaster Marsh, 187; see Indian service, 36, 42, 192, 219; in postal service, 193; in census service, see also Porter, 234, 292; Allison, 334; Andrew, 405; Banks, 31, 39; Bayne, 133, 135, 299; Belden, 16, 71, 132; Bowden, 153; Bretz, 409-411, 419, 421, 422; Brookshire, 393, 405, 409-411, 413, 419; Brosius, 72; in N. Carolina, Brower, 47; Brown, 240, 393, 409-411, 419-422; advocated by Congressman Brown, 35, 84, 89, 118; Bynum, 392, 405, 109-411, 418-422; Sen. D. Cameron, 72, 133, 162, 329; Chandler, 99, 224; in Cannelton, Ind., post-office, 26; Cannon, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 160, 179; Chandler, 100, 148, 340; Chcadle, 17, 55, 71, 77, 84, 85, 88, 89, 129, 119, 240, 377; Cheatham, in Chester Co., Pa., 55; Clarkson, 331; Cockrell, 234; Cogswell, 187, 288; Coleman, 71; Conn. 409-411, 420, 422; Connell, 72, 108; Cooper, 112, 398-400, 405, 109-411, 416, 422; Sen. Cullom, 30, 31, 37, 95, 109, 188; Dalzell, 30, 87, 90, 112, 133, 299; Darlington, 51, 55; Sen. Davis, 81; Sen. Dawes, 71, 104; De Haven, 187; Delano, 47; Du Bois, delegate from Idaho, 30; Dunnell, 39; Enbanks, 99; Evans, 55, 294; of N. Carolina, see Ewart, 17, 159; Farwell, 31, 37, 60, 83, 95, 109; Flood, 51, 150, 259; condemned, see Flower, 201; Fry, 212; Gest, 17; of W. Va., see Hoff, 71; Gorman, 3, 5, 15, 38, 70, 93, 181, 234, 235, 237; Greenhalge, 100; Grosvenor, 204, 205; Sen. Hale, 242; Hammond, 409, 411, 416, 117, 122; Sen. Hampton, 74; Hamsbrough, 216; Harmer, 241; Harrison and Massachusetts offices, 93; Hartwig, 99; Hathaway, 242; Sen. Hawley, 81, 99; Sen. Higgins, 38, 334; Sen. Hiscock, 46, 71, 132, 150, 216, 241, 259, 312; Hitt, 136, 143, 160; Sen. Hoar, 71, 104; Holman, 39, 393, 399, 400, 409, 411, 417, 419, 421, 422; Hopkins, 109; Honk, 35, 54, 55, 84; Illinois congressman, 210; Ingalls, 22, 151; Johnson, 419; Kean, 216; Kellogg, 71, Kelly, 188; Lafayette Courier, 83; Lafollette, 293; Lodge, 30, 39, 41, 69, 71; Love, 99; Lowry, 39; Sen. Manderson, 72, 108; Martin, 399, 100, 109, 411, 419, 420; in Massachusetts, 93; see Mathews, delegate from Dakota, 30; Matson, 30, 31; McClellan, 422; McKenna, McNagney, 109, 411, 422; McPherson, 81; Miller, T., Minnesota, senators of, 30; in Missouri, 51; Monaghan, 59; Moody, 81, 86, 218; Moore, 100; Morse, 86, 100, 108, 187; Norfolk, Va., 251; Osborne, 84; Owen, 11, 21, 30, 55, 84, 85, 88, 90, 98, 240; Sen. Paddock, 72, 108; Payson, 73, 188; Perkins, 35; Pettigrew, 131, 218; Sen. Plumb, 55; Pope, 52; Posey, 16, 59; Postgate, 99; Quackenbush, 32, 54, 242; Quay, 6, 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 68, 72, 87, 90, 91, 95, 100, 104, 111, 112, 118, 133, 135, 154, 160, 173, 216, 235, 241, 249, 263, 270, 280, 282, 299-301, 329, 332, 371, 376; Raines; Randall, 29, 221; Ray, 99, 100, 118, 133; Reed, T. B., 91, 150, 153, 212; in Rhode Island, 150; Rockwell, 188; Roosevelt, 39, 194; Sanders, 160; Sanford, 126; Sawyer, 57; Scranton, 101; Shearman, 54, 55; Sherman, 67, 149, 210, 249, 301, 310; Shively, 121; Simmonds, 73; Smith, 38; Smith G. W.; Spooner, 30; Steele, 210; Stockbridge, 84; Stroungle; Sweeney, 121; Taylor, 35, 75, 419, 421; Thompson, 55; Turner, 100; Turpie, 105, 109-411, 413, 418-422; Upton, 53, 99; Van Schaick, 44, 47, 55; Vandervoort, 215; Vest, 212; Voorhees, 222, 235, 393, 405, 109-411, 413, 418-422; Walker; Wallace, 55, 72, 132, 142, 143; Sen. Washburn, 84; Watrous, 71; Waugh, 419; Wever, 249; Wood, 150.
- Patterson, postmaster of Memphis, Tenn., celebrates nomination of Harrison, 347.
- Patterson, A. M., political worker for Miller, 259, 260.
- Patterson, J. B., federal office-holder in Boone Co., Iowa, political worker, 260.
- Patterson, J. M., ward politician, see New York City; requests patronage, 311, 312; office-seeker, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 341, 348; political worker for Harrison, 359, 360.
- Patterson, W., appointed superintendent of Indpls post-office, unfit, 19, 21, 27, 34; political worker for Harrison, 302, 337-343, 353, 370, 375, 379, 389.
- Pattison, candidate for governor opposing Delamater in Pennsylvania, 135, 161; of Pennsylvania, and Quay, 280.
- Pattison, governor of Nebraska, and Vandervoort, disreputable politician, 216.
- Patton, president of Princeton College, and politics, 396, 404.
- Patton, C. O., Harrison elector, and postmastership at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Paul, postmaster at Milwaukee, spoilsman, civil service commission reports adversely to, 36, 104; and Wanamaker, 41; resigns, 47; spoilsman, removes Shidy who testifies against him, 161, 103.
- Paul, H. S., and appointment of McKean postmaster of Pittsburgh, 91.
- Paul, R. H., ballot stuffer, appointed U. S. marshal in Arizona, 371.
- Pawnee City, Neb., Journalist Hassler postmaster at, 149.
- Paxton, Ill., Editor Stevens appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Payn, L. F., 312; supporter of Blaine, opposed to Harrison, 347; worker for Platt, 360.
- Payson, Congressman, spoilsman, 22, 73; demands removal of Reno, postmaster of Pontiac, Ill., for "offensive partisanship," 188; chairman of house during debate over civil service commission, 204, 205.
- Pears, H. B., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.
- Pearson, H. G., postmaster at New York and the post-office, 12, 17, 20, 32, 38, 43, 168, 169, memorial on, 23; removed by Pres. Harrison for political reasons, 27, 30, 52, 63, 64, 68, 94, 173, 237, 282, 367, 376; the civil service in post-office of, under, 42.
- Peddie, A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Peele, S. J., worker for Harrison, appointed judge of court of claims, 378, 379.
- Peetrey, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.
- Pendleton, G. H., civ. service law due to him and D. B. Eaton, 79, 82, 125.
- Pendleton, Ind., Editor Caddy appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Pendleton act (civil service law), 75, 118, 119, 128, 271, 276; provides penalties for public employes soliciting political contributions, 279.
- Pennsylvania, senators of, and spoils, 15, 313, 314, 329; patronage of, given by Pres. Harrison to Senator Quay, 27, 28, 38, 52, 56, 68, 72, 87, 90, 91, 95, 111, 112, 135, 173, 376; Senator Quay displaces Sen. Cameron as spoils distributor, 30; Sen. Cameron controlled patronage in, 34; distractions in, resulting from distribution of spoils, influence of Senators Quay and Cameron, 17; republican ass'n of, see Stratton, 19; republicans of denounce civ. service reform as a sham, 62; status of affairs before election, 138; condemnation of Quay and Delamater by Lincoln republican committee of Pennsylvania, 156; republican convention 1890 commends course of Quay, 156; political situation in, revolt against Quay, see, also, Quay, 161, 162; defeat of Quay in elections of 1890, 173; ballot reform bill in legislature of ruined by Quay, aided by Martin, federal officer, 228, 229; "Quayism" in, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252; address to the citizens of, against "Quayism," 249, 251, 252; federal officers eulogize Quay, 260; Quay wins in, 281; political assessments in, 282, 286; patronage given to Quay; "degradation of politics in," see Welsh, 282; removals from office in of supporters of Quay, 299, 300, 301; delegation to national convention controlled by Quay; Bardsley frauds, 310; political corruption in, 323, 324; patronage of given to Quay, deserts Harrison, 332; vote of at Minneapolis, 310; D. Martin of, made member of republican national committee for, 317; political activity of federal office-holders in, 361, 363, 390; Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, to raise campaign funds in, 363; citizens of protest against appointment of Martin, 374; re-election of Quay in, 404.
- Pennsylvania Civil Service Reform Association of, introduces reform bill in legislature, faulty provisions of, 204; correspondence of regarding political assessments, 289; of annual meeting, 1891, address of H. Welsh before on Indian service, 238, 239.
- Pennsylvania R. R. Co. employs merit system, 285.
- Pension Commissioner, Tanner, 27, 38, 51; Browne and clerks in the service, 71; Raun and Harrison, 237.
- Pension boards, removed by Tanner, 27.
- Pension office at Indianapolis, attempt to collect money of employes in contrary to law, 36; examining boards, 30.
- Pension Examiner Stone removed, negro Dr. Elbert appointed, 192.
- Pension bureau, removals in, 55; bill providing for appointment of new examiners for, 107; removals in under Commissioner Tanner, 54.
- Peoria, Ill., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292.
- Percival, J. A., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Perkins, congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 35, 49, 122; letter of to Brunt, postmaster, regarding removal, 188.
- Perkins, E. E., negro, postmaster at Edwards, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 341.
- Perkins, H. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Olathe, Kan., 126.
- Pern, Ind., Stevens, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Petersburgh, Ill., Editor Parks appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Petersburgh, Neh., Journalist Cross postmaster at, 149.
- Petersburg, Virginia, political history of, 57.
- Peterson, O. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Story City, Iowa, 112.
- Petroff, E., worker for Quay, 106; convicted of bribery, shielded by Quay, 151, 152.
- Pettigrew, Senator, and Indian service, 130; Senator Pettigrew opposes Indian Agent McChesney, 131; controls patronage in Indian service, 218; and Harrison, 337; opposed to Harrison, 312.
- Petty, W., Blaine supporter, bribed by Harrison with office, 362.
- Pew, collector at Gloucester, Mass., and subordinates, political workers, 362.
- Philadelphia, Pa., post-office at, 14, 15; conflict over spoils in, 39; Collector Cooper of and Quay, 39; and spoilsman, 85; and office-seekers, 37; defends Quay, 249, 260; works for Quay, 280; patronage in, 47; removals in post-office at, 53; civ. service reform in post-office at, 95; recordership of and Quay, 106; investigation of post-office at, 174; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post office at, 185; citizens' municipal league, appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, as internal revenue collector, low politicians of, 232; Thompson, controller at, makes removals for political reasons, 239; young republican club of, speech before by Cooper, collector at, defends Quay, 211; Asst. Postmaster Hughes of, political worker for Quay, 270, 280; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; Field, postmaster at, 300; Witherow's resignation, 310; post-office at, a scandal under Cleveland, 350; combination of low politicians of both parties against reformers at, 352.
- Philadelphia, Civil Service Reform Ass'n of, memorial of, on railway mail service, 92.
- Philadelphia American [repub.], attributes republican defeat of 1889 to spoils system, 76.
- Philadelphia Bulletin [repub.], favors civil service reform, 76; condemns Platt, 260.
- Philadelphia North American [repub.], on Quay, 270.
- Philadelphia Press [repub.], removals of Clarkson obeying a "wholesome policy of reform," 49; republican party thoroughly committed to civ. service reform, 65; favors civ. service reform, 92.
- Philadelphia Public Ledger [repub.], on Quay, 270.
- Philadelphia Record (rep.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Philippi, W. Va., Journalist Hall, postmaster at, 155.
- Phipps, W. C., efficient employe in Indianapolis city service removed for political reasons, 297.
- Phoenix, N. Y., Journalist Williams postmaster at, 155.
- Pickering, J. E., postmaster at Alta, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Pierce, Captain, appointed Indian agent at Pine Ridge vice Roger removed, 192.
- Pierce, A. G., negro, deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Pierce, President, spoils system under, 405.
- Pierce, Neb., Journalist Sharab postmaster at, 149.
- Pierre, S. Dak., physician of Indian agency at Greenwood, S. Dak., engages in political work at, shirking duty, 202.
- Pilgrim, —, federal office-holder, political worker, 162.
- Pilot, on Quay, Dudley, Wanamaker, and decent politics, 257.
- Pine Ridge, S. Dak., Roger, a political worker appointed Indian agent at, 192; causes of Indian trouble at, 217, 218.
- Piper, postmaster at Manchester, N. H., active politician, 113.
- Piper, F. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Sheldon, Iowa, 142.
- Pitkin, U. S. minister to Argentina, political worker, 382.
- Pitrodie, S. Dak., Journalist Cheny, postmaster of, 155.
- Pittsburg, Pa., post office at, controversy between Congressman Dalzell and Sen. Quay over, 87, 112; McKean appointed postmaster at through influence of Sen. Quay, 96; surveyorship of customs at, candidate of Quay appointed, 112; Postmaster McKean of, spoilsman, 133; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post office at, 185; (Ass't) Postmaster Edwards of, supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 290.
- Pittsburg Dispatch (repub.), patronage an evil, 75; on "Chinese civ. service," 92.
- Place, J. A., editor, spoilsman, appointed postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 126.
- Plain City, O., Journalist Horn postmaster at, 149.
- Plainfield, Ind., postmaster at, appointed through influence of Congressman Matson, 30; Hatton

supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 329.

Plainfield, N. Y., Postmaster Pope of favors reform methods, but appoints his son ass't postmaster, 157.

Plainview, Miss., Meacham, journalist, appointed postmaster at, 126.

Plainview, Neb., Journalist Stevens, postmaster at, 149.

Platforms, national, see also Conventions; of different parties support civil service reform, 229.

Platforms, republican; national, 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, favor civ. serv. ref., 9, 27, 50, 73, 275, 291, 337.

Platform, democratic; national, 1888, 1892, on civil serv. ref., 349, 365.

Platforms, state, see also Conventions; republican; 1884, 1887, favor civil serv. ref., 122; California, 1884, demands civ. service reform, 50; Connecticut, 1872, 1874, advocates civil serv. reform, 50; Delaware, 1882, advocates civil serv. reform, 50; Georgia, 1871, advocates civ. service reform, 50; Illinois, 1872, 1882, 1890, advocate civ. serv. reform, 50, 156; Indiana, 1876, 1886, 1890, favors civ. service ref., 50, 51, 156; Iowa, 1874, 1884, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50, 6; Maryland, 1871, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; Massachusetts, 1877, 1885, 1890, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50, 51, 180; Minnesota, 1872, 1884, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; Missouri, 1872, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; New Hampshire, 1872, advocates civil serv. ref., 50; New Jersey, 1871, 1872, advocates civ. serv. reform, 50; New York, 1872, 1877, 1885, 1887, 1891, advocate civ. serv. ref., 50, 51, 288; Ohio, 1871, 1877, 1886, on civil serv. ref., 50, 51; Pennsylvania, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, advocate civ. serv. ref., 51; West Virginia, 1872, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50.

Platform, democratic, Delaware, 1890, silent regarding civ. serv. ref., 145; Indiana, 1890, 1892, denounces Harrison's administration of the civil service, 156, 349; Massachusetts, 1890, 1891, on civ. serv. reform and Harrison's abuse of it, 180, 288; Michigan, 1890, on abandonment of civ. serv. ref. by republicans, 180; New Hampshire, 1890, denounces Harrison's administration of the civil service, 156; Ohio, 1891, silent on subject of civil serv. ref., 288; Pennsylvania, 1890, 1891, denounces Quay and republican party for abuse of the civ. service, 156, 288; Wisconsin, 1890, denounces Harrison's administration of the civ. service, 156.

Platt, deputy collector in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.

Platt, senator, compels postmasters in Connecticut to give list of voters, 330.

Platt, F., gets office through his father, 255; and Fassett, 258; and proposed prosecution of Van Cott, and Hendricks, 287.

Platt, J. I., editor and postmaster at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in N. Y. convention, 335; inefficient, removes Deputy S. Smith, 386.

Platt, T. C., ex-senator in New York on civil serv. ref., 18; politicians like, 22; patronage of New York given to by Pres. Harrison, 27, 52, 56, 68, 94, 142, 173, 263, 264, 265, 266, 282, 376; spoilsman, 35, 43, 45, 65, 77, 112, 172, 269, 289, 298, 311, 329, 355, 369, 373, 374, 387, 388, 105; names postmaster for Elmira, N. Y., 53; and postmastership at Oswego, N. Y., 71; and Hiscock, Sen., and Syracuse post-office, 71; attributes defeat of 1889 partly to disappointment of office-seekers, 76, 77; arranges for census appointments in New York, 121; and Harrison, 121; candidate for U. S. senator, 143; faction of, and its opposition, 183; and Police Justice Smith, see New York City, 198, 199; recommends appointment of Wheeler, 241; gives dinner to Clarkson, 245; controls patronage of custom house in New York city, gets office for his son, 255, 256; "freezes out" Erhardt, collector at New York city, 258, 259, 260, 350; inspires issuing of call for political contributions, 279; defended, 281; and Fassett campaign, 287, 288; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 297, 303; endorses Payne, 312; deserts Harrison, 332; supporters of removed, 332, 334; and re-nomination of Harrison, 334, 335, 366; given patronage, criticises Harrison, 337, 339, 341, 344, 346, 347; "placated," 353, 354, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362; secures removal of Burt, naval officer at New York, 368; and confers with Reid and Harrison, 371.

Plattsburgh, N. Y., Journalist Lansing postmaster at, 155.

Plattsburg, Vt., custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.

Playford, R. S., journalist, postmaster at Carbon-dale, Kan., 148.

Pledger, W. A., negro, railway mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Plumb, Sen., and changes in post offices in Kan., 55; on tariff, 169; spoilsman, and census bureau, 203; allied with Gorman, 214, 228; attacks civil service commission, 250, 251; custom employe, sec investigation, 327.

Plunkitt, state senator of New York, bill of for race course in Central Park, 320.

Plymouth, Ind., Editor Siders appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.

Plymouth, Mass., Postmaster Burns of, to be removed for political reasons, applicants for position favored by E. A. Morse, 187.

Political activity of federal office-holders, see Harrison, W. H., also names of states, 336, 370.

Political assessments, see Curry, also names of states, 153.

Political corruption in Maryland, Bonaparte on, 317, 324.

"Political ingratitude," see Indianapolis Journal, 181, 182.

Politics, divorce of municipal business from, by M. Storey, 261, 283, 286.

Polk, Pres., for revenue tariff, 211, 244.

Pontiac, Ill., removal of Reno, postmaster of, demanded by Congressman Payson, for "offensive partisanship," 188.

Poorman, C. L., editor, given federal office, 301.

Pope, actor, recites Sheridan's Ride at Chicago convention, appointed consul to Toronto, 56.

Pope, E. R., postmaster at Plainfield, N. Y., favors reform methods, but appoints his son assistant postmaster, 157.

Pope, Gen. J., advocates congressional appointment of federal office holders, 52.

Port Clinton, O., Editor Martin postmaster at, 301.

Port Huron, Mich., Collector Geer of, spoilsman, asks for special examination, denied, 36; customs district of classified, 1883, 276.

Port Townsend, relative of Pres. Harrison appointed deputy collector of customs at, 30, 349; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.

Porter, A. G., spoken for mission to Rome, 7, 14, 85; worker for Harrison, 377; U. S. minister to Rome resigns to do political work, 382.

Porter, D. E., sells offices, 104.

Porter, O. T., editor, given office, 39.

Porter, R. P., editor, census supt., and Roosevelt, see Civil Service Reformer; appointed, 14; civil serv. law, 19; gives patronage to Senators Quay and Cameron, 72; gives Shidy office at request of Roosevelt, 101, 103; spoilsman, 104; and census service in New York, 121; overrun with office-seekers, 88, 131; Congressman Dalzell, 133; permits spoils methods in census service, 157; and Foulke, 173; defends appointments, 182; claims held examinations for clerks, 190; examination papers used in census services by, 219, 220; office under given to Weigel, worker for Bos-Filley, 226; fears investigation of census bureau, 233, 331; at convention republican league, 259; opposition of to civil service reform, 292, 294.

Porter Co., Ind., Vidette [repub.], on "Farwell Club," 83.

Portland, Ind., Lowry, postmaster at, removed, Editor Marsh appointed through influence of Browne, 88, 116, 126; political worker, 377, 380.

Portland, Me., changes in offices in, 22; Briggs, politician, appointed postmaster at, 150; employes in exceed requirements, see Reed, 242; customs district of classified in 1883, employes in, 276, 277.

Portland, Oregon, custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.

Portsmouth, N. H., navy yard at, see also Kittery, Me.; work on war ships, in navy yard at, for political reasons, 217; merit system introduced in navy yard at by Tracy, 251.

Posey, Congressman, and office-seekers, 11; secures appointment of henchman in place of Isabella De La Hunt, 26; obtains appointment of worker as postmaster at Evansville, Ind., 16; uses influence for appointment of Throop, collector at Terre Haute, Ind., 59.

Postal divisions, superintendents of, proposal of Congressman Andrew to extend civil service law to, 306.

Postmaster, editors and publishers appointed; cases and lists of, 30, 37, 46, 71, 108, 126, 132, 141, 142, 148, 149, 155, 186, 200, 301, 302, 316, 377; scrambles for places of, 47, 72, 84, 88, 89, 109, 121, 216; recommended for re-appointment, 88, 91, 100; wanton removals, cases and lists of, 29, 39, 45, 47, 54, 55, 71, 90, 91, 101, 112, 118, 149, 165, 176, 186, 187, 282, 288, 362, 377, 386, 408; removals on secret charges, cases and lists of, 39, 175, 176, 177; eudalistic appointments, 108, 134, 135, 136, 143, 144, 150, 153, 158, 159, 160, 162, 186, 187, 211, 219, 340; henchman, service of, cases and lists of cases of, 134, 135, 136, 143, 144, 159, 160, 162, 186, 219, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, 280, 287, 302, 316, 334, 335, 336, 342, 343, 344, 316, 347, 348, 360, 362, 370, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 386; bad appointments, cases and lists of, 32, 39, 47, 54, 55, 90; special cases at Syracuse, N. Y.; Elmira, N. Y.; Terre Haute, Ind.; Valparaiso, Ind.; South Bend, Ind.; Muncie, Ind.; New Albany, Ind.; Indianapolis, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Pittsburgh, Augusta, Me.; La Fayette, Ind.; see same; removed and appointed by Brosius at May, Huber, Burke, Chestnut Level, New Holland, Lancaster, Columbia, Mannheim, Marietta, Strasburg, Little, Ephrata, Mt. Joy, 72; Judson, of Prattsville, N. Y., insane through fear of loss of office, 415; at Mt. Vernon, Ind., and Sen. Harrison, 96; Childs, of Brattleboro, Vt., caucus on question of reappointment of, 108; Harrington, at Monson, Mass., reappointment of recommended, refused by Wanamaker, 188; at Newton, Mass., democrat Morgan reappointed, 224; at Sandwich (Mass.), democrat Shevlin reappointed, 224; at Washington, D. C., Sherwood promoted to be, 153; Warner, Albany, N. Y., favors civ. serv. reform, 51, enforces law, 136; Sperry, at New Haven, Conn., favors civ. service reform, 91; Ketcham, of Ditney, Ind., solicited for political

contributions, 387, 392; of Ogden, Ind., distributes campaign documents, 390; Terry, of Terryville, N. Y., removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391; and P. O. employes in Buffalo, N. Y., pay political assessments, 391; Gates, of Waterton, N. Y., furnishes political information, 392; Smith, of Laurel, Del., attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402; Daniels, of Withey, Mich., poll of voters asked of, 383; Eatou, of New Orleans, pays political assessments, 383; at Omaha, Neb., under Cleveland and Harrison, violates law, 281; at Moberly, Mo., uses census enumerators as political workers, 131; Crum, negro, nominated for, at Charleston, S. C., for vote at Minneapolis, not confirmed, 363; Milliken, of Waterville, Me., and non delivery of papers advocating Burleigh, congressional candidate opposing Manley, 364; Isabella De La Hunt, at Canneltou, Ind.; appointed upon recommendation of Sen. Harrison, by Pres. Arthur, removed by Cleveland, Pres. Harrison refuses to reappoint, 368; of Madison, Wis., controls places in census service, 293; Bennett, of Hartford, Conn., removal of Barrio, efficient P. O. inspector, 298; Sperry, of New Haven, testifies to worth of Barrio, removed P. O. inspector, 298; Gilleland, of Allegheny, Pa., supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299; at Bradford, Pa., Flennickeu appointed, but removed on protest of H. C. Frick, 99; Hendrix, of Brooklyn, N. Y., removed and place offered to politician, 131; Pope, at Plainfield, N. Y., favors reform methods, but appoints his son ass't postmaster, 157; Zunstein, of Cincinnati, O., carries out spirit of civil service law, 257; Richensteen at L. I. City, letter to, advocating reform methods, 100; Wooster, of Fostoria, O., compelled by Washington authorities to turn over office to spoils, 91; at Richmond, Ind., the "party," 183; at Mt. Vernon, Ind., son of Gov. Hovey appointed, 71; at Austin, Texas, chairman republican state committee appointed, 71; at Hamilton, Mo., N. C. Clarkson appointed, 150; at Kansas City appoints relative of Pres. Harrison his deputy, 84; Rice, of Springfield, Mass., case of, 87; at South Hadley Falls, Mass., democrat Kirkpatrick nominated, see Wallace and Harrison, 157; Van Duzer, of Horseheads, N. Y., attempted removal of by Fassett, 331; Van Duzer, of Horseheads, N. Y., and removal of Flood, 304; Dunn, of Binghamton, N. Y., and removal of pension examiner Dr. Van Alstyne, 304; at Wyoming, Ill., removed because appointed through "political intrigue," Hammond appointed, 176; Reno, of Pontiac, Ill., removal of demanded by Congressman Payson, for "offensive partisanship," 188; Smith, of Carrollton, Ill., removed through influence of Senator Cullom, 188; at Laurel, Md., democrat appointed to please Gorman, 38; at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Editor Platt appointed, inefficient, removes deputy S. Smith, 386; Hathaway, of house of representatives, spoilsman, methods of, 242; Seifrits buys appointment as, at Washington, Ind., 121; at Mitchell, Ind., Wood purchases position is appointed, 89; at Winamac, Ind., applicants for position of, bargaining for, 88; at Palo Pinto, Mo., buys office, see also Trollington and Upton, 55.

Postmaster-general, see Wanamaker.

Postmaster-general, first assistant, see Clarkson.

Postmasters, arbitrary removals of, see resolutions of National League, 1890; regulation of, appointment of advocated, 100; many democratic ordered out, 16; presidential, many removals and appointments of, 27, 29; fourth-class, appointed through influence of Sen. Cullom, 30; number of appointed in Indiana from March 4th to July 20 inclusive, 1889, 31; editors appointed, 37; removals of fourth-class, 39, 62; comparison of changes of for first five months of Pres. Harrison and Cleveland's terms, 45; 15,000 removed by Postmaster Gen'l Clarkson up to Sept., 1889, 49; removals of, for political reasons, 54, 186; appointed through influence of Congressman Owen and Sen. Plumb, 55; fourth-class in Indiana, see Michener, 67; meeting of in Washington, 69; removal of 30,000 fourth-class without cause, 70; fourth-class, objections to removal of, see Simond, 91; removals of fourth-class in Washington Co., Ind., 91; forced resignations of, 111; bill of H. C. Lodge, M. C., regarding appointments of fourth-class, 115, 238; removals up to May, 1890, 120; of fourth-class and Cleveland, 124; fourth-class in Missouri, control of given to Filley, 132; become political workers, 160; removals of upon secret charges investigations of by committee of National League, 175, 176, 177; presidential, number of who are political workers, 186; Cleveland makes clean sweep, 187; forth class, bill of Lodge for selection of on basis of merit, 238 fourth-class, allowed to work politically for Harrison, 240; in Indiana, workers for Harrison, 260; fourth-class, removal of under Clarkson, 261; sons of, political workers for Hiscock, 265; fourth-class, bill to regulate appointment of, opposed by Wanamaker, 298; in Indiana, work for Harrison, 302; paper on appointment of, by Wood, before annual meeting, National League, 1892, 329; asked for list of voters by American Protective League, 330; in New York, asked for lists of republicans, 370; in Michigan, asked for lists of voters, 375; in DeKalb Co., Ind., political workers, 380; assessment of by American Protective

- Tariff League, 382; Allegheny Co., association of, levies political assessments, 384; fourth-class, bill of Congressman Andrew to regulate appointments of, recommended by civil service commission, 359, 388, 397; in Jefferson Co., N. Y., political assessments levied against, 391; applicants for positions as, supported by Congressman Cooper, 398, 399.
- Post-office at Indianapolis, Baltimore, St. Louis, Milwaukee, N. Y. City, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Syracuse, N. Y.; at Norwich, Conn., removal of, place given to spoilsmen, see Norwich (Conn.); at Troy, N. Y., and Indianapolis, investigate by civ. service commission, 36; at Vincennes, Ind. (see Chambers), 37; at Cannelton, Ind., see Clarkson, and 54; at Warsaw, Mo., sold by Upton, see Upton, 55; at Columbus, O., applicants for and Sen. Sherman, 67; at Lincoln, Neb., controlled by Connell, applicants for postmastership, 72; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in, at New Haven, Conn., 185; at Jersey City, N. J., 185; at Kansas City, Mo., 185; at Denver, Colo., 185; at Chicago, 185; at Albany, N. Y., 185; at Cincinnati, merit system in, 257; at Lockport, N. Y., controlled by Hiscock, 259; at Cincinnati, O., merit system in, 358; at St. Joseph, Mo., political assessments in, 3-3; at Lafayette, Ind., employees in distribute campaign documents, 389.
- Post-office department, Wanamaker establishes board of promotion by competitive examination in, 256, 257.
- Post-offices, fourth-class changes in, see Delano, 47; applicants for in Chester Co., Pa., see Chester Co., 55; changes in, by Pres. Harrison in Kan., 55; taking the fourth-class out of politics, plan of R. H. Dana for, 68, 74; presidential report on, by committee of National League, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; presidential, turned over to spoils, 211; given to editors by Harrison, 240; see also press; having less than 50 employees, 277; information regarding, refused to Rogers by P. O. department, 297; of 25 employees, proposal to classify by Andrew, 305; all free delivery classified by Harrison, heads of divisions in should be classified, 403; Roosevelt on benefits of classification of free delivery, 415.
- Post-office department, number of classified employees in total service of, 193; relative of Harrison appointed law clerk in, 369; examinations for applicants for position in service of, 396.
- Post-office employe does detective work for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Potter, worker for Internal Revenue Collector Hill in Maryland convention, 335.
- Potter, Bishop, and civ. serv. ref., 28, 30; and attempt to purify politics in New York City, 130; address of on political dangers, 1890, 145.
- Potter, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Davis, Ill., 141.
- Potts, W., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2, 42, 44; refused access to records of removals in postal service, 163; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Editor Platt postmaster of, in New York convention, 335; inefficient, removes Deputy S. Smith, 386.
- Pousland, federal employe, political worker at Boston, 334.
- Powers, H. C., collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348; levies political assessments, 384.
- Powers, J., naval officer at Philadelphia, worker for Harrison, 300.
- Pratt, D. W., postmaster at Farmington, Me., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Pratt, E. W., asst. appraiser at N. Y. City, pays political assessments, 279.
- Prattsville, N. Y., Judson postmaster of, insane through fear of loss of office, 415.
- Prentice, Counselor, removed from N. Y. City health dept., 356.
- Present Status of Civil Service Reform, by Rev. H. Lambert, criticised, 255.
- Presidency, Hill sells, 307.
- President, appointing power of, 6; duties of, in regard to the civil service, under the constitution, 271.
- Press, and civ. service reform, 83; [repub.] on civ. service reform, 92.
- Press, bribery of, Pres. W. H. Harrison on, 17; see King, A. Allison, Habercorn, Beyrle, Reed, Stone, White, Douglass, Rice, Hicks, New, Roberts, Junkin, Halstead, Clarkson, Porter R. P.; under Cleveland, see Plainfield, Ind., 30, 81, 149, 366, 368, 369; by Quay in Pennsylvania, 151; in Indiana, 240, 378; under President Harrison, 30, 31, 36, 39, 46, 47, 56, 67, 80, 85, 88, 90, 94, 97, 100, 121, 126, 132, 141, 142, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 186, 187, 240, 249, 260, 266, 299, 301, 302, 316, 368, 369, 377, 386; Editor Porter given office, 39; see Rahway, N. Jersey, Smyth, Watrous, Lawshe, Smith, 71; see speech of Harrison, Sen., 81; condemned by Daniel Webster, 81; see Dunlap, Gardner, Forbes, Whitney, Challis, Kinney, 84.
- Prickett, J. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Albion, Ind., 126, 377.
- Pride, chief clerk under Cunningham in assay office at Boise City, Idaho, politician, 30.
- Princess Anne, Md., Duer, postmaster, of, removed for political reasons, Lankford appointed, 408.
- Princeton, Ind., Tichner, postmaster of political worker, 316, 378.
- Princeton, N. J., Theo. Seminary professors in, and civil service reform, 40.
- Princeton, Wis., Journalist Bebee postmaster at, 155.
- Princeville, Ill., Editor Barnum appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Printing and engraving, bureau of, status of reform in, 32; employees in, political workers, 179; dismissals in for lack of appropriation, 234; Gorman secures place in for low politician, 237; bureau of, under Cleveland and Harrison, 368.
- Pritchard, J. C., 159; Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Pritchett, R. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Dana, Ill., 141.
- Proctor, N., discharged by Sec'y Whitney from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Proctor, R., Sec'y, 242; Senator, 362.
- Professions, the, and civil service reform, see Roosevelt, dinner to at Indianapolis, 227, 229.
- Promises, of democratic party, 397, 398.
- Promotion, of Thompson, asst. postmaster at Indianapolis, to be postmaster, and consequent promotions, 235; by voluntary competition, introduced in departments at Washington by Harrison, 274; without examination, stopped by Harrison, 275; by competitive examinations, 286; in departments at Washington, rules governing, 289; on merit, under Wanamaker, by examination, 297, 298; on merit system, introduction of, in Washington departments, 321; should fill places below presidential offices, 413.
- Proner, postmaster of Speucerville, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Protestant Episcopal Church and civil service reform, see Church.
- Prudden, Dr. T. M., withdraws from N. Y. City Health Dept. because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Pryor, federal office-holder, political worker, 287.
- Public school, and civil service reform, see Curtis, 205.
- Public Service, journal, 306.
- Publicity of eligibles, ordered by civil serv. commission at Indianapolis, 25.
- Pulaski, N. Y., Journalist Muzzy postmaster at, 155.
- "Purity in Politics," see Van Anda, 137.
- Purity in Politics, see Ingalls, 190.
- Purroy, Fire Commissioner of N. Y. City, 234.
- Pursell, F. S., journalist, postmaster at Logan, O., 149, 301.
- Pursell, J., policeman of New York tries to defraud by pretending to sell office, 224, 225.
- Putnam (Indiana), Democrat, and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; advocates civil service reform, 76.
- Putnam, Judge A. A., letter of to Wanamaker regarding removal of Farnum, unanswered, 175.
- Putnam, R. P., federal employe, heuchmen for Grosvenor, 204, 205.
- Quackenbush, congressman, obtains appointment of G. H. Stevens, disreputable character, as postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., 32, 54; urges appointment of O'Brien in postal service of house representatives, 242; elect, political worker, 279.
- Quay, senator, spoilsman, 5, 35, 43, 45, 93, 119, 174, 175, 192, 214, 227, 256, 261, 263, 281, 350, 361, 373, 387, 388, 390, 404, 405, 412, 415, 422; and the offices, 6; and post-office at Philadelphia, 15; and spoils, 17; and Postmaster-Gen'l Wanamaker, 22; and Pennsylvania legislature, 22; and office-seekers, 24; dictates appointment of Postmaster-General Wanamaker, 27; conflict with Wanamaker over Philadelphia spoils, 30; supersedes Don. Cameron in control of patronage in Pa., 34; secures the appointment of Cooper as collector of customs at Philadelphia, 39; patronage of Pa. given to by Pres. Harrison, 28, 38, 47, 56, 68, 70, 72, 77, 85, 94, 95, 137, 138, 282, 329, 382, 337, 341, 376; agent of organizes machine, urges adoption of resolution demanding repeal of civil service law, 49; negotiates with Mahone, 52; controversy of with Dalzell over Pittsburgh post-office, secures appointment of postmaster, 87; secures appointment of McKean as postmaster at Pittsburgh, 90; endorses Sturgis for postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99; endorses Drapo for collectorship at Pittsburgh, 100, 104; political history of, 105; obligations of Pres. Harrison to, 111; protest of Lea against patronage of, 112; and appointments, 118; and Harrison, 121, 353; methods of, 130, 131; career of, 133, 134, 135, 151, 152; condemned by Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, 136; and U. S. Attorney Lyon, 143; opposition to in Pennsylvania, 153; condemned by Lincoln Independent-Republican committee, 156; opposes Canaday, 160; revolt against rule of, 161, 162, 170, 171; "boss" in Pennsylvania, 172; and election in 1890 in Pa., 173; confers with Internal Revenue Collector Martin, 183; supports Leeds, disreputable politician, 216; condemned by Young Men's Republican Club of Massachusetts, 219; ruins ballot reform bill of Pennsylvania, aided by Federal Officer Martin, 228, 229; Pres. Harrison makes terms with, 235; Harrison combines with, 237; and appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, internal revenue collector in Pa., 232, 233; defended by Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, Pa., reconciled with Harrison, 241; in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 256; eulogy of by nat. rep. committee, 257; eulogized by federal officers in Pennsylvania, 260; and Americus Club, 269; revolt against in Pennsylvania, 270; supported by federal office-holders in convention at Scranton, Pa., and elsewhere, 280; denounced by Pennsylvania democrats, 288, 289; republican leader in Pennsylvania, 298; supporters of, removed from office by Harrison, 299, 301; wins libel suits against, 305; controls Pennsylvania delegation, 310; in Pennsylvania, 313, 314; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345; at Minneapolis convention, 347; eulogy of by Clarkson, 351; "placated," 357, 361, 362; asks for appointment of Wanamaker as reward for raising campaign fund, 368; secures appointment of Martin, 374; imitators of in Indiana, 414; deserts Harrison, 337, 341.
- Quay, R. R., 361.
- Quimby, H. B., relative of federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Quincy, Ill., C. A. Wilcox, editor, appointed postmaster at, removals at for political reasons, 141, 148.
- Quincy, Josiah, 69; secy. Massachusetts state democratic committee, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102; on spoils system, 308.
- Quincy, Mass., removal of Speare, postmaster of, desired by Morse, 86; Adams appointed postmaster at, vice Speare, removed, 100; a political worker, 162.
- Quinn, postmaster at Decatur, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Rahway, N. J., editor, appointed postmaster at, 71.
- Rail, J., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall, 194, 195; supports fire-chief Webster, 208.
- Railway Mail Service, condition of, 53, 68; removals in, 66, 94; necessity for reform in, 69; removal of hundreds of clerks in, under Wanamaker, 70; brought under civ. service law by Cleveland, 81; bill of Sen. Paddock to withdraw from civ. service law, 92; eligible lists in, 111; applicant for position before put under civil service law, see Lodge, 122; superintendent of condemned, 125; employees in getting "in line," 162; examinations for, should be more difficult, suggestions of Wanamaker, 193; Pres. Cleveland extends civil service law to, 224; in Iowa, political assessments levied in, 240; civil service law extended to, under Cleveland, action under his orders postponed at request of commission, by Harrison, 275, 403; employees in must pass physical examination, 305, 372; turned over to spoils under Harrison, 376; examinations for 1891-92, 396; prize offered for best clerk in, by Wanamaker, won by H. P. Swift, 415.
- Raines, J., Congressman, uses census patronage for his own benefit, letter of, requesting list of voters, 293.
- Raisin, I. F., low politician, appointed naval officer at Baltimore, through influence of Gorman, 237, 245; career of, 251.
- Randall, C. S., Congressman, recommends unwarranted removal of Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., 29, 175, 176; secures re-appointment of Shevlin as postmaster at Sandwich, 224.
- Ransdell, D., 7; appointed marshal District of Columbia, political worker, 34, 68, 77, 84, 85, 96, 112, 126, 173, 181; and office-seekers, 37; uses influence for appointment of Troop, 59; makes unfit appointments, 80; and printing office, 234; gets offices for relatives, 244; works for Harrison at Minneapolis and elsewhere, 297, 302, 337, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 378, 379; and Chase, candidate for Governor of Indiana, 352.
- Ransdell, E. S., convicted of theft, gets office through influence of Marshal Ransdell, 80, 244.
- Ransom, Senator and Eaves, 159.
- Rany, M. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Fontanelle, Iowa, 142.
- Rarick, J. H., editor, appointed postmaster, at La Grange, Ind., 377.
- Rathbone, E. G., resigns as mail inspector, appointed 4th Asst. P. M. General, 241; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 344, 345, 346; confers with New, 340, 379; refuses to give reasons for removal of Terry, 391.
- Rathbone, E. H., journalist, postmaster at Haddon, Kan., 149.
- Rathbone, L. G., appointed postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., vice Flood, removed on secret charges, 303, 304, 312.
- Ratnour, E., postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., removed on secret charges, Butler appointed, 175.
- Raum, G. B., pension commissioner and clerks in pension service, 71; spoilsman, 108, 129, 130; believed to be dishonest, 173, 190; attempts to override civil service law, 203; and Harrison, career of, 237, 238; uses office for political purposes, 373; political worker, 370, 382, 389.
- Raum, Jr., G. B., appointed by his father, pension commissioner, to office in pension bureau, 130, 227, 254; before congressional committee, 190; sells offices, etc., 237, 238; removed from pension service for dishonesty, 228.
- Ravenna, Kan., Journalist Hart postmaster at, 149.
- Ray, Congressman, recommends Flenniken for postmaster at Bradford, Pa., 99; secures appointment of Underwood as postmaster at

- Washington, Pa., 100; on Senator Quay, 118; patronage of, 133.
- Ray, federal appointee, admits attempt to bribe member of legislature, 89.
- Ray, C. H., federal office-holder, political worker, see also Baltimore investigation, 320, 326, 327.
- Raymond, F., politician, aided by custom-house employes, 108; political boss, and appointments to census service, 121; deputy collector at N. Y. City, political worker, 279; controlled selection of census enumerators in N. Y. City, 294; in New York convention, 335; Minneapolis convention, 343, 344.
- Reading, Cal., Bush, political worker, appointed postmaster at, 186, 187.
- Reagan, Congressman, not much good to come of civ. service law, 73.
- Rector, J. W., politician of Texas, 159; internal revenue collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Reed, Judge, and congressman, opposed to patronage system, 91.
- Reed, A., editor, appointed consul at Dublin, 30.
- Reed, A. H., appointed postmaster at Flora, Ill., 141.
- Reed, J., employe in Baltimore custom-house, testimony of on interference of federal officers in primaries at, 254.
- Reed, T., and spoils, 22, 226; as speaker, house committee on civ. service, appointed by, 86; bribery of voters for, 145; secures appointment of Briggs as postmaster at Portland, Me., 150; desires spoil of Kittery, Me., navy yard, 118, 153; hampered by refusal of spoil, 157; on fulfillment of party pledges, 168; "boom" of, 178; opposes Australian ballot system, 228; keeps more employes in Portland (Me.) custom house than necessary, 242.
- Reeder, F., Genl., political worker for Quay, 280, 361.
- Reeds, W. H., member of Cowie faction, see New York, 211.
- Reelsville, Ind., Elliott, postmaster at removed, Gaskin appointed, 89.
- Reform Club at N. Y., see N. Y., 42.
- Reid, W., editor New York Tribune, appointed minister to France, 14, 369, 371, 381, 382, 389; republican candidate for vice-president, 1892, 354; and Platt, 360, 361.
- Reiley, W. H., postmaster in Washington Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Reiley, J., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108, 334.
- Resinger, editor, sell out to Andrews, W. H., 131.
- "Relation of the civil service to comfortable living in cities," see Gibson, 366.
- Removals, general, unwarranted, James Madison on, see Madison; in various departments, for year from July 1, 1889, see civil service com., 7th annual report; of postmasters upon secret charges, see secret charges; arbitrary, of postmasters, see Nat. League resolutions of 1890; of presidential postmasters, numerous, 27; of members of pension boards, by Tanner, 27; of foreign ministers by Pres. Harrison, 27; rate of under Asst. Postmaster-General Clarkson, 27; at Indianapolis post-office under Postmaster Jones, easily made, see Moore, 28; in treasury department, 29; of 16 R. R. mail clerks for political reasons, 276 removals in the 10th division, 29; to week ending June 6, 1889, of presidential post offices, 29; in federal offices in Niagara Co., N. Y., 80; of subordinates in treas. dep't, see Coulter, 39; under Tanner, commissioner of pensions, 51, 54; under Cravens, collector, 51; in custom house at Baltimore, in post-office at Philadelphia, 53; of postmasters for political reasons, 54, 120; in pension and sixth auditor's offices, see also Roosevelt, 55; in Brooklyn navy yard, 55, 155; by Clarkson, 39, 41, 62, 75, 76, 154, 173, 261; unjustifiable, 63; in R. R. mail service and post-offices, 66; of employes in Charlestown navy yard by Pres. Cleveland, 69; in fire dept at Indianapolis, 69; in postal service under Wanamaker, 70; in Boston custom-house under Saltonstall for good cause, 71; in district of Rockport, Ill., 73; under Cleveland, of office-holders in Maine, 73; in Indian service, 79; of fourth-class postmasters objected to, see Simond, 91; of fourth-class postmasters in Washington Co., Ind., 91; in postal service, Pres. Harrison asked to check, 92; under Cleveland and Harrison, 96; and "resignations" under Clarkson, 131; for political reasons under Postmaster McKean at Pittsburgh, 133; under Postmaster Johnson at Baltimore, for political reasons, 137; by Von Sandberg, 150; under Harrison, 45, 159, 266; secret charges, 173; under collectors Erhardt, Hedden and Magone, at New York, 183; causes of should be made public, see civil service com. annual report, 1889-90, 185; in classified service in various post-offices, 185; of presidential postmasters for political reasons, 161, 186; under Clarkson of postmasters "upon expiration of four years' service, and second commission not yet expired," 187; "offensive partisanship," 188; under Harrison, for cause only, 188; to make place for friends opposed by Lincoln, 211; wholesale, of employes in fire and police service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 212, 213; for political reasons, made by Controller Thompson at Philadelphia, 239; under Beard, collector at Boston, 245, 322; more than 100,000 under Harrison, 253; in classified and unclassified service under Johnson, postmaster at Baltimore, his testimony before Roosevelt, 254, 255; for cause only under Zumstein, postmaster at Cincinnati, O., 257; in departments at Washington, D. C., almost wholly for cause, 273; of efficient officials condemned, 286; of supporters of Quay in Pennsylvania by Harrison, 299-301; under Maynard at N. Y. custom-house, on false charges, 310; in navy yards, see Tracy, 311; in postal service for political reasons condemned, bills of Hoar (S.) and Lodge regulating, 321.
- Removal of Burt, Saltonstall, Pearson, Graves, Corse, see Burt, etc.; of De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannelton, Indiana, by Pres. Cleveland, for "offensive partisanship," 25; of Indian Commissioner Oberly and others, 27; on secret charges, cases and lists of, 45, 54, 175, 176, 177, 312; for political reasons, cases and lists of, 29, 30, 39, 45, 46, 47, 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 71, 72, 74, 81, 87, 88, 89, 91, 94, 96, 100, 136, 142, 146, 147, 186, 187, 250, 256, 288, 297, 298, 303, 304, 319, 362, 368, 371, 374, 377, 386, 408; without cause, cases and lists of, 29, 39, 45, 176, 181, 228, 371, 374, 386; to make places for henchmen, cases and lists of, 29, 72, 90, 98, 101, 112, 126, 131, 140, 148, 188, 310, 331, 371; after four years' service, second commission, unexpired, 187, 188; of Royer, political worker and Indian agent at Pine Ridge, 192; of Dr. Stone pension examiner, and appointment of Dr. Elbert, condemned, 192; of Dougherty, fire chief at Indianapolis, Webster re-appointed, 207, 208; of U. S. district attorney at Washington, D. C., 211; of Royer, worthless Indian agent at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 211, 217, 218; by Senator Ingalls of clerk of committee of District of Columbia, he appoints his own son, 215; of Vandervoort from R. R. mail service by P. M. Genl. Gresham, 215, 216; of Roosevelt, civil service commissioner, possible, for watching interference of federal office-holders in primaries at Baltimore, Md., 225, 226, 250, 311, 312; plots for, of Harlow, postmaster at St. Louis, Mo., 226; of Ryder, criminal, appointed to Indian service, 226; of Eastman, supervising architect of Brooklyn, N. Y., for maladministration, 234; under Hathaway, postmaster in house of representatives, 242; and re-instatement of Sears, P. O. employe at Baltimore, 277; in violation of law, under Cleveland and Harrison, in Omaha, Neb., post-office, 281; of Pension Examiner Dr. Van Alstyne, through Postmaster Dunn, 304; of Squires, corrupt public officer, see Hill, 307; of Leaycraft by Gov. Flower, 332; of Milholland, federal employe, for political activity, 332, 334; of Wimberly, internal revenue collector in Mississippi for lottery connections, 343, 348; of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, 350; of N. Y. R. R. Commissioner Spencer, 355; of Ewing, Prentice, from N. Y. health dept., by Tammany, 356; of P. C. MacCourt by Sec. Windon, 54; of Sharp, postmaster at Leadhill, Ark., and Stevens, postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., 54; of Reuttler, Downing and Wigg, by Sec. Whitney, 147; of Tanner, commissioner of pensions, 53; of Nat'l Hawthorne, 46; of Flenniker, postmaster at Bradford, Pa., on protest of H. C. Frick, 99; of Terry, postmaster of Terryville, N. Y., for refusing to pay political assessments, 391; by Postmaster Thompson of Indianapolis, of Carrier Duun, for soliciting political contributions, 403; of postmaster at Wyoming, Ill., for having been appointed through political intrigue, Hammond appointed, 176.
- Reno, M. A., postmaster at Pontiac, Ill., removal demanded by Congressman Payson for "offensive partisanship," 188.
- Rentfro, R. B., Harrison delegate to republican nat'l convention, appointed collector of customs at Brownsville, Texas, 46, 159.
- Report to Pres. Harrison by Roosevelt on interference of federal office holders in primaries at Baltimore, 254, 255.
- Republicans in Indiana legislature oppose bill for non partisan control of state institutions, 201, 202, 411.
- Republican clubs, league of, meeting at Cincinnati, election of Clarkson as president, 219.
- Rerick, J. H., editor, appointed postmaster at La Grange, Ind., 126.
- Resignations, forced in postal service, see National League, report of on presidential post-offices; under Clarkson, 149; in postal service, 164; cases and lists of, 165, 166, 216; of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, Fassett appointed to make clean sweep, 255.
- Resolutions of republicans of 6th assembly district, N. Y. City against civil service reform, 49; passed at annual meeting, 1890, Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; of National League at annual meeting, 1890, 172; of annual meeting, 1892, of National League on status of civil service reform, 321.
- Reutlie, A. B., collector at port of Brownsville, Tex., a political worker, 159.
- Reuttler, C. P., discharged by Sec'y Whitney from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Rebyburn, Congressman, and Quay, 280.
- Reynolds, U. S. dist. att'y, political worker, and delegate to Minneapolis convention, 143, 346.
- Reynolds, Gen'l., postmaster of Rochester, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Rhea, M. A., journalist, postmaster at Altoona, Kan., 148.
- Rhinehart, sheriff, 107; and Brigg's cartage contract, 332.
- Rhode Island, senators and representatives of, secure appointment of Fay as postmaster at Newport, 150.
- Rhodes, S. R., journalist, postmaster at Gresham, Neb., 149.
- Rice, A. T., editor, office-holder, 14.
- Rice, F., sec'y of state for New York, worker for Hill, 309; enumeration of 1892, 317.
- Rice, G. A., post-office inspector, political worker, 160.
- Rice, J. L., postmaster at Springfield, Mass., thoroughly efficient, removal desired, 87.
- Richards, D. J., editor, postmaster at Zanesville O., 301.
- Richards, S. T., postmaster in Clayton Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Richardson, member of Maryland legislature, moves for repeal of civil service law, 96.
- Richardson, E. S., negro, R. R. mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Richardson, R. H., negro, postmaster at Wedgefield, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Richensteen, W., appointed postmaster at Long Island City, N. Y., 54; letter to, from H. C. Johnson favoring civil service reform, 100.
- Richie, R. M., postmaster at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Richmond, H. A., civil service reformer at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; address before Y. M. A. of Buffalo, March 24, 1889, 16, 32, 67, 85, 172, 200; on Curtis, 394.
- Richmond, Ind., should have civ. service law applied to local offices; Editor Jenkinson appointed postmaster at, 126, 377; postmaster of is the local "party," 183; works for Harrison, 249.
- Richmond, Ind., Sunday Register (Rep.) opposes political methods of Frank Hatton, 76.
- Richmond, Va., embezzler Russell appointed postmaster at, 374.
- Ricker, C., and political assessments, 384.
- Rickets, C. H., see Cannon, 39.
- Ricketts, V. L., editor, advocates repeal of civ. service law, is given office, 85, 86, 90, 213.
- Ridland, postmaster at Scottsburg, Ind., political worker, 144, 377.
- Riley, J., appointed to fire service at Indianapolis vice White, and Findling removed under "equally divided politically" rule, 235, 243.
- Riley, J. B., chief examiner N. Y. civil service commission, removed by Tammany, 414.
- Riley, J. L., succeeded by O. P. Ensley as chief clerk in pension office (Indiana), 108.
- Rinewalt, A. L., journalist, postmaster at Williams-ville, N. Y., 155.
- Rio Janeiro, Consul-General Armstrong at, removed for political reasons, 54.
- Ritchie, D. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126.
- Roark, N. S., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Roberts, A., postmaster of Addison, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Roberts, E. H., asst. treasurer, political worker, 354.
- Roberts, F. H., journalist, postmaster at Oskaloosa, Kan., 149.
- Roberts, G. M., political worker for Harrison, relative of Collector Cravens, of Indiana, 379.
- Roberts, W. T., receiver of political assessments for Maryland, 391.
- Robertson, Utah commissioner, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Robertson, Col., political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Robertson, T. W., employed in custom-house (N. Y.), political worker, 108.
- Robertson, secy. of navy, orders re-instatement of thief Weeks, at request of Broadhead, at Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Robinson, postmaster at Concord, N. H., active politician, 143.
- Robinson, E. E., postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y., a political worker for Platt, 264.
- Robinson, H. C., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Robinson, H. C., journalist, postmaster at Washington, Kan., 149.
- Robinson, Ill., Editor Harper appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Robinson, Congressman-elect, supported by Quay, 280; supported by Collector Cooper to succeed Quay, 299.
- Robison, W. E., journalist, postmaster at Bealsville, Pa., 149.
- Rochelle, Ill., Postmaster Gardner of succeeded by Hartong, 109; Postmaster Hartong of works for Hill, 136.
- Rochelle, Ill., Herald, letter to regarding Congressman Hitt's course in the distribution of spoil, 110.
- Rochester, N. Y., Reynolds, postmaster of a political worker, 266; Tarbox, postmaster of a political worker, 280; state civil service law enforced in city service, Belknap case, 305; Hillism at, 309.
- Rockford, Ill., applicants for positions in census service in district of, 104; Postmaster Lawler of, political worker for Congressman Hitt, 143.

- Rockhill, W., postmaster at Arcola, Ind., removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, McGoogle appointed, 362.
- Rockport, Ill., removals in district of, 73.
- Rockport, Ill., Register (repub.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Rockwell, Congressman, recommends re-appointment of democrat Harrington, postmaster at Monson, 188.
- Rodebaugh, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 406.
- Rodney, Miss., Postmaster Engharth of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Rogers, postmaster of Huntington, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Rogers, R. J., political worker, appointed postmaster, at Searcy, Ark., 186.
- Rogers, S. S., civil service reformer, 68, 172, 405; to examine management civil service, 77; report on congressional patronage to National League, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; upholds civil service law of New York, 161; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 188; on committee of Nat. League, reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; president Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, address of, to citizens of Buffalo, 189, 200; urges extension of civil service law, 192; address of, before annual meeting National League, 1891, on extension of classified service, 261, 275, 277; on special committee of National League, investigating census service, 291, 295; request of, for information refused by P. O. department, 297; on G. W. Curtis, 391.
- Rogers City, Mich., Journalist Larke, postmaster at, 149.
- Roggen, E. P., candidate for postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 72, 108.
- Rokestraw, disreputable character, postmaster at Chocoma, S. Carolina, 55.
- Rollins, collector, and Eaves, 362.
- Rome, Ga., postmaster of, candidate for congress, 162.
- Ronner, J. H. V., deputy commissioner of street improvements, on Tammany methods, 234.
- Roosevelt, T., and Census Supt. Porter, see Civil Service Reformer; at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; appointed civil service commissioner by Harrison, 17, 86, 95, 96, 103, 168, 174, 275, 405; investigates Indianapolis post-office and censures its management, 28; applies to Sec. of the Treas. and stops Coulter's proceedings, 34; and civil service reform association of Brookline, Mass., 36; on congressional patronage, 39; silences ridiculous arguments against civil service reform, 46; performances of fill republicans with disgust, 49; abuse of, 52; charges of against heads of pension and 6th auditor's offices for removals for political reasons, 55; appointment of especially good, 59; address of before Boston and Cambridge civil service reform associations, 77; reasons for removal should be public; examination questions under, 79; investigates office of Collector Cooper, of Philadelphia, 85; charges of Hatton against, Shidy case, 101; and Shidy case, 104; addresses Bloomington branch Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 1890, 108; before congressional committee, 119; reports favorably on Indianapolis post-office, 120; commended, 125, 136; address of before civil service reform association of Maryland, 1890, on spoils in post-offices, 132; and Postmaster Johnson, of Baltimore, 137; and Grosvenor, 146, 204, 205, statement of before congressional committee; see also Grosvenor, 162; statement of as to scope of civil service reform, 172; address in Indiana, 182; before select committee of house of representatives, 188; and Wanamaker, 190, 298; urges extension of civil service reform, see also "An Object Lesson in Civil Service Reform," in Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1891, 192; extract from address of before Commercial Club in Boston, 1890, on spoils "iniquity," 194; Gorman defends Wanamaker against, 214; investigates interference of federal office-holders in primaries at Baltimore, Md., his removal possible, 225, 226, 254, 255, 261, 267, 268, 277, 278, 321, 322, 329, 330, 350, 366, 372, 373; speech of at dinner to at Indianapolis, list of assistants, and regrets, 227, 229, 230, 231; invites 21st district republican association, of N. Y. City to investigate civil service reform as applied in N. Y. custom-house, 236; answers attacks of Gorman, Plumb and Stewart, 250, 251; praised by Mr. Storey, 257; denies charges of favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267; on work of the civil service commission, 273; thanked, 287; removal of, desired by politicians, 311, 312; informed of political activity of federal employes, 334; against Wanamaker and Clarkson, 349; and Johnson, postmaster at Baltimore, 363, 372; and political assessments, 70, 97, 161, 358, 375, 383, 385, 390, 392; and duties of federal employes, 383, 384; report of, 397; resignation of, would be a loss to reform, 398; on extensions of classified service, 415.
- Root, G. A., Major, appointed postmaster at Lanark, Ill., through influence of Congressman Hitt, 109, 136.
- Rose, federal office-holder, political worker, 287.
- Rose, J. C., civil service reformer, at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; on local examining board at Baltimore, 137, 186; investigates interference of federal office-holders at Baltimore, 225, 226, 261; on committee of National League to investigate interference of office-holders and political assessments, 338.
- Rosecrans, Gen'l., proposes that congressmen have absolute control of offices, 85.
- Roseville, Ill., Editor Hebbard appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Ross, postmaster at Washington, D. C., transferred, 153.
- Ross, M., editor of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 231, 232.
- Rossing, L. A., postmaster at Bode, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Rotation, in office in Indiana, 45; Jacksonian, 257.
- Rothwell, T., ex-alderman New York City, low politician, 199.
- Royer, political worker, appointed Indian agent at Pine Ridge, 192, 202; removed, seeks re-appointment, 211, 217, 218.
- Royer, N., appointed postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., through influence of Cheadle, 47, 89; political worker, 380.
- Rubens, fireman at Indianapolis, political worker for Trusler, 208.
- Runnell, ward politician, seeking collectorship customs at Wilmington, N. C., 183.
- Rusk, Sec., gives R. G. Blaine an office, 108; and Quay, 118; telegram of to Prof. Nipher and reply, 244, 245; supposed telegram of to Prof. Nipher never sent, 253, 290, 354.
- Russell, Jr., C. T., condemns Clarkson, 136.
- Russell, O. H., embezzler, appointed postmaster at Richmond, Va., 374.
- Rutherford, N. J., removal of Van Riper, postmaster of, on secret charges, 175.
- Ryan, efficient employe in R. R. mail service, promoted, 136.
- Ryan, U. S. minister to Mexico, political worker, 382.
- Ryan, J. J., political worker, appointed police justice by Mayor Grant, 184.
- Ryan, T., federal office-holder, returns home to vote, 162; removed for cause by Cleveland, re-appointed by Harrison, 79.
- Ryan, W. S., vice-president Kings Co., N. Y., central republican committee, 198, 304.
- Ryder, W. D., convicted criminal, appointed to Indian service, but removed, 226.
- Sage, S. L., journalist, postmaster at St. Lawrence, S. Dak., 155.
- Sahn, A., ward politician at Indianapolis, 315; applicant for postmastership of Indianapolis, see Indianapolis investigation, 411, 412.
- Sale of offices, by defeated candidate Love of Missouri, testimony of sale, 32, 55, 93, 99; elsewhere, 104, 121; in police service of San Francisco, 215; under Tammany, 221, 225; in pension bureau, by G. B. Ramm, Jr., 238.
- Salem, Ind., Ward, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Saltonstall, collector at Boston applies civil service methods successfully, 71; correspondence with Windom and Harrison, removal of, 94; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102; removal of through influence of Hoar and Dawes, senators, Beard appointed, 105, 129, 168, 173, 179, 215, 282, 307, 376.
- Samoan commission, relative of Harrison appointed naval attache to, 369.
- San Antonio, Tex., Johnson, postmaster of, political worker, 159.
- San Carlos, Indian agency at, and Commissioner Oberly, 48.
- San Francisco, Cal., the "blind white devil of," 28; police positions sold in by Bruner, 215; customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Sanders, Senator, patronage of, 160.
- Sandford, E., appointed by Cleveland chief justice of Utah supreme court, removed for political reasons, 374.
- Sandwich (Mass.) democrat Shevlin reappointed postmaster at, 224.
- Sanford, congressman, helps Editor Ritchie to be postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126; on house committee of civ. service, 86.
- Sangatuck, Mich., Journalist Wade, postmaster at, 149.
- Saratoga, N. Y., Editor Ritchie appointed postmaster at, although opposed by Vice-Pres. Morton, 126; Ritchie, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
- Saulcy, E., political worker, career of, 138; deputy collector at Indianapolis, 144; political worker in Indiana, 302, 353, 375, 377, 379.
- Saunemin, Ill., Editor Brydia appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sawyer, offered bribes for influence in behalf of candidate for Batavia, N. Y., postmastership, 47.
- Sawyer, Senator, favorably disposed to office-seekers, 6; chairman senate committee on post-offices aids nomination of Harrison, 364.
- Saxton, N. Y. state senator, calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- Saybrook, Ill., Editor Mace appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sayre, W. G., Indian land commissioner, federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 189, 297, 316, 353, 378, 379, 389.
- Scanlan, J. F., political worker, given office through influence of Huston, 132.
- Scheusser, J. J., federal employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Schmester, R., employe in post-office at St. Louis, worker for Tilly machine, 150.
- Schmidt, F., custom-house deputy at Indianapolis political worker, 108, 141, 377.
- Scholar in Politics, see Roosevelt, dinner at Indianapolis, 227, 229.
- Schultz, F., census supervisor 6th Indiana district, politician, 104.
- School and civil service reform, see Civ. S. Ref.
- Schrader, Jr., J., journalist, postmaster at Lawrenceburg, Tenn., 155.
- Schreckengast, A. F., journalist, appointed census enumerator, 142.
- Schrieber, postmaster of Tell City, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Schuarfe contest, 226.
- Schurz, Carl, an "imposter," 49; Sec. of Interior under Arther, obtains reappointment of M. S. Sweet, 107, 321; address of, favoring reform methods, 396.
- Scott, C. T., appointed postmaster at Axbridge, Mass., vice Farnum removed on secret charges, 175.
- Scott, J. N., brother-in law of Harrison, given office, 21, 30, 369.
- Scott, Kan., Journalist Adams postmaster at, 149.
- Scott, N. B., member national republican committee, levies political assessments, 390.
- Scott, W. C., journalist, postmaster at Dalton O., 149.
- Scottsburgh, Ind., Postmaster Ridland of, compelled to aid Michener, 144; Ridland, postmaster of, political worker, 377.
- Scranton, Congressman, postmaster of Scranton, Pa., 101.
- Scranton, Pa., Hartley, P. O. employe at, under Postmasters Slocum and Connelly, 101; federal officer-holders political workers for Quay in convention at, 230.
- Scruggs, J. P., deputy collector int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Seenlock, G. C., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Seaman, L. L., protests against removal of Milholand, as federal interference, 333.
- Searcy, Ark., Postmaster McCauley of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Rogers appointed, 186, 187.
- Sears, G. W., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, removal of, 277, 296.
- Secret charges, removal on, of McKenna, postmaster of Long Island City, N. Y., 175; removal of Wilson, postmaster at Chadron, Neb., on, 175; removal of Ratnour, postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., on, Butler appointed, 175; removals upon, investigation into by committee of National League 1890, 175, 176, 177; rules of postal department on, as interpreted by Clarkson, 176; should not be allowed, 415.
- Sedan, Ind., Crane, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Sedgwick, "Bob," political worker for Woodruff, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Sedgwick, J. R., journalist, postmaster at McDonald, Kan., 149.
- Sefrits, L. D., buys post-office at Washington, Daviess Co., Ind., 121.
- Senate, secret executive sessions of, see Foulke.
- Senate, patronage evil in, 72.
- Seneca, Co., N. Y., republican convention of Aug., 1891, factional fights in, 259, 260.
- Service, diplomatic, necessity for reform in, 3; civil, federal, number of offices in, 10.
- Serviss, candidate for postmaster at Apple River, Jo Daviess Co., Ill., 169.
- Settle, widow of Judge, set aside through influence of Congressman Brower, 47.
- Settle, Judge, relations of in office, 47.
- Sewell, Gen'l., patronage of, 180, 386.
- Sexton, Colonel, aided by Senator Farwell for postmastership of Chicago, 14; postmaster at Chicago, spoilsman, 22.
- Seymour (Ind.) Democrat, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Shackelford, Gen'l., appointment of as judge in Indian Territory, 240.
- Shaffer, J., pres. street railway company, is accused of bribing and intimidating voters, 207.
- Shangraun, L., and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Shannon, postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Shannon, Ill., Editor Mastin appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sharob, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Pierce, Neb., 149.
- Sharp, postmaster of Ellettsville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Sharp, H. E., convicted criminal, appointed postmaster at Leadhill, Arkansas, 39; removed, 54.
- Sharp, B. C., given office through influence of Judge Settle, his relative, 47.
- Sharpe, G. H., political worker for Platt and Hisecock, given federal office, 265; anti-Platt worker, 280; father of federal employe S. B. Sharpe, political worker for Harrison in New York, 336; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Shaw, postmaster at Vevay, Ind., political worker, 379.

- Shaw, A. D., appointed deputy third-auditor of treasury for political services, 71, 81; a political worker, 162, 269, 352, 353, 351, 363, 378, 379, 382.
- Shaw, E. O., journalist postmaster at Newaygo, Mich., 189.
- Shay, fire-chief at N. Y. City retired on pension, 36.
- Shea, D., active politician appointed deputy of Collector Erhardt, 108; a political worker, 265, 331, 343, 344.
- Shearman, congressman, opposed to civ. service reform, 49, 54, 180.
- Shearman, J. G., and refusal of Cleveland while candidate to pledge spoil to Sheehan, 395.
- Sheehan, T. C., 317, 318.
- Sheehan, W. F., low politician of Buffalo, N. Y., 196, 197; speaker of N. Y. assembly and patronage, 215; lieutenant-governor of New York, corrupt politician, 310; and school patronage in New York, 318, 319; Cleveland refuses, while candidate, to pledge spoil to, 395; obtains suspension of civil service rules in, for benefit of workers, 414; and bill for municipal reform in Oswego, N. Y., 415.
- Shelbyville, Ind., Bone, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 177.
- Shelbyville (Ind.) Republican (rep.), advocates civ. service reform, 76; on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215.
- Sheldon, Iowa, Editor Piper appointed postmaster at, 112.
- Shelley, J. J., foreman on park board at New York City, defrauds Cole on pretense of selling office, 224, 225.
- Shelley, W. F., dentist, appointed postmaster at New Castle, Ind., 132.
- Shepard, E. M., on examinations in character, 153.
- Shepard, W. J., address by, before Central Labor Union of Buffalo, on civ. service reform, 44; civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200.
- Shepardson, S. W., employe in railway mail service promoted, 136.
- Sheppard, J. T., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Sherer, Dr., in appraiser's office at New York, removed on false charges, see "sugar frauds," 203.
- Sheridan, Gen. G. A., patronage defeated republicans in Ohio, 75.
- Sheridan, J., saloon-keeper and fish protection at Lake Keuka, N. Y., 356.
- Sherman, Senator, spoilsman, 15, 17; on evils of patronage, 25, 67, 177; at war with Quay, 56; secures appointment of Hopley postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149; controls patronage of Ohio, 240, 310; and election controversy of 1877 in Louisiana, accused of bribery, 211; obtains office for Smith, political worker, 249; re-election due to federal patronage, 297, 301, 302.
- Sherman, Mich., Journalist Wheeler postmaster at, 149.
- Sherwood, H., promoted to be postmaster at Washington, 153.
- Shevlin, J., democrat, reappointed postmaster at Sandwich, Mass., 221.
- Shidy, P. O. employe at Milwaukee, compelled by Postmaster Paul to manipulate records, testifies against Paul, removed by him, given another place by Roosevelt, 101, 103.
- Shiel, R. R., works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379; candidate for office, aided by federal office-holders, 370.
- Shipman, Judge, and removal of Bario, efficient P. O. Inspector, 298.
- Shipsey, "Jake," gambler, friend of police justice Diver, 181.
- Shivelev, Congressman, patronage of, 421.
- Shook, S., supports Lee for place in N. Y. custom-house, 259.
- Short Hills, N. J., Kessler, grocer, appointed postmaster of, vice Goodrich removed for political reasons, 386.
- Shore, tax-clerk, a political worker, 162.
- Shrayer, A. R., a political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Shryack, C. V., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Shushan, N. Y., Stevens, disreputable character, appointed postmaster at, through influence of Congressman Quackenbush, 32.
- Sickles, General, of N. Y. civil service commission, a friend to civil service reform, 34.
- Seiders, J. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Plymouth, Ind., 126, 377.
- Sidney, Ohio, editor appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Sill, U. S. attorney, testifies to worth of Bario, P. O. inspector removed, 298.
- Sills, A. K., worker for Harrison, appointed swamp land agent, 30, 377.
- Simmonds, extension of civil service law advocated by, 73.
- Simmons, J. E., bank president, recommends "Paddy" Diver for police justice, 181.
- Simms, C., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Simond, Congressman, civil service reformer, 91.
- Simonds, D. K., journalist, postmaster at Manchester, Vt., 155.
- Simpson, postmaster at Lamb, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Simpson, J., and Fassett, 258; requests patronage, 311, 312; federal employe, in New York convention, 334.
- Slug Sing, N. Y., E. A. McAlpin appointed postmaster at as reward for party services, 108; at convention of republican leagues, 259.
- Sinks, G. W., treas. state republican executive committee, Ohio, and political assessments, 280.
- Sissel, Rev. G. A., opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 241.
- Sitka, Alaska, Journalist Kenealy postmaster at, 155.
- Sitting Bull, "kidnapping" of, 192.
- Skerritt, Commodore, opposes abuses in Kittery navy yard, 148.
- Slec, J. D. F., 259; accuses Fassett of corrupt political methods, see also Chemung, N. Y., 266.
- Sleicher, J. A., N. Y. civil service commissioner, at Minneapolis convention, 346, 354.
- "Slick Six," in Indianapolis, 230.
- Sloan, S. C., on inefficient census enumeration in N. Y. City, 294.
- Small, J. K., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smalls, Robert, convicted criminal appointed by Harrison, 39.
- Smethport, Pa., Postmaster Kerus of, worker for Delamater, 134.
- Smith, buys office in pension bureau from G. B. Raum, Jr., secures promotion by fraud, 238.
- Smith, politician, succeeding Miss Moody, 39.
- Smith, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Smith, postmaster at Laurel, Del., attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.
- Smith, Alderman, of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Smith, A., ex-mayor of Cincinnati, office-seeker, 24; customs collector at Cincinnati, through influence of Sherman, works for, 249; political worker in Ohio, 336.
- Smith, A. A., editor and politician, appointed postmaster at Ogdensburg, N. Y., vice Baird, removed, 126.
- Smith, A. G., attorney-gen'l of Indiana, spoilsman, 315, 355.
- Smith, B. W., uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; applicant for postmastership at Lafayette, Ind., 81; postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., aids Michener and La Follette, 144; a political worker, 153, 158, 316, 339, 342, 377, 379.
- Smith, C., son of federal officer, favorite of Platt at convention republican league, 259.
- Smith, C. E., candidate of Sen. Hiscock for postmaster at Syracuse, 16; editor, appointed postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., vice editor removed, 81; a political worker, 266, 335, 347, 386.
- Smith, C. E., editor, appointed minister to Russia, 100, 133; worker at Minneapolis convention, 382.
- Smith, D., naval officer, on board applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Smith, E., postmaster at Carrollton, Ill., removed through influence of Senator Cullom, 188.
- Smith, E. M., and political assessments in Alabama, 391.
- Smith, F. C., editor, appointed deputy collector at St. Albans, 126.
- Smith, G. A., political boss in Brooklyn, N. Y., accepts bribes, 106.
- Smith, G. W., congressman, forces resignation of Andrews, postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., 165.
- Smith, H. C., successful competitor, given office, 1884, removed by Auditor Coulter, 45.
- Smith, J. C. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Smith, J. E., naval office employe in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Smith, J. E., U. S. asst. dist. atty. in New York, a political worker, 265.
- Smith, J. G., journalist, postmaster at Cunningham, Kan., 119.
- Smith, S. B., anti-Platt republican, police justice and ward politician, see N. Y. City, 198, 199.
- Smith, S. E., negro, P. O. clerk delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smith, S. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Enclitas, Cal., 111.
- Smith, T. G., civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200; on Curtis, 391.
- Smith, W. H., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smith, Dr. W. M., health officer of port of New York, favorite of Platt, 259.
- Smithfield, O., father of Journalist H. Harrison postmaster at, 149.
- Smithland, Iowa, Journalist Hills appointed postmaster at, 112.
- Smock, F. M., journalist, appointed postmaster at Keota, Iowa, 142.
- Smyth, Recorder, recommends "Paddy" Diver for police justice, 181.
- Smyth, A. W., supt. New Orleans mint, pays political assessments, 383.
- Smyth, W., editor, appointed postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 71.
- Smythe, supt. of New Orleans mint, political worker, 304.
- Snyder, H. R., journalist, postmaster at Waverly, O., 149.
- Soale, W., politician, census supervisor, 4th Indiana district, spoilsman, 104, 131, 182.
- "Solid South," vote of for Harrison and others at Minneapolis, 347.
- Sortwell, federal officer, political worker, 379.
- South Bend, Ind., Postmaster Crockett of, a political worker, 153, 158, 316, 377, 378.
- South Bend, Ind., Times (rep.), against repeal of civil service law, 83.
- S. Carolina, political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348, 382, 390.
- South Dakota, political assessments in Indian service in, 384, 385.
- South Hadley Falls, Mass., democrat Kirkpatrick nominated, see Wallace and Harrison, 157.
- Spalding appointed postmaster at Champaign, Ill., through influence of Priv. Sec. Halford, 38.
- Sparta, Ill., Editor Taylor appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Spatz, Louis, inspector in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Speare, appointed postmaster at Quincy, Mass., by Cleveland, removal of sought by Morse, 86; removed, 100.
- Speed, H., U. S. dis. atty., works for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Spencer, T. W., N. Y. state R. R. inspector, asked to resign, 355, 356.
- Spencer, W. Va., Journalist Flinn postmaster at, 155.
- Spencerville, Ind., Proner postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Sperry, postmaster at New Haven, Conn., civ. service reformer, 91, 258; testifies to worth of Bario, removed P. O. inspector, 298.
- Spidle, J., journalist, postmaster at Wilmot, O., 149.
- Spinola, congressman, against civil service reform, 122, 125.
- Spirely, L. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Kingston, Mo., through influence of Filley, 132.
- Spoils system for paying the workers in this country and England, 19; evils of, see Lincoln; evils of, Pres. W. H. Harrison on, 36; opposed by Thomas Jefferson, 46; evils of, see Strong, Rev. S., 102; evils of, see Senator Sherman, also Houk, 177.
- Spooner, senator of Wisconsin, obtains appointment of Bro. R. Spooner as consul at Prague, 30, 354.
- Spooner, H. L., journalist, postmaster at Brookfield, N. Y., 155.
- Spooner, R., appointed consul at Prague through influence of Sen. Spooner, 30.
- Sprague, E. C., address of before annual meeting of National League noticed, 269.
- Sprague, H. H., at Balt. Conference, 1889, 2; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102, 172; speech of on Roosevelt, 415.
- Sprague, H. L., ward politician, see also New York City, 241, 242.
- Spring Valley, O., wife of Journalist Hale postmaster at, 149.
- Springer, Congressman, and star route scandals, 291.
- Springfield, Mass., case of Postmaster Rice, 87.
- Squire, R. M., corrupt commissioner of public works, N. Y. City, see Hill, 306, 307.
- St. Charles, Iowa, Editor Wood appointed postmaster at, 112.
- St. Clairsville, O., Editor Hunt appointed postmaster at, 301.
- St. Genevieve, Mo., Editor Ernst appointed postmaster at, 126.
- St. George, W. Va., Lipsecomb, son of journalist, postmaster at, 15.
- St. Joe Station, Ind., Postmaster Ables of, political worker, 379, 380.
- St. Joseph, Mo., political assessments of P. O. employes at, 383.
- St. Lawrence, S. Dak., Journalist Sage postmaster at, 155.
- St. Louis, disposal of patronage at, see Kerens; applicants for postmastership of, 21; J. B. Harlow appointed postmaster of, 88, 131; introduces reform methods, 136; plots to remove, 226; negro politicians of demand spoil, 146; post-office employes at supporters of Filley machine, 150; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; census service in, inefficient, 295; Postmaster Harlow of ordered to give office to political worker Rundstadtler, federal patronage is used for Harrison's renomination, 304.
- St. Louis (Globe-Democrat (rep.), patronage brings weakness, 76; on repeal civ. service law, 92.
- St. Louis Republic (dem.) favors good administration, 51; considers civil service reform as of prime importance, 59; on lesson of Garfield's assassination, 129; advocates civil service reform, 138; on Filley machine, 160.
- St. Paul Pioneer-Press (repub.), civ. service reform not abandoned, 65; favors civil service reform, accountability of Harrison, 75.
- Stacy, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., removed for political reasons, 39.
- Stamp, A. H., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Stanberry, Mo., fight over postmastership at, 121.
- "Star Route" ring, 28; scandals and Elkins, 290, 369, 371.
- Starr, collector, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Staubach, J. B., on merit system in post-office at Cincinnati, O., 257.
- Stearns, appraiser in Boston custom-house removed through Congressman Cogswell, Dodge appointed, 250, 288.

- Stearns, J. T., custom-house auctioneer, in New York convention, 335.
- Steele, Congressman, given control of patronage by Harrison, 240.
- Steele, G., at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Steele, Richard, in the Tattler, on absurdities of English spoils system, see Curtis, 120.
- Steele, W. T., governor of Oklahoma, political worker for Harrison, 189, 378.
- Stemen, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Stepp, J. M., postmaster at Glen Hall, Ind., "resigns," 149.
- Sternberg, worker for Murphy, gets office through suspension of civil service rules in New York, 414.
- Steuben, Ind., Republican [repub.], advocates civ. service reform, 76.
- Stevens, postmaster of Peru, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Stevens, postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., removed, 54.
- Stevens, E. N., editor, appointed postmaster at Paxton, Ill., 126.
- Stevens, J. L., journalist, postmaster at Plainview, Neb., 149.
- Stevens, W. H., employe in custom-house at St. Louis, Mo., worker for Filley machine, 150.
- Stevens, W. J., opposes Harrison in Alabama, 346; republican politician in Alabama, charges political activity of federal office-holders in, 355.
- Stevenson, Congressman, on house committee, on civil service, 86.
- Stevenson, A. E., as presidential possibility, 235; asst. P. M. gen'l under Cleveland, spoilsman, 255, 350, 375, 376, 386, 408; democratic candidate for vice-president, 1892, 349; and Knights of the Golden Circle, 331, 389; vice-president elect, 388.
- Stevenson, R. B., endeavors to levy political assessments in Indian service in Kansas, 385.
- Stewart, senator of New York, and Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- Stewart, Senator, attacks civil service commission, 250, 251.
- Stewart, D. F., postmaster at Wilmington, Del., political worker, 334.
- Stewart, H., resignation of as postmaster at Munroville, Ind., given office in Washington, 88.
- Stieb, P., employed in New York custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Stimson, Dr. D. M., resigns from N. Y. City health dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Stinson, W. D., nephew of Mrs. Blaine, appointed postmaster at Augusta, Me., 321.
- Stockbridge, Congressman, controls post-office at Baltimore, Md., 84.
- Stockbridge, Senator, in Michigan convention, 335; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345.
- Stocking, S. W., promoted in patent office, efficient, 140.
- Stockton, A. R., republican politician and postmastership at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Stoddard, inspector in postal service, and removal of Farnum on secret charges, 175.
- Stokely, mayor, and Martin, disreputable politician of Philadelphia, 233.
- Stokely, S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Stone, congressman, on house committee on civ. service, 86.
- Stone, collector and appointment of O'Donnell, 60.
- Stone, supporters of, bought by Delamater, 134.
- Stone, C. W., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Stoue, F. C., internal rev. collector in Michigan, political worker, 390.
- Stone, Editor J. B., appointed collector internal revenue first Michigan district, 30.
- Stone, Dr. R. F., pension examiner, removed, Dr. Elbert, negro, appointed, 192.
- Storer, ex-representative, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Storey, M., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110; on responsibility, 219; on Roosevelt civil service reform, 257; on divorce of municipal business from politics, 261, 283, 286; on committee of National League to investigate political interference of office-holders, 338; chairman committee Nat. League investigating political activity of federal office-holders under Harrison, report to by L. B. Swift, 375-381.
- Story City, Iowa, Editor Peterson appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Stoufer, A. K., journalist, postmaster at Arkalon, Kan., 148.
- Stover, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Stratton, S. R., pres. Pa. republican ass'n, advocates clean sweep, 49; and office-seekers, 88; advocates political assessments and intimidation, 178, 179.
- Strawbery Point, Ia., Postmaster Keith of, removed, see Clarkson, 55.
- Strong, M., negro, unable to read or write, appointed postmaster at Delmar, Ala., 47.
- Strong, Rev. Sidney, on evils of spoils system, 102.
- Strouser, I. R., compares Cleveland and Harrison, 364.
- Strouther, P. W., deputy int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Struble, I. S., congressman, forces resignation of Jasper, postmaster at Kingsley, Ia., 165.
- Stuart, P. O. inspector, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Stuart, Iowa, Editor Moulton appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Stuart, R. S., inspector, dismissed of, 17.
- Studebaker, E. H., requested by R. Harrison to persuade Blaine delegate to vote for Harrison, 337.
- Sturgis, O. T., editor, endorsed by Sen. Quay for postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99.
- Stutsman, auditing att'y at Peru, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Suffall, veteran, efficient postmaster at Freedom, Ind., removed for political reasons, Watts appointed through influence of Michener, 112, 377.
- "Sugar frauds," at New York, false charges against Dr. Sherer, in appraiser's office at, 203.
- Sullivan, Ind., applicants for postmastership at, 88; Editor Clugage appointed postmaster at, 108, 126, 377.
- Sullivan, J. E., county clerk of Marion Co., Ind., embezzles county funds, see Indianapolis.
- Sullivan, J. N., appointed postmaster at Berne, Ind., removed, 88.
- Sullivan, T., mayor of Indianapolis, should institute civil service reform methods in city offices, as in Boston, Buffalo and Brooklyn, see equally divided politically, 220; should introduce merit system in city service, 235; can at will apply merit system to every city department, 243; elected twice by independent votes, 269.
- Sulzer, M. L., special Indian agent, worker for Harrison, 316; opposed to Harrison, bribed with office, 377; political worker, 389.
- Sultz, deputy U. S. marshal, collects political assessments, 372.
- Sunbright, Tenn., Journalist Dunning postmaster at, 155.
- Sunner, J. H., deputy collector at N. Y. City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Suspension Bridge, N. Y., Low, customs collector at, a political worker, 265; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Sutton, John, politician, appointed to look after office seekers, 46.
- Sylvanus, P. O. employe, political worker, in Delaware, 334.
- Syracuse, N. Y., candidates for postmastership at, incumbent favored by Belden, 46; editor appointed postmaster at by Pres. Cleveland, 71; per cent of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Editor Smith, postmaster of, a political worker, 266, 335, 347, 386.
- Syracuse, N. Y., Standard (repub.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Swain, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Swalm, A. W., editor, postmaster in Mahaska Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Swartout, ex-collector of port of New York, spoilsman, 272.
- Swayzee, G. S., employe in custom-house at New Orleans, works for lottery, 143.
- Sweeney, Congressman, and post-office at Clear Lake, Ia., 121.
- Sweeney, State Senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 212; spoilsman, 408.
- Sweet, Miss, pension agent at Chicago, re-appointed, Commissioner Black attempts to remove, serves full term, Mrs. Mulligan succeeds, 107.
- Sweet, E. R., removal of, 88.
- Sweet, W. L., political worker for Platt, 259, 260.
- Sweetland, H., negro, councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Swift, H. P., wins prize offered by Wanamaker in R. R. service, 415.
- Swift, J. L., journalist, given office by Collector Beard, 108; a political worker, 179.
- Swift, L. B., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; letter of Nov. 28, 1888, to editor Civil S. Record, necessity for reform associations to be alert, 5; address of, before annual meeting Indiana Civil Service Reform Assoc., 108; address of, on civil service reform, 137; address of, on "gift of offices," 145; on all other reforms should be subordinated to civil service reform, 153; address before annual meeting National League 1890, 170, 171, 172; letter to, from Roosevelt, refuting charges of favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267; address of, before annual meeting National League, noticed, 269; on committee of Nat. League investigating political assessments, and political interference of federal office-holders, 338; on committee of Nat. League, to investigate political activity of federal office-holders under Harrison, report of, 375-381.
- Tackett, M. D., appointed special land agent in reward for political services, 234, 377.
- Taft, editor, worker for Sherman, brother of U. S. solicitor-general, 301.
- Taggart, T., ward politician at Indianapolis, 315; chairman Indiana state democratic committee, on Gray, 396; patronage of, 400, 401; chairman Indiana state democratic committee, 407.
- Taggart, W. G., postmaster of Newburg, N. Y., political worker for Platt, 260.
- Tait, J. H., journalist, postmaster at Goodland, Kan., 149.
- Talladega, Ala., postmaster of removed for political reasons, protectionist democrat appointed, 186.
- Tallentire, fire-foreman at Indianapolis, a political worker, 208.
- "Tally-sheet" frauds at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Tama, Iowa, Editor Wonser appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Tammany Hall, see Feudalism revived; opposed to civil service reform, 128; rule of in New York City, 130, 230, 262, 274, 298, 311, 313, 314; controls patronage of Brooklyn navy yard, under Sec'y Whitney, 148; political assessments levied by, estimates of, 183, 184; uses "pass" examinations, 192; primaries of and republican primaries, 198, 199; supported by Gorman, 214; continued exposure of evils of, will defeat, 219; methods of, 224, 225, 234; R. Croker "boss" of, and McLaughlin, 245, 309; rules New York, 283, 284; and Platt, 288; corrupting influences of, 289, 290; of Cincinnati, O., opposes Sherman, 297; defended by R. Croker, 305, 323; evils of rule of, 317, 320, 333, 356, 385, 390; and nomination of Stevenson, 349; and N. Y. republican machine, 352; and N. Y. City, streets, 357; allied with Platt, 376; fears of under Cleveland, 388; and appointment of Mrs. Maloney as police matron, 404; need of civil service reform paper to oppose, 414.
- Tampa, Fla., Editor Cooper appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Tanner, "Corporal," appointed by Pres. Harrison as superintendent of pensions, 27; appoints his daughter his private sec., 38; spoilsman, 51; removals by, for political reasons, 53, 54.
- Tanner, J., U. S. sub-treasurer, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Tanner, J., asst. treasurer, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Tansel, A., journalist, postmaster at Haddam, Kan., 149.
- Tafley, Wm. B., journalist, postmaster at Frankfort, S. Dak., 155.
- Taffer, police commissioner of N. Y. City, Tammany tool, 356.
- Tarbox, postmaster at Rochester, N. Y., a political worker, 280.
- Tarleton, T. P., dep. col. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Tarrow, chief of division, removed for political reasons by Coulter, 55.
- Tate, confesses to accepting bribes, 151.
- Taylor, river commissioner, at Minneapolis convention, 379, 380.
- Taylor, Judge, political worker for Harrison, 302, 343.
- Taylor, (Illinois) Congressman, and Chicago post-office, 22.
- Taylor (Ohio), congressman of Ohio, opposed to civil service reform system, 35, 49; congressman and office-seeker in Ohio, 75.
- Taylor (Indiana), congressman, patronage of, 419, 421.
- Taylor, Col., special treasury agent, active political worker, 108.
- Taylor, D. D., editor, brother of postmaster at Cambridge, O., 301.
- Taylor, H. A., editor and politician, appointed commissioner of railroads, 39, 108.
- Taylor, S. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Sparta, Ill., 141.
- Tell City, Ind., Schrieber postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Teller, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344, 346.
- Tennessee, appointees to Indian service from, under Cleveland, 219; political activity of federal office-holders in, 337, 339, 346, 347.
- Tenure law for four years, condemned by National League, 321.
- Terre Haute, Ind., Manson, efficient collector at, removed by Harrison, Throop appointed, 59; should have civil service law applied to local offices, 85; Greiner postmaster of, political worker, 153, 158, 316, 342, 343, 346, 377, 378, 379; Congressman Brookshire allows Voorhees to name postmaster of, 405.
- Terre Haute Mail [repub.], opposed to spoils system, 83.
- Terrell, asst. U. S. attorney in Texas, a political worker, 159.
- Terrell, E. H., minister to Belgium, 14.
- Terry, P. E., postmaster at Terryville N. Y., removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391.
- Terry, S. S., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Terryville, N. Y., Terry, postmaster of, removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391.
- Tests, competitive, objections to, 26.
- Texas, republicans of, headed by Customs Collector Cuney, 150; patronage of given to Collector Cuney, factions of, 158, 159, 173; political activity of federal officers in, 345, 346, 347, 348; political assessments in, 383.
- Thalman, low politician, councilman, and Indpls. fire department, 13; spoilsman, 69, 207.
- Theopolis, R., federal office-holder and political worker, 179.
- Thieme, A. B., census enumerator on inefficiency of the service, 294.
- Thomas, U. S. marshal, a political worker, bargains with Karr, 160.

- Thomas, state senator of Penn., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Thomas, and Cleveland administration, 25, 51.
- Thomas, A. C., librarian of Haverford College, letter of, 412, 422.
- Thomas, B. F., journalist, postmaster at Wymore, Neb., 149.
- Thomas, T. F., P. O. employe at Baltimore, political worker, 267, 296, 335.
- Thomas, M. A., low politician, appointed Indian agent through influence of Gorman, 237.
- Thomas, S., levies political assessments in New York, 391, 392.
- Thomas, W. C., journalist, postmaster at Osseo, Wis., 155.
- Thompson, controller at Philadelphia, makes removals for political reasons, 239.
- Thompson, secy. of state for New Hampshire, 113.
- Thompson, threatens office-holders, 55.
- Thompson, Dr., state senator, advocate of spoils system in state charitable institutions of Indiana, opposes new charter for Indianapolis, see, also, Magee, 201, 212.
- Thompson, E. P., asst. postmaster at Indpls., reinstated, 9; and Moore, 25; tries to secure special examination, 26; and fraudulent appointments of Wheat and Tousey, 28; recommends Van Buren, spoilsman, for local civil service board, asks for special examination, 34; acting postmaster at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; promoted to be postmaster, consequent promotions, 235; political worker; and subordinates, work for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343; attempt to coerce by Merrill Moores, small republican boss, 366; political worker, 302, 316, 320, 375, 379, 382; removes carrier Dunn for soliciting political contributions, 403.
- Thompson, H. S., civil service commissioner appointed by President Harrison, 17; and political assessments, 70; and Shidy case, 101; before congressional committee, 119; commended, 125; resigns, 322; and Attorney-General Miller, 330, 372.
- Thompson, O., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Thornton, B., negro detective, used for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 345.
- Thornton, G. E., day director in navy causes unwarranted removal of Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., 175, 176.
- Thockmorton, D. I., candidate for postmaster of La Fayette, Ind., 71, 84.
- Throop, J. P., appointment of, condemned, 51; political worker, appointed collector internal revenue, 59; political worker, 362, 380.
- Thurber, F. B., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- Thurston, J. M., president league of republican clubs, speaks in favor of civil service reform, 219.
- Tice, F., appointed postmaster at Mt. Morris, Ill., see Hitt, 109.
- Tichner, postmaster of Princeton, Ind., political worker, 316, 378.
- Tilden, Governor of New York, exposes Chemung canal robbery, see Hill, 306; civil service reform a democratic principle under, 397.
- Tilton, R. L., postmaster in Wapello Co., Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- "Tin Horns," low republican politicians, see Indianapolis, corrupt politics, etc., at.
- Tindolph, postmaster of Vincennes, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Tippecanoe Club, of Baltimore, resolutions of, denounce civil service reform and the commission, 49.
- Tissue Ballot System, in the South, 29.
- Tittman, Prof., of U. S. coast survey, in "sugar frauds" investigation, 203.
- Todd, J. S., removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Toland, G. R., postmaster at Asbury Park, N. Y., under Cleveland, 386.
- Toledo, Ill., Editor Conner appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Toledo Blade (rep.), spoilsman must go 92.
- Tolona, Ill., Editor Chapin appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Tomblin, Al., opposes appointment of Williams as postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Tomlinson, D. W., recommended by Owen for postmaster of Logansport, Ind., 88; postmaster of Logansport, Ind., a political worker, 153, 158, 260, 377.
- Tompkins, case of, 94.
- Toomey, M., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Tousey, W. E., ward politician, not on eligible list, re-instated in Indianapolis post-office after absence of years, 26, 27; dismissed by civil service commission, 34.
- Tousey, same, alderman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Towner, R. B., and Flower, 287.
- Townsend, congressman, nomination secured by bribery, 151.
- Tracy, congressman, and civil service law, 122; on civil service failures of Harrison, favors civil service law, 125.
- Tracy, U. S. marshal, active politician, 113.
- Tracy, sec. of navy, and offices in Brooklyn navy-yard, 55; and repairs at Norfolk navy-yard, 56; recommends Captain Folger to succeed Com. Sicard, 100; favors W. G. Taylor, 135; course of in Brooklyn navy-yard, 142; opposes Nathan, ward politician, 143; gives navy-yards up as spoils, see Kittery, 145; and spoils system in navy-yard at Portsmouth, N. H. (Kittery), 145; conduct of in Brooklyn, Kittery, Norfolk and Charleston navy-yards, 153, 170; introduces reform methods in navy-yards, commends civil service law, 219, 221, 222, 274, 276, 298, 306, 321, 372, 376; holds Feaster responsible for bad work by henchmen at Mare Island navy-yard, 226; introduces merit system in navy-yards, 230, 236, 238, 251; should institute examinations under civil service commission for promotions in navy department, 254, 257; commended, 287, 290; and removals for political reasons in navy yards, 34; on improvements in navy yard management, 326; supports Rhinehart, 332; removes supporters of Platt, 334; political worker for Harrison in New York, 336, 339, 347; "placates" Platt, 353; removes Page, chief of ordnance dept. in Brooklyn navy yard, 355; introduces Boston labor system in navy yards, 357; and Nathan, 371.
- Traiteur, treasurer inspector, pays political assessments, 279.
- Treadwell, W. S., sec'y Kings Co., N. Y., central republican committee, worker for Nathan, 198, 301.
- Treasury department, offices in, 24; removals of laborers in, 29; examinations for, see De Land, 152; employes under supervising architect of, selected by civil service examinations, though not required by law, 224.
- Trevelyan, Sir G. O., on competitive tests in English civil and military service, 118.
- Treynor, I. M., postmaster at Council Bluffs, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Tripp, editor, son of appointed postmaster at Carrollton, O., 301.
- Tripp, T. H., supporter of Platt in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Tripp, O. H., works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Trollope, A., opposed to merit system of England, 227.
- Trollington, J. H., postmaster at Palo Pinto, Mo., buys office, 55.
- Troy, Ind., Gardiner, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Troy, N. Y., post-office at, investigated by civil serv. com., spoils system in, 29.
- True, T. W., postmaster at Eureka Springs, Ark., denounced by republicans, 55.
- Trusler, P. C., and Indianapolis fire department, 13; a ward boss, councilman of Indianapolis, obtains removal of Fire Chief Webster, 36; spoilsman, see Indianapolis, 69, 380; candidate, 162; tries to turn fire service at over to spoils, 207, 208.
- Trust, G., low politician and murderer, gets office through Gorman, 237.
- Truxton, Commodore, commandant navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Tucker, postmaster at Annapolis, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Tugwell, A. P., ex-collector, a political worker, 159.
- Turner, postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., indorsed for re-appointment, 100.
- Turner, Congressman, favors civ. service reform 100.
- Turpie, Senator, 393, 401; patronage of, 405, 410, 413, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Tuscaloosa, Ala., Miller, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Tweed, "Boss," 28, 190, 211, 212; allied with Hill, 306.
- Tyner, "Jim," ass't att'y-gen'l for P. O. dep't, construes civil service law in favor of Baltimore federal employes, politically active, 357, 358.
- Tyrrell, W. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Waverly, Iowa, 142.
- Underwood, W., appointed postmaster at Washington, Penn., 100.
- Union, Ind., Fearis, postmaster of, political worker, 316, 378.
- Union City, Mich., Journalist Easton, postmaster at, 149.
- Union League Club, and Platt, 333.
- Uniontown, Pa., Patterson appointed postmaster at through influence of Frick, 99.
- U. S. Snpreme Bench, considered as spoils, 24.
- Upper Sandusky, O., Editor Cuneo postmaster at, 301.
- Upton, J. D., defeated candidate, sale of offices by in Missouri, 55, 99.
- Urwitz, M., sec'y central republican exec. committee, Texas, denounces Cuneo, 180.
- Utah, relative of Pres. Harrison given position in, 30, 369; sentiment favoring civil service reform in, 111; political activity of office-holders in, 339, 345, 347; vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis, 347.
- Utica, O., Journalist Harris postmaster at, 149.
- Utica, N. Y., Miller, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
- Utter, A. W., journalist, appointed postmaster at Emmetsburg, Iowa, 142.
- Uxbridge, Mass., Postmaster Farnum of, removed on secret charges, Scott appointed, 175.
- Vail, D., editor, appointed postmaster at New Sharon, Iowa, 142.
- Vail, J. M., journalist, postmaster at New Milford, Pa., 149.
- Valley Center, Journalist Beach postmaster at, 149.
- Valley Virginian [repub.], opposed to Mahone, 53.
- Valparaiso, Ind., Postmaster De Motte of, a political worker, 153, 377, 378; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 316, 343; at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Van Alstyne, J. L., physician, pension examiner, removed through Postmaster Dunn, 304.
- Van Anda, Rev. A. C., address of on "Purity in Politics," 137.
- Van Buren, M., Pres., spoils system attributed to, 262.
- Van Buren, W. A., recommended for appointment to local service board at Indianapolis, spoilsman, 34, 78; attends dinner to Roosevelt (see), 227, 229.
- Van Cliff, M. E., commissioner (U. S.) circuit court in New York, a political worker, 266.
- Van Cott, appointed postmaster at New York, for party services, 13, 20; and civil service commission, 42; appointed at dictation of Platt, 22, 44; appoints his son cashier of post-office, 108; assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; calls on Fassett, collector at, 258; gives offices to supporters of Gibbs, political worker, 265, 269; political worker, 279, 287; defended by Wanamaker, 289; and political workers, 311; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, wants Heudricks to lead in New York, 337, 344, 347, 396.
- Van Duzer, ex-assemblyman of New York, opposes Platt and Fassett, 259; postmaster at Horseheads, N. Y., a political worker, 265; and removal of Flood, 304; attempted removal of by Fassett, 331.
- Van Horn, R. T., controlling patronage of Missouri, 24.
- Van Houten, editor, appointed postmaster at Lenox, Iowa, 142.
- Van Riper, J., postmaster at Rutherford, N. J., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Van Schaick, Congressman, and Postmaster Paul of Milwaukee, 44, 47; his "prerogative," 55.
- Van Slyke, J., editor, appointed postmaster at McHenry, Ill., 141.
- Van Voorhis, J. R., Tammany man, career of 318.
- Vance, Senator, on civil service reform, 117; and Eaves, 159.
- Vandermost, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Monroe, Ia., 142.
- Vandervoort, P., chief clerk R. R. service, 1883, incapable, discharged, and reappointed at suggestion of Nebraska congressmen, 17; and Harrison administration, 25; benchman, 21, 31, 35, 54; supt. of mails at Omaha, Neb., disreputable politician and spoilsman, 211; career of, 215, 216, 220, 357.
- Vandevere, C. E., appointed by Cleveland, Indian agent, efficient, but removed, 181.
- Vesey, postmaster at Baltimore, spoilsman, removals under, 53; and Sears, P. O. employe at, 277.
- Vest, Senator, a spoilsman, 5, 43, 45; Arthur's administration, 24; secures appointment for son, totally unfit, under Cleveland, 212; on the issue, 375.
- Vest, G., son of Senator Vest, appointed to diplomatic service under Cleveland, totally unfit, 242.
- Vevay, Postmaster Shaw and Deputy Long, of Vevay, Ind., political workers, 379.
- Vicksburgh, Mich., Journalist Baldwin postmaster at, 149.
- Vicksburg, Miss., Hill, negro, postmaster of, worker at Minneapolis, 343, 348.
- Vigneaux, J., U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Vilas, W. F., senator and ex-P. M. Gen'l., spoilsman, 20, 21; removals under, 96; compelled to let Faulkner stay in office by Voorhees, 222; under Cleveland, spoilsman, 255; and civil service reform, 274; under Cleveland, spoilsman, 361.
- Vincennes, Indiana, letter from correspondent at, 16; post-office at, 37; Tindolph, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Vineland, N. J., postmaster at, removed on false charge, really for political reasons, 39.
- Virginia, patronage of given by Pres. Harrison to Mahone, 27, 28, 31, 38, 41, 51, 52, 56, 67, 68, 70, 111, 282, 332, 376; political assessments in, made by republicans, 226; political activity of federal office-holders in, supports Blaine, 348, 345, 370.
- Vogel, "Gus," federal office-holder at St. Louis, worker for Filley machine, 150.
- Voght, F., molder, appointed in office of Gold, township trustee, at Indianapolis, 256.
- Voght, W. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Covington, Ind., 126, 377.
- Von Bergman, A., editor, given office through Congressman Belden, 132.
- Von Landberg, A., editor, internal revenue collector, removals by, 150.
- Voorhees, Senator, a spoilsman, 5, 43, 45, 177, 244, 381, 404; opposed to civil service reform, 80; political turn-coat, 171; secures place for Faulkner, illiterate politician, 222; and Cleveland, 235; favors Gorman for president, 236; supports Hanlon for internal revenue collector at New Albany, Ind., 393; allowed by Brookshire to name postmaster at Terre Haute, Ind., 406; patronage of, 409, 410, 413, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Wade, F., journalist, postmaster at Sanguatuck, Mich., 149.
- Wade, of Missouri, and office-seekers, 6, 15.
- Waddick, ballot-box stuffer, sec Hudson Co., N. Y.

- Wadsworth, J. W., congressman-elect, calls for political assessments, 279, 354.
- Wagner, chairman Kings Co. (N. Y.) republican committee, levies political assessments, 287.
- Wakeman, W. F., sec'y American Protective Tariff League, at Minneapolis convention, 344; circular letter of, to postmasters, 382.
- Walker, congressman, secures appointment of Scott as postmaster at Uxbridge, Mass., 175.
- Walker, internal revenue collector, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245.
- Walker, B. W., U. S. marshal in Alabama, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Walker, F. A., and censuses of 1870 and 1880, 291; on selection of census enumerators, 294; on censuses of 1870, 1880, 1890, 295.
- Walker, O. D., physician, employed in Indian service, asked for political contribution, 385.
- Walker, W. B., defeated applicant indorsed generally for postmaster at Hamilton, Mo., 150.
- Wallace, helped by Quay, 135.
- Wallace, deputy postmaster at Indianapolis, a political worker, 141.
- Wallace, D., P. O. employe at Indianapolis, works for Harrison, 302, 337, 343, 377, 378, 379.
- Wallace, Gen. L., obtains postmastership at Indianapolis for brother, for services to Harrison at Chicago convention, 26.
- Wallace, S., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Wallace, postmaster at Indianapolis directed by civil service commission to remove Moore, gambler, 27, 28; views of civil s. ref., 2, 9, 18; law violated by, 25; appointed at request of General L. Wallace, cares little for success of civil service reform, 26; re-instates R. B. Mundelle, discharged by Jones, postmaster, 27; and Hamlin, bad character, keeps him in office, 34; and local board, 43, 48, 73; secretly a political worker, 144; death of, a loss to the public service, 219.
- Wallace, W. C., Congressman, obtains appointment of 200 henchmen in Brooklyn navy yard, 55, 72; aided by ward politician, Nathan, 121, 150; and "Dan" Lake, 132; opposed by Benedict and Sec'y Tracy, 135; controls patronage in New York, 142; secures appointment of M. Malone, 143; secures nomination of postmaster Kirkpatrick, 157; candidate for congress, re-nominated, see Nathan, 178, 374; trading in behalf of, by Nathan, federal employe, 179, 180; Boyle, navy employe, political worker for, 183.
- Walser, Z. V., federal employe, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Walter, P. L., accuses Delamater of bribery, 134.
- Walters, J., political worker under Postmaster Johnson in Maryland, 335.
- Walters, N., politician, candidate for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Walton, T., beaten by ballot frauds, see Martin, low politician.
- Wanamaker, P. M. Gen'l., endorses Martin, low politician, for collector internal revenue, see 239; and W. W. Dudley, 2; rules for employes, concerning applicants, 14, 16; and the postmastership of Philadelphia, 15, 22; at dictation of Senator Quay, 27; removes postmaster at New Bedford (Mass.), despite protests, and without cause or hearing, 29; in conflict with Senator Quay over Philadelphia spoils, 30; and civ. service commission, 36; favors Gorman, 38; removes postmaster at Vineland, N. J., for political reasons on false charges, 39; spoilsman, 43, 174, 290; and Van Cott, postmaster at N. Y. City, 44; and Postmaster Paul, of Milwaukee, 44; accepts nominations of Brower, congressman, 47; to be blamed for patronage scandal, 55; and postmaster at Cheraw, S. C., 55; protest against Clarkson sent to, 55; on necessity of reform in railway mail service, 69; career of in politics, and removals of postmasters by, 70; and Sen. Wade Hampton, concerning post-office at Columbia, S. C., 74; and postmaster at Laurenceville, Va., 74; circular letter of Marshall Cushing, private sec'y to, 80; gives disposal of postmastership at Baltimore to Stockbridge, 84; sec Russellville, Ind., 89; gives post-office at Pittsburgh to Sen. Quay, 90; and re-appointment of Montgomery as postmaster at Bristol, Conn., 91, 92; removals under, 96; and English, postmaster at New Haven, Conn., 96; and Frick, 99; and removal of Hartley, 101; course of in Shidy case, 103, 104; and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; tool of Quay, 112, 133, 138, 161, 173; letter to from Cooper regarding postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112; condemned, 125; testifies to worth of Postmaster Hendrix of Brooklyn, N. Y., 131; removals under McKean, postmaster at Pittsburgh, 133; approves Pres. Cleveland's circular warning federal employes against undue political activity, 135; and use of post-offices for political purposes, 135; and Quay, 161; refuses access to records of removals, etc., 163; report of for 1889, past of, 163, 164; suggests assessments on corporations, 171; and Fonlke, 173; on secret charges, 175; hostile to civil service reform, 177; charges of against civil service commission, 185; letter of to Postmaster Marsh alleging congressional influence for removal, letters of to others, removed, 187; letter of to McCanley regarding removal, 187; refuses to re-appoint democratic postmaster Harrington, 188; and Baltimore post-office, 189; evasive course of, 190, 191; charges of inefficiency against civil service commission met, 193; and railway mail service, 203; Mail Superintendent Vandervoort, disreputable politician and spoilsman, safe with, 211; and Delphi (Ind.) Journal, 213; defended by Gorman against Roosevelt, 214; Leeds, corrupt politician, 216; a "pious fraud," see Vandervoort, 220; objects to civil service reform, gives prize to Oler for efficiency in mail service, 224; rule of to re-appoint only republicans violated, 224; backs Quay, 228; defended for spoils methods by Gorman, 228; gets office as political reward, 237; obligations of Harrison to, 240; collects campaign funds, gambles in stocks with Lucas, countenances fraudulent issues of stock, 245, 246; and appointment of Low, 249; and small office-seekers, 251; should institute examinations under civil service commission for promotions in his department, 254; appointment of harts civil service reform, 255, 256; establishes board of promotion by competitive examination in P. O. department, 256, 257; injures civil service reform, see Lambert, 261; uses postmasters as political agents, 262; and civil service reform, 274; letter to Sears, giving inefficiency as cause of removal, 277; objects to political assessments in P. O. department, 280; and violations of law in Omaha post-office, 281; defends Van Cott, postmaster at New York, 289; refuses to tell Flood alleged reasons for removal, promotion scheme of, 297, 298, 303, 304; introduced promotion by competition in P. O. department, 321; and Baltimore investigation, 329, 330, 372, 373, 396; political worker for Harrison, 299; and attempted removal of Postmaster Van Duzer, 331, 339, 340, 349; and political activity of federal employes at Baltimore, 335, 350, 357, 358; refuses list of employes for assessment purposes, 363, 364; appointed in return for raising campaign fund, 368, 374, 376; and political activity of postmasters, 375, 389; and removal for political reasons of Dner, postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., 408; gives prize to Swift, efficient R. R. postal clerk, 415.
- Wanmaker, G. W., low politician in New York, 311; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom-house, 358.
- Ward, postmaster at Salem, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Ward, carrier at Indianapolis post-office, removed, 9.
- Ward, C., and attempted bribery by Sen. Higgins and Postmaster Smith, in Delaware, 402.
- Ward, J. A., editor, candidate for postmaster at Lockport, N. Y., 216.
- Ward, W. J., affidavit of on sale of offices by J. Love, 99.
- Warmcastle, S. D., revenue collector, begs Blaine to speak, 180; political worker for Quay, 270; 280; supporter of Quay, removed by Harrison, 299.
- Warmouth, H. C., ex-Gov., appointed collector at New Orleans, 44, 52; rnfianly politician, 105; aids lottery, 143, 191; secures appointment of Weber as postmaster at Donaldson, La., 241; worker for Harrison in Louisiana, 304; supports Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346; worker for Harrison, 348, 357, 362, 371; pays political assessments, 383.
- Warner, C. D., address of on spoils system at Indianapolis, 415.
- Warner, C. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Hoopeston, Ill., 141, 165.
- Warner, J. M., spoken of as postmaster for Albany, N. Y., 46; postmaster at Albany, N. Y., favors civil service reform, 51; enforces civil service law, 136; delegate to N. Y. convention, 335.
- Warsaw, Ind., Bennett, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316, 378, 380.
- Warsaw, Mo., post-office at sold by Upton, 55.
- Warwick, Congressman, institutes competitive examination for candidates for West Point, does not accept result, 254, 262.
- Washington, Senator, patronage a source of weakness, 25; indorses E. G. Hay, 84; supporter of Blaine, 341, 345.
- Washington (state), political activity of federal office-holders in, 357.
- Washington, D. C., Sherwood promoted to be postmaster at, 153; proportion of applicants to offices in, under Harrison and Cleveland, 185; Harrison removes U. S. district attorney at, 211; merit system in departments at, 224; competitive examinations under civil service commission order for promotions in departments at, 254; Harrison makes rules for promotion in departments at, 261; department offices and the examinations, 273; political contributions asked in P. O. department by Watres, 280; merit system for laborers in navy yard at, instituted at and commended, 331; political assessments in departments at, 390, 392; examinations for departments at, 1891-92, 396; political assessments levied by Old Dominion republican club in departments at, 412.
- Washington Post, civil service reform a snare and a sham, 49.
- Washington Star (repub.), advocates civil service reform, 92.
- Washington, George, 116; on political dnty, see headline to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for June, 1890, 129; Harrison compared with, 159; on evils of strict adherence to party, 236, 274; on evils of parties, 323, 394.
- Washington, Ind., Ellis appointed postmaster at, despite sale of office to Sefrits, 121.
- Washington, Kan., Journalist Robinson postmaster at, 119.
- Washington, Pa., Underwood appointed postmaster at, 100.
- Washington Co., Ind., removals and appointments in, 91.
- Waters, state senator of Pa., 133.
- Watertown, N. Y., Gates, postmaster of, furnishes political information, 392.
- Waterville, Me., Millican, postmaster of, and non-delivery of papers advocating Burleigh, congressional candidate opposing Manley, 364.
- Waterville, Wash., Journalist Kellogg, postmaster at, 155.
- Watkins, politician, and appointments in Brooklyn navy yard, 45.
- Watkins, N. Y., P. Conroy appointed postmaster at, 150.
- Watres, L. A., republican political worker for Quay, asks political contributions in P. O. department at Washington, D. C., 280.
- Watrons, J. W., editor, appointed customs collector at Milwaukee, through influence of Wisconsin congressmen, 71, 126.
- Watson, "Billy," ward politician, see also Kings Co., N. Y., 182, 183, 302.
- Watson, C. W., chairman committee of N. Y. civ. service reform association, on civil service examinations, 239, 319, 320; on committee, National League, to investigate political assessments, 338.
- Watts, F., appointed postmaster at Freedom, Ind., vice Sniffall, removed for political reasons, 377.
- Waugh, congressman, patronage of, 419.
- Waverly, Iowa, Editor Tyrrell, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Waverly, O., Journalist Snyder, postmaster at, 149, 301.
- Wayne Co. (N. Y.) republicans, resolutions, of denouncing patronage system of republican party, 156.
- Weather bureau, merit system in, 253; service classified by Pres. Harrison, 403.
- Weatherby, Rev. S. S., on civ. service reform, 83.
- Weaver, postmaster at —, a political worker, 179.
- Weaver, J. M., congressman, obtains appointment of Low, political worker, as postmaster of Westport, N. Y., 249, 354.
- Weaver, V., editor, appointed postmaster at Loda, Ill., 141.
- Webb, constructor at Kittery (Me.), navy yard, examination of, 147.
- Webb, W. E., census supervisor, pledges of to spoilsmen, 131.
- Weber, federal officer, appoints anti-Platt men, 334.
- Weber, E. M., appointed postmaster at Donaldson, La., upon request of Collector Warmouth, 241.
- Webster, federal employes compelled to vote for, 162.
- Webster, Daniel, address to Massachusetts whigs in 1832, public press and spoils, 17; on bribery of press, 81, 141, 154, 155, 369, 376; spoils system under Jackson, 270, 324; sec'y of state under W. H. Harrison, circular of against political assessments and political activity of federal office-holders, 320.
- Webster, E. A., negro, coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348, 382.
- Webster, Col. G. P., patronage of in N. Y. legislature, guilty of nepotism, 215.
- Webster, J. A., journalist, postmaster at Johnson, Kan., 149.
- Webster, J. H., chief of Indianapolis fire department, 13, 69; removed for political reasons, 36; influence of removal on city elections, 59; against spoils system, 203; effort to force him to turn fire service over to spoils; removal and re-appointment of, 207, 208.
- Webster, W. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Cresco, Iowa, 142.
- Wedgefield, S. C., Negro Richardson, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Weed, S., Tammany "boss," and prison patronage, 331.
- Weeks, thief, ordered to be employed in Kittery navy yard, see Robeson and Broadhead, 147.
- Weeping Water, Neb., removal of Postmaster Ratnour of on secret charges, Butler appointed, 175.
- Weigel, E. F., political worker for "Boss" Filley, given office by Sec'y Noble, 226.
- Weinsteil, L., editor, appointed collector fourth Ia. district, 56.
- Welling, stamp clerk at Indianapolis, 9.
- Wellington, G. L., U. S. sub-treasurer, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Wells, A. J., veteran, discharged and reinstated by Jones, postmaster at Ind'pls, 9.
- Welsh H., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; re-appointment of Oberly, 9; controversy with Senator Ingalls over Indian commissioner, 22; little progress in bettering condition of Indians due to spoils system, 39; circular letter of to clergy asking for clerical advocacy of civil service reform, see, also, Church, 40; letter on treatment of Indians by administration of Pres. Harrison, 42, 79; letter of to Boston Transcript on Indian service, 47; and clerical advocacy of civ. service reform, 65, 73; letter of to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE on Indian service, 98; denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130; letter of to R. Lincoln, 161; and causes of Indian rising

- at Pine Ridge, 192, 202, 217; on removals in Indian service, 219; in Scribner's Magazine for April, 1891, on evils of spoils system in Indian service, 224; before civil service reform association of Penn., on Indian service, 239; on "Degradation of Politics in Pennsylvania," in Forum, Nov., 1891, 282, 324; on committee of National League, to investigate political interference of office holders, 338; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; on publicity as cure for political corruption, 366.
- Wemple, controller, receives political contributions, 180.
- Wenneker, internal revenue collector at St. Louis, and negro spoilsman, 146; political worker, removal of requested by Secy. Noble, 336.
- West Grove, Chester Co., Pa., applicants as postmaster of, 55.
- West Hoboken, N. J., postmaster Middleton of removed, no cause assigned, Klumpp appointed, 176.
- West Point, Congressman Warwick institutes competitive examinations for candidates for, does not accept result, see McKinley, 251, 262.
- West Virginia, A. B. White, newspaper proprietor, appointed collector internal revenue, 30; asst. district attorney of, sued for embezzlement, 39; U. S. deputy marshal in, indicted for bribery, 39; republicans of believe in spoils, 62; conflict over patronage of, 71; census service in run after spoils system, 293; political activity of federal office-holders in, 348; political assessments levied on federal office holders from, activity of federal employes in, 390.
- Westchester, Pa., removal of Postmaster Pyle at, for political reasons, 101.
- Westcliffe, Colo., S. Lacey, wife of editor, appointed postmaster at, 148.
- Westport, N. Y., political worker Low appointed postmaster at, 249.
- Wetherill, J. R., political worker under Postmaster Johnson, in Maryland, 335.
- Wheat, J. C., not on eligible list, re-instated in Indianapolis post-office after absence of years, 26, 27.
- Wheeler, inspector in mail service, recommended by Hiscock and Platt, for inspector in charge of mails, vice Rathbone resigned, 241.
- Wheeler, custom-house employe at N. Y. City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Wheeler, editor, to be postmaster at Crow Point, Ind., 302.
- Wheeler, E. P., plan of, for agitation of civil service reform before Nat. League, 1889, 66, 172; civil service reformer in New York, 239; address of, before annual meeting of National League, noticed, 269.
- Wheeler, E. W., journalist, postmaster at Sherman, Mich., 149.
- Wheeler, J. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Crown Point, Ind., 377.
- Wheeler, W. E., journalist, postmaster at Eagle Park, Idaho, 155.
- White, ex-Congressman, opposes Harrison, 317.
- White, collector internal revenue in Texas, a political worker, 159.
- White, A. B., editor, appointed collector internal revenue for W. Virginia, 30, 37.
- White, A. D., candidate for governor of New York, supported by Platt and Nathan, 265; works for Fassett, 280; appointed U. S. minister to Russia, 382.
- White, E., ward politician, appointed deputy postmaster at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., vice Smith removed, 386.
- White, E. A., internal rev. coll. delegate to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- White, G., republican, removed from fire service at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 235.
- White, H., editor, political worker, 351.
- White H. G., politician opposing Hiscock in Onadaga Co., N. Y., 264.
- White, Prof. H. S., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- White, Prof. T. C., brother of U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- White Clay, Indian chief, and rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Whitehead, special treasury agent, at Brooklyn, 336.
- Whiteman, W. H., appointed to supreme bench of N. Mexico, 24.
- Whitefield, asst. to Wanamaker, and appointment of Weber, 241; and appointment of Low, 249.
- Whithorne, congressional investigating committee on Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Whitman, Mass., Harlow, postmaster at recommended for re-appointment, 100.
- Whitney, F. M., editor, appointed deputy internal revenue collector, 81, 126.
- Whitney, J. A., political worker under Postmaster Johnson in Maryland, 335.
- Whitney, Sec'y, 82; gives navy yards up as spoil, 145, 147, 148, 222.
- Widney, J. A., soldier, postmaster at Woodhull, Ill., removed through influence of Cong. Henderson, 17.
- Wigg, S., discharged from navy yarn at Norfolk, Va., by Sec'y Whitney, 147.
- Wilber, Mrs., appointed postmaster at Clay City, Ind., inefficient, 89.
- Wilby, C. B., letter to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 92; on proposed charter for Cincinnati, O., 235; address of, on G. W. Curtis, 394.
- Wilcox, appointed collector at Springfield, Ill., through influence of Cannon, 31.
- Wilcox, C. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Quincy, Ill., 141, 148.
- Wilcox, I. S., revenue collector, a political worker, 160.
- Wilcox, Dr. J. A., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 331.
- Wildman, J. F., editor and Harrison "boomer," applicant for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Wiley, E., wife of Journalist Wiley, postmaster at Elizabeth, Pa., 119.
- Williams, G. F., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 204; as congressman on minister as citizen, 239.
- Williams, J. M., journalist, postmaster at Phoenix, N. Y., 155.
- Williams, O., steward at Marion Co. (Ind.) poor-house, neglects duty, see also Indianapolis, corrupt politics, etc., at, 207.
- Williams, R., editor, works for Harrison, tries for office, disappointed, 95.
- Williams, S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Williams, V. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., appointment recalled on political opposition, 121.
- Williamsville, N. Y., Journalist Rinewalt postmaster at, 155.
- Willis, Rev. J. S., republican candidate for congress, offers bribes, 102.
- Willis, L. W., receiver of political assessments in Alabama, 391.
- Willis, T. B., appointed naval officer at New York, as reward for party services, scandalous partisan, 55, 106, 121, 132, 182, 183, 191, 198, 304, 350, 355; appoints Politician Barrow his deputy, 108; and Brooklyn, N. Y., post-office, 135; political activity of his employes, 265; opposes Nathan, 332; in New York convention, 334, 335; worker for re-nomination of Harrison, against Nathan, worker for Platt, 336; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 344, 345; secures N. Y. delegation for Harrison, 348; and Nathan, 352, 354, 371.
- Wilmer, and corrupting influence of Tammany, 289, 290.
- Wilmington Morning News [repub.], attributes defeat of 1889 to Mahonism, 75.
- Wilmington, O., federal office-holder political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Wilmington, O. M., dismissed by Jones, postmaster at Indianapolis, reinstated by Postmaster Wallace, 34.
- Wilmington, Del., Stewart, postmaster of, political worker, 334.
- Wilmington, N. C., Young nominated collector of, ward politician, 183.
- Wilmot, O., Journalist Spidle postmaster at, 149.
- Wilson, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Wilson, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 406; opposes gerrymander of 1893, 414.
- Wilson, "Doc," negro, political worker in Indianapolis, 378, 379.
- Wilson, E., brother of editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Wilson, E. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Adin, Cal., 141.
- Wilson, G. W., mayor of Ft. Wayne, Ind., opposes Harrison, 302.
- Wilson, J. E., negro, postmaster at Florence, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Wilson, Mrs. K., wife of political worker, candidate for postmaster at Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Wilson, N. Y., Le Van appointed postmaster at, 39, 15.
- Wilson, W., postmaster at Chadron, Neb., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Wilson, Rev. W. M., on Civ. Service Reform, 83.
- Wimberly, internal revenue collector in Louisiana, political worker, 304.
- Wimberley, A. F., removed federal employe, worker at Indianapolis, 343, 348.
- Wimbush, C. C., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Winchester (Ind.) Herald [repub.], republicans must stand for civ. service reform, 83.
- Wisdom, Secretary, and office-seekers, 16, 37, 159; and Sturgeon, 22; and Wild, head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho, accepts resignation of, 30; at request of Roosevelt, stops Coulter's proceedings, 34; appoints political worker to office, 51; removes P. C. MacCourt, of N. Y. custom-house, 54; on the civ. service, 81; and Saltonstall, 94; and Platt, 264; praises merit system, see annual report, 1889, 276.
- Wiuamac, Ind., applicants for postmaster of, bargaining for position, 88.
- Winona, Miss., Matthews, deputy postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Winters, Cal., Moody, postmaster of, resigns, his successor removed for cause, Mrs. McKinley appointed, removed for political reasons, 90.
- Winters, W. H., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Wirt, J. S., Senator, civil service reformer, address of before alumni of St. John's College, Maryland, 137.
- Wolcott, Senator, and Harrison, 337; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345, 346, 363.
- Wolcott, E. O., letter of on removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., on secret charges, 312.
- Wolcott, R., president of young men's republican club of Massachusetts, civil service reformer, 192, 219; opposed to Quay, 241.
- Wood, Consul, political worker in New Hampshire, 371.
- Wood, purchases postmastership at Mitchell, Ind., appointed, 89.
- Wood, appointed census supervisor through influence of Sherman, 301.
- Wood, A. L., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Charles, Iowa, 142.
- Wood, H. C., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Wood, J., defeated candidate for congress, secures appointment of Pentreath, 150.
- Wood, R. F., civil service reformer, 172; on appointment of postmasters before annual meeting National League, 1892, 329.
- Woodard, postmaster of Harrodsburgh, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Woodard, S., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302, 378; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379.
- Woodford, S. L., candidate of Nathan for governor of New York, 265.
- Woodhull, Ill., soldier and postmaster at, removed and civilian appointed, through influence of Henderson, G. A. R. post denounces Henderson, 47.
- Woodmansee, M. G., journalist, postmaster at Holyrood, Kan., 149.
- Woodruff, F., chairman Kings county republican committee controls patronage, 106, 132; political worker, 121, 182, 183; enters factional fights in Brooklyn and New York, 197, 198.
- Woodruff, J., testified against R. Smalls, 39.
- Woodruff, T. L., political worker for Boody, cong. candidate, 183.
- Woods, M. C., given place in Indianapolis post-office, as spoils, 18, 27, 34; political worker, 302, 378.
- Woollen, W. W., controller of Indianapolis, commended, 269.
- Woolren, N., postmaster of Kingstou, N. Y., political worker in New York, 336.
- Worcester Spy [repub.], civ. service reform a certainty, 92.
- Workers, political, paid enough without additional remuneration in form of office, 30.
- Workman, J. B., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Works, "Charlie," worker for congressman Hitt, 110.
- Wooster, L., postmaster at Fostoria, O., compelled to appoint partisans, 91.
- Wooten, J. T., attempted bribery of, by Sen. Higgins and Postmaster Smith, 401, 402.
- Wouser, C. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Tama, Iowa, 142.
- Wray, state senator of Indiana and spoils methods, 408.
- Wright, C. D., and civil service reform in census service, 291.
- Wright, F., refusal of Trustee Gold to remove, 111; removed, 116, 256.
- Wright, P., broker, at custom-house at N. Orleans, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Wyman, Jr., M., at Baltimore conference 1889, 2; sec'y Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, 205.
- Wymore, Neb., Journalist Thomas postmaster at, 119.
- Wynn, I. C., journalist, postmaster at Lander, Wyo., 155.
- Wyoming, Ill., postmaster at removed for having been appointed, through "intrigue," Hammond appointed, 176.
- Xenia, Ind., Editor Lawshe appointed postmaster at, 71, 126, 377; political worker, 379.
- Yakim, Ore., excellent appointments reversed at bidding of Senator Mitchell, 32.
- Yakima Co., Wash., leading postmaster in, and other federal employes political workers, 362.
- Yale, office-holder, a politician, 162.
- Yankton, Dak., Indian agency at, and Sen. Moody, 86.
- Yeager, J., applicant for postmastership at Larnark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Postmaster Keyes succeeded by politician Pentreath, 150.
- Young, Captain, testimony of regarding Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Young, A., treasury agent, active politically, 113.
- Young, D., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348; collects political assessments, 384.
- Young, J. C., testimony of before Judge Lippincott as to election frauds, see also Hudson Co., N. Y., 200.
- Young, J. H., negro, ward politician, appointed collector at Wilmington N. C., 183; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- Zadek, A., postmaster of Corsicana, Tex., politician, 187.
- Zanesville, O., Editor Richards postmaster at, 301.
- Ziegenheim, collector at St. Louis, supports Filley machine, 150.
- Zimmerman, postmaster of Canuelto, Ind., optical worker, 380.
- Zollinger, C. A., applicant for office under Cleveland (2d term), 392; pension agent under Cleveland, levies political assessments, 414.
- Zumstein postmaster at Cincinnati, O., carries out spirit of civil service law, 257.

THE CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE

LUCIUS B. SWIFT, EDITOR.

Volume I,

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION, MARCH, 1889, TO MARCH, 1893.

INDEX

BY CHARLES ALLEN LEWIS.

- Abbott, P. S., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
Abbott, R. T. F., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
Ables, postmaster of St. Joe Station, Indiana political worker, 379, 380.
Acceptance, letter of President Harrison of, strongly favoring civil service reform, 27.
Active Club [republican]. See Baltimore investigation, 267.
Adams and Vincennes post-office. See Chambers, 37.
Adams, —, candidate for alderman. See Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
Adams. See Tammany, 318.
Adams, Pres. C. K., favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.
Adams [congressman] and Chicago post-office, 22.
Adams, E. P., federal employe, levies political assessments. See Kentucky.
Adams, H., uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
Adams, J., on party spirit, 394.
Adams, J. Q., president, 325.
Adams, N. S., journalist, postmaster at Scott, Kan., 149.
Adams, T. M., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York: advises merit system, 220, 221.
Adams, W. W., appointed postmaster at Quincy, Mass., through Congressman Morse; vice Speare, removed, 100; a political worker, 162.
Addison, Ia., Postmaster Cruikshank of, a political worker, 260.
Addison, Joseph, inspector for men of merit in public life, 235.
Addison, N. Y., Roberts, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
Address, of G. W. Curtis (1892), distributed in Indiana, 338; inaugural of President W. H. Harrison, the public press and spoils, 17; inaugural of President B. Harrison, reform pledges in, 367; of mayor of Baltimore, Md., to Gorman, 236; to the citizens of Pennsylvania, against "Quayism," 249, 251, 252; issued by Pennsylvania republicans against Quay, extract from, 270.
Addresses, on civil service reform, merit system, spoils system, etc., etc. See Church and Civil Service Reform; also (names) J. E. Campbell; S. S. Parr; H. Briggs; R. H. Dabney; C. Schurz; Donell; Lowell, J. R.; Roosevelt; R. H. Dana; G. W. Julian; C. B. Wilby; T. F. Bayard; Welsh; G. F. Williams; Johnson, J. H.; Swift, L. B.; Curtis, G. W.; Everett, W.; Bonaparte, C. J.; H. C. Lodge; Rogers, S. S.; Warner, C. D.; Sprague, H.; Sherman (senator); Civil Service Record; Foulke; Lambert, Rev. H.; Storey, M.; F. A. Walker; C. C. Allen; Collin; L. H. Gibson; D. C. Brown; C. T. Lane; Thurston; Niblack; Wort; McKain, A. A.
Adel, Iowa, Journalist Hotchkiss appointed postmaster at, 141.
Ader, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
Adin, Cal., Editor Wilson appointed postmaster at, 141.
Adkins, S. D., journalist, appointed postmaster at Freeport, Ill., 126.
Administrative reform. See Andrews.
Adreon, Cal., and appointment of Sears in post-office at Baltimore, 277.
Agar, W. F., postmaster at Mahopac Falls, N. Y., a political worker, 162.
Agnew, S., on English census service, 292.
Agnus, F., editor and politician, 363.
Ahearn, D., removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
Aiken, J. M., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
Aikin, W. A., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
Airey, United States marshal at Baltimore, political worker. See Baltimore investigation, 267, 328, 357, 372.
Alta, Buena Vista county, Ia., Pickering, postmaster of, a political worker, 260.
Abbot, Rev. L. and Indian, appointments; favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.
Akron, Col., Journalist Irwin appointed postmaster at, 126.
Akron, Ind., Editor Noyes appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
Akron, O., postmaster of, appointed through influence of Sherman, 340.
Alabama. See Clay, removal of; R. A. Mosely, Jr., politician, appointed collector of internal revenue for district of, 56; federal office-holders in, active politicians, 113, 348, 355; delegation to Minneapolis convention, fights in, 346; political assessments levied on federal office-holders in, 391.
Alaska, O. T. Porter appointed United States Marshal for, 39; vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis; political activity of federal officers, 347.
Albany, N. Y., O'Leary, postmaster at, 136; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Tammany steals in, 317; Warner spoken of as postmaster of, 46; Warner, postmaster of, enforces civil service law, 51, 136; Warner, postmaster of, in New York convention, 335.
Albany Journal [republican] against civil service reform, 49.
Albert Lea, Minn., Harkness, postmaster at, removed for cause by Cleveland, Stacy appointed; efficient. Removed and Harkness reappointed by Harrison. See also Duunell, 39.
Albion, Ill., Editor Colyer appointed postmaster at, 141.
Albion, Ind., Editor Prickett appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
Albright, A., low politician. See Philadelphia.
Alderman, E. R., editor, postmaster at Marietta, O., 301.
Alderson, J. D., congressman, on house committee, on civil service, 86; on census service in West Virginia, 293.
Aldrich, C. H., favors civil service reform, 229.
Aldrich, senator, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
Alexander, state senator of Pennsylvania, 133.
Alexander, Mrs. C. M., appointed stenographer in Indiana legislature, 406.
Alexander, D. S., United States district attorney in New York, political worker at Minneapolis, 342, 343.
Alexandria, La., Barrett, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
Alger, General, more popular than Harrison, 240. Spoken of for presidency, 299, 348.
Allan, S. W., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
Allard, C. A. See Baltimore investigation, 320, 326, 327.
Allegheny Co., N. Y., postmasters' association, levies political assessments, 334.
Allegheny, Pa., patronage in, 47; Gilliland, postmaster of, worker for Bayne, 135; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
Allen, ex-congressman, levies political assessments, 322, 332.
Allen, "The," low politician of New York City, history of. See also New York City, 249.
Allen, C. C., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2. In report of, to civil service reform association of Missouri on civil service commission, 136. Prefers bureaucracy to spoils system, 308.
Allen county, Ind., only office-holders in, for Harrison, 240.
Allen, Ethan, protests against removal of Milholand, as federal interference, 333.
Allen, Edgar, federal court officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
Allen, F. B., negro journalist, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 244.
Allen, J. B., congressman, secures appointment of Marse as postmaster at Colfax, Wash., 166.
Allen, S. B., deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
Alley, F., political worker against Chase, 353.
Allison, A., editor, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Nashville, Ind., 398.
Allison, senator, and D. B. Eaton, 111; secures appointment of Osborn, 334.
Almy, candidate of Platt, at Ithaca, N. Y., 264.
Almy, F., secretary Buffalo civil service reform association, 200, 387.
Altgeld, governor of Illinois, flees from office-seekers, 115.
Alton, Pa., Postmaster Beaumont of, worker for Delamater, 134.
Altoona, Kan., Journalist Rhea, postmaster at, 148.
American Horse, Indian chief and rising at Pine Ridge, S. D., 218.
American Protective League, requests lists of voters from postmasters, 330; seeks to assess postmasters, 332.
Americus Club. See Quay and Clarkson.
Ames, J. B., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
Anderson, A. T., appointed postmaster at Cleveland, O., 216.
Anderson, C. W., federal employe in New York convention, 335.
Anderson, Ind., spoils system in town government at, 331.
Anderson, J. A., deputy sheriff, inefficient, 315.
Anderson, W. G., Sr., police examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
Andrews, C. C., address on administrative reform, 23.
Andrews, E. L. See Seneca county, N. Y., 260.
Andrews, G. W., postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., forced to resign, 165.
Andrews, Ind., Coutts, postmaster of, father of Editor Coutts, 316.
Andrew, J. F., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 201; chairman house civil service committee, extensions proposed by, 305, 306; bill of, introducing merit system in labor service, commended, 321; and appointments under civil service rules, 350; and political activity of federal office-holders in Alabama, 355; chairman of house civil service committee, 86, 358; bill of, for reform in labor service, commended by workingmen, 331; bill of, to regulate appointments of fourth class postmasters; and to introduce Boston labor service system, 359, 388, 397; Secretary C. Foster, 330; opposed to congressional patrolage system, 405.
Andrews, W. H., chairman state republican committee of Pennsylvania, corrupt politician, 133, 134; political agent of Senator Quay, 38, 260.
Angler, E. A., assistant United States district attorney, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
Annapolis, Md., appointment to naval academy at. See Turner, 100; Tucker, postmaster of, in Maryland convention, 335.
Anti-Cobden club, of Philadelphia, resolutions of, demanding repeal of civil service law, 49.
Appeal, to President, against civil service commission, threatened. See Indianapolis, investigation of post office of, 28.
Appointees, unworthy, at various places, 39.
Appointing power, resides in executive officers alone, 263.
Appointments, from eligible lists, year 1889-90, 185. Internal revenue; squabble between Senators May and Sherman, 17.
Applegarth, Rev. H. C., advocates civil service reform, 83.
Apple River, to Daviess county, Ill., applicants for postmastership at, 109.
Applicants, for office under spoils and merit systems, 185.

- Arcola, Ind., Rockhill, postmaster of, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins; McGoogle appointed, 362.
- Arkalon, Kan., Journalist Stouffer appointed postmaster at, 148.
- Arkansas, patronage of, controlled by Clayton, 188. Political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348.
- Armour, H. O., political worker for Platt, 333. At Minneapolis convention, 341.
- Armstrong. See Baltimore investigation, 326.
- Armstrong, consul-general Rio Janeiro, removed by Harrison for political reasons, 54.
- Armstrong, G. C., journalist, postmaster at Moline, Kan., 149.
- Arthur, C. A., tool of "Tom" Murphy, controls New York custom house, 191.
- Arthur, President, and Pendleton act, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 12; and office-seekers, 24; Senator Harrison demands patronage in Indiana from, 31; removes Naval Officer Burt to make room for politician. See Burt, 52; Pardons E. S. Ransdall, 80; nominates M. Garrigus, corrupt politician, 88; appoints Langsdale postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89, 159; classifies departmental service, 185, 215; controls patronage, but fails of renomination, 262; appoints D. B. Eaton chairman civil service commission, 271, 272; denounces spoils system, 275; signs Pendleton bill, makes classification, etc., 276; appoints Isabella De La Hunt postmistress at Cannelton, Ind., 368, 374.
- Asay, "Jim," disreputable politician, appointed through Congressman Hitt, 160.
- Asbury Park, N. Y., E. G. Harrison appointed postmaster of, 356.
- Ashton, J. H., post office employe. See Baltimore investigation, 267, 296.
- Aspiuwall, J., New York state senator, political worker for Nathan, 264, 371.
- Assessments, political. See Baltimore investigation; see Indiana, Washington (city), South Carolina, West Virginia, Ohio, New York, Alabama, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania; see Indianapolis News; committee of national league (see) to investigate 1892; see Tammany Hall; see Old Dominion Republican League, 70; see Giun, 72; in New York; see Roosevelt, Burt, Magone, Beattie, 97; see Quay, 134; see Curry, 160; see Grosvenor, Roosevelt, 161; in State and federal offices in Indiana, those levied on corporations, 171; under Harrison, 173; under Harrison and Cleveland, 255; advocated, see Stratton and Grosvenor, 178, 179; federal employes from Ohio Subjected to, 179; see Dudley, 180; levied on federal employes from Indiana, 181; in federal and other offices in Connecticut, 183; in Virginia, made by republicans, 226; made by Iowa republican central committee, 240; denounced by President Hayes, 265; in Ohio, by state republican executive committee, 272, 280; in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; see Pendleton, Acton, 279, 280; under Harrison, see Mahone blackmailers, see Mahone, 281; in state offices at Albany, N. Y., 180; see Mahone, 305; in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, 282; condemned in Ohio, Pennsylvania, 286; see Wagner, 287; correspondence of Pennsylvania civil service reform association, regarding, 289; by Postmaster Higgins of Ft. Wayne, Ind., 302; bill of Conkling preventing, in New York, 318, 321; see Morton, O. T., and Allen, 322, 332; see Kentucky, 330; money got by, used by Platt against Harrison, 347; warning against, by civil service commission, 358; levied in North Carolina, 362; in Indiana and New York, 363; see W. H. Harrison, 370, 373, 375, 382, 385; of Indiana office-holders in Washington, 377; in post office at Indianapolis, 403, 411, 412; in Ohio, and in Washington departments, by Old Dominion Republican Club, 412; see Zollinger, 414.
- Associations; see also civil service reform associations; business men's republican and spoils, 234; Indian Rights, 9, 42; twenty-first district republican, of New York City, invited to investigate custom house service in, 236; Ohio republican and printing office, 234.
- Astor, W. W., and politics in New York, 173, 285.
- Atchison, editor and Winamac, Ind., post-office, 88.
- Atkins, postmaster at Freeport, Ill., active politician, 143.
- Atkins, Indian commissioner under President Cleveland, 217.
- Atkins, S., local politician opposed to Congressman Hitt, 169.
- Atkinson, G. W., levies political assessments, 390.
- Atlanta, Ga., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292.
- Atlantic Monthly, for February, 1891, "An Object Lesson in Civil Service Reform," by Roosevelt, 192.
- Atwood, Kan., Greason, journalist, appointed postmaster at, 148.
- Auburn, Ind., Garden, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Auburn, N. Y., Knapp, postmaster of, worker for Platt, 143.
- Auditor, removals in office of sixth, 55.
- Augusta, Ga., census service in, inefficient, 295.
- Augusta, Me., postmaster at, removed; place given to "Joe" Manley, 38; Manley, postmaster of, a political worker, 135, 150; Manley, postmaster of, congressional candidate opposing Burleigh, and non-delivery in Augusta of papers advocating Burleigh, 364; Stinson, nephew of Mrs. Blaine, appointed postmaster at, 371.
- Augustine, Kan., Journalist Fenstermaker, appointed postmaster at, 148.
- Aurelia, Ia., Marsh postmaster of, a political worker, 260.
- Aurora, Ill., Journalist Hudder appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Austen, Cal. See Tammany, 318.
- Austin, C. H., editor, appointed postmaster at Lineville, Iowa, 142.
- Austin, H. C., New York police officer given federal offices, 216.
- Austin, Tex., DeGress, chairman Texas republican state committee, appointed postmaster at, 71.
- Australia, civil service reform in, 111.
- Australian ballot system, opposed by Boutelle; Reed, T. B.; Blaine, Gorman, 228.
- Avery, supported by Congressman Hitt for assistant treasurer, 110.
- Ayton, L. H., and political assessments. See Kentucky.
- Ayers, I., special treasury agent, pays political assessments, 279.
- Bachelder, G. E., post-office inspector on removal of Postmaster Bundy, 176.
- Bachman, postmaster of Carruna, Ind., 379; political worker, 380.
- Backus, county treasurer at Indianapolis, 408; persuades Dunn, post-office employe at, to solicit political contributions, 411, 412.
- Bacon, Rev. B. W., sermon on evils of spoils system, 102.
- Bacon, D., journalist, postmaster at Nampa, Idaho, 155.
- Bacon, F., mayor of Oregon, Ill., politician, 109.
- Bacon, T., address annual meeting National League, noticed, 269.
- Bad Axe, Mich., Journalist Maywood postmaster at, 149.
- Bagby, low negro politician, appointed to railway mail service; unfit, 10, 21, 25, 27, 34, 35, 54, 94, 96, 112, 173.
- Bagby, B., political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Bailey, J. J., protests against Martin as internal revenue collector in Pennsylvania, 232, 374.
- Bailey, J. M., candidate of Barnes faction for surveyorship of Albany district, 46; collector at Albany, political worker, 390.
- Bailey, L. O., ward politician, city attorney for Indianapolis, opposes bill for new charter of, 212; deputy attorney-general of Indiana, 315.
- Bailey, M. H., and political assessments, 384.
- Bailey, T., applicant for postmaster of Portland, Ind., 88.
- Bailey, W. A., Harrison delegate from North Carolina, 334.
- Bain, congressman, on house committee of civil service, 86.
- Bain Faction, in St. Louis, 304.
- Bain. See Senator Harrison, 81.
- Baird, postmaster at Ogdensburg, N. Y., removed, 126.
- Baird, Colonel, politician, offered Brooklyn, N. Y., postmastership, 131.
- Bairdstown, O., Journalist Grimes postmaster at, 149.
- Baker Ballot Reform Bill, ruined by Quay and Martin, federal office, 228, 229, 232, or 254.
- Baker, D., postmaster at Mobile, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Baker, I. V. See Tammany, 319.
- Baker, Judge, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Baker, W. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Baldwin, post-office employe of Austin, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Baldwin, editor, appointed to position in government printing office, 126.
- Baldwin. See Woodruff, 106.
- Baldwin, C., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Baldwin, C. A., journalist, postmaster at Vicksburg, Mich., 149.
- Baldwin, D. A., political worker, 182, 183; see also Kings county, New York, 371.
- Bales, E. L., Journalist, postmaster at Bloomington, S. Dak., 155.
- Balk, W. A., post-office employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Ball, Col., controls part of patronage in North Dakota, 216.
- Ball, G. H., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Ballot, secret, good results of in Indiana, 389.
- Ballantine, J., opposes political activity of federal office holders in New York, 336.
- Ballantyne, R. C., appointed postmaster at Bracketsville, Tex., vice Gildea, removed for political reasons, 186.
- Balmaceda, Pres., usurper in Chile, 261, 281, 364, 387; course of United States government with, 282.
- Baltimore, Md., federal office holders interfere in primaries at, 219, 225, 226; investigation by Roosevelt, Rose and Bonaparte of federal officers in elections at, 261, 267, 268; also federal interference in primaries, 277, 278; also of political activity of federal employes in primaries at, 287; also of political activity of federal officers in primaries at, 295, 296, 312, 320, 326, 329, 330; also of violations of law by federal employes at, 321, 322; also of political activity of federal office-holders in, 396; Roosevelt's report of investigation, 254, 255; political activity of federal office-holders at, 372, 373, 376; investigation, etc., 412; Wanamaker shields post-office employes for interference in elections, 350; conference, resolutions for publicity of examination papers, 10; resolutions of Tippecanoe Club, 49; custom house at, removals in, 53; evil effects of patronage on schools of, 211; public meeting of, condemns Gorman, 214; mayor of and Gorman testimonial, 236; Raisin, low politician, appointed naval officer at, through influence of Gorman, 237; Raisin, "boss" in, 251; violations of civil service law at, 366; federal officers at under Cleveland, 376; political assessments permitted by internal revenue collector, see Mudd and Coffin, 162; personnel of examiners at, 186; and state of politics, 283; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; Brown and Veazy postmasters of, and Sears, post-office employe at, 277; civil service in post-office at, 95; effect of secret eligible lists in post-office at, 53; conflict over control of post-office at, 84; Postmaster Veazy of, removals under, 53; Postmaster Brown of, spoilsman, 53; Johnson, postmaster at, conducts factional fight at, 121; removes employes without cause, 137; makes clean sweep, 189; makes clean sweep, testimony of before Roosevelt, 254, 255; in Maryland convention, 335; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 347; political assessment circular of civil service commission, 363; as a campaign fund raiser, 370.
- Baltimore American [Repub.] advocates civil service reform, 65.
- Banbury, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Britton, S. Dak., 155.
- Bancroft, postmaster at Concord, Mass., to be re-appointed, 91.
- Bancroft, see Hillism, 309.
- Bangor, Me., census of 1890; well conducted in, 292.
- Bangor, S. Dak., Journalist Griffers, postmaster at, 155.
- Banks, a negro, opposes Harrison; wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Banks, congressman advocates appointment of J. J. McCarthy in payment of political debts, 31; fails to obtain office for political worker, 39; aids spoils methods of Pension Commissioner Raum, 130.
- Bannon, A., patronage of, 134.
- Barbadoes, consul at, 56.
- Bardsley, tool of Quay, 250.
- Bardsley; see Quay, 305; embezzler, 352.
- Bargue, P., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Barlo, efficient post-office inspector, removal for political reasons, 298.
- Barker, Wharton, protests against Quay 95; letter to Harrison protesting against giving patronage to Quay, 104.
- Barker, "Billy," low politician, 311.
- Barnard, Judge, and Dutchess county, N. Y., frauds, 366.
- Barnes, appointed consul at Chemnitz vice Merritt, removed for political reasons, 371.
- Barnes, justice of peace, a political worker, 162.
- Barnes, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 407.
- Barnes, C. B., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Barnes, J. M., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Barnes, W., factional leader in Albany, N. Y., consults with Harrison over patronage, 46.
- Barnett, I. O. G. federal employe, and political assessments. See Kentucky.
- Barnett, J., door-keeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Barnett, J. S., federal employe, and political assessments. See Kentucky.
- Barneveld, Wis., Journalist Jones postmaster at, 155.
- Barnstable (Mass.), collector of, appointed. See Goss, 46.
- Barnum, collector, resignation asked, 22.
- Barnum, J. S., editor, appointed postmaster at Princeville, Ill., 141.
- Barrett, E. J., postmaster at Alexandria, La., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Barrett, W. E., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Barrow, C. A., secretary Kings county republican committee, 121; secretary general committee, political worker for Woodruff, 197.
- Barrow, H. A., politician appointed deputy naval officer at New York.
- Barry, P. M., term expires as postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 126.
- Bartholdt, R., office-seeker, 14.
- Bartlett, E. B., 311; delegate at Minneapolis convention, 345.
- Batavia, N. Y., candidate for postmaster at. See Sawyer, 47.
- Batchelder, General, federal officer, works for renomination of Harrison, 348.
- Batcheller, assistant secretary of the treasury, 371.
- Bates, W. R., requests poll of voters from Postmaster Daniels, 383.
- Baxter, assessor, a political worker, 162.
- Baxter, A. E., 259; U. S. marshal in New York, a political worker for Fassett, 265, 266, 269, 279, 280, 287.
- Baxter, D., mayor of Rochell, Ill., politician, 109.
- Baxter, F. K., political worker, to be appointed New York state railroad commissioner vice Spencer, removed, 356.
- Bayard, T. F., secretary, favors civil service reform, 82; ex-secretary, and spoils system, 145.
- Bayard, ex-secretary, extract from address be-

- fore alumni students of Ann Arbor Law School, on spoils system, 257.
- Bayard, secretary, Jewett claim, 290; and Elkins's claim against Brazil, 369.
- Bayfield, Wis., Journalist Bell postmaster at, 155.
- Baylis, Ill., Journalist Donley appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Bayne, T. M., congressman, advocates application of civil service reform to certain postmasters, 100; patronage of, 133; post-offices in his district used for his nomination, 135; and postmaster Gilleland, 299.
- Beach, D., journalist, postmaster at Valley Center, 149.
- Beal, U. S. minister to Persia, resigns to do political work, 382.
- Beallsville, O., Editor Keepers appointed postmaster of, 301.
- Beallsville, Pa., Journalist Robison postmaster at, 149.
- Beard, A. W., supported by Massachusetts senators for Boston collectorship, 22; appointed collector at Boston, vice Saltonstall removed, 129; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102; gives office to Journalist John L. Swift, 108; political worker, 162, 179, 269, 288, 334; removes democrats in custom house, 245; removals under, 322.
- Beardsley, railroad commissioner in New York, 356.
- Bearss, post-office inspector at Peru, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Bearss, A. C., worker for Harrison, appointed chief clerk in railroad mail service, 377.
- Beaty, J. W., worker for Harrison, 355.
- Beattie, surveyor, political assessments under, 197.
- Beattie, W. J., political worker. See Kings Co., New York.
- Beaumont, postmaster at Alton, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Beck, state senator of Indiana, son of, appointed page, 408.
- Beebe, E. R., journalist, postmaster at Princeton, Wis., 155.
- Beers, T. H., appointed supervisor of census, 301.
- Belden, congressman, and Syracuse, N. Y., postmastership, 46, 71; secures appointment of Editor Von Bergman, 132; opposed by Postmaster C. E. Smith, and Collector F. Hendricks, 386.
- Belknap; see Rochester, N. Y., 305.
- Bell, appointed by President Harrison, 27; second assistant postmaster-general, reinstates incompetent clerk in Massachusetts; removes competent clerk in Illinois, 30; candidate for governor of Texas, 159.
- Bell, C. G., journalist, postmaster at Bayfield, Wis., 155.
- Bell, J., a political worker, 160.
- Bell, J. A., post-office employee; see Baltimore investigation, 312, 320, 326, 328.
- Bell, J. L., superintendent of railway mail service, tool of Clarkson, 21; superintendent railway mail service, refuses access to records of removals, etc., 163.
- Bell, T., politician appointed to look after office-seekers, 46.
- Bellamy, W. H., political worker, 287; secretary republican county committee, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Benedict, G. G., editor, appointed collector of district of Burlington, Vt., 126.
- Benedict, R. D., defeated by ward politician Nathan, 121; candidate for congress, aided by Secretary Tracy, 135; defeated candidate controls patronage in New York, 142; congressional candidate opposes Nathan, 143.
- Benedict, Kansas, Journalist McMullin postmaster at, 148.
- Benjamin, Capt., federal employe, pays political assessments, 279.
- Benjamin, J., politician in Brooklyn, denounces Nathan, 304; ward politician in New York, 304; federal employe in New York convention, 335; political worker, 371.
- Bennett, S., political worker, appointed postmaster at Evansville, Ind., see Posey, 46, 153, 158, 377.
- Bennett, postmaster at Hartford, Conn. removal of Barrio, efficient post office inspector, 298.
- Bennett, postmaster at Warsaw, Ind., 316; political worker, 378, 380.
- Bennett, F., journalist, postmaster at Fulton, N. Y., 155.
- Bennett, J., postmaster at Kent, N. Y., a political worker, 162.
- Benson, Ill., F. E. Larned, son of editor, appointed postmaster at, editor, deputy postmaster, 148.
- Benton county, Mo., applicants for post-offices in, by, see Upton, 55.
- Berg, Dr., on Indiana State Board of Health, inefficient, 316.
- Berks County, Pa., control of patronage in, 47.
- Bernard, disreputable democratic politician in Cincinnati, 352.
- Bernard, C. M., Harrison delegate from North Carolina, 334.
- Berne, Ind., J. N. Sullivan appointed postmaster at and removed; political-worker Wagoner appointed, 88.
- Bernhamer, corrupt politician of Indianapolis, convicted of tally-sheet forgery, see Indianapolis.
- Berri, E. D., ward politician. See Kings Co., N. Y.
- Berry, schemes for postmastership at Colfax, Wash., 165.
- Berryman, W., deputy collector at New York city, a political worker, 265.
- Bertram, S., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Besancon, H. O., journalist, postmaster at Harold, South Dakota, 155.
- Beshore, S. S., politician, census supervisor 6th Indiana district, 104.
- Best, E. T., journalist, postmaster at Nillgh, Neb., 149.
- Beverly, Mass., Postmaster Odell of, a political worker, 162.
- Beyerle, L. H., editor, appointed postmaster at Gosheu, Ind., 30, 126, 316, 377, 378.
- Bickford, political worker, 134.
- Bickham, editor, relatives of, hold federal offices, 301.
- Bicknell, postmaster of Garrett, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Biddleman, deputy United States marshal, collects political assessments, 372.
- Bidwell J. E., recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Bigelow, W. H., appointed division superintendent of railroad mail service, 22, 156.
- Biggs, congressman, opposes civil service reform, 125.
- Biglin, B., employs democrats, 311, 312; baggage contractor at Castle Garden, a political worker, 265; cartage bid of for New York custom-house, to be accepted for political reasons, 216; gets position for his brother in New York custom-house, 258; political worker in New York convention, 335; cartage contractor, 358.
- Biglin, J. C., brother of "Barney" Biglin, gets office through him; promised Appraiser Cooper's place in New York custom-house, 258.
- Bingham, J. H., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Binghamton Republican [republican]. Roosevelt must not appear in earnest, 49; Dunn, postmaster of, a political worker, 266; Dunn, postmaster of, secures removal of pension examiner Van Alstyne, 304.
- Binkley, W., political worker for Foraker, charges federal interference as cause of his defeat, 301.
- Birch, J., applicant for postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.
- Birkett, chairman republican general committee, and appointments in Brooklyn Navy Yard, 45; distributor of patronage in Brooklyn Navy Yard, 55; state senator of New York, supports Congressman Wallace, 142; opposed by Nathan, 265; treasurer Kings county, N. Y., central republican committee, 198; ward politician in New York, 304; politician of Brooklyn, 106.
- Birmingham, Ala., Houston, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Birmingham, Eng., city government of, 284.
- Bishop, mayor of Buffalo, N. Y., extends operation of civil service law in city offices, 260.
- Bishop, sheriff of Ogle county, Illinois, politician, 109.
- Blismark, builds up German empire, 244.
- Blackford, E. G., fish commissioner of New York, removed; Hackney, politician worker, appointed by Hill, 310.
- Blackford, L. M., on "Morals of Civil Service Reform," 130, 136.
- Blackford, W. T., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Black, pension commissioner, attempts to remove Miss Sweet, 107.
- Black, J., and Petroff, 152.
- Black, R. A., republican "boss," see Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- "Blacklisting." See Stratton and Grosvenor.
- Blackwell, J., ward politician of Indianapolis. See Parnell Hall.
- Blaine, E., works for Blaine at Minneapolis, 345.
- Blaine J. G., secretary, and recommendations from General Brown, of office-seekers, 7; views on civil service reform in "Twenty Years of Congress," 9; defeat of, attributed to Pearson, postmaster at New York, 13; and "Joe" Manley, 33; and consulship at Barbadoes, 56; uses influence to secure family appointments, 71; and postmastership at Washington, Pa., 100; candidates of superseded by those of Quay, 112; on tariff, 169; subject to Quay, 173; begged to speak, 180; applicants for consulships under, 185; opposes Australian ballot system, 228; and Harrison, 240; and Harrison, 241; promises "fealty" to Harrison, 250; alienates reform element in 1884, 255; "knifed" by Nathan in 1884, 264; and Elkins, 290; Quay's candidate for presidency, 299; nomination of, favored by Quay, 300; workers for in Indiana, 302, 303; and Nathan, 304; supporters in 1876 in Maryland convention, 335, 337; a candidate at Indianapolis, 339, 340, 341, 342; at Minneapolis convention, 343; and Minneapolis convention, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348; and Elkins's claim against Brazil, 369; in 1884, 376.
- Blaine, Jr., J. G., son of Secretary Blaine, given office, 108; given office through Congressman Hitt, 110.
- Blaine, R. G., brother of Secretary Blaine, given office, 108.
- Blair, representative in Indiana legislature and spoils methods in, 406, 407.
- Blair, United States marshal and Monroeville post-office, 88.
- Blair, A. C., postmaster in Jackson county, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Blair, T., Indian agent, 217.
- Blair, J. C., editor, postmaster at Newell, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Blair, senator, civil service reform a humbug; opposed to it, 45, 49, 50, 65; and Eaves, 159.
- Bland, delegate to Minneapolis convention; opposing Harrison, 346.
- Blankenburg, R., letter to Quay, 157.
- Bliss, C. N., and request of postmasters for list of voters, 330; political worker for Harrison, see New York, 333; treasurer national republican committee, 363.
- Bliss, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Greenleaf, Kansas, 149.
- Bloomfield, Ia., Postmaster Evans of, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Bloomington, Ind., branch of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, meeting of, addressed by T. Roosevelt, 1890, 108; branch of Indiana Civil Reform Association, officers of, 182; census service, turned over to spoils, enumerators make lists of voters, 293; McPheeters, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Bloomington, S. Dak., Journalist Bales, postmaster at, 155.
- Blount, A. R., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Blunt, ex-postmaster appointed customs surveyor, 150.
- Board, local examining at Indianapolis, efficiency of, 18, 42, 120; local examining at Indianapolis, 25, 26, 94; local civil service at Indianapolis, appointments to, 34.
- Boards, examining for civil service should be independent, 17; examining; see, also, examiners, 186; pension examining, appointed through influence of Senator Cullom, 30.
- Boatner, congressman on house committee on civil service, 86; upholds civil service commission, 204; Secretary C. Foster, 350.
- Bode, Ia., Postmaster Rassing of, a political worker, 260.
- Bogardus, E., whose son holds federal office, political worker for Hiscock, 265.
- Bogemann, Rev. E. C., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Boise City, Idaho, assay office, Wild, removed without cause by President Harrison. Place given to spoilsmen, 30.
- Bolton, J. A., soldier, a political worker, 159.
- Bonaparte, C. J., at Baltimore conference 1889, 2; address of, upon civil service reform, 25; duty of the President, 26; on spoils, heading to July number, 1889, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 32; address of, before National League, 1889, on civil service reform as a moral question, 59, 60, 61; annual address of, before reform associations of Maryland, 1889, 62; spoils system immoral, 69; to examine management of civil service, 77; address of, before Catholic Club of Baltimore, on Catholics and citizenship, 97; to address Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; to address annual meeting, 1890, of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 111; committeeman, report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; address of, before Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 1890, on "Scope and Difficulties of Civil Service Reform," 119, 126, 127, 128; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; on relations of civil service reform to other reforms, 153; on Gorman, 161; on Committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; address before annual meeting National League, 1890, 169, 170; on committee of National League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; assists in investigation of interference of federal officers in elections, at Baltimore, 261, 266, 267, 291, 295; address of, before annual meeting National League, noticed, 269; on special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; on political corruption in Maryland, 317, 324; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; on Judge Bradley and Assistant Attorney-General Tynor, 357, 358.
- Bond, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Bone, postmaster at Shelbyville, Indiana, removed on secret charges, 177.
- Bonge, appointed postmaster at Cumberland, Indiana, 89.
- Boody, congressional candidate, 183.
- Boody, D. A., democratic candidate for mayor of Brooklyn, New York, 287.
- Boone, Cal., superintendent work-house at Indianapolis, 205, 206.
- Boonville, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37; Postmaster Hammond of, political worker, 380, Pate, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Booth, A. R., employe in navy yard, in New York convention, 335.
- Booth, W. C., promised place in Brooklyn. See Wallace, 72.
- Borden, supported by Massachusetts congressmen for Boston collectorship, 22.
- Borin, C., journalist, postmaster at Oberlin, Kan., 149.
- Bosler, J. W., 291.
- Boston Advertiser (republican), on CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 235.
- Boston Journal (republican), on civil service reform, 65, 66.

- Boston Post (democrat), opposed to spoils system, 85; accounts of spoils fights in treasury department and Indian service, 216, 217; on feudalism revived, in New York City and Brooklyn, 263.
- Boston Transcript (republican), on civil service reform, 65; attributes republican defeat of 1889 to patronage system, 76.
- Boston, Mass., municipal service in; a field for reform, 235; civil service system in, 68; competitive tests in police force of, 104; fire service in, 120; merit system in city offices of, 172; civil service methods used at, for laborers, 181; merit system in labor service of, 204; civil service reform in city offices of, 212; merit system in use in city departments of, 220, 221; merit methods of employing laborers commended; applied to navy yards, see Tracy, 221, 222; examination in use for police force of, 223, 224; merit system for laborers, 228; labor employment system of advocated for Indianapolis, 243; physical examinations for fire and police services of Boston, Mass., 243, 246, 247, 248, 249; civil service methods employed in city departments of, 273; city government of, 284; labor service system of, 317; labor system of commended, 349; labor service of, 357; no appointive officer at, allowed to work politically, 358; labor system advocated for federal service by Andrews, 359; labor service system of, bill of Andrews to introduce into federal service, 388; civil service reform association of; resolutions of on Postmaster Pearson, 23; civil service reform in custom house of, under Saltonstall, 71; removals without cause in custom house at, for relative of Secretary Blaine, 71; address before civil service reform association, by J. R. Lowell, 77; civil service reformers of, 93; employes in custom house at, political workers, 179; removal of Corse, postmaster of, for political reasons, 213, 215, 237; Collector Beard at, removes democrats in custom house, 245; ex-postmaster Corse of, entertained by Massachusetts Reform Club, Hart, new incumbent, commended by Corse, 251; Beard, collector of, a political worker, 269; customs, district of, classified, 1883, 276; Corse postmaster of, Saltonstall collector at removed, 282; Beard, collector at, a political worker, 288; removals under Beard, collector at, 322; Hart, postmaster at, Beard collector, and other federal officers, political workers, 334; Corse, postmaster of, removed for political reasons, 367; removal for political reasons of Corse postmaster of, 376; civil service reform association of, 415.
- Bosworth, T., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.
- Botty, H. C., political worker for ex-Alderman Rathwell, New York City, 199.
- Boulder, J. W. See Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Bonrke, B., ward politician in New York City, 263.
- Boutelle, congressman, interview on patronage in Maine, 157; opposes Australian ballot system, 228.
- Bowden, congressman, controls spoil in Norfolk navy yard, 153; a political worker, 162.
- Bowles, F. T., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Boyd, state senator, and Noblesville, Ind., post-office, 89.
- Boyd, H., post-office employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Boyd, S. H., office-seeker, 14.
- Boyer, C. R., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Boyer, H. K., supported by Senator Quay for state treasurer of Pennsylvania, 38.
- Boyle, A., political worker, foreman in navy yard at Brooklyn, 142; political worker for Congressman Wallace, 183.
- Boyles, G. F., negro delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Boynton, General, and scramble for offices, 24.
- Boynton, H. V., on Cincinnati Tammany, 301, 302.
- Brackett, governor of Massachusetts, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Brackettsville, Tex., Postmaster Gildea removed for political reasons, Ballantyne appointed, 186.
- Brackston, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- Bradbury, W. F., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Bradford, Pa., postmaster at, see Flenniken, 99.
- Bradley, ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y., 196.
- Bradley, Cal., and Blaine "boom," 344.
- Bradley, Justice, and Mahone "blackmailers," 305; charge of to jury in Mahone "blackmailers" case, condemned, 321; and Mahone "blackmailers," 357, 358.
- Brady, and Elkins, 374.
- Brady, opponent of Mahone, 52.
- Brady, A., postmaster at Charlotte, N. C., Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 334, 348.
- Brady, J. D., appointed collector at Norfolk, Va., 52; collector internal revenue, political worker, 370.
- Braine, Admiral, warns Boyle, 142.
- Brandt, postmaster of Des Moines, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Brant, police captain in Elizabeth, N. J., given federal office, 216.
- Brattleboro, Vt., Postmaster Childs endorsed for re-appointment, 100; caucus on question of re-appointment of Postmaster Childs of, 108.
- Bray, Representative, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Bray, L. T., defeated candidate, opposes Hitt, 136.
- Brayton, see Collier.
- Brayton, E. M., politician in South Carolina, opposing Harrison, 382.
- Breckenridge, Judge, civil service reformer of Missonri, 239.
- Breen, J. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Flanagan, Ill., 141.
- Brenner, J., political worker, see Kings county, N. Y., also, 371.
- Breslau, Journalist Dunlap appointed consul to, 126.
- Bretz, congressman, patronage of, 411, 419, 421, 422.
- Brewer, congressman, asks resignation of Cowan, postmaster at Ovid, Mich., 165.
- Brewer, postmaster at Vineland, N. J., removal of for political reasons, see Vineland, 39.
- Brewster, attorney-general, and Postmaster Pearson, b 12.
- Bribery of voters, see Kercheval, 83; in offices and money, see Collier, 162; in Pennsylvania, 151; in elections advised to aid Republicans in Indiana, 190, 191; in republican caucuses in Cortland county, N. Y., by Hiscock, also Jefferson county, 264; for Harrison delegates in Indiana, 378.
- Brice, C. S., senator, and Gorman, 307.
- Bridgeport, Conn., removal of postmaster at, to give place to spoilsman, 29.
- Briggs, cartage contractor at New York custom-house, spoilsman, 332; cartage contractor, and Collector Erhardt, 358; cartage contractor at New York custom-house, 371.
- Briggs, H., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana civil service reform association 1889, 8.
- Briggs, H. G., appointed postmaster at Portland, Me., through influence of Speaker Reed, 150.
- Briggs, T. A., cartage bid of for New York custom-house, not accepted for political reasons, 216.
- Brimberry, B. F., negro, postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Brinsmade, A. T., federal office-holder, political worker, 280.
- Bristol, Postmaster Montgomery of. See Simond, 91.
- Bristow, Henry, politician appointed to look after office-seekers, 46.
- Britton, M., treasury inspector, removed for political reasons, 332.
- Britton, S. Dak., Journalist Banbury postmaster at, 155.
- Broadhead, comptroller, secures reinstatement of thief Weeks, in Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Brock, S. G., president Missouri state republican association, 383.
- Brocket, chief clerk, spoilsman, 24.
- Brockmeier, H., ward politician, see New York City.
- Brodsky, J. E., corrupt politician, 234; political worker, 268.
- Brogan, captain of police in New York City, 319.
- Bronson, B. H., signal officer, secret charges against, 312.
- Bronson, O. H., journalist, appointed postmaster at New Richland, Kan., 126.
- Brooke, General, and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Brookfield, N. Y., Journalist Spooner postmaster at, 155.
- Brookfield, W., supports Lee for place in New York custom house, 259; chairman republican state committee of New York, 279; at Minneapolis, 344; chairman New York state republican committee, 363; chairman, etc. 371.
- Brookline, Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association of, and Commissioner Roosevelt, sentiment in favor of, civil service reform, 36.
- Brooklyn, Ind., retention of Gamble postmaster at asked, see Cooper, 112.
- Brooklyn (N. Y.) Times (republican), patronage a source of weakness, 65.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., places in navy yard at, at disposal of "The" Allen, see; spoils "committee" at, 24; appointments in navy yard at, how made, 45; navy yard at, control of patronage in, 55; appointments in custom-house at, 72; removal sought of Postmaster Hendricks of, 72; political workers of, get office through Congressman Wallace, 72; examination in fire department of, 93; fire service in, 120; Postmaster Hendrix removed, place offered to politician, 131; Collins spoken of for postmaster of, see Willis, 135; spoils system in navy yard at, 142; navy yard at, spoils system in, 148; abuses and spoils system in navy yard at, under Secretary Whitney, 148; examination questions used in police service at, 152; navy yard at, given up as spoil by Tracy, 153; removals in navy yard at under Cleveland and Harrison, 155; republican factional fights for control of machine in, 197, 198; merit system in use in city offices at, 220; examinations for positions in, 221; examination in use for police force of, 222, 223; examinations instituted by Secretary Tracy in navy yard at, statement of examining board, 236; civil service commission of commended, 239; feudalism revived in, 263; factional fights in among republicans, at primaries, 264; armory frands at, see Tammany, 318, 319; Collins, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 336; Nathan and anti-Nathan factions in, 352; Page, chief of ordnance department at navy yard at removed, 355; prize fighter appointed at policeman in, 355; Collins, postmaster of, spoilsman, 360.
- Brooks, J. M., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Brooks, W. H., appointed internal revenue collector at Philadelphia vice Martin resigned. See Quay and Harmer, 241; collector internal revenue, suspected by Harrison as supporter of Quay, 300.
- Brookshire, congressman, patronage of, 393, 410, 413, 419; allows Voorhees to name postmaster of Terre Haute Ind., 405.
- Brophy, J. C., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Brosius, congressman and post-offices in his district, 72.
- Brovard, J., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Brower, congressman, fights successfully for control of patronage in North Carolina, 47.
- Browne, General, and office-seekers, 6, 7, 14; and Hyat, officer in house of representatives, 84.
- Browne, postmaster at Clay City, Ind., removed, 89.
- Brown, politician, 134.
- Brown, state senator of New York, and Tammany bridge scandal, 317.
- Brown, political worker, 334.
- Brown, postmaster of Franklin, Ind., asked to resign, 377.
- Brown, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in 407.
- Brown, A. H., removed from office and political worker appointed, 79.
- Brown, A. H., physician, physical examiner for police and fire services of New York and Boston, 246.
- Brown, C. G., worker for Hiscock, 386.
- Brown, D. C., address of on school and civil service reform, 23, 24.
- Brown, E., see Hillism, 309.
- Brown, F., postmaster at Baltimore and Sears P. O., employe at, 277; postmaster at Baltimore, 189; postmaster at Baltimore, spoilsman, 53.
- Brown, F. W., editor, postmaster at Dysart, Iowa, 142.
- Brown, Capt. G. L. R., Indian agent at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., exposes political assessment scheme, 384.
- Brown, G. N., politician of N. Carolina, 109.
- Brown, H. U., officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108.
- Brown, H. U., of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Browne, T., congressman, opposes civil service reform, an advocate of congressional patronage, 35, 49, 112; opposes appointment of Cravens, 84; secures appointment of Marsh as postmaster at Portland, Ind., 89; controls post-office of Knightstown, Ind., 118; given patronage by Harrison, 240; patronage of, 410, 411, 419, 420, 421, 422; and postmastership of Madison, Ind., 393.
- Brown, J. B., editor opposed to Congressman Hitt, 110.
- Brown, J. D., postmaster in Harrison county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Brown, L. H., journalist, postmaster at Hammondsport, N. Y., 155.
- Brown, L. W., United States consul to Glasgow, political worker, 390.
- Browne, W., postmaster at Russellville, Ind., removed, 89.
- Brown, R. B., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Brown, T. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Brown, V. H., Cunard agent in New York City, surety for Collector Fassett, 258.
- Brown, W., warden of Sing Sing prison, worker for Hill, 309.
- Brown, W. L., state senator (N. Y.), recommends "Paddy" Diver for police justice, 184.
- Brown, W. L., and Fassett, collector at New York City, 258.
- Brown, W. W., railroad mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Brown, Z., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Brownsville, Texas, Customs Collector Rentfrow at, a political worker, 150; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Bruce, B. K., negro, register of deeds in District of Columbia, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 344, 345; political worker, 362, 382, 389.
- Bruder, C. F., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Brugman, Dr. A. F., 355.
- Brules, Indians, rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Brnner, E., sells city offices in San Francisco, 215.
- Brntt, J. R., postmaster at Osage Mission, Kan., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired; Park appointed, 187, 188.
- Brush, W. T., advises bribery to aid republicans in Indiana, 190, 191, 213.
- Bryant, M. B., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Bryant, W. C., political worker, see Kings county, N. Y.
- Brydia, C. S., editor, appointed postmaster at Saukemin, Ill., 141.
- Brynildsen, J., journalist, postmaster at Graceville, Minn., 149.
- Bryson, Commodore, testimony of regarding Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Buchanan, United States marshal, active politician, 143.
- Buchanan, C. N., solicits political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Buchanan, G., navy yard employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Buchanan, G. A., special treasury agent, political worker in New York, 336.

- Buchanan, G. N., deputy collector internal revenue in Mississippi, delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344, 348.
- Buchanan, J., President, civil service under, 124; spoils system under, 405.
- Bucher, G. F., postmaster at Carroll, Ill., works for Hitt, 136.
- Buck, applicant for, postmaster of Portland, Ind., 88.
- Buck, A. E., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Bucyrus, O., Journalist Hufley postmaster at, through Senator Sherman, 149, 301.
- Budd, J. B., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Bueman, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Buffalo, N. Y., addresses by Loomis and Shephard before Central Labor Union of, 44; common council of disregards New York civil service law, 161; account of censuses in, 196, 197; nineteenth of city offices outside of educational department covered by New York civil service act, 200; civil service reform in city offices in, 212; merit system in use in city offices at, 220; labor organizations of support civil service reform, 228; Morgan, customs collector at, a political worker, 265; civil service reform victories in city service of, 273; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; civil service reform established in, 286; civil service law in city departments of upheld, 281; census of 1890 not well conducted at, 293; postmaster and post-office employes of pay political assessments, 391; memorial of G. W. Curtis adopted by civil service reform association of, 394; civil service reform association of gives aid to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, eighth annual meeting, 32; civil service reform association of, annual meeting 1890, 137, active, 161; address of Rogers, president, list of officers of, 189, 200; annual meeting, 1891, thanks Secretary Tracy and Congressman Lodge, city government of applies merit system, 238; Express objects to patronage and spoils system, 66; Sunday Truth (labor) favors civil service reform, 84; Commercial (republican), civil service reform a humbug, 92.
- Bull, Siting, see Indian service, 182.
- Bunce, F. M., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Bundy, H. E., postmaster at Oncouta, N. Y., removed on secret charges, 176.
- Burchell, United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Burchett, D. J., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Burchinal, W. D., surveyor of port of Baltimore, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Burden, H., fish commissioner of New York, resigns, 310.
- Burdett, J. O., chairman Massachusetts republican state committee, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Burdick, S., and political assessments, 384.
- Burgess, A., office-seeker, 15.
- Burgess, C. A., candidate for postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Burgess, H., political worker, 280.
- Burit, J., federal employe, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Burkall, coinor of New Orleans mint, refuses to allow political assessments to be made in his department, 383, 384.
- Burke, C. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Olin, Iowa, 142.
- Burke, D. F., assistant appraiser at New York, assisted at dinner to Clarkson, 245; federal official, political worker, 287; internal revenue collector, in New York convention, 335; assistant appraiser at New York City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Burke, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 201; low politician and spoilsman, see, also, Magee, 212; candidate for U. S. district attorney of Indiana, spoilsman, unfit, 414.
- Burke, J., page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Burke, J. F., candidate for alderman, see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Burke, Penn., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- Burleigh, governor, of Maine, congressional candidate, opposing Manley, 364.
- Burleigh, H. J., congressman, 351.
- Burlington Hawkeye, advocates repeal of civil service law, 49.
- Burlington, Kansas, Lockwood, postmaster at, removed, Lane appointed, see Kelly, 188.
- Burlington, Vt., customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Burnette, W. S. R., postmaster in Jackson county, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Burns, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire-Chief Webster, 208.
- Burns, C. S., employe in naval office, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Burns, W., postmaster at Plymouth, Massachusetts, to be removed for political reasons, 187.
- Burr, A., spoils system attributed to, 262.
- Burr, C. A., deputy collector at New York City, pays political assessments, 279; political worker, 287.
- Burrell, O. B., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Burris, S. P., protectionist democrat, appointed postmaster at Talladega, Alabama, vice —, removed for political reasons, 186.
- Burroughs, G., journalist, postmaster at Hope, Kansas, 149.
- Burroughs, J. C., congressman, 279, 362.
- Burrows, L. G., editor, applicant for postmastership of Lanark, Carroll county, Illinois, 109.
- Burt, naval officer at New York, favors merit system, removed by Arthur, re appointed by Cleveland, removed by Harrison, 52; removal of, 68, 94, 106, 107, 173, 237, 282; cessation of political assessments under, 97; naval officer at New York removed for political reasons through influence of Platt, 368.
- Burtin, J. S., United States marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Burton, J., journalist, postmaster at Jamestown, Kan., 149.
- Buser, E. W., journalist, postmaster at Dawson, Neb., 149.
- Bush, C. C., heavily endorsed political worker, appointed postmaster at Reading, Cal., 186, 187.
- Bush, speaker, corrupt politician of New York, 318.
- Bushnell, A. S., political worker in Ohio, 280.
- Bushnell, Rev. H., opposes spoils system, 77.
- Bushong, deputy city clerk at Indianapolis, 207.
- Buskirk, low police justice at Indianapolis, 314.
- Buskirk, given place of page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Bussey, C., assistant secretary of interior, a political worker, 279, 370.
- Butler, comptroller, confidence of, and W. P. Montagne, 56.
- Butler, politician, see Brooklyn navy yard, 45.
- Butler, appointed postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., vice Ratnour removed, 175.
- Butler, unfit consul-general to Egypt under Grant, 191.
- Butler, Dr. C. S., civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200.
- Butler, Ind., Jones, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Butler, J. M., and Plattism, 281.
- Butler, N. C., member local examining board at Indianapolis, 18, 42, 120, 129, 186; officer Indiana civil service reform association, 108, clerk United States court at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 230.
- Butler, R. R., recommended for commissioner of Indian affairs, unfit, 14.
- Butler, S., boud of office of, secured by convicted briber Kemble, 152.
- Butler, senator, favors civil service reform, 120.
- Butler, T., editor, appointed postmaster at Huntington, Ind., resigns, 126, 377.
- Butterfield, A. H., editor, given federal office, 126.
- Butterworth, congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24; member house committee on civil service, 86; favors civil service reform, 119, 120, 124, 204, 211; on tariff, 169.
- Buttling, W. J., political worker, 182, 183.
- Buttrick, postmaster at Concord, Mass., recommended for re-appointment, 100.
- Byerly, see Warmouth, 105.
- Bynum, W. D., congressman spoilsman, 108; spoilsman, able and unscrupulous, 171; patronage of, 392, 405, 410, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Byrnes, police inspector in New York City, 249; police inspector in New York City recognizes thieves among census enumerators, 294.
- Caberton, W. B., naval officer, on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Cabinet, and office-seekers, 6; President Harrison, composed entirely of spoilsmen, 27.
- Cable, postmaster of Hartford City, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Cable, postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., removed, 71.
- Caddy, C. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Pendleton, Ind., 126, 377.
- Cadmus, W. H. N., political worker for Nathan; see Kings county, N. Y.; political worker, 183, 304.
- Cadwallader, R. H., journalist, postmaster at Louisville, Kan., 149.
- Cady, J. R., judge, in New York convention, 335.
- Cain, P., postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa, asked to resign, 165.
- Caldwell, congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24.
- Calhoun, see Illinois Senators Farwell and Cul- lom, 31.
- California, republican platform, 1884, demands civil service reform, 50.
- Calkins, W. H., Gresham supporter, appointed United States judge in Washington territory, 240, 377.
- Call, senator, on examinations for civil service, 118.
- Callan, N., prize-fighter, appointed on police force in Brooklyn, 355.
- Calloway, Neb., Journalist Mair postmaster at, 149.
- Cambria Co., Pa., purchase of, by republicans, 183.
- Cambridge, Mass., Civil Service Reform Association; resolutions of, on removal of Postmaster Pearson, 23; address before civil service reform association of, by J. R. Lowell, 77; civil service reform association and President Harrison, on Indian and other service, 202, 204, 205; civil service reform association of, report of executive committee of, on circulation of Civil Service Record, 1891, 239; civil service reform association urges extension of merit system to Indian service, 273; merit system in city offices of, 172; no appointive officer at, allowed to work politically, 358.
- Cambridge, Ohio, brother of Editor Taylor, postmaster at, 301.
- Cameron, senator, influence of destroyed by Senator Quay, 30; controls patronage in Pennsylvania, superseded by Senator Quay, 34; and patronage in Pennsylvania, 47, 72, 133, 162, 329; and Quay, 105, 215, 252, 305; confers with International Revenue Collector Martin, 183; endorses Martin, low politician, for collector internal revenue in Pennsylvania, 233; supporter of Blaine, 344; spoilsman, 413; spoilsman controlled patronage of Pennsylvania, 34.
- Campaign of 1884, objection to scholars in politics in, see address of Parr, Prof. S. S., 8; residential, effect of on civil service reform in Indianapolis fire department, 13.
- Campbell, correspondence with Congressman Banks, 31.
- Campbell, and collectorship of customs at Chicago, 47; candidate of Senator Farwell for Chicago collectorship, 95.
- Campbell, B. F., political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Campbell, F., New York state controller, spoilsman, 356.
- Campbell, J. E., ex-governor of Ohio, and Stevenson, 375; ex-governor of Ohio favors a clean sweep, 396, 408.
- Campbell, W. H., receiver of political assessments, 391.
- Campbell, W. J., chairman republican national committee and Harrison, 354.
- Campbell, W. P., promotion of, 136.
- Canaday, sergeant-at-arms, opposes Quay's wishes, removes Mann, a page, 160.
- Canandaigua, N. Y., Journalist Milliken, postmaster at, 155.
- Candler, congressman and post-office at South Farmington, Mass., 99; ex-congressman works for re-appointment of democrat Morgan, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Cannellou, Ind., post-office, 25; editor appointed postmaster at, 37; post-office at, see Clarkson, 54; Isabella De La Hunt appointed postmaster of by Arthur, removed by Cleveland, office given to editor; President Harrison refuses to re-appoint, 368; Zimmerman, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Cannon, congressman, and the second auditorship, 6; contest of with Illinois senators over appointment of Wilcox, 31; opposed to civil service reform, 30, 35, 49, 202, 204, 211; obtains reduction of salaries of democratic clerks opposed to him, 39; controls delegates for reomination, 160; forces of Catherwood, postmaster at Hoopston, Ill., 165; a machine candidate, 179.
- Cannon, J. A., candidate for postmaster at Kingston, Mo., 132.
- Canton, Conn., postmaster at, to be reappointed, 91.
- Canton, Kan., Journalist Davis appointed, 148.
- Cape Vincent, N. Y., Morse customs collector of, a political worker, see, also, Jefferson county, N. Y., 266; number employes in custom house at, not classified, 277.
- Capen, S. B., defends Cleveland's management of Indian service, 219.
- Cappeler, W. S., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Carbondale, Kan., Journalist Playford postmaster at, 148.
- Cardozo, Judge, see Hill, 306.
- Cardwill, G. B., favors civil service reform, 229.
- Carl, F. M., journalist, postmaster at Navarre, O., 149.
- Carmer, William, see Cannon, 39.
- Carmonche, L. B., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Caruahan, Gen. J. R., misrepresents civil service examinations, 79.
- Carpenter, postmaster, removed for political reasons, 22.
- Carpenter, postmaster at Flushing, L. I., removed for refusing to become a spoilsman, 91.
- Carpenter, A. H. W., postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., removed without investigation of secret charges, 175, 176.
- Carpenter, C. C., postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Carpenter, M., and Petraff, 152.
- Carr, Archie, special agent for interior department, worker for Filly machine, 150.
- Carr, B., worker for Harrison, 240; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Carr, C. E., minister to Denmark, calls on Chairman Carter, 361; United States minister to Denmark, political worker, 382.
- Carr, J. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Oxford, Ind., 126, 377.
- Carriers, questions used in examination for, at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 56, 57, 58.
- Carroll, Co., Ind., see Fawcett, letter of, 98.
- Carroll, F. J., ward politician, see New York City.
- Carroll, Ill., Postmaster Bucher of, works for Hitt, 136.
- Carroll, Iowa, Journalist Huugerford appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Carroll, J., low politician, see Hudson county, New York.
- Carroll, L., candidate for postmaster of Concord, Ind., supported by State Senator Chandler, opposed by State Senator Cornlmg, 72.
- Carrollton, Ill., Postmaster Smith of, removed through influence of Senator Culloom, 188.

- Carrollton, Ohio, son of Editor Tripp, postmaster at, 301.
- Carruna, Ind., Bachman postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Carson, J. M., on Martin, low politician, see.
- Carson, P., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Carson, P. S., 89.
- Carter J. S., Michener's candidate, 144, 377; land commissioner, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 339, 342, 344; worker for Harrison, 354; chairman republican national committee, confers with Platt, 359, 360, 361; gets lists of federal employes for assessment purposes, 363; chairman republican national committee, and political assessments, 382; chairman, etc., confers with Quay, 390, 406.
- Carthage, Ind., Editor Charles appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Cartwright, C. M., journalist, postmaster at Hunter, N. Y., 155.
- Carver, opponent of Mahone, 52.
- Cary, E., address of before annual meeting national league, noticed, 269; on committee of national league to investigate interference of office-holders, 319, 320, 338; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357.
- Case, F. P., political worker for Dazell, 299.
- Casebee, J., journalist, postmaster at Casper, Wyo., 155.
- Casey, brother-in-law of President Grant, a federal officer at New Orleans, 191.
- Casey, Iowa, Martha Cowman, wife of Editor Cowman, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Casper, Wyo., Journalist Casebee postmaster at, 155.
- Cass, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Catherwood, J. S., postmaster at Hoopeston, Ill., forced to resign, 165.
- Catholics and citizenship, see also church, 97.
- Catterson, R., on committee of public safety at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 212, 220.
- Cavanaugh, employe in post-office at Pittsburgh, dismissed without cause, 133.
- Cavanaugh, deputy sergeant-at arms in house of representatives, removed for political reasons, 250.
- Cavanaugh, J. P., recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Cavour, builds up Italy, 244.
- Cedar Rapids, Ia., Daniels, postmaster at, 262; Lincoln, postmaster of, political worker, 370.
- Cedar Rapids, Ia., Gazette, civil service reform honesty in politics, 92; on using postmasters as political agents, 262.
- Census of 1890, not trustworthy, 173; act providing for requires selection of supervisors with reference to fitness and not to party affiliations, 292; civil service reform in, 19; no examination necessary, 49; disposal of offices in, see Porter, 72; made common spoil, 94; filled by republicans, 112; appointments to in Indianapolis made by Moores, 129; places in given as spoil, 131; spoils methods allowed by Superintendent Porter in, 157; in England, absence of spoils methods in, 157; appointments defended, 182; appointments to, discord over, 183; examinations for clerkships in, alleged to be held, 190; investigation of feared by Superintendent Porter, 233, 234; corruption and spoils system in, 260; turned over to spoil, 288; investigation of reform in, by official committee of national league, 291, 293; enumerators used to get lists of voters, 293; refuses request for recount of New York city, 294; civil service reform in under Harrison, 372.
- Central Labor Union of Buffalo, N. Y., addresses before, see Loomis and Shepard, 44.
- Central Park, N. Y., "race course" bill, 320.
- "Century of dishonor, a," in Indian service, 182.
- Certificates of good character abolished, 34.
- Chadron, Neb., removal on secret charges of Wilson, postmaster at, 175.
- Chadwick, Rev. J. W., advocates civil service reform, 48, 82.
- Chadwick, F. E., naval officer on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, New York, 222.
- Challis, F. H., editor, disappointed candidate for deputy collectorship, 84.
- Chambers, L. C., journalist, postmaster at Liberty, Texas, 155.
- Chambers, Smiley N., reasons for appointing as United States district attorney, 7; appointed United States district attorney for Indiana, 14; and post office at Vincennes, Ind., 37; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; and W. W. Dudley, 78, 374; case of, 94; speech of, regarding bribery, 154; a political worker; extracts from speech of, on democratic corruption, 158, 219; an active politician, 162; worker for Harrison, 316, 317, 334; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343; political worker, 353, 362; 370, 377, 378, 380, 381, 389.
- Champaign, Ill., Spaulding appointed postmaster at, 38.
- Chance, M., United States inspector of immigration, at convention republican league, 259.
- Chandler, C., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York, advises merit system, 220, 221.
- Chandler, state senator, and Concord, Ind., postmastership, 72.
- Chandler, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 407, 408.
- Chandler, congressman, civil service reform a fraud, 73.
- Chandler, and re-appointment of Turner as postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Chandler, senator, works for J. B. Smith, 143.
- Chandler, senator, controls patronage of navy yard at Kittery, Maine, 148; spoilsman, 160 supports Blaine, 1892, 340; controls patronage of New Hampshire, 340.
- Chandler, W., candidate for constable; see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Chapin, mayor of Brooklyn, and civil service reform, 82.
- Chapin, A. C., and Hill, 356.
- Chapin, E. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Tolona, Ill., 141.
- Chapin, L. P., applicant for postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.
- Chapin, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, N. Y., opposes McLaughlin, 318, 319.
- Chapman, B. S., postmaster at Derby, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Chardon, O., Editor Converse appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Charity Organization of Indianapolis, 111.
- Charles, E., editor, appointed postmaster at Carthage, Ind., 126, 377.
- Charlestown, navy yard at, patronage of, controlled by Congressman Lodge, 69; clean sweep in navy yard at by President Cleveland, 69; navy yard at, conduct of Tracy in, 153; state legislature urges legislation to secure merit system to navy yard at and elsewhere, 274.
- Charleston, S. C., Crum, negro, nominated as postmaster at for vote at Minneapolis, not confirmed, 363.
- Charlotte, N. C., Brady postmaster at, Harrison delegate, 334; Brady, postmaster of delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Charlton, T. J., 399.
- Charter, of Indianapolis, requires application of merit system to all city departments except fire and police, 243, 246, 247.
- Chase, secretary, opinion of civil service reform, 39.
- Chase, appointment of condemned, 51.
- Chase, D. C., federal officer in Hamilton county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Chase, J. J., see Russellville, Ind., 89.
- Chase, I., favored by Harrison for governor of Indiana, 343, 347.
- Chase, governor, candidate for re-election, of Indiana, and Ransdell, 352, 353; a candidate for governor of Indiana, and administration, 320, 379; opposed by United States District Attorney Chambers and his assistant Cockrum, 381.
- Chase, Kan., Journalist Loman postmaster at, 148.
- Chase, R. H., journalist, postmaster at Ludell, Kan., 149.
- Chase, S. H., ex-judge, a political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Chatham, J. J., journalist, postmaster at Nogales, Ariz., 155.
- Cheadle, congressman and candidates for postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., appoints Royer, 47, 89; spoilsman, 55, 85, 92, 145; applicants for postmaster at Lafayette, Ind., 71, 84; endeavors to repeal civil service law, 77, 112; recommends MacDonald, 84; secures appointment of D. W. Fleming, 84; opposes appointment of Cravens, 84; supports Garrigus, corrupt politician, 88; opposes civil service commission, 119; against civil service reform 122; defeat of for renomination, 129; and post-office at New Hall, Ind., 119; opposed to civil service law, 153; snubbed by Harrison when asks for patronage, 240; opposes Harrison, 317; denied patronage in Indiana, 377.
- Cheatham, congressman, secures nomination to office for Young, ward politician, 183.
- Cheatham, H. P., negro, worker for Harrison in N. Carolina, 334.
- Cheek, J. A., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Chelsea, Mass., Gazette, denounces civil service reform as claptrap, 364.
- Chemung Co., N. Y., republican convention of to nominate delegates, fights against Fassett and Platt, 259; factional fights in, 304; canal robbery, see Hill, 306; factional republican quarrels in, Collector Fassett and, 374.
- Cheney, ex-governor of New Hampshire, 143.
- Cheney, pension agent, active politician, 143.
- Chester, A., candidate of Draper faction at Albany, N. Y., see Draper, 46.
- Cheney, 291.
- Cheney, J. C., political worker, 354; president Indiana republican club at Washington, composed of federal employes, 382.
- Cheney, N. M., journalist, postmaster at La Porte, Pa., 149.
- Cheney, O. A., journalist, postmaster at Pitrodie, S. Dak., 155.
- Cheraw, S. C., disreputable character appointed postmaster at, 55.
- Chester county, Pa., applicants for post-offices in subservient to their congressman, 55; defeat of Delamater in, 134.
- Chestnut Level, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Chicago, Ill., collectorship of customs at, see Nixon, 47; civil service in post-office at, 95; per cent. removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; convention, 356.
- Chicago Standard, advocates civil service reform, evils of patronage system, 30.
- Chicago Tribune [republican], advises Harrison to pay no attention to office-seekers, 65.
- Chicago News, on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 206.
- Child, S. M., postmaster in Harrison post-office, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Child, T. A., prominent Ohio republican, and dismissals from government printing office, 234.
- Childs, postmaster at Brattleboro, Vt., endorsed for reappointment, 100; caucus on question of reappointment, 108.
- Chile, see Balmaceda, 282.
- Chittenden, opposed to spoils system, 251.
- Chivington, Col., Journalist Liggett appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Choate, R., and Webster, 324.
- Chrisman, aided by Senator Farwell for collectorship of Chicago, 14.
- Christian Leader, and Pearson, postmaster at New York, advocates civil service reform, 30.
- Christian Union, on Postmaster Pearson of New York, 43; objects to "Quayism" and Clarkson, 257.
- Chubb, H. S., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Church, Dr. S., police examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Churchill, F., delegate to Minneapolis convention, brother of postmaster, 348.
- Church, and politics, see, also, Crosby, 155, 156, 257; and civil service reform, see Lambert; see names of clergymen; appeal to clergy to preach on, see Welsh, 40; and civil service reform, 48, 56, 65, 73, 74, 102, 190, 193; see Learned, Kaufman, Hickok, Richmond, Weatherby, McKnight, McDuffy and Applegarth, 81; see Nelson, Smyth, Dix, Collyer, Chadwick, Huntington, Tuttle, Nickols, Rhodes, Holland, Snyder, Noble, Wilson, Prudden, Hall, Rev. H., 81; see Roosevelt, dinner to, at Indianapolis, 227, 229; see minister as citizen, 239.
- Church, Catholic, opposed to appointment of Indian Commissioner Morgan, 79; and civil service reform, 137.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, municipal patronage of, control by Governor Foraker, 71; meeting at, of league of republican clubs; election of Clarkson as president, 219; spoils system must be kept out of new charter for, 235; Smith, customs collector at, political worker for Sherman, 249; merit system in post-office at, 257, 355; Zumstein, postmaster of, carries out spirit of civil service law, 257; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; Tammany against Sherman, 297; Tammany, 301, 302; postmaster and collector at, political workers for Sherman, 302; reformers in, opposed by united republican and democratic machines, 352.
- Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette [republican], rejoices in rate of removals, 49; attributes defeat to patronage, 65.
- Cincinnati Times-Star [republican], on civil service reform, 92.
- Circleville, Ohio, editor, appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Civil service, congress, and, 86; federal report on, in Indiana, 1886, 37; statistics given by Moore, M. C. regarding, 123.
- Civil service commission of Brooklyn, report of for 1889, 152; examination questions commended, 239; of Massachusetts, examinations of, 74; examines applicants for clerkships in census service, 190; report of, 92; sixth annual report of, 152; seventh report of, showing progress of reform in Massachusetts, 204; eighth report, 317; of New York City, 225; not very commendable, 239; of New York State, see Sickles, 34; report of, 92; seventh annual report of, 152; annual report of 1890; statement regarding extensions to state hospitals, 200; not very commendable, 239; Riley, chief examiner of, removed by Tammany; commission powerless to act, 414.
- Civil Service Commission, United States, 10; at Indianapolis, 25; investigates at Indianapolis, 25; investigates post-office at Indianapolis, 27; investigates custom house at New York City, and Troy (N. Y.) post-office, 29; Roosevelt and Sixth Auditor Coulter, 34; orders Tousey dismissed from Indianapolis post-office, 34; keeps secret names of signers' certificates, 34; secretary of investigates and makes unfavorable report on post-office at Milwaukee, July, 1888; refuses request for special examination of Collector Geer, of Port Huron, 36; should have authority to call and swear witnesses, 36; and New York custom house, Troy, N. Y., post-office, railroad mail service at Grand Rapids, Mich., 36; and Postmaster Van Cott, of New York, 42; and N. C. Butler and W. P. Fishback to local board at Indianapolis, 42; and Census Bureau, see Harrison, President, 42; permit publication of examinations questions, 51, 56, 57, 58; of, appointed by Harrison, especially good, 59; admirable, 65; endorsed, 66; and political assessments, 70; examinations under for year ending June 30, 1888, 74; a humbug, 77; report of, 77; see Harrison, President, 81; and the civil service, 86; and Mahone, 86; and eligible list, 93; petition for appropriation for, 93; petition for larger appropriation for started by Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, 102; investigation of by congress, 103; report of on conduct of Milwaukee post-office by postmas-

ter Paul, 103; undemocratic, see Cummings and Vance, 116; debate over appropriation for in house of representatives, 119; investigation by congressional committee, 119; praised, see resolutions of Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; Harrison requests aid for, 122; commended, see Missouri, civil service reform association of, 136; charges against, see Grosvenor, Houk, and Roosevelt, 145, 146; investigates post-office at Philadelphia, 144; 7th annual report of, 184, 185, 186; charges of Wanamaker against, 185; examinations held in year 1889-90 by, appointments, 185; inefficient methods of alleged, see Wanamaker, 193; opposition to and charges against, see Cannon, Plumb, Grosvenor, 202, 203, 204; treasury supervising architect not obliged to accept subordinates provided through, but does, 224; politics of applicants for office passing examinations of, unknown to, 224; exposes methods of Raum, Jr., 228; threatened by congress, 229; attacked by Clarkson, 230, 231; and prosecution of Raum, 238; attacked and defeated, 250, 251; examinations of ordered for promotions in Washington offices, 251, 261; charges of favoritism of denied by Roosevelt, publicity of all documents and books of promised, 266, 267; under Presidents Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison, see also Grant and Hayes, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275; first report 1881, extent of classified service, 276; and violations of law in Omaha, Neb., post-office, 281; necessity of more money for, 282, 287, 288; eighth report of, 289; asks Harrison to order competitive examinations for census service, 292; requires physical examination in railway mail service, 305; praised by National League, 321; gives information regarding political assessments to United States District Attorney Jolly, 330; warning of, against political assessments, 358; under Harrison, proposes extensions, 372; of House of Representatives and Baltimore investigation, 373; discovers political assessments, 375, 383, 385; praised, 376; report of for 1891-92, 396, 397.

Civil service examinations, see examinations; defects in system of local boards, 1; publicity of examination papers and records urged, 1; examinations of little value, 69; for Brooklyn and New York City police force, worthless, 355, 356.

Civil service commissioners, see Roosevelt Lyman, Thompson, Johnson, etc.

Civil service law of States; of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, decisions and opinions of courts on, 41, 281; of New York disregarded by common council of Buffalo, N. Y., 161; of New York held valid by New York courts, 200; of Massachusetts, some features of, 204; evasion of in New York City service, 319, 320; of United States, see also Pendleton act; plan to evade, see Grosvenor, violations of, see violations, 25; violations of in Milwaukee post-office, see Paul, postmaster, 36; and census bureau, see Harrison, President, 42; opinions of courts, 44; see Ewart, 17; objection to by Congressman Hall, 47; opinions on, see Chandler, Reagan, Payson, Cutchina, Dolph, Hitt, Simmonds, 73; see Pendleton and Eaton, 79; Senator Gorman opposed to, 79; broken at Milwaukee by postmaster under Cleveland, 103; opposed by Browne, 112; upheld, see Lodge, favored by Cleveland, 122; upheld, see Henderson, 122; opposed, see Cheadle and Grosvenor, 153; supported by Lodge and McKinley, M. C., 168, 169; rigidly observed in post-office at Indianapolis, 186; Raum attempts to override, 203; commended by Secretary Tracy, 221; Wanamaker's evasion of defended by Gorman, 228; G. B. Raum, Jr., sells privilege of selection under, 238; to be relaxed, to allow federal officers to work for Harrison, 240; and National League, 271; and the courts, 281; violated in Alabama, 355; construed favorably to Baltimore office-holders, politically active, 357, 358; as construed by Judge Bradley, and Assistant Attorney-General Tyner, 357, 358; Harrison claims vigorous enforcement of, 366; should be extended, 5; not extended in application by Harrison, despite platform pledges, 189; extension of, urged upon President Harrison by Massachusetts republicans, see Lodge, Roosevelt, Rogers, Wolcott, 192; order of President Harrison, extending it to part of Indian service, 221; President Harrison should put navy yards under, 222; extended by Cleveland to railway mail service, 224; extended by Harrison to Indian service, 230; somewhat extended by Harrison, 237; application of, only to federal offices having 50 employees, condemned, 238; extension of to all free delivery cities, requested by national convention of letter carriers, 253; should be extended to post-office and navy departments, 257; extended to fish commission by Harrison, 332; extensions under Harrison, 371, 372; extensions of, under Cleveland and Harrison, 376; proposal to extend under Harrison, 387; extended to all free delivery post-offices, and weather bureau service, 403; should be extended wherever applicable, 413.

Civil service law, repeal of, demanded, 49; attempt at, see Cheadle, 77; proposed by Senator Farwell and opposed, see Columbus Republican, 83; unwise, see South Bend Times, 83; bill of Senator Paddock to withdraw railroad mail service from operation of, 92; desired, see Rich-

ardson, 96; repeal of sought after, see Cheadle, congressman, 112; bills of republicans for, 358; bills for under Harrison, 388; bill of De Armond to suspend for first year of every president's term, 404.

Civil service reform, and the public school, see Curtis, C. T. Lane, D. C. Brown, duty of teachers to enter politics, see address of Parr, Prof. S. S.; relation of to other reforms, address by C. J. Bonaparte before annual meeting National League 1890; of prime importance, see St. Louis Republic; favored by Massachusetts legislature, see Boston and Cambridge; all other reforms should be subordinated to, see Swift; morals of, see Blackford; advocated, see DeLand; see Wirt, Senator, addresses of; newspapers devoted to, see good government, Civil Service Record, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Civil Service Reformer; see also patronage; see convention and platform; see press; and church, see church; see also address; in Indiana under Cleveland's first administration, 1; pledges of republican party of, see Foulke, W. D., 4; how it can be accomplished (see address of Dabney, R. H.), 7; reasons for (see address of McKain, A. A.), 8; attitude of democratic party in Indiana to, see address of H. Briggs, 8; movement for, if successful must be within party lines (see address of Lane, C. R.), 8; and teachers, 11; in Indianapolis fire department, 13; advocated by a professor, 16; advocated by a clergyman, 16; and Postmaster General Dickinson, 18; opinions of, 18; and the post-offices, 18; and census bureau, 19; and Senator Ingalls, 22; and the schools, by Brown, D. C., 23; movement for, stronger than ever, 27; status of, 28; progress in extending in federal service, number of places covered, examinations, persons examined, successful competitor, 32; under State laws, in New York, in Massachusetts, 32; Congressman Perkins opposed to, 35; opposed by Browne, Perkins, Cannon, Taylor, Houk, 35; objections to by Congressman Browne, 35; objections to considered, 35; Congressman Cannon opposed to, 35; sentiment in favor of at Brookline, Mass., 36; necessary to improve condition of Indians, see Welsh, 39; opinion of, held by ex-Secretary Chase, 39; see Hoar, 43; controversy over, between Loomis and Buffalo Evening News, 44; objections to by Hall, Ewart, Taylor, Blair, Ingalls, Houk, Shearman, Evans, Cannon, Browne, Perkins, 49; general opposition to, resolution and newspaper condemnation of, 49; objections to by S. R. Stratton and federation of republican clubs of 3d Maryland District, 49; favored by President Hayes, 50; pledges that President Harrison and cabinet to reform, 52; see Houk, Darlington, Evans, Shearman, Plumb, Harrison, Cleveland, 55; as a moral question, see Bonaparte, 59; address on by Lucius B. Swift, 137; advocated by St. Louis Republic, 138; disregarded by administration of Harrison, see Pennsylvania, 156; action of Harrison's administration in regard to condemned, 156; result of 1890 elections in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania strengthen cause of, 173; antagonism to, responsible for republican defeat of 1890, 173; election of 1890 in New York, disastrous to, 173; advocated by Everett, 174; growth of sentiment for, sketched, 174; circular letter of Cushing on, 174; hostility to of Clarkson and Wanamaker, 177; opposed by Houk, advocated by Senator Sherman, 177, 178; opposed, see Grosvenor, 178; see Cleveland, 181; opposed by Clarkson and Wanamaker, 188; opposed by Raum, commissioner of pensions, 190; opposed by editor of Delphi Journal, a postmaster, 191; disregarded by President Grant, 191; an object lesson in, see Roosevelt, 192; President Harrison deserves some credit for, 59; a necessity and a prime importance, 59; as a moral question, see Bonaparte, 60, 61; considered a humbug by Ohio republicans, 62; denounced by republicans of West Virginia, 62; Harrison not bound to enforce spirit of according to New York republicans, 62; denounced by Iowa republicans, 62; Neither party cares about it, see Indiana, 62; denounced in New Hampshire by republicans, 62; denounced as a sham by Pennsylvania republicans, 62; Maryland republican clubs denounce, 63; denounced by republican central committees in New York, 63; in Massachusetts and Maryland under Cleveland, 63; disregarded by Harrison's administration, 64; in Homiletic Review for October, 1889, 65; advocated, 65; opinions on by republican papers, 65; opinions on, republican party pledged to, 66; plan for agitation of before National League, annual meeting, 1889, 66; opinion of Foraker on, 68; violation of Harrison's promises of leads to republican defeat of 1889, 68; in Boston city service, 68; see Lodge, 69; in fire department at Indianapolis, 69; and fight against Gorman, in Maryland, State of, 70; not responsible for republican defeat of 1889, but patronage system, see Boston Transcript, 76; advocated by newspapers, 76; lecture on before students of Hanover College, Indiana, see Donell, 77; supported by Pendleton, Willis, Cleveland, Bayard, Endicott, Whitney, Grace, Hewitt, Grant, Chapin, O'Brien, 82; advocated, see Marlon Chronicle, 83; advocated, see Logansport Journal, 83;

favored by Indiana State republican press, 83; favored by Buffalo Sunday Truth, Labor, 84; "some popular objections to," see Morton, 85; sham bills for, see Rosecrans, 85; favored, see Sperry, 91; and republican press, 92; session of house committee on, 96; methods used in Eastern Dispensary, New York City, 101; advocated, see Crocker, 102; advocated, see Bacon and Stroug, 102; attitude of reformers to, see letter of G. W. Curtis, 103; sentiment favoring at Indiana State University and Franklin (Ind.) College, 108; sentiment favoring in Utah, 111; some popular objections to, see Morton, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119; growth of sentiment favoring, 119; advocated, see Butler, 120; opposed, see Perkins, Cheadle, Spinola, Grosvenor, 122, 123; advocated, see President Hayes, Moore, Greenhalge, Hill, 123; opposed by Houk, Coleman, Dunnell, Biggs, 124, 125; advocated by Cutchin, Tracey, Butterworth, McKinley, McComas, 124, 125; victory for in house of representatives, see Curtis, 125; "the scope and difficulties of," see Bonaparte, 126, 127, 128; "morals of," see Blackford, 130; its later aspects, by W. D. Foulke, Economic Tract No. XXXI, 200; great progress of in cities of Massachusetts, 201; under Harrison and Cleveland compared, diverse opinions of Harper's Weekly and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, further funds for commission refused, 211; favored by Dawes, Butterworth and others, opposed by Cannon, 211; in Massachusetts and New York cities, 212; all other reforms should be subordinate to, 213, 214; Thurston, president league of republican clubs speaks in favor of, 219; recognized as the leading issue by Massachusetts republicans, 219; silence regarding, see Cleveland and Harrison, 220; methods, use of advised in street cleaning department of New York and Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 220, 221; Secretary of Navy Whitney secretly opposes, 222; in Washington, D. C., in letters in Civil Service Record for April, 1891, 224; opposed by Wanamaker, 221; popular in Indiana, federal, state officers, and citizens favoring, 227, 229; supported by labor organizations of Buffalo, New York, 228; all other reforms should be subordinated to, 228; favored, see Wilby, 235; pupils in Indiana schools know nothing about, 236; attitudes of Cleveland and Harrison towards, compared, 237; the main issue, 244; favored by Chittenden, 251; favored by Harrington, appointed chief of weather bureau, 253; favored by national convention of fire superintendents, 253; advocated by Lowell, Jones, 254; present status of, by Rev. H. Lambert, criticized, 255; advocated by M. Storey, ex-Secretary Bayard, 257; D. B. Eaton, on, 257; pledges of republican party "not good after election," 260; see address of Lambert, 261; as an issue, 261; address of Foulke on, before social science congress at Saratoga, 1891, 262, 263; practicability of conceded by highest public officers, 271; in Buffalo, N. Y. city offices, 273; advocated in republican national platforms 1884, 1888, 275; praised by Cleveland, message 1886, by Windom, annual report 1889, 276; status of, 282; under Harrison and Cleveland, 282, 283; in census service, see report of National League act, 291, 295; opposed by Census Superintendent Porter, 292; favored by Public Service, 306; prize for essay on offered by W. G. Law, 308; bureaucracy objection to compared to spoils system, 308; opposed by Beard, collector at Boston, 322; favored by laborers, see Andrews, 331; in republican national platform, 1892, 337; Cleveland and Harrison compared, in regard to, 338; in national democratic platform 1888, 1892, in Indiana state democratic and republican platforms, 1892, 349; pledges of by Harrison, silence regarding in 1892, 357; under Cleveland and Harrison, strength of popular dislike for, 364; the real issue, 365; address on by G. W. Julian, 365, 367, 370, 376; see Welsh, 366; under Cleveland and Harrison, 367, 370; in letter of acceptance of Cleveland 1892, 375; under Harrison and Cleveland, 376; prospects for under democratic administration, 388; under Harrison and President-elect Cleveland, 389; O. T. Morton on, 396; in 1892, annual message of Harrison, 397; change of popular feeling regarding, 403.

Civil service reform associations, see national league of, Cambridge, Boston, Indiana, Maryland, New Haven, Massachusetts, New York, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Missouri, Newton, Pennsylvania, Bloomington, Philadelphia, Brookline, Milwaukee, civil service reform association of; see also Malden, Geneva, N. Y. Lawrence, Kan.

CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, opinions of by Indiana newspapers, 13; non partisan, intends to advocate only civil service reform, 42; opinions of, 110; sent to college libraries, 192; policy of, 235.

Civil Service Record, Boston, March, 1889, 2; for April, 1889, plan for treatment of fourth-class postmasters, 18; articles in on civil service reform in Boston police force, 104; D. B. Eaton in, on removal of Saltonstall, 105; and growth of sentiment favoring merit system, 119; and Brooklyn, N. Y., navy yard under Secretary Whitney, 148; illustrates civil service labor examinations, 152; for October, 1890, contains speeches before National League meeting, 1890, 162; exposes methods of Porter, superintendent of census, 190; on reform bill introduced in Pennsylvania legislature, 204; on

- Flower's condemnation of congressional patronage, 204; condemns removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 215; prints examination papers of national census bureau and of Massachusetts census department for employees, April, 1891, 219, 220; for April, 1891, contains letters on merit system in Washington, D. C., 224; on examination questions used in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., under Tracy, 236; commended, completes tenth year, E. B. Greene makes index for, 237; circulation of, 1891, 239; on "bosses," 251; on spoils system, 261; merges with Civil Service Reformer into Good Government, 357.
- Civil Service Reformer, Baltimore, March 1889, 2; article in advocating clerical advocacy of civil service reform, 30; on political assessments at Baltimore, 162; prints specimen applications for office of those failing to pass examinations, on abuse of census service, 204; on evil effects of patronage on schools of Baltimore, 211; for March, 1891, exposes Gorman, 214; for March, 1891, on corruption in politics, 214, 215; on Gorman, 219; on common cause among spoilsmen, 228; commended, 237; merges with Civil Service Record into Good Government, 357.
- Clallin, W., ex-Governor of Massachusetts, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service committee, 102.
- Clapp, A. M., and political assessments, 287.
- Clarion, Iowa, Editor Harwood appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Clarion, Pa., Journalist Patrick, postmaster at, 149.
- Clark, Alderman, of Indianapolis, supports Fire-Chief Webster, 208.
- Clark, collector at Chicago, 95.
- Clark, ex-collector of customs at El Paso, Tex., 266.
- Clark, Dr., New York assemblyman, introduces bill for municipal reform in Oswego, N. Y., 415.
- Clark, A. B., officer Indiana civil service reform association, 108.
- Clark, A. B., editor, disappointed office-seeker, opposes Sherman, 301.
- Clark, E. P., on Jacksonian "rotation" scheme, in August, 1891, Forum, 257.
- Clark, G. W., politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Clark, H., ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y.; see Hill, 307.
- Clark, J., candidate as second auditor, 6.
- Clark, J. H., political worker, 160.
- Clark, M. H., in New York convention, 335.
- Clarkson, C., private secretary to J. S. Clarkson, 175.
- Clarkson, J. S., editor, appointed first assistant postmaster-general, 14; number, etc., of removals and "resignations" under, 22, 27, 35, 39, 41, 49, 62, 75, 76, 77, 91, 94, 130, 131, 149, 164, 173, 188, 253, 261, 376; see also removals; and office seekers, 14; and railroad mail service, 21; and office-seekers, 24; and Isabella De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannerton, Ind., 26; "the unspeakable," 27; tries to help Love, accused of selling offices, despite contrary evidence declares him innocent, 32; and post-offices, 37; appoints L. D. Levan, a disreputable character, postmaster at Wilson, N. Y., 39; spoilsman, 43; appointments in Iowa under, 46; and Syracuse post-office, 46; negotiates with Mahone, 52; and post-office at Cannerton, Ind., and at Long Island City, 54; appoints postmasters, 55; removes postmaster at Strawberry Point, Iowa, appoints political worker, resolutions by residents denounce this action, 55; condemned by Milwaukee Sentinel [republican], 66; largely responsible for republican defeat in Iowa in 1889, 67; and postmaster at Lawrenceville, Va., 74; spoilsman, 92; appoints J. H. Flenniken postmaster at Bradford, Penn., 99; investigates case of Love, 99; postmaster-general, 103; and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; letter to from Cooper regarding postmaster at Freedom, Owen county, Ind., 112; banquetted at Boston, 119; and Harrison, 121; condemned, 125; thinks national sentiment against civil service reform, 128; and civil service reformers, 130; speech of at Boston before Norfolk club, 130, 131; gives patronage in Missonri to Filley, 132; condemned, see C. T. Russell, Jr., 136; correspondence of with R. H. Dana, 144; gives office to his cousin, 150; retires, laudation of, 154; and Dana, 154; and Postmaster McKenna of Long Island City, N. Y., 175; letter regarding removal of Evans, on secret charges, 175; and Greenhow, postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., 176; hostile to civil service reform, 177; removes postmasters "upon expiration of four years' service, and second commission not yet expired," 189; opponent of civil service reform, 188; spoilsman, 191; denounced, 193, 194; attacks civil service commission, 230, 231; advice of to young republicans on plan of campaign, 235, 236; dinner to, 245; appointment of, hurts civil service reform, 255, 256; takes place of Quay on National Republican Committee, condemned, 257; and Platt, 260; injures civil service reform, see Lambert, 261, 269; on mugwump, 269; spoilsman, 272; and civil service reform, 274; on "bosses," 278, 281, 282, 314, 317; and young republicans, 329; and post-office in saloon building, 331; deserts Harrison, 332; deserts Harrison, 337, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 350; enlists Quay and Dudley, 356; placated, 353, 354; works for Harrison, 359; on national republican committee, 363; general, 373; on post-offices as a factor in politics, 364, 369; member national committee, etc., confers with Quay, 390.
- Clarkson, N. C., cousin of assistant postmaster-general appointed postmaster at Hamilton, Mo., 150.
- Classification, once ordered can not be postponed, postponement not necessary, act of bad faith, 10.
- Classified service, ought the to be increased, address, see Rogers; extensions of Cleveland and Harrison, 275; extent of in 1884, 276; extension of under Harrison, 366; civil service commission recommends extensions of, 397.
- Clay, H., opposes spoils system, 274.
- Clay, Rev. J. H., negro, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Clay, Mary L., postmaster at Huntsville (Ala.) removed by President Harrison on report of special agent, without cause, 29.
- Clay City, Ind., objections to appointment of Mrs. Wilber as postmistress at, 59.
- Clayton, B. S., appointed postmaster at Columbia, S. C., vice Gibbs, removed, 71.
- Clayton county, Iowa, resolutions of veterans of, denouncing Clarkson, 55.
- Clayton, Powell, obtains appointment of True as postmaster at Eureka Springs, Ark., dispenser of patronage, 55; controls patronage in Arkansas, 188.
- Clear Lake, Ia., fight over post-office at, 121.
- Clearwater, A. T., judge, a political worker for Platt, 265.
- Clements, congressman and civil service law, 123.
- Clements, E. M., introduces bill in Virginia legislature for non-partisan police and fire service, 87.
- Clements, I., politician, appointed pension agent at Chicago, 107.
- Clements, J. W., office-seeker, 24.
- Clerks, questions used in examination for, at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 56, 57, 58.
- Cleveland, E., removed from post-office at Quincy, Ill., for political reasons, 148.
- Cleveland, Grover, as governor, civil service law of New York due largely to, appoints good commission, 271.
- Cleveland, President, extensions of civil service law under, see also civil service law; order of that railway mail service be classified, 10, 21, 22, 29, 81, 224, 372, 403; retains republican postmaster at Norwich, Conn., beyond four years, see Norwich, Conn.; and the Indianapolis post-office, 3; and the spoilsmen, 5; and civil service reform, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 12, 20; number of appointments, April, 1889, 16; and Missonri offices, 24; and Thomas, and Dowling, 25; and Higgins, 25; removes Isabella De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannerton, Ind., for "offensive partisanship," 26; and Troy, N. Y., post-office, 29; allows republican postmaster at Bridgeport, Conn., to serve out term, 29; retained postmaster at Jersey City until end of term, 29; retains republican postmaster at Norwich, Conn., over his term, 29; at suggestion of Congressman Matson appoints, H. G. Douglas, editor, postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30; removes Hankness, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., for cause, appoints Stacy, 39; promises of and their fulfillment in Indiana, 41; civil service reform, promises of, 43; abuse of civil service law by administration of, 49; re-instates Naval Officer Burt, see Burt, 52; and Kansas post-offices, 55; civil service reform under, see Eliot, 60; and civil service reform in Massachusetts, and Maryland, 63; patronage largely responsible for his defeat, 65; see Lea, 68; makes clean sweep in Charleston navy yard, 69; see Lodge, 69; gives patronage of Maryland to Senator Gorman, 70; appoints editor postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., 71; removes four-year office-holders in Maine, 73; attitude of toward civil service reform, 82; weakened by patronage, 83; and Indian Rights Association appoints Oberly Indian commissioner, 86; appoints Spear postmaster at Quincy, Massachusetts, 86; removes Luke, postmaster at Jeffersonville, Indiana, 88; allows office-holders to be political workers, 88; secret charges under, 96; on civil service reform, 98; appoints Turner postmaster at Newtonville, Massachusetts, and Childs postmaster at Brattleboro, Vermont, 100; appoints Pyle postmaster at West Chester, Pennsylvania, 101; abuse of Indian service under, 102; appoints Mrs. Mulligan to succeed Miss Sweet, 107; gives patronage of Maryland to Gorman, 111; criticized by Senator Harrison regarding civil service, 119; favors civil service law, 122; and fourth class post-offices, 124; talk with Biggs, see Biggs, 128; circular of, warning employees in government offices against political working, 135; appoints Montgomery patent commissioner, appoints politician assistant commissioner, removes Montgomery, appoints B. J. Hall, 139, 140; accused of bribing the press, 144; abuses in Norfolk (Va.) navy yard under, 147; bribery of press under, see Harrison, senator, 149; brother-in-law of, an office-holder, 150; appoints Ross postmaster at Washington, D. C., 153; removes employees in Brooklyn navy yard, 155; antagonized by party machine, because of civil service views, 171; object of tariff message of, 172; civil service reform and, 173; removes Fortune postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., 175; and secret charges, 177; gives office to Higgins, disreputable politician, see Gorman, 181; appoints Vandever Indian agent, 181; on necessity of civil service reform, 181; and departmental service, 185; number applicants for office in Washington under, 185; removals under, 185; makes clean sweep of postmasters, 189; spoils system responsible for defeat of, 210; civil service commission under criticized, 211; removals in Indian service under, 217; makes almost clean sweep in Indian service, 219; silent regarding civil service reform, 220; appoints Morgan postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224; gives patronage to Quay and Voorhees, 235; loses by comparison with Harrison in respect to civil service reform, 237; Indian service under, given over to spoils, 239; appoints son of Senator Vest, to diplomatic service, totally unfit, 242; disaffection of Maryland under, gives patronage of to Gorman, 254; controls patronage but fails of re-election, 262; administration of, 266; honestly supports civil service commission, 272; message on civil service reform, 1886, 276; violations of law in post-office at Omaha under, 281; and Harrison, 282, 283; president appoints capable woman postmistress at Olneyville, R. I., 288; promotes Stearns, secretary, 288; and removals on secret charges, 297; clean sweep of Indian agents under, made, 308, on federal patronage, 316; and reform, 325, 326; present political assessments under, in Baltimore federal officers, 328; compared to Harrison, as to civil service reform, 338; ex-federal officers under work for at Chicago convention, post-office at Philadelphia under a scandal, 350; opposed at Chicago convention because favored by "mugwumps," 351; and regular democratic organizations in New York, 355; Kings county, N. Y. democratic leaders promise support to, 356; and spoils system, 358, 359; and Harrison, comparison regarding civil service reform, 364; and civil service reform, 367, 369; Cleveland, civil service reform under, 372, 374; civil service reform in letter of acceptance, 1892, 375; in 1884, 1888, 376; civil service reform under, 376; during the war, 381, 385, 386; President-elect, victory not a license to revel in spoils, 387; and extension of civil service law, 388; and civil service reform, 389; war record of, 389; applicants for office in Indiana during second term, 392, 394; refused while candidate to promise spoil to Sheehan, 395; address of, on issues, 395, 396; civil service commission under, first term, should reappoint Roosevelt, 397; endorsed for denunciation of spoils system, 398; obligations of, 404; opposes election of Murphy as senator from New York, 404; and congressional patronage, 405; applicants for office in Indiana, for second term, 409, 411; since election, 413; applicants for office in Indiana, under [second term], 415, 422.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Anderson appointed postmaster at, 216; custom-house at not classified, number of employees in, 277.
- Cleveland Leader [republican], civil service reform advocated, 92.
- Cleveland, Rev. Dr., favors civil service reform, 73; favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Cleveland, W. J., philanthropist, on Indian troubles at Pine Ridge, S. Dakota, 211, 217, 218.
- Clinton, Iowa, Editor Mahin appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Clinton, J., low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Club, Young Men's Republican, of Des Moines, Iowa, Clarkson advice to, on plan of campaign, 235, 236.
- Clingage, J. P., editor, applicant for postmastership at Sullivan, Indiana, 88; appointed postmaster at Sullivan, Indiana, 377.
- Cockran, B., Tammany politician, levies assessments for personal use, 184; opposes nomination of Cleveland because favored by "mugwumps," 351.
- Cockrell, and patronage in census bureau, 234.
- Cockrum, J. B., assistant United States district attorney for Indiana, 14; declares charges against Dudley not founded on fact, 41; a political worker, 158, 162, 219, 260, 353, 354, 370, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 389; worker for Harrison, 316, 317; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Coffey, acting mayor of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Nathan, 352.
- Coffey, T. J., letter to from Kemble, 270.
- Coffin, senator, levies political assessments on federal office-holders in Baltimore, Md., 162.
- Coffin, C. B., republican politician, works for reappointment of Morgan, democrat, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Cogswell, general, desires removal of Stearns in favor of Dodge, 250.
- Cogswell, W., congressman, letter of to Johnson, postmaster of Manchester, Mass., 187; secures removal of Stearns for political reasons, and appointment of Dodge, 288.
- Colbert, captain Indianapolis police, arrests Moore, gambler and post-office employe, is asked to call arrest a put-up job, see Moore; and office seekers, see equally divided politically, 213.
- Cole, H., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Cole, T., on eligible list of N. Y. police force, induced to try to buy immediate position, is fleeced, see Tammany, 224, 225.

- Coleman, congressman, controls patronage of Louisiana, 71; opposes civil service reform, 124.
- Coleman, C. E., negro, R. R. mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Colfax, Wash., Postmaster-La Rue of, forced to resign, 165.
- Collectors of internal revenue, editors appointed, 30.
- College graduates, young and civil service examinations, 26.
- Colleges, and duties of citizenship, 101.
- Collier, Dr., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Collier, surveyor of port, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Collier, W. H., republican committee chairman, attempted bribery of, 162.
- Collin, professor in Cornell University, defends Hill, 305; defended for defense of Hill, 313.
- Collins, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 107.
- Collins, C., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Collins, C. C., relative of Mrs. R. Croker, appointed police captain, 356.
- Collins, Edith, in charge of examination for police matron at New York, see Maloney.
- Collins, F. W., U. S. Marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Collins, G. J., spoken of for Brooklyn, N. Y., post-office, 155; postmaster at Brooklyn, N. Y., political worker for Harrison, 336; spoilsman, 360.
- Collins, J., deputy collector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 265, 279; low politician, desires clean sweep of democrats, 311; in New York convention, 334; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Collins, P. A., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Collyer, Rev. R., advocates civil service reform, 82.
- Columbia Club, republican organization at Indianapolis, 332; and spoils system, 338.
- Columbia, District of, D. M. Ransdall, politician, appointed marshal of, 34; central republican committee of favors spoils system, 63; Ransdall appointed marshal for, 68; clerk of committee of removed by Senator Ingalls, who appoints his own son, 245; Ransdall, U. S. marshal for, gets offices for relatives, 241; civil service commission recommends extension of classified service to all employes in, 397.
- Columbia, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Columbia, S. C., B. S. Clayton appointed postmaster of, vice Gibbs, removed, 71.
- Columbus, Ind., dissatisfaction among applicants for postmaster of, 89; Hartman, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 379; Finney supported for postmaster of by Congressman Cooper, 398.
- Columbus, Neb., Postmaster Heusley, of, forced to resign, 166.
- Columbus, Ohio, applicants for post-office of and Senator Sherman, 67; spoils system in asylum at, 304.
- Columbus Republican opposes repeal of civil service law, 83.
- Colville, W. W., federal office-holder, supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Colyer, W., editor, appointed postmaster at Albion, Ill., 111.
- Commercial Club, of Boston, address before on iniquity of spoils system by Roosevelt, 194.
- Commission, civil service, see civil service commission.
- Commission, Indian, controversy about, 22.
- Committee, national republican, offended by Harrison, 240; eulogizes Quay and Dudley, 257.
- Conaty, J. B., dishonest juror and bondsman for Sullivan, corrupt politician, see Indianapolis.
- Concord, Ind., fight over postmastership at, 72.
- Concord, Mass., reappointment of postmaster at, see Bancroft, 91; Buttrick recommended for reappointment at, 100.
- Concord, N. Hampshire, Postmaster Robinson of, active politician, 143.
- Condit, E. M., politician, favored by administration, 180.
- Conference, civil service reformers at Baltimore, 1889, 2.
- Conger, U. S. minister to Brazil, political worker, 382.
- Conger, Col., speech of against Harrison, 240.
- Conger, A. L., patronage of, works for Blaine, 310, 341, 345; political worker, 389.
- Conger, S., appointed census supervisor 3d Indiana district, gives patronage to M. Moores at Indianapolis; politician, 104, 132; lets politicians appoint enumerators, 182, 190; turns service over to spoil, 293.
- Congregationalist, on Collector Erhardt, and decent politics, 257.
- Congress, members of harassed by office-seekers, 6.
- Congressional Patronage, see Patronage, Congressional.
- Congressmen, and internal revenue collectorships, 14; 110 recommend Butler, R. R. as commissioner of Indian affairs, 14; of Penn. control patronage of, after Senators Cameron and Quay, 72.
- Conklin, supt. Central Park menageries, 320.
- Conkling, A. R., bill of, preventing political assessments in New York, 318.
- Conkling, R., Senator, and President Garfield, 14, 361; spoilsman, 113.
- Conn, Congressman-elect, 392; patronage of, 110; patronage of, 420, 422.
- Connecticut, republican platform 1872 and 1874, advocates civil service reform, 50; political assessments of federal and other offices in, 183; requisition of forger from, refused by Gov. Hill of New York for political reasons, 214; schemes of Hill in, 309; postmasters in and elsewhere, compelled to give list of voters, 330.
- Connell, Congressman, and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72, 108.
- Conner, J. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Toledo, Ill., 111.
- Connersville, Ind., Fearis, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Connett, Alderman, and Indianapolis fire department, 13; obtains removal of Fire Chief Webster, 36; spoilsman and low politician, 207; Blaine supporter, bribed by Harrison with office, 362; politician at Indianapolis, given office as bribe, 366.
- Counolly, postmaster, Scranton, Penn., 101.
- Conroy, F., Indian machinist, refused employment to give place to white man, 218.
- Conroy, P., appointed postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., see Hiscock and Flood, 150.
- Conroy, W., murderer, low politician, pardoned by Gov. Hill, 320.
- Consul, Swiss, and charges of corruption, 21.
- Consulships, great number of applications, 16; applicants for, 24; Editor A. Reed appointed to, at Dublin, 30; R. Spooner appointed to Prague through influence of Senator Spooner, 30; applications for, 75; number of applicants for under Harrison, 185.
- Convention, see also platform; national democratic, 1892, at Chicago, see Chicago; national republican at Minneapolis, 1892, see Minneapolis; republican national, 1888, D. McLean, delegate to rewarded, 30; republican national convention at Chicago, 1888, 121; Indiana democratic, July, 1890, denounces abandonment of civil service reform, 180; Ohio republican, June, 1891, condemns spoils methods of democratic governor, 257; state democratic of Maryland, July, 1891, condemns spoils methods of Harrison administration, 257; of republican league at Syracuse, August, 1891, federal office-holders at, 259; republican, Seneca county, N. Y., factional fights in, August, 1891, 259, 260; Iowa state, 1891, federal officers at, 260; republican state of Alabama, 1892, charges political activity of federal office-holders in, 355.
- Converse, J. O., editor, appointed postmaster at Chardon, O., 301.
- Conway, E., deputy U. S. marshal in Indiana, ward politician, 108; worker for Harrison, 302, 317, 379; political worker in Indiana, 144, 353, 377, 378.
- Cook, Mrs., letter of to Indian Commissioner Morgan, showing abuses of Indian service in S. Dakota, 202.
- Cook, C. A., U. S. dist. att'y, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- Cook, J. W., letter to H. Welsh on Indian service, 79.
- Cook, Major, federal officer, a political worker, 162.
- Cooley, W. B., chief clerk P. O. department, letter of Postmaster Smith, 188.
- Coolidge, T. J., appointed minister to France for political reasons, 382.
- Coombs, W. J., candidate for congress, 178; opposing Wallace, 374.
- Cooper, state senator of Penn., 133.
- Cooper, ward politician of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Cooper, E. H., negro editor, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 243, 244.
- Cooper, G. W., favors keeping reform promises, is prevented from active work in Ohio campaign in 1889, 68; asks for retention of postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112, 174; and investigation of Pension Commissioner Raum, 190, 238, 373; patronage of, 398, 399, 409, 411, 416, 422.
- Cooper, H. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Tampa, Fla., 144.
- Cooper, H. M., internal revenue collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cooper, M. W., appraiser at New York Custom House, and Platt, 258.
- Cooper, T. V., editor and political worker, appointed through influence of Sen. Quay, see Quay, 39; Collector at Philadelphia, spoilsman, 85; works for Senator Cameron, 162; defends Quay, 219; a political worker with Quay, 260, 270, 280; political worker for Harrison, 299, 300; confers with Quay, Reid and Carter, 361, 362, 390; and political assessment circular to raise campaign funds in Pennsylvania, 363.
- Corbaley, chief deputy sheriff at Indianapolis, 315.
- Corboy, P. J., recommends O'Donnell, 60.
- Cornell, ex-governor of New York, 314, 319.
- Cornell University library, 350.
- Cornan, C., postmaster at Ovid, Mich., forced to resign, 165.
- Cornlng, state senator, applicant for postmastership at Concord, Ind., 72.
- Corning, J. W., deputy surveyor at N. Y. city, pays political assessments, 279.
- Corpus Christi, Tex., custom-house at not classified; number of employees in, 277.
- Corsa, W. H., federal employe in New York convention, 334.
- Corse, Gen'l, postmaster at Boston, removed for political reasons, 203, 215, 237; entertained by Massachusetts reform club, 251; removed for political reasons, 282, 367, 376.
- Corsicana, Tex., Politician Zadek, appointed postmaster at, 187.
- Corydon, Ind., Hudson, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 382.
- Cotton, E. S., candidate for postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., 100.
- Coulter, J. M., president Indiana state university, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Conter, T. B., sixth auditor, interpretation of republican promises, his proceeding stopped by Roosevelt, 34; removes subordinates for political reasons, 39; removes Smith, 45; spoilsman, 47; intends clean sweep, 55; member of Ohio Republican Association, 234.
- Council Bluffs, Ia., Treynor, postmaster, political worker, 266.
- Coutts, J. A., journalist, father of federal office-holder, worker for Harrison, 316.
- Covill, L. W., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Covington, Ind., Editor Vogt appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Covington (Ind.) Friend, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Covode, investigation, 124.
- Cowen, J. K., writes history of Gorman regime, 237.
- Cowie, J. A., ward politician and Gibbs faction, see also New York City, 241, 242, 265.
- Cowing, Judge, convicts Conroy, murderer pardoned by Governor Hill for political reasons, 320.
- Cowman, Martha, wife of Editor Cowman, appointed postmaster at Casey, Iowa, 142.
- Cox, Secretary, and Maxwell land grant, 369.
- Cox, G. B., low politician in Cincinnati, worker for Foraker, 302; allied with Foraker, 336; disreputable republican politician in Cincinnati, 352.
- Coy, "Sim," corrupt politician of Indianapolis, career of, see Indianapolis, forges tally-sheets, sent to penitentiary, pardoned by Harrison; and Stuart, R. S., 17; effect of pardon of, on city election, 59; disreputable politician of Indianapolis, 203; opposes passage of bill for new charter of Indianapolis, 212; adherent of elected president city council at Indianapolis, 221, 228; low politician, aids republicans in Indianapolis, 269; Elkins compared to, 289; like Hill, 306, 307; and tally-sheet frauds, 313.
- Craft, G. T., postmaster of Maplewood, N. H., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Craft, R., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Craft, W. H., career as R. R. mail substitute clerk, 12.
- Craft, supt of carriers at Indianapolis, political worker, 378.
- Cramer, brother-in-law of Pres. Graut, given office, 191.
- Crane, postmaster of Sedan, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Crane, W. J., candidate for alderman, see Buffalo, N. Y., 137.
- Cratsenberg, A. J., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Cravens, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 406, 407.
- Cravens, J. O., appointed collector of internal revenue, spoilsman, 35, 38, 41; removals by, 51, 53; opposed by congressmen of Indiana, 84; internal revenue collector in Indiana, political worker for Harrison, 302, 303, 316; gives office to anti-Harrison man, 347; collector and deputies in Indiana, political workers, 378, 379.
- Crawford, A., low politician, see Philadelphia, 233.
- Crawford, D., see Hillism, 399.
- Crawford, Mrs. R. A., charges of favoritism regarding appointment of denied by Roosevelt, 266, 267.
- Crawley, chief clerk of Indiana house of representatives and office-seekers, 406, 407.
- Creighton, W., negro, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Creigmyer, —, indorsed for postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., by Cheadle, 84.
- Crescent Club, low democratic organization in Baltimore, Md., 308.
- Cresco, Iowa, Editor Webster appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Creswell, ex-postmaster-general, office-seeker, 24.
- Crisp, Speaker, election of, 289.
- Crockett, postmaster of South Bend, Indiana, a political worker, 153, 178; political worker for Harrison, 316, 377, 378.
- Croker, R., Tammany boss, and McLaughlin, 245; defends Tammany, 305, 322; Tammany leader, 298; supporter of disreputable politicians, 309, 317, 411; his patronage, 319, 323.
- Croker, Mrs. R., relative of appointed police captain in New York, 356.
- Cronin, Father, supports civil service reform, 137.
- Cronkite, Major, federal official, pays political assessments, 279.
- Crocker, Rev. T. H., on evils of spoils system, 102.

- Croper, H. M., political worker, appointed collector of internal revenue for Arkansas, 39.
- Crosby, A. D., deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cross, H. G., journalist, postmaster at Petersburg, Neb., 149.
- Crounze, Assistant-Secretary, spoilsman, tries to get office for his son, 253, 254; to resign to enter political work, 370.
- Crouse, state senator of Penn., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Cronse, G. N., supported for congress by Collector Hendricks and Postmaster C. E. Smith, 386.
- Cronssore, J. W., appointment and removal of as postmaster at Oakford, Ind., 96.
- Crowley, R., ex-congressman, opposes Hiscock, 259.
- Crown Point, Ind., Editor Wheeler postmaster at, 302, 377.
- Cruger, S. V. R., political worker for Harrison in New York, 332.
- Cruikshank, G. L., postmaster at Addison, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Crum, W. D., negro, nomination of for postmaster at Charleston as political reward, withdrawn, 363.
- Crutcher, G., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Cuba, N. Y., Journalist Glenn, postmaster at, 155; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Cullman, Ala., Parker, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cullom, Senator, and Cook Co. (Ill.) offices, 6; spoilsman, 21, 25; obtains appointment fourth-class postmasters, and examining pension boards, 30; and appointments in Ill., 31; and Farwell demand that commission of Wilcox be withheld because they were not consulted, 31; and office-seekers, 37; spoilsman, 79, 95, 107; and post-office at Lanark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109; obtains removal of Smith, postmaster at Carrollton, Ill., and appointment of successor, 188; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342; supporter of Blaine, 344.
- Cullom, H., employed in N. Y. City government, assessed for political purposes, pays twice, refuses third time, removed, commits suicide, 45.
- Cullop, spoilsman in Indiana legislature, 406, 407.
- Cummings, A. J., congressman, civil service commission is undemocratic, 116; speech on spoils system in navy yards, 145; and navy yard at Kittery, Me., 146.
- Cummings, councilman of Indianapolis, receives street railway bribing check, 207.
- Cunee, P., editor, postmaster at Upper Sandusky, O., 301.
- Cuney, N. W., negro, and collector of customs at Galveston, Texas, political worker, 150, 158, 159; given patronage of Texas, 173; disreputable politician, 180, 266; and Minneapolis convention, 346, 348.
- Cunningham, appointed head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho, upon removal of former incumbent, makes clean sweep, 30.
- Cunningham, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.
- Cunningham, G. I., U. S. marshal, offers bribes, 162; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Cunningham, Kan., Journalist Smith, postmaster at, 149.
- Cunningham, W. S., and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 308.
- Curran, M. P., removed without cause from Boston custom-house, place given to L. A. Dodge, relative of Secretary Blaine, 71.
- Curran, W. R., postmaster at Hoboken, N. J., removed for political reasons, 51.
- Currier, F. D., naval officer at Boston, a political worker, 143; an active politician, 160, 179.
- Curry, W. W., makes political assessments for Indiana, 153, 377; circular letter of making political assessments, 160; spoilsman, 181; political worker, 389.
- Curtin, Gov., and Quay, 105.
- Curtis case, 281.
- Curtis, Dr., disgraceful physician, in Central Insane Hospital of Indiana, 211.
- Curtis, G. W., address before N. Y. Civil Serv. Ref. Ass'n, 23; an "imposter," 49; address of before annual meeting of National League 1889, 59, 61; rep. journals favor civil service principles of, 76, 86; letter on attitude of civil serv. reformers on reform, 103; on absurdity of spoils system, 120; and civil service law, 125; on victory in house of representatives for civil service reform, 125; speech at laying corner-stone of Washington Arch 1890, 129; accuses Cleveland of subsidizing the press, 141; president National Civil Service Reform League, 153; before annual meeting National Civil Service Reform League, 161, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172; address before annual meeting National League 1890, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172; to address public schools of Philadelphia on public school and civil service reform, 205; address of before department of superintendence of national educational association on "The Public School and Civil Service Reform," 211; address of before annual meeting National League of Civil Service Reform Associations 1891, 261; address of before annual meeting National League 1891, 269, 275; writes civil service clause in republican national platform 1888, 281; correspondence of with Secretary Foster and Wanamaker over political activity of Van Cott and Hendricks, 289; address of before National League annual meeting 1892, on party and patronage, 321, 326, 329; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; career of, 366, 367; memorial, adopted by Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, 384.
- Curtis, J., speaker of Indiana house of representatives, patronage of, 406, 407.
- Curtis, J. E., physician at Indiana Central Insane Hospital, extorts fee for death certificate, 311.
- Curtis, N. W., congressman, 354.
- Cushing, M., circular letter of on civil service reform, 174; agent for Wanamaker, letter to civil service reformers, 188.
- Cushing, W. E., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Cushman, postmaster at Newburg, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Custer, Gen'l. see Indian service, 182.
- Customs, 22; deputy collectorship of at Port Townsend given to relative of Pres. Harrison, 30; collectors of, applicants for position as under Harrison, 185; house at N. Y., applications for, position in, 75; house N. Y., employes in become political workers, 108; at St. Louis, Mo., employes in workers for Filley machine, 150; house at Lockport, N. Y., patronage of controlled by Hiscock, 259; houses, and extension of merit system, 275; houses, should be classified, 403; service, examinations for, 1891-92, 396.
- Cutchen, congressman, and civil service law, 73.
- Cutcheon, Congressman, stands by civil service law, 124.
- Dabney, Prof. R. H., part of address at annual meeting of Indiana Civ. Serv. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 7.
- Dabozz, D. B., office-seeker, 15.
- Dady, Mike J., spoilsman; see also Kings Co., N. York, 24; promised federal office in N. Y.; see Wallace, 72; corrupt politician of Brooklyn, N. Y.; career of, 106, 336; Worker for Nathan, 354.
- Daggett, "Al," corrupt politician of Brooklyn, N. Y., career of; see also Brooklyn, N. Y., 106.
- Dailey's ranch, cowboys kill Indian boy at, and precipitate trouble, 218.
- Daily, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 406.
- Dakota, Delegate Mathews of, dictates appointments in, 30.
- Dallam, journalist, appointed deputy U. S. revenue collector, 148.
- Dalton, O., Journalist Scott postmaster at, 149.
- Dalton, W. J., deputy street-cleaning commissioner in N. Y. City, ward politician, 291.
- Daly, M. J., political worker, 371.
- Dalzell, gives way to Senator Quay, 30; controversy with Sen. Quay over Pittsburgh, Pa., post-office, 87, 90, 112; opposed to Quay, 133, 280; and Quay, 299.
- Dana, police commissioner of N. Y. City, a Croker tool, helps in boosting Collins by beating Civ. Serv. law, 356.
- Dana, Ill., Editor Pritchett appointed postmaster at, 111.
- Dana, R. H., at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; address of, before National League, 1889, on taking 4th class post-offices out of politics, 67, 68, 74; to examine management of civ. service, 77; committeeman report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; correspondence of, with Clarkson, assistant postmaster-general, 141; and Clarkson, 154; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 172; on committee of Nat. League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; on special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; on committee of publication of "Good Government," 357.
- Dancy, J. C., negro, customs coll. at Wilmington, N. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Danforth, state treasurer (N. Y.), receives political contributions, 180.
- Daniel, L. M., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Daniels, postmaster at Cedar Rapids, Ia., 262.
- Daniels, G. B., postmaster of Withey, Mich., asked for poll of voters, 383.
- Danville, Ill., Editor Jewell appointed postmaster at, 141; Postmaster Jewell of, a political worker, 160.
- Danville, Ind., Editor Kiug supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 398, 399.
- Dany, J. C., negro, collector of customs at Wilmington, N. C., delegate for Harrison, 334.
- Darby, W., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Dargan, on house committee on civil service, 86.
- Darling, E., postmaster in Crawford county, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Darlington, S., congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 37, 51.
- Darvall, S. A., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Darnell, councilman, and Indianapolis fire department, 13; controls patronage in city offices, 104; and street railway bribery, 207.
- Daugherty, chairman Allen county (Ind.) republican committee, opposes Harrison, 303.
- Daus, R. L., worker for McLaughlin, see Tammany, 318, 319.
- Davenport, I., candidate for governor of New York, 1885, 351.
- Davenport, "Johnny," chief supervisor of elections at New York, 21; makes tool of "The" Allen, see also, 249; letter of questioning rights of voters, 387.
- Davidson, A. J., deputy pension commissioner, a political worker, 279.
- Davis, ballot-box stuffer, see Hudson county, N. Y.
- Davis, senator, spoilsman, 21; opposes E. G. Hay, 81.
- Davis, fireman in Indianapolis fire service, 36.
- Davis, "Bill," councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Davis, "Bill," P. O. employe at Indianapolis, political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Davis, C., political worker for Platt and Hiscock, 265.
- Davis, C. F., offer of Enbanks to sell office to, 99.
- Davis, D. P., father of Journalist Davis, postmaster at Harrison, Neb., 149.
- Davis, I., appointed postmaster at Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- Davis, Ill., Editor Potter appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Davis, "Jim," see also Indianapolis, 207.
- Davis, Rev. J. A., negro, opposes Harrison; wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Davis, J. B., applicant for postmastership of Monroeville, Ind., given office in Indian Service, 88.
- Davis, M., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Davis, S. P., applicant for postmaster at Cumberland, Ind., 89.
- Davis, W., postmaster at Kane, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Davis, W. R., journalist, postmaster at Canton, Kan., 148.
- Davison, J. T., see Hiscock, 259.
- Dawes, Sen., letter to, from Congressman Banks, advocating appointment of J. J. McCarthy, 31; and Boston custom-house, 71; and Collector Saltonstall, 94, 105; controls census patronage in Mass., 104; favorable to civil service reform, 211; requests retention of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Dawson, Neb., journalist Buser, postmaster at, 149.
- Dawson, T., soldier, given place in Indiana senate, 108.
- Dawson, Wm., chairman W. Virginia republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390.
- Day, deputy sheriff, a political worker, 162.
- Dayton Journal, (rep.), spoils system a necessity, 49.
- Dea, and Brattlebro, Mass., postmastership, 100.
- Deane, G. B., custom-house contractor, in New York convention, 334; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom-house, 358.
- Deane, W. G., given place by Collector Erhardt, for political services, 150.
- De Armond, congressman, bill of, to suspend civil service law, during first year of every president's term, 404.
- Deas, E. H., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Decatur, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37; Quinn, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Decker, O. H., appointed consul-general Rio de Janeiro through influence of his relative, Judge Settle, 47.
- Deen, H. W., journalist, postmaster at Jackson Court House, W. Va., 155.
- Deery, E. H., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- De Freest, clerk of N. Y. house of representatives and patronage, 215.
- De Grass, J. C., appointed postmaster at Austin, Texas; local politician, 71.
- Degress, politician of Texas, 159.
- De Haven, J. D., congressman, indorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- De Kalb Co., Ind., postmasters in, political workers, 380.
- De La Hunt, Isabella, appointed postmistress at Cannelton, Ind., by Arthur, on recommendation of Sen. Harrison, removed for political reasons by Cleveland, Harrison refuses to reappoint, 25, 177, 368.
- Delamater, state senator of Pa., charged with bribery, career of, 133, 134, 135, 138, 299, 353; candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, 143; opposition to in Pennsylvania, 161; defeated candidate for governor of Pa., financial ruin of, 183, 233; forced on Quay, 249; tool of Quay, 250.
- De Land, J. L., federal examiner, on merit system, 83; on examinations in treasury department, 152; friend of civil service reform, report of on workings of merit system, 200; devises rules for promotion in treasury department, 298.
- Delaney, J., postmaster at Orlando, Fla., removed on secret charges, Fletcher appointed, 176.
- Delano, congressman, and post-offices in N. Y., makes changes in, 47.
- Delaware, repub. platform 1882 advocates civil service reform, 50; political activity of federal office holders in, 334; vote of for Harrison and others at Minneapolis, 347; political activity of federal officers in, attempted bribery by, 347, 348, 389, 401, 402.

- Delaware, Ohio, Gazette, son of editor of, federal office holder, 301.
- DeLemas, B., sec'y republican committee of Alabama, levies political assessments, 391.
- Della Plain, Tex., Journalist McLain postmaster at, 155.
- Delmar, Ala., ignorant negro appointed postmaster at, 47.
- Delphi, Ind., Journal [repub.], editor of given office through, 85, 97; advocated republican bribery in elections as only means to win, opposes civil service reform, 191; condemns civil service examination system, because democrats get offices, 213; charges favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267.
- Democrats, list of, voting in Indiana senate on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, majority against, 201.
- Democratic platforms, see platforms.
- DeMotte, postmaster at Valparaiso, Ind., a political worker, 153, 377, 378; worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Dennis, Rev. H. D., applicant for postmastership at Lanark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109; defeated applicant for postmastership of Lanark, Ill., 136.
- Denny, C., mayor of Indianapolis, charges against, 207; ex-mayor of Indianapolis, on the mugwump, 269.
- Denton, J. S., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Denver, Colo., percent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Denver, Ind., Fite postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Departmental service, classified by Pres. Arthur, 185.
- Departments, heads of, and congressional patronage, 47; proposal of Congressman Andrews to extend civil service law to heads of divisions in, 306.
- DePauw, family uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- DePauw, N. T., worker for Harrison, 316.
- Depew, C. M., interview on spoils system, 38; on evils of patronage, 75; address at Pittsburgh on promotion among railway employees, 189; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 341, 342, 343, 344; and Collector Hendricks at head of republican party in New York, 348; worker for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Derby, Ia., Postmaster Chapman of, a political worker, 260.
- Derby, Dr. R. H., resigns from N. Y. City health dept. because it becomes a political machine, 356.
- DeRuiter, street commissioner of Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Des Moines, Ia., advice of Clarkson to young men's republican club of, on plan of campaign, 235, 236; Brandt, postmaster of, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Despo, candidate for alderman at Indianapolis, 208.
- Detroit, Mich., customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Deveraux, J., able ass't superintendent city delivery at St. Louis, 131.
- Devreux, J. H., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Dewey, J. F., journalist, given office in Chicago custom house, 126.
- Dice, —, post-office inspector, a political worker, 179.
- Dick, G. N., federal employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Dick, W. F., chairman Ohio republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390, 391.
- Dickey, J. M., anti-Platt political worker, 260.
- Dickinson, postmaster general under Cleveland, averse to civil service reform, 18, 20; gives spoils in Michigan to democrats, 45; and contributions to party funds, 100; and civil service reform, 274.
- Dimmick, D. A., appointed consul at Barbadoes through influence of Secretary Blaine, 56.
- Dimond, General W. H., chairman republican state committee of California, endorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Dingley, congressman, supports civil service commission, 205.
- Dissron, F., negro, post-office employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Disston, H., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Ditney, Ind., Ketcham, postmaster of, solicited for political contributions, 387, 392.
- Diver, P., low politician, appointed police justice by Mayor Grant, well recommended, 181; appointed to judgeship by Governor Hill of New York, 212; see Tammany, 317.
- Dix, Rev. M., D. D., favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48; advocates civil service reform, 82.
- Dobbins, P. B., receiver of political assessments, 390.
- Doble, A. K., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Dobson, H. A., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Dockery, congressman, upholds civil service commission, 204.
- Dodd, assistant postmaster at Indianapolis, and those eligible for appointment, 9.
- Dodd, faction, see New York City.
- Dodge, F. L., editor, appointed postmaster at Hanford, Cal., 126.
- Dodge, L. A., relative of Secretary Blaine appointed an appraiser in Boston custom house, 71; succeeds Stearns, appraiser in Boston custom house removed for political reasons, 250, 288; appraiser at Boston, political worker, 334.
- Dodson, C., deputy revenue collector, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Doerbaum, J. F., employe in post-office at St. Louis, Mo., worker for Filly machine, 150.
- Dolliver, J. P., congressman, requests resignation of Postmaster Cain, see Cain, 165.
- Dolph, Congressman, and civil service law, 73.
- Donaldson, La., Weber appointed postmaster of, on request of Collector Warmouth, 241.
- Donato, J. G., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Donavan, C., unsuccessful candidate for congress, ward politician, see New York City, 199.
- Donavan, E. J., signs petition for larger appropriation for Civil Serv. Com., 102.
- Donley, D. E., journalist, appointed postmaster at Baylis, Ill., 141.
- Donnell, J. T., address of at Hanover College, Ind., upon civil service reform, 77.
- Donnelly, J. B., U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Doran, T. T., see Cannon, 39.
- Dorchester, commissioner of Indian schools, creates office for benefit of his wife, 38; removals under in Indian service, 79.
- Doremus, recommended for census service, 121.
- Dorsey, S. W., and star route scandals, 291; and Elkins, 281, 369.
- Doty, E. A., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2.
- Dougall, A. H., candidate for postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., 45.
- Dougherty, chief of division, removed by Coulter for political reasons, 55.
- Dougherty, fire chief at Indianapolis to succeed Webster, removed for political reasons, removed and Webster reappointed, 120, 207, 208.
- Douglass, F., ex-U. S. minister, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346.
- Douglas, G., applicant for Wauamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.
- Douglas, H. G., editor appointed under Cleveland postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30.
- Douglass, S. J., census supervisor, asks political work of subordinates, 293.
- Dow, F. N., for collector of customs at Portland, Me., 22.
- Dowling, low politician, and Cleveland administration, 28, 35, 94.
- Dowling, labor commissioner of New York, spoilsman, removals under, civil service rules suspended for, 414.
- Downing, J. H., discharged from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., by Sec'y Whitney, 147.
- Downing, J., confesses to bribery, 151.
- Doyle, sec'y civil service commission, investigates political assessment cases, 392.
- Doyle, H., page in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Doyle, M. J., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Draper, leader republican faction at Albany, N. Y., supports A. Chester for surveyorship of Albany district, 45.
- Drapo, J. F., indorsed by Sen. Quay, 100.
- Draper, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 379.
- Drummond, S. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Lancaster, Cal., 141.
- Dryden, postmaster of Martinsville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Dublin, Editor A. Reed, appointed consul at, 30.
- Du Bois, delegate from Idaho Terr., spoilsman, uses influence; see Wild, 30; senator, supporter of Blaine, 344.
- Ducey, Rev. Father, and attempt to purify politics in N. Y. City, 180.
- Ducey, W. A., succeeded by Deane, appointed by Collector Erhardt at New York, 150.
- Dudley, W. W., obtaining offices for adherents, 2, 7; and offices, 189, 192, 214, 227, 256, 281, 282, 305, 373, 414, 24, 92, 154, 160; letter of, called "Blocks of Five" letter, 41, 78; negotiates with Mahone, 52; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; case of, see Edmunds, Sen., 87; and Harrison, 121; levies political assessments, 180; condemned by young men's republican club of Massachusetts, 219; desires indorsement of his "political activity," 244; eulogized by National Republican Committee, 257; Elkins compared to, 289; eulogy of by Clarkson, 359; and republican leaders, 354; and "blocks of five," 368; and Michener, 377; and S. N. Chambers, 380; warrant for not issued by U. S. Dist. Att'y Chambers, 380.
- Duer, E. F., postmaster of Princess Anne, Md., removed for political reasons, Lankford appointed, 408.
- Dufalo, F. F., consul at Havre, Harrison petitioned to retain, by N. Y. cotton exchange, 54.
- Duffy, T. L., laborer, given office by Gold, township trustee at Indianapolis, 256.
- Dugan, I., treasury inspector, removed for political reasons, 332.
- Duhurst, F. G., 335; receiver of political assessments for Maryland, 391.
- Dunbar, J. G., congressional candidate, and Raum, 373.
- Duncan, H. C., letter to from Cooper (M. C.) asking retention of postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112.
- Duncan, J., applicant for postmastership of Martinsville, Ind., 399.
- Dunham, federal employe, political worker at Boston, 334.
- Dunlap, H. J., journalist, appointed consul to Breslau, 84, 126.
- Dunlap, W. L., U. S. marshal for Indiana and civil serv. reform, 10, 14, 96, 108; asks Postmaster Browne of Franklin, Ind., to resign, 37, 377; a political worker, 144; worker for Harrison, 316, 320, 337, 343, 353; and republican clubs in Indianapolis, 362; worker for Harrison, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381; appoints "floaters" as deputies, 387, 389.
- Dunn, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Dunn, postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Dunn, C. J., P. O. employe at Indianapolis, at instance of democratic committeeman Backus, solicits political contributions, removed, 403, 411, 412.
- Dunn, G. W., postmaster at Binghamton, N. Y., a political worker, 266; secures removal of pension examiner Van Alstyne, 304.
- Dunn, I., deputy coroner at Indianapolis, shaves witness fees, 314, 315.
- Dunnell, obtains removal of Stacy, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., and reappointment of Harkness, political worker, previously removed for cause, 39; opposes civil service examinations, 124.
- Dunning, F. H., journalist, postmaster at Sanbright, Tenn., 155.
- Dunton, A. G., appointed postmaster at Ifuntertown, Ind., vice Latham removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, 362.
- Dunvell, C. J., political worker for Nathan, 264.
- Durbin, W., see Cannon, 39.
- Durbin, W. T., and office-seekers, 37; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; politician, secures some appointments, 71, 84.
- Durham, Judge, removed from comptrollership, 21.
- Duryee, S. W., chief clerk in patent office under Pres. Arthur, removed; re-appointed, 140.
- Dutchess county, N. Y., election frauds in, committed by Hill, 306.
- Dwight, J. W., uses influence for appointment of Robinson, postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y., 264; N. Y. delegate to Minneapolis convention, and supports Blaine, 344, 345.
- Dysart, Iowa, Editor Brown appointed, 142.
- Eagle, Edward, editor, worker for Delamater, etc., 134.
- Eagle Park, Idaho, Journalist Wheeler postmaster at, 155.
- Eagle Pass, Tex., custom house at not classified; number of employes in, 277.
- Eastern Dispensary of New York City, civil service methods in, 101.
- Eastman, A., journalist, given office in internal revenue service, 126.
- Eastman, R. B., supervising architect of Brooklyn, N. Y., to be removed for mal-administration, 234.
- Easton, D. J., journalist, postmaster at Union City, Mich., 149.
- Easton, Md., Mulliken, postmaster of, in state convention, 335.
- Eaton, postmaster at New Orleans, pays political assessments, 383.
- Eaton, D. B., memorial on Postmaster Pearson before N. Y. Civil Service Reform Association, 23; draws bill for present civil service law, 75, 79; advocates civil service reform, 82; on removal of Saltonstall, 105; praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110; letters to Senator Allison; letters replying to Senator Hoar, 111; and civil service law, 125; on civil service reform, in June, 1891, North American Review, 257; studies English civil service, at invitation of Hayes; appointed chairman civil service commission under Arthur, 271; on Tammany, 317.
- Eaves, J. B., nomination of rejected by senate, 150; disappointed office-seeker, a political worker, 159; in N. Carolina, 334; stamp clerk at Statesville, N. C., resigns; levies political assessments; sons of given office, 362.
- Eden, "Billy," easy-going place-holder, 315.
- Editor — appointed consul at Palermo, Italy, 240.
- Editors, rewarding of for political services, see Press, 30.
- Edmunds, evils of patronage, 25; and investigation of case of W. W. Dudley, 87.
- Edsall, I. W., removal of by Flower, 319.
- Edwards, A. J., ass't postmaster at Pittsburgh, Pa., supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Edwards, Miss., negro Perkins, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Edwards, R., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Edson, C. H., see Harlow, postmaster, 100.
- Edson, Dr. C., appointed sanitary supt. at N. Y. City vice Ewing, removed by Tammany, 356.
- Egan, P., appointed minister to Chile as political reward, 282; U. S. minister to Chile, political worker, 382, 389.
- Egger, C., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Ehlert, H., low politician, flees from creditors, 226.
- Eidman, F., internal revenue collector in New York, a political worker, 265, 287; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Eiter, ex-postmaster, political worker, 370.

Elbert, Dr. S. A., negro, opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 243.

Eligibles, list of civil service commission orders posting of, at Indianapolis, 25; at Indianapolis post-office, June, 1889, 29; in Indianapolis post-office, list of, 48; publicity of lists of, opposed by ex-Commissioner Oberly, 53; list of, and civil service commission, 93; made public, gives satisfaction, 186.

Eliot, C. W. (Pres. Harvard Univer.), address of before Bay State Club comparing administration of civil service under Cleveland and Harrison, 60; Pres. Harvard University, civil service reformer, 204.

Elizabeth, N. J., federal patronage in, see Keau, 216.

Elizabeth, Pa., wife of Journalist Wiley postmaster at, 149.

Elkham, W. Va., Journalist Greenawalt postmaster at, 155.

Elkies, "Steve," and Kerens, "Dick," 22; wants larger share of patronage in West Virginia, 71; and Platt, scheme to defraud the government, 258; appointed sec'y of war, corrupt politician, career of, 289, 290, 291; appointment of as sec'y of war, unjustifiable, 298; political worker for Harrison, 336; and Minneapolis convention, 338, 339; confers with New, 340; sec'y of war, career of, 354, 368, 369, 371; appointed to alienate from Blaine, 376; confers with J. C. New, 379; sec'y, etc., political worker, 387, 390.

Ellart, S., inspector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 103.

Ellettsville, Ind., Sharp, postmaster of, political worker, 380.

Elliott, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.

Elliott, Congressman, 162.

Elliott, B. K., judge Indiana supreme court, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; mentioned as candidate for governor of Indiana, 353, 381.

Elliott, D. W., clerk in post-office at Ind'p'l's, 25.

Elliott, G. F., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.

Elliott, G. L., appointed postmaster at Reelsville, Ind., removed, 89.

Ellis, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.

Ellis, F., mayor, appointed postmaster at Muncie, Ind., 217; political worker for Harrison, 316, 362, 370, 378.

Ellis, W. P., appointed postmaster at Washington, Ind., despite sale of office to Seifrits, 121.

Ellison, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.

Elmira, N. Y., postmaster at named by Congressman Flood, 53; Flood, postmaster of, a political worker, opposes Platt and Fassett, factional fights at, 259; a political worker, 265, 266; removed for political reasons, 297, 303, 304; Rathbun appointed, removed, 303, 304, 305; removed on secret charges, Rathbun appointed, 312; removal of through influence of Fassett, 331.

Elmwood, Neb., Journalist Mayfield postmaster at, 149.

El Paso, Tex., forty-nine applicants for collectorship of customs at, 45; Flanagan, political worker, appointed customs collector at, 266, 286; custom house at not classified, number of employees in, 277.

Emans, corrupt political worker for Hill, 306.

Emerson, L. W., ward politician, tired of factionalism, see Kings Co., N. Y.

Emery, L., ex-state senator, charges Delamater with bribery, 134, 135.

Emmert, P. W., journalist, postmaster at Erwin, Tenn., 155.

Emmetsburg, Iowa, Editor Utter appointed postmaster at, 142.

Employes, federal, in Massachusetts active politically, 179; at Washington, number of compelled to go home to vote, 179.

Emporium, Pa., Journalist Gould postmaster at, 149.

Encinitas, Cal., Editor Smith appointed postmaster at, 141.

Endicott, Sec., favors civ. service reform, 82.

England, competitive tests in civil and military service of, 118.

England, methods used in census service of, 291, 292.

England, G., a Nathan henchman, 301.

English, postmaster at New Haven, removed, 96.

English, A. M., journalist, postmaster at Fontana, Kan., 149.

English, J., low politician, see Hudson Co., N. Y.

English, W., low politician, see Hudson Co., N. Y.

Engraving and Printing, conduct under E. O. Graves, 45.

Enochs, Congressman, on federal interference in election of Sherman, 301.

Ensley, N., appointment as pension agt. at Indianapolis opposed, 89, 96; pension agent in Indiana, appoints his son chief clerk in pension office, vice J. L. Riley, 108; worker for Harrison, 303, 316; at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379; and political assessments, 363; political worker, 378.

Ensley, O. R., given office by his father, pension agent, 108.

Ensor, J. F., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Ensor, J. F., U. S. dist. att'y, and political activity of federal office-holders in Maryland, 335; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Enyart, M. L., editor, appointed postmaster at Macy, Ind., 126, 377.

Ephrata, Penn., democratic postmaster of removed; republican appointed, 72.

Episcopal Church, pastoral letter of House of Bishops of, favoring clerical advocacy of civil service reform, see Church, 73.

"Equally Divided Politically," proviso in charter that offices in city service of Indianapolis be, 212, 213, 220, 222, 228, 235.

Erhardt, J. B., collector at New York, and office-seekers, 38; deputies of, active politicians, 108; spoilsman, see Deane, 150; discontent of office-seekers with, 174; removals under, 183; and fraudulent cartage bids, 216; "resigns," Fassett appointed, 255; resignation of, 257; and Platt, 258; "frozen out" by Platt, 260; and office-seekers recommended by Platt and Gibbs, 261, 265; and Platt, 350; forced to resign for adherence to civil service reform methods, 358; and cartage bids, 371; forced to resign for resisting spoilsman, 373.

Ernst, J. A., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Genevieve, Mo., 126.

Erwin, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.

Erwin, Tenn., journalist Emmert, postmaster at, 155.

Eskridge, Kan., journalist Melrose, postmaster at, 149.

Estee, M. M., indorses Bush, political worker, 187, 291.

Estey, and Brattleboro, Mass., postmastership, 100.

Eubanks, A. C., candidate, letter of, 23; and sale of offices, 99.

Eugharth, E. E., postmaster at Rodney, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.

Eureka Springs, Ark., appointment of True as postmaster of, denounced by republicans of, 55.

Eustace, A. C., N. Y. civil service commissioner, worker for Hill, 309.

Eustis, delegate to Minneapolis convention, supports Blaine, 314.

Evans, G. O., fiscal agent for Penn., corrupt politician, 270.

Evans, H. C., postmaster at Bloomfield, Iowa, removed on secret charges, 175.

Evans, H. C., congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 49; opposed to civil service law, 55; secures appointment of politician Park, as census enumerator, 293.

Evansville, Ind., Postmaster Bennett of, politician, see also Posey, 46; Postmaster Bennett of, a political worker, 153, 158, 377; republicans favor Gresham, 240.

Evansville, Ind., Courier, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also, Magee, 210.

Evansville, Ind., Journal [republican], 49; opposes Harrison, 378.

Evansville, Minn., Journalist Lawrence postmaster at, 149.

Evarts, W. M., Fassett deserts at suggestion of Platt, 259; Jewett claim, 290, 353.

Everett, W., civil service reformer, 174.

Ewart, H. G., congressman, opposed to civil service law, 47; objects to civil service reform, 49; supports politician Pritchard, 159, 161; levies political assessments in South Carolina, 390.

Ewing, W., endorsed by his relative, Secretary Blaine, for collector at Pittsburg, 100.

Ewing, Dr. W. A., removed from New York City health department for political reasons, 356.

Examinations, civil service, general.

Examinations, specimen papers of those failing in, see Civil Service Record; of civil service commission, assaults against and defense of, see Roosevelt; examination questions, 3; for appointment should be made public, 10; for civil service, objections to, considered, 11; special ordered for post-office at Indianapolis, 18; age of competitors in, at Bloomington, Ill., 26; civil service, a farce at Troy (N. Y.) post-office and New York custom house, 29; number of employees in New York and Indianapolis post-offices exempt from, 42; for civil service, said to be not pertinent questions asked in, 49; papers should be opened to public inspection, 53; questions used in for clerks and carriers at Indianapolis, August 6, 1889, 51, 56, 57, 58, see Call, 118; for positions in patent office, 141; in treasury department, see De Land, 152; paper used at Baltimore, 157; by civil service commission, number of persons examined, year 1889-90, appointments, 185; during 1889-90 for various branches of civil service, unsuccessful and successful applicants, see report civil service com., 1889-90, 185; central board of suggestions as, see civ. service com. annual report, 1889-90, 185, 186; papers marked in, for civil service, made public, 186; census Superintendent Porter alleges, for clerkships, 190; "pass" discredited, 192; for various departments of service need improvement, see Wanamaker, 193; and eligibles for position as clerks and carriers at Indianapolis, 218; used in national and Massachusetts state census service, 219, 220; to be required for promotion from unclassified to classified service, 221; civil service, instituted for positions in navy yards by Sec'y Tracy, 221, 222; employees under treasury supervising architect, selected by, although not required by law, 224; of civil service commission, 230, 231; questions used in,

at Brooklyn, N. Y., navy yard, 236; civil service, evasion of under G. B. Raum, jr., 238; C. W. Watson, chairman, committee on, of N. Y. civil service reform association, 239; for Indianapolis post-office to be held August, 1891, 243; for clerks and carriers for Indianapolis post-office, number of applicants, 253; competitive under civil service commission, ordered for promotions in Washington offices, 254; competitive for candidates for West Point, instituted by Congressman Warwick, does not accept result, see McKinley, 254, 262; competitive, Wanamaker establishes promotion by, in P. O. department, 256, 257; civil service, prejudice against hard to dispel, 257; system and civil service commission, prejudice against in the south, 273; promotion by competitive, 286; competitive for census service of England, Ireland and Scotland, and U. S. A., 292; competitive for promotion, introduced by Wanamaker in department offices, and post-offices, 297, 298; physical required for employees in R. R. mail service, 305; of August, 1892, in Indianapolis post-office, results of, 306; under civil service commission, 1891-92, in various departments, 306, 307.

Examinations, civil service, municipal; questions used in for Buffalo police service, 44; No. of held, Mass. civil service commission, 74; questions used in, fire dept. at Brooklyn, N. Y., 93; questions used in, for Brooklyn police service, 152; for labor service see Civil Service Record, 152; for positions in police service at Indianapolis, Boston, and Brooklyn compared, see equally divided politically, 222, 223, 224; competitive and civil service methods should be instituted in city service at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 228; physical, for fire and police services of Boston, Mass., 243, 246, 247, 248, 249; in Indianapolis, for physicians in city hospital, 322; under N. Y. City civil service board for police matron, a complete failure, Mrs. Maloney, beggar, appointed, 404.

Examiner (chief), investigates violations of civil service law in post-office at Milwaukee, Wis., Sept., 1888, 36.

Examiners, local boards of, suggestions as to, see civil service com. annual report 1889-90, 185, 186; local board of, personnel of at Baltimore and Indianapolis, 186.

Fahsel, on local examining board at Milwaukee, 103.

Failing, A. H., applicant for postmastership at Oswego, N. Y., 126.

Fairbanks, C. W., republican politician in Indiana, on business methods in politics, 137.

Fairbanks, Crawford, Terre Haute distiller, 346, 419.

Fairchild, ex-secretary of treasury, 169; on tariff message of Pres. Cleveland, 172; appoints Maynard ass't sec'y of treasury, 310.

Fairfax, commander of Kittery navy yard, testifies as to abuses, 147.

Fairmount Club, see Baltimore investigation, 295.

Farlow, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.

Farmer, S. C., postmaster in Wright Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.

Farmington, Me., Pratt, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 175.

Farnum, H. S., postmaster at Uxbridge, Mass., removed on secret charges; C. T. Scott appointed, 175.

Farragut, Iowa, Journalist Notson appointed postmaster at, 142.

Farrell, commissioner, spoilsman, 315.

Farrington, J. M., ward politician, see Kings Co., N. Y.; opposing Nathan, 304.

Farwell, senator, and Cook co. (Ill.) offices, 6; and applicants for Chicago offices, 14; spoilsman, 17, 21, 25, 79, 92; and Sexton, postmaster at Chicago, 22; and Senator Cullom, 31; and office-seekers, 37; recommends O'Donnell, 59; proposes to repeal civil service law, 83; and Farwell Club of Indianapolis, 85, 92, 269; on control of Illinois patronage, and Clark, customs collector at Chicago, 95; indorses Hartong for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109; indorses application of Scanlan, political worker, 132.

Farwell Club, of Indianapolis, 79, 83, 86, 112, 119; end of, 85.

"Fassett" report, on effect of civil service law in New York City and elsewhere, 219.

Fassett, A. D., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.

Fassett, J. S., undertakes to name postmaster for Elmira, N. Y., 53; appointed collector at N. Y. City to make clean sweep, vice Erhardt, "resigned," 255; methods of, political worker for Harrison, 258, 259; political worker, 265-6, 269; appointment of condemned, 272, 373, 374; candidate for governor of New York, aided by custom house employees in N. Y. City, 278; campaign of, 279, 280, 287, 288; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 297, 303, 304, 331; attempts removal of Postmaster Van Duzen, 331; and Harrison, 345, 346, 352, 353, 337, 342, 344.

Faulkner, C. R., member Indiana legislature, illiterate politician, gets federal office through congressmen and Senator Voorhees, 222.

Fawcett, letter of to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE on Delphi Journal and Owen, 97.

Fay, H. H., appointed postmaster at Newport, R. I., see Rhode Island, senators of, 150.

- Fearis, postmaster of Union, Ind., worker for Harrison, 316, 378.
- Fearis, J. H., postmaster of Connersville, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Federal office-holders, political activity of, see states, cities, Minneapolis convention.
- Feland, J., internal revenue collector in Kentucky, political assessments under, 330; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 341, 348.
- Fellows, J. R., low politician, see Hillism, 199, 309.
- Felton, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344, 359.
- Fensley, W., federal office-holder, see Baltimore investigation, 328.
- Fenstemaker, W., journalist, postmaster at Angustine, Kan., 148.
- Ferguson, C. E., and Orlando, Fla., post-office, 176.
- Ferris, G. C., whose son holds federal office, a political worker for Hiscock, 265.
- Fessenden, S., 354, 359.
- Fendalism revived, account of in N. Y. City and Brooklyn, by Boston Post, 263.
- Field, John, as postmaster of Philadelphia, 15, 300; suggested by Senator Quay for postmaster at Philadelphia, 22; withdraws resignation, 310.
- Fielding, R. W., candidate for U. S. marshal, defeated, 132.
- Filer, C. W., federal office-holder and political worker, 179.
- Filley, C. I., office-seeker, 14, 24, 131; spoilsman, defeated applicant for St. Louis postmastership, controls 1th class post-offices in Missouri, see also Spirely, 132, 150; to work for Harrison, 226; opposed to Harrison in Missouri, 336; delegate at Minneapolis convention, for Blaine or Harrison, 345, 386.
- Finch, councilman and Indianapolis fire department, 13; spoilsman, 207.
- Findling, —, removed from fire service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 235.
- Finkenhauer, G., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 333.
- Finney, G. E., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Columbus, Ind., 398.
- Fippen, F., page in Indiana legislature, 106, 408.
- Fippen, J. M., representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, son of appointed page, 408.
- Fire service in N. Y. City and Indianapolis, 36.
- Fire superintendents, national convention of, condemn spoils system in fire services, 253.
- Firethunder, E., Indiana blacksmith, defrauded, 218.
- Fischer, C. B., on inefficient census service in N. Y. City, 294.
- Fischer, I. F., political worker, see also Kings Co., N. Y.; politician aiding Woodruff, 106; navy yard patronage at New York, 182, 183; worker for Nathan and Platt, 304, 336; may "deal in legislative privileges" at Albany, 311.
- Fischer, J. H., federal employe, in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Fish commission, U. S., placed under civil service law, 332; of New York, Hill makes machine of, 310.
- Fish, H., Jr., and Gibbs, 288; corrupt politician in N. Y. legislature, and Hill, 307.
- Fishback, W. P., 18; added to local examining board at Indianapolis, 25; hitch in appointment of on local civil service board of Indianapolis, 31; member local examining board at Indianapolis, 42, 120, 129, 186; U. S. master in chancery, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 232.
- Fisher, G. P., corrupt politician appointed first auditor of the treasury, 32, 38, 374.
- Fisher, R. J., promoted to be assistant patent commissioner, efficient, 140.
- Fitch, A. B., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Fitch, C. E., editor, appointed collector of internal revenue at Buffalo, N. Y., 108; at convention republican league, 259; a political worker, 265; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Fitch, C. P., census officer, a political worker, 160.
- Fite, postmaster at Denver, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Fitler, mayor of Philadelphia, 30, 143.
- Fitzgerald, J. E., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Fitzpatrick, delegate to Minneapolis convention, opposing Harrison, 346.
- Fitzwilliams, E., customs inspector at Boston, a political worker, 179.
- Flagler, B., political worker for law collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., 259.
- Fianagan, custom house employe, active politician, 179.
- Flanagan, Ill., Editor Breen appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Fianagan, W., political worker in Texas, 159; spoilsman, 245; appointed customs collector at El Paso, Texas, vice Clark, worker for Harrison, 266, 282, 286, supports Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346, 374, 396.
- Fleming, D. W., recommended for office by Cheadle, 84.
- Flenniken, J. H., appointed postmaster at Bradford, Pa., on recommendation of Ray, removed on protest of H. C. Frick, 99.
- Fletcher, P. O. employe at Frankfort, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Fletcher, E. B., postmaster at Morris, Ill., political worker and editor, 126, 186.
- Fletcher, I., appointed postmaster at Orlando, Fla., vice Delaney, removed on secret charges, 176.
- Fletcher, J., candidate for supervisor, see Buffalo, N. Y.
- Flickinger, S. J., editor, secures federal office for his brother, 301.
- Flynn, E. H., journalist, postmaster at Spencer, W. Va., 155.
- Flitten, A., political worker under Postmaster Johnson, in Maryland, 335.
- Floater, numbers of in Indiana, 78, 171.
- Flood, H., postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 4, 53; political worker, opposes Platt and Fassett, 259; a political worker, 265, 266; removed for political reasons, denied permission to hear real charges, 297, 303, 304; removed, Rathbun appointed, 303, 304, 305; secret charges against, Rathbun appointed, 312; removed through influence of Fassett, 331.
- Flood, T. S., congressman, quarrels with Corporal Tanner over spoils, 54; names his brother postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 51; obtains appointment of Conroy as postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., 150; opposes Fassett, 259, 303.
- Flora, Ill., Editor Reed appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Florence, Ind., Langsdale, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Florence, S. C., negro Wilson postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Florida, chairman republican state committee of, rewarded, 30; political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348.
- Flow, E. S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Flower, R. P., as congressman, condemns congressional patronage, 204; candidate of Croker, Tammany "boss," for governor of New York, 245; governor of New York, worker for Hill, appoints Maynard judge, 309, 310; and Tammany, 319; removes Leacycraft, 332; votes for, as governor of New York, 352; and fish protection in New York, 356; suspends civil service rules in New York, 414.
- Floyd, low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Finishing, L. I., Carpenter, postmaster at, removed for political reasons, 91.
- Flynn, M. B., see Hill, 307.
- Foley, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201; spoilsman, opposes new charter for Indianapolis, see also Magee, 212.
- Folger, Commodore, praises merit system in Washington, D. C., navy yard, 331.
- Follett, J. E., address on civil serv. ref., 23; praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Fontana, Kan., journalist, English postmaster at, 149.
- Fontanelle, Iowa, Editor Rany appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Foraker, Governor, and Ohio offices, 24, 336; civil service reform "all rot," 68; controls patronage in Cincinnati, 71; defeated, 75; and Senator Sherman, 249; opponent of Sherman, 297; charges federal interference in election of Sherman, 301, 302; and Ohio delegation at Minneapolis, 343.
- Forbes, C. S., journalist, appointed deputy internal revenue collector, 84, 126.
- Ford, candidate for postmaster of Pittsburgh, 91.
- Ford, T., see Hillism, 309.
- Fordham, C. H., negro, deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 318.
- Foreign service, see also consuls, 30.
- Forrester, G. B., politician, see Brooklyn, N. Y., 197.
- Fort Dodge, Ia., Postmaster Cain of forced to resign, 165; Carpenter, postmaster at, a political worker, 260.
- Fortune, A. H., postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., removed, 175.
- Fort Wayne (Indiana), civil service reform sentiment at, 16; candidates for postmaster of, 15; should have civ. service law applied to local federal offices, 35; Postmaster Kaough of, under Cleveland, political worker, 88.
- Higgins, postmaster of, a political worker, 88, 153, 158, 362, 377, 378; and his deputy, political workers, 162; ordered to levy political assessments, 302; political worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; has poll of taken by P. O. employes, 380.
- Gazette, opposes Harrison, 378.
- Poster, political worker, aided by Sen. Moody, 78.
- Foster, C., ex-gov., and Fostoria, O., post-office, 61, secretary of treasury, so-called resignations under of Macgregor, 216; ex-congressmen apply for office in treasury department under, patronage to be given only to republicans, 217; member Ohio Republican Association, 234; given patronage to turn Ohio from Blaine to Harrison, 240; and spoilsman, 250, 253, 251, 290; and Platt, 258; favors Platt, 261; advises Ohio office-holders to do "their duty," 280; defends Hendricks, collector, at N. Y. City, 289; establishes rules for promotion in treasury department, 298; suspends employes suspected of disloyalty to Harrison, 300; said to be interested in Toledo Commercial, 301; asked to remove democrats, 311, 312; and political assessments by federal office-holders in Kentucky and Baltimore, 330; and removal of Milholland and Murray, supporters of Platt, 332, 334; political worker for Harrison in Ohio; permits political activity of federal employes in Maryland convention, 335; and
- delegate from Utah; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 338, 339, 345; political worker, 351; political worker for Harrison, 359, 360; and Baltimore investigation, 372.
- Foster, E., journalist, postmaster at Gladwin, Mich., 149.
- Foster, J. Ellen, husband of, rewarded with office, 56.
- Foulke, W. D., at Baltimore conference, 1889; address of on reform promises of republican party, 2, 4; declaration of impartiality of, 16; to examine management of federal civ. service, 77; address before Commonwealth Club, Dec. 16, 1889, 80; chairman investigating committee appointed by National League, 85; on Wanamaker's course in Shidy case, 103, 104; officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; chairman's report on congressional patronage, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; chairman committee of National League, on presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 161, 165, 166, 186, 188; work of, for good government, 173; chairman committee of National League reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; exposes evasive methods of Wanamaker, 190; address of, on civil service reform, "Its Later Aspects," 200; becomes president of Swarthmore College, 201; elected president Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 239; address of, on civil service reform before Social Science Congress at Saratoga, 1891, 262, 263; on secret executive sessions of the senate, 264, 269; address of before annual meeting National League, 1891, 269; chairman special committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295; before Boston Reform Club on broken republican pledges, 365, 371, 374; in 1884, 376, 385.
- Fountain, G. W., editor, appointed postmaster at New Carlisle, Ind., 126, 377.
- Four year term, bill of Martin, to limit all federal employes to, 404.
- Fowler, E. C., acting 1st asst. p. m. genl., letter of conditionally denying information regarding postmasters, 277, 297.
- Fox, E. P., efficient superintendent postal station at St. Louis, 131.
- Fox, R. L., chief clerk republican state committee of New York, 279.
- Frank, N., congressman, aiding office-seekers, 15; and Niedringhaus, correspondence over spoils, 22; says Harrison has ignored real workers and disorganized his party, 68.
- Frankfort, Ind., P. O. employes Irvin and Fletcher of, political workers, 380.
- Frankfort, S. Dak., Journalist Tapley postmaster at, 155.
- Frank Leslie's [repub.] advocates civ. service reform, 65.
- Franklin, Ind., Postmaster Browne asked to resign, 37, 377; opposition to postmaster appointed at, 88; Harris supported for postmaster of by Congressman Cooper, 398.
- Franklin (Ind.) College, sentiment favoring civil service reform at, 108.
- Franklyn Falls, N. H., Moore, republican congressman, recommends reappointment of democratic postmaster, 100.
- Frazee, W. D., ass't U. S. dist. att'y, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Freeburg, Ia., Journalist Magee postmaster at, 149.
- Freedom, Ind., Suffall postmaster at removed for political reasons, Watts appointed, see also Cooper and Michener, 112, 377.
- Freeman, of Indianapolis, on secret charges system, 177.
- Freeport, Ill., Journalist Atkins appointed postmaster at, 126; active politician, 113.
- Frelinghuysen, sec'y, and Jewett claim, 290.
- French, collector internal revenue in New Hampshire, political worker, 143, 371.
- French, state senator of Indiana, relative of appointed page, 408.
- French, S. B., ward politician, see N. Y. City, 198, 199; ex-police commissioner, in N. Y. City, "The" Allen works for, 249.
- Frick, H. C., secures appointment of Patterson as postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99.
- Friedman, asst. secretary Indiana senate, 108.
- Friedsam, D., at Minneapolis convention, 314.
- Friel, P. H., political worker, 131.
- Frost, aided by patronage at navy yard at Kittery, Me, 147.
- Frothingham, E. C., customs examiner, active politician, 179.
- Fry, senator, keeps more employes in Portland, Me., custom house than necessary, 212.
- Frybarger, J., not to be postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., 47.
- Fulk, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 107.
- Fuller, J. C., appointed in Brooklyn custom house, 72; political worker for Nathan, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Fuller, J. M., political worker for Harrison, 304.
- Fullerton, and postmastership at Colfax, Wash., 165.
- Fulmer, L., ward politician of Indianapolis, 205, 207.
- Fulton, J. M., inefficient census enumerator in N. Y. City, 294.
- Fulton, M. K., candidate for postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149.
- Fulton, N. Y., Journalist Bennett postmaster at 155.

- Furlong, postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
 Furst, low political worker in Cincinnati, O., 352.
 Gabriel, "Bill," federal office-holder, political worker, 280.
 Gallagher, —, disreputable politician, 181.
 Gallagher, brutal policeman, see Tammany, 318.
 Gallagher, C. H., given federal office through influence of Higgins, 334.
 Gallagher, Major, an Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
 Gallinger, senator, supporter of Blaine, 344.
 Gallup, police commissioner of N. Y. city, a Croker tool, 356.
 Galveston, Texas, Delegate Reutro, appointed collector of customs at, 46; Cuney, customs collector at, a political worker, 159; Cuney, customs collector at, 266; custom-house at, not classified, number of employes in, 277.
 Gamble, L. H., postmaster at Brooklyn, Ind., re-tention of asked, see Cooper, 112.
 Gandy, J. P., journalist, postmaster at Gandy, Neb., 149.
 Gandy, Neb., Journalist Gandy postmaster at, 149.
 Gano, deputy collector at N. Y. city, pays political assessments, 279.
 Gans, W. A., opponent to police justice Smith; see New York City, 198, 199.
 Gant, J. A., postmaster of Marion, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
 Gapen, P., treasurer insane hospital board at Indianapolis, corrupt politician, 206.
 Gardiner, postmaster at Troy, Ind., political worker, 380.
 Gardner, R. H., republican politician, works for re-appointment of democrat Morgan, postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
 Gardner, postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., succeeded by Furlong, 109.
 Gardner, W. E., journalist, given office, 84.
 Garfield, president, and Senator Conkling, 14, 88, 369; address of, before president at Williams College on congressional patronage, and article on spoils system in Atlantic Monthly, July, 1877, 114; murdered by disappointed office-seeker, 129; spoils system responsible for death of, 204; against patronage system in census service, 291; and Senator Conkling, 361; appoints Pearson postmaster at N. Y. city, vice James, appointed p. m. general, 367.
 Garland, attorney-general, 177.
 Garrett, Ind., Bicknell, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
 Garret, J. J., negro, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Garrigus, M., corrupt politician, works for Pres. Harrison, but gets no office despite Cheadle, 88.
 Gaskin, appointed postmaster at Reelsville, Ind., 89.
 Gasper, "Joe," councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 207.
 Gasper, J. P., postmaster at Kingsley, Ia., forced to resign, 165.
 Gates, E. M., postmaster at Watertown, N. Y., furnishes political information, 392.
 Gates, M. E., president Amherst College, chairman Indian commissioners, urges reform methods, 205, 273.
 Gauss, C., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall, 191, 195.
 Gavisk, Father, favors civil service reform, 73.
 Gaylord, Kan., Journalist Headly postmaster at, 149.
 Gee, editor, opposes Harrison in Alabama, 346.
 Geer, collector of Port Huron, Mich., spoilsman, asks for special examination, refused, 36.
 Geneva, N. Y., civil service reform association of, 239.
 Genoa, Ill., Editor Hartman appointed postmaster at, 141.
 Georgia, federal officers in, candidates for congress, 162; political activity of federal officers in, 348.
 Gerard and Meyer, attempt to vote under false names of, see New York City.
 Gere, C. H., editor, applicant for postmastership at Lincoln, Neb., 72; appointed postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108; delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
 Gerrard, J., political worker, candidate for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.
 Gest, obtains appointment of unworthy applicant as postmaster at Plymouth, Ill., 47.
 Gibbes, W. H., removed from postmastership at Columbia, S. C., 71.
 Gibbs, F. S., ward politician, see New York City, 199; notorious politician, and republican primaries, 241, 242; political worker opposed by Platt, places given to friends in of N. Y. federal offices, 265; notorious politician, Platt supports him by use of federal patronage, 287.
 Gibbs, W. B., postmaster of Jackson, Miss., active politician, 47, 348; delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344.
 Gibson, L. H., address of, on "Relation of civil service to comfortable living in cities," 366.
 "Gift of offices," address on, by L. B. Swift, 145.
 Gilbert, C. H., commends CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 364.
 Gilbert, J. M., defeated candidate of Senator Hisecock, 132.
 Gildea, C. A., postmaster at Brackettsville, Tex., removed for political reasons; Ballantyne appointed, 186.
 Gilkeson, B. F., Senator Quay speaks for, 17; Quay's henchman appointed second controller of the treasury, 30; removes W. P. Montague for political reasons, 56; appointment of, 241; political worker for Quay, 270, 280.
 Gill, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
 Gillette, A. B., candidate for postmaster of Hartford, Conn., favored by politicians, 84.
 Gilliland, J. A., postmaster at Allegheny, worker for Congressman Bayne, 135; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
 Gillycuddy, Dr., and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
 Gilpin, L. L., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.
 Glinn, S. P., refuses office rather than agree to pay political assessments or be subject to Mahone, 72.
 Gladfelter, L. E., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 278, 312.
 Gladstone, W. E., and Irish home-rule, 228, 230, 244.
 Gladwin, Mich., Journalist Foster, postmaster at, 149.
 Glasgow, Scotland, city government of, 283, 284.
 Glass, H., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 268, 277, 295.
 Glazebrook, doorkeeper of Indiana house of representatives, and subordinates, 406, 407.
 Gleason, political worker, see Pine Ridge Indian agency, 218.
 Gleason, H., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Glen Hall, Ind., Mustard appointed postmaster at, vice Stepp, "resigned," 149.
 Glenn, postmaster at Cuba, N. Y., in N. Y. convention, 335.
 Glenn, J. C., U. S. marshal, a political worker, 160.
 Glenn, J., appointed U. S. marshal through influence of Judge Settle, his relative, 47.
 Glenn, W. J., journalist, postmaster at Cuba, N. Y., 155.
 Gloucester, Mass., Mansfield, postmaster of, 362.
 Godfrey, appointed postmaster at New Albany, Ind., makes a clean sweep, 45; works for Michener, 144; political worker for Harrison, 316; at Minneapolis convention, 377, 378, 380.
 Godkin, E. L., editor, at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; arrested through Tammany, 314.
 Goelsing, H. H., candidate, makes spoils promises, 260.
 Goff, ex-representative, controls much patronage in West Virginia, 71.
 Gold, S. N., township trustee at Indianapolis, should refuse to remove F. Wright, 111; removes valuable officers, 146; defends his spoils methods; criticism of, 256.
 Golson, W. L., journalist, postmaster at Llano, Tex., 155.
 Gooch, aided by patronage of navy yard at Kittery, Maine, 147.
 Good Government, formed by merging Civil Service Record and Civil Service Reformer, 357.
 Goodale, Miss, friend of the Indians, 217, 218.
 Goode, —, city marshal, ward politician, see New York City.
 Goode, M., requests patronage, 311, 312; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
 Goodland, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37.
 Goodland, Kan., Journalist Tait postmaster at, 149.
 Goodman, C., disreputable political worker for Gorman, career of, 307, 308.
 Goodrich, J. C., efficient postmaster at Short Hills, N. Jersey, removed; Grocer Kessler appointed, 386.
 Goodrich, W. W., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.; low political worker for Nathan, 288, 304.
 chairman Kings Co., N. Y., republican committee, 371.
 Gordon, postmaster of Auburn, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
 Gore, of Boston, qualifications of office-holders according to, 45.
 Gorman, senator, and Maryland reformers, 2, 3, 5, 21, 28, 35, 43, 45, 68, 80; spoilsman, 92, 119, 170, 171, 175; "system" of in Maryland, 15, 161; secures appointment of democrat as postmaster at Laurel, Md., although a republican had been named, Wanamaker allowing Gorman's claim to control the place, 38; compared with Mahone, 67; would have lost control of Maryland but for Cleveland, 70; opposed to civil service law, 79; and ballot reform in Maryland, 87; controls patronage in Maryland, 93, 111; "boss" in Maryland, 172; secures office for Higgins, disreputable character, 181; spoilsman, and disreputable politician, 413, 281, 289, 298, 329, 213, 214, 245, 256; "appreciation" of in Maryland, 219; dreads office-holding aristocracy, 227; defends spoils system of Wanamaker; opposes Australian ballot system, 228; and patronage in census bureau; conspires with Mahone, 234; and Cleveland; as presidential candidate, 235; presidential candidate; gets office for low political workers, 236, 237; attacks civil service commission, 250, 251; and Ralsin, 251; controls federal and state patronage of Maryland, 254; boss in Maryland, 278; and his political worker, Goodman, 307, 308.
 Goshen, Ind., Editor Beyerle appointed postmaster at, 30, 126; Beyerle, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316; Beyerle, postmaster at, 377; political worker, 378.
 Goss, editor, appointed collector of Barustable, 46.
 Gostonia, N. C., Jenkins postmaster of, Harrison delegate, 334.
 Gould, C. B., journalist, postmaster at Emporium, Pa., 119.
 Gould, Jay, gives bribes, 171.
 Gowdy, J. K., political worker for Harrison in Indiana, 302, 303; chairman Indiana republican state committee, and Halford, 360, 362; campaign fund circular of, 382; confers with U. S. Treasurer Nebeker, 370.
 Goyles, G. W., negro, Harrison delegate at Minneapolis, 344.
 Grace, mayor of New York City, and civil service reform, 82; obtains removal of Squire, see Hill, 307.
 Graceville, Minn., Journalist Brynildsen postmaster at, 149.
 Graham, political worker for Quay, 300.
 Graham, W., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
 Grand Army Post at Woodhull, Ill., denunciation of Congressman Henderson.
 Grand Rapids, Mich., civil service commission at, 36.
 Grand View, Ind., Editor Knight appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
 Grant, mayor, see New York City, and civil service reform, 82; tool of B. Cockran, 184; supported by Gorman, 214; of N. York on street cleaning, 220, 273; and Wilmer, 290; and Staats Zeitung, 317, 318.
 Grant, C. W., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.
 Grant, President, indorsed for selection of commissioners under civil service act, 50; and Indian service, 182; accused of nepotism, uses offices as as bribes, 191; as general, 231; and charges against officials, 238; executive order of, instituting reform methods, 271, 274; and Fisher, 374, yields to spoilsman, 186, 308, 414.
 Graves, E. O., civil service reform under in bureau of printing and engraving, 32, 45; removed by Pres. Harrison, 52, 91, 173, 237, 282, 368, 376.
 Gravesend, N. Y., ruled by "Boss" McKane, 352.
 Gray, F., journalist, postmaster at Ivanhoe, Kan., 149.
 Gray, I. P., ex-governor of Indiana, 206; spoilsman, mentioned for presidency, 235, 244; as applicant for various offices, 396.
 Grayson, Ky., Journalist Littlejohn, postmaster at, 149.
 Greacen, R. A., supports Lee for place in N. Y. custom-house, 259; requests patronage, 311, 312.
 Greason, J. D., journalist, postmaster at Atwood, Kan., 148.
 Greaves, M. A., on selection of census enumerators in N. Y. City, 294.
 Green, F. V., reports to Mayor Grant on street-cleaning in New York; advises merit system, 220, 221.
 Green, G., supervisor of Brooklyn, N. Y., rendered insane by office-seekers, 45.
 Greenawalt, J. R., journalist, postmaster at Elkhorn, W. Va., 155.
 Greencastle, Ind., applicants for postmaster of, squabble among, Hays appointed, 7, 89.
 Greene, E. B., makes index for Civil Service Record, 237.
 Greene, J. M., tries to collect political assessments of employes in Indian service, 384.
 Greenfield, Ind., I. Davis, appointed postmaster at, vice Howard, removed, 89.
 Greenfield, Iowa, Editor Hunt appointed postmaster at, 142.
 Greenhalge, on house committee on civil service, 86; recommends re-appointment of Bancroft, postmaster at Concord, Mass., 91; favors civil service reform, see also Buttrick, 100, 123; upholds civil service commission, 204.
 Greenhow, W. H., postmaster at Hornellsville, N. Y., removed on secret charges, 176.
 Greenleaf, Kan., Journalist Bliss, postmaster at, 149.
 Greensburg, Ind., Hendricks, postmaster of, worker for Harrison, 316, 378.
 Greenwood, S. Dak., physician at Indian agency • at, leaves duty to engage in political work at times of sickness, 202.
 Greiner, postmaster at Terre Haute, a political worker, 153, 158; political worker for Harrison, 316, 377, 378; at Minneapolis, 342, 343, 346, 379; political worker, 379.
 Gresham, Neb., journalist Rhodes, postmaster at, 149.
 Gresham, O., son of W. Q., favors civil service reform, 227, 229; defeated as republican delegate, 302.
 Gresham, W. Q., supported at Chicago convention by Illinois, 7; letter of to Postmaster Pearson, referring to secret charges, 12; p. m. general under Arthnr, removes Vandervoort, 215, 216, 220; more popular than Harrison with republicans, 240, 302; and Harrison, 370; popularity of, in Indiana, 376, 377.
 Griffen, F. D., journalist, postmaster at Bangor, S. Dak., 155.
 Griffin, C. F., and political assessments in Indiana, 363; political worker for Harrison in Indianapolis, 379.
 Griffin, T., and janitors in Indiana legislature, 406.
 Griffith, president Indiana senate, spoilsman, 408.
 Griggs, S. I., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
 Grimes, G. G., journalist, postmaster at Bairdstown, Ohio, 149.

Groesbeck, L., U. S. bank examiner, a political worker, 266.

Grogan, S., able superintendent of city delivery at St. Louis, 131.

Groner, V. D., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Grosvenor, congressman, spoilsman, 68, 161; against civil service reform, 123, 178, 253; charges of, against civil service commission, 145, 146, 202, 203, 204; opposed to civil service law, 153, 178; and Roosevelt, 162.

Grosvenor, C. H., editor, given federal office, 301.

Grosvenor, D., makes political assessments, 161; federal office-holder and spoilsman, 178, 179; spoilsman, rewarded by Harrison, 237.

Gunby, E. R., collector at Tampa, Florida, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Gundlock, P., henchman of Filly, postmaster at Station A, St. Louis, 150.

Gunkle, F. W., deputy U. S. marshal in Iowa, a political worker, 260.

Gunner, J. H., active politician, appointed deputy of Collector Erhardt, 108; deputy collector in N. Y. custom house, a political worker, 268, 311; in New York convention, 335; at Minneapolis convention, 344.

Gwin, superintendent, and Craft, W. H., 12.

Habberton, J., address on "The Ideal Citizen," 98.

Habercorn, L. W., newspaper correspondent, appointed fifth auditor of the treas., 30.

Habernel, J. F., postmaster of Indiana House of Representatives, 406.

Hack, postal clerk, political worker, 144.

Hack, P. O. employe, political worker, 377.

Hackett, C. W., worker for Platt, chairman N. Y. state republican executive committee, 360, 361, 371, 388; requests lists of republicans from postmasters, 370; and political assessments, 382.

Hackney, D. G., worker for Hill, appointed fish commissioner of New York, vice Blackford removed, 310.

Hackney, W. P., disgust of with Kansas congressmen and senators, 15.

Haddam, Kan., Journalist Tarsel, postmaster at, 149.

Hagerstown (Md.), Herald [repub.], civil service reform advocated, 92.

Hahn, M., see Tammany, 318.

Hahn, W. M., chairman republican state executive committee, Ohio, asks political contributions, 280.

Haines, G. B., and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.

Haines, Wm., relative of Pres. Harrison, given office, 30.

Hale, Annie, wife of Journalist Hale, postmaster at Spring Valley, O., 149.

Hale, senator, controls patronage in Maine; keeps more employes in Portland (Me.), custom house than necessary, 242.

Halford, E. W., journalist, private secretary to Pres. Harrison, and applications for office, 6, 11, 163, 175, 282; and office-seekers, 37; secures appointment of brother-in-law and others, 38; goes home to vote, 180; and printing office, 234; brother of editor of Youngstown, O., Telegraph, supporting Sherman, 301; at Indianapolis, 360; political worker, 339, 340, 343, 377, 379, 382, 389; appointed paymaster in army, 414.

Halifax, N. C., Hannan, negro, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Hall (M. C.) denounces civil service law, 47, 49.

Hall, B. J., appointed patent commissioner, efficient, 140.

Hall, D. S., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Hall, M. F., journalist, postmaster at Phillippi, W. Va., 155, 180.

Hall, T. A., subscribes for CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for Y. M. C. A. of Illinois, 350.

Hallett, C. W., and Long Island City post-office, 100.

Halstead, M., nominated minister to Germany, editor of Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette, 14; on force bill, 169.

Hamilton, Gail, obtains appointment of E. A. Dimmick, consul to Barbadoes, 56.

Hamilton, Mo., Clarkson, N. C., appointed postmaster at, 150.

Hamlin, carrier, see Indianapolis post-office, investigation of, 28, 34.

Hammell, M. A., journalist, postmaster at Mullen, Neb., 149.

Hammond, postmaster of Booneville, Ind., political worker, 380.

Hammond, A. G., appointed postmaster at Wyoming, Ill., vice—, removed for political reasons, 176.

Hammond, F., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 296.

Hammond, Ind., postmaster at, inefficient, 90.

Hammond, T., congressman, patronage of, 410, 416, 117, 422.

Hammondsport, N. Y., Journalist Brown, postmaster at, 155.

Hampton, W., governor, pardons Smalls, convicted of bribery, 39, 104; senator, letter to Wanamaker on removal of Gibbes, postmaster at Columbia, S. C., 74, 190.

Hancock Co., Ind., appointments from, 71.

Hancock, T. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Neoga, Ill., 141.

Hanford, Cal., postmaster at removed, Editor Dodge appointed, 126.

Hanlon, M. A., treasury inspector, political worker, 287.

Hanna, federal officer, political worker for Harrison, 297.

Hannon, J. H., negro, postmaster at Halifax, N. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Hansbrough, patronage pledges of to secure election as senator from N. Dakota, 216; senator, supporter of Blaine, 314, 345.

Hanscom, I., and navy yard at Kittery, Me., 117.

Hardson, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.

Hare, Bishop and Rosebud, agency, Dak., 48; denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130; alleges Indian abuses, 202.

Harig, "Bill," ward politician of Baltimore, 308.

Harlem, N. Y., Tammany street railroad scandal in, 317.

Harley, C., politician, census supervisor 5th Indiana district, 101.

Harlow, postmaster at Whitman, Mass., recommended for reappointment, 100.

Harlow, H., applicant for postmastership at Plymouth, Mass., 189.

Harlow, J. B., appointed postmaster of St. Louis, 88, 131; institutes reform methods, 136; conspiracy to remove, 226; ordered to give office to political worker for Harrison, 304.

Harmer, congressman and Quay, 241.

Harmon, G. W., promised place in Brooklyn custom house, see Wallace.

Harmony, acting secretary of navy, and Portsmouth, N. H., navy yard, 117.

Harn, G. V., editor, appointed sugar inspector, 301.

Harald, S. Dak., Journalist Besancon, postmaster at, 155.

Harper, G. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Robinson, Ill., 141.

Harper's Weekly, civil service commission under Harrison and Cleveland compared, 241; comparison of Cleveland and Harrison in regard to civil service reform, 338; on what to expect of Cleveland, 358, 359.

Harrigan, appraiser, resignation asked, 22.

Harrigan, sergeant-at-arms in N. Y. legislature; his patronage, 215.

Harrington, G. W., democrat, postmaster at Monson, Mass., recommended for reappointment, 188.

Harrington, Prof. M. W., appointed head of weather bureau, 215; favors civil service reform, 253.

Harris, A. W., customs inspector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Harris, H. E., journalist, postmaster at Utica, O., 149.

Harris, Rev. J. A., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; favors clerical recognition of civil service reform, 48.

Harris, O. T., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.

Harris, R. H., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268.

Harris, S., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Franklin, Ind., 398.

Harrisburg Telegraph [rep.], civ. service reform a sham, 49.

Harrison, Pres., removes postmaster at Norwich (Conn.), without cause and appoints spoilsman, see Norwich, Conn.; nominates Wallace, spoilsman, to be postmaster at Indianapolis, 2, 3; and civil serv. rel. in letter of acceptance, 1, 4, 9, 69; and civ. serv. rel., has not made promises, 5, 10; appoints S. N. Chambers U. S. dist. att'y in Indiana, 7; as senator, remarks on evils of patronage, 9; inaugural address and civil serv. ref., 9; order of, postponing classification of R. R. mail service, 10; and Postmaster Pearson, 13, 41; disputes with senators over patronage, 14; number of appointments to April, 1889, 16; overrun with office-seekers, 16; congressmen dictate appointments, 17, 93; civil serv. commission appointed by, 17; "public duties" of, dispensing patronage, 18; census bureau under and civil serv. law, 19; and spoils system, 20; and Pearson, postmaster at New York, 20; and nepotism, 21, 30, 84; and R. R. mail service, 21, 22; cabinet of formed according to Senator May's demands, 22; gives patronage of Missouri to Kerens, 22; applicants to be treated with consideration, 24; and Vandervoort and Bagby, 25, 34, 211; not keeping promises in Indianapolis post-office, 26; gives patronage of N. York to T. Platt, 27; hastily removes Pennsylvania to Senator Quay, 27, 47, 135, 138; inability to satisfy spoilsman, 27; removes Indian commissioner Oberly, 27; cabinet of composed entirely of spoilsman, 27; removes Strauss, minister to Turkey; appoints "Sol" Illrsch, 29; removes postmaster at Jersey City without cause, 29; removes Postmaster Clark, of Jacksonville, Florida, for political reasons, 29; removes postmaster at Bridgeport before term expired, 29; removes Postmistress Clay, at Huntsville, Ala., without cause, 29; appoints Editor J. B. Stone collector internal revenue first Michigan district, 30; removes without cause head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho; appoints spoilsman, 30; rewards political workers; declares he will not cease appointments until offices are exhausted, 30; and Senator Cullom, 31; appoints G. P. Fisher, disreputable politician, first auditor of the treasury, 32; appoints D. M. Ransdall marshal District of Colum-

bia, 34, 80; "discriminating test" of, 35, 36, 100; appoints White, editor and spoilsman, internal revenue collector, 37; appoints Robert Smalls, a convicted criminal, in face of well-known record and strong protest, 39; makes spoil of offices, 41; refusal of to have anything to do with Dudley, 41; searching examination of management of civil service by, promised, 41; refuses request of civil service commission to place census bureau under civil service law, 42, 88, 134; treatment of Indians by administration of, 12; civil service reform promises of, 43, 52, 61, 62, 63, 65, 292; rules of for appointment, 44; removals of postmasters under, 45; and collector-ship of customs at Chicago, 47; and Congressman Brower, 47; and postmasters, 49; removes Naval Officer Burt, 52; gives patronage of Virginia to Mahone, 27, 52, 70; rewards Tanner for services, and later removes him, 53; uses offices to affect elections in Louisiana, 54; appealed to by MacCourt, 54; removes Postmaster Curran of Hoboken, N. J., for political reasons, 51; gives office to T. B. Willis as a political reward, 55; appoints E. Nathan, low politician, collector int. rev. for Brooklyn (N. Y.) district, appoints Lyon surveyor of port, 55; not enough credit given to, for administration of civil service law, 59; appoints Throop, political worker, collector of Terre Haute (Ind.) district, 59; congratulated on appointments by Mass. republican convention, 63; administration tramples civil serv. rel. under foot, 64; denounced for violation of pledges, by national league, 1889, 66; appoints J. N. Huston U. S. treasurer, objects to giving him Indiana patronage, gives it to Michener, 67; denounced for abuse of civ. service, by H. C. Lea, 68, 111; can stop political assessments, 70; gives patronage of Louisiana to Congressman Coleman, 71; removes postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., for political reason, 71; and postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., 71; and appointment of postmasters, 74; responsibility of, 75; as senator and spoils in Indiana, 75; attributes defeat in 1889 to disappointed office-seekers, 75; and distribution of patronage in New York, 75; letter to General Malson, 77; extract from message on civil service commission: postpones execution of order classifying R. R. mail service, 80, 81; as Sen., criticises Pres. Cleveland for bribing the press, 81; weakened by patronage, 83; must stand by the platform (see Winchester Herald), 83; appoints E. G. Hay, a friend, U. S. district attorney, 81; rewards A. D. Shaw, 84; unsatisfactory to republicans so far as patronage is concerned, 81; and civ. service law, 86; his test for office; postmasters at Springfield and Quincy, Mass., 86; and W. W. Dudley, 87; and Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88; promotes J. B. Harlow to be postmaster at St. Louis, 88; as Sen. and Pres., and Garrigus, 88; and Mitchell, Ind. postmastership, 89; and Greencastle, Ind., postmastership, 89; criticised at Noblesville, Ind., 89; discontent with, 89; and post-office at Hammond, Ind., 90; and Baltimore postmastership, 90; and Massachusetts civ. service reform association, 92; memorial to from civ. service reform ass'n of Philadelphia, 92; civ. service reform in first year of, 94; and Collector Saltonstall, 94; and R. Williams, 95; appoints Clark collector at Chicago, 95; secret charges under, 96, 175; appoints Kinney postmaster at Hartford, Conn., 99; reappoints Lyman civil serv. commissioner, 103; letter to from W. Barker, protesting against Quay, 104; appoints Warmouth, ruffianly politician, collector at New Orleans, 105; nomination of, see Quay, 106; appoints Clements, political worker, pension agent at Chicago vice Mrs. Mulligan, 107; and appointment of examiners for pension office, 108; appoints Editor Fitch collector of internal revenue at Buffalo, N. Y., 108; conference with Congressman Hitt over post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; as senator, criticises Cleveland's course with regard to civil service, 119; and congressmen, 120; and patronage system, 76, 120, 173; spoils pledges of, 121; and postmastership of Stanberry, Mo., 121; requests aid for civil service commission, 122; and Garfield, 129, 130; removes Hendrix, postmaster at Brooklyn, N. Y.; offers place to political worker, 131; appoints Editor Von Bergman, 132; claims on, 132; condemned by Maryland Civil Serv. Ref. Assoc. for giving patronage to Quay, 136; appoints Mitchell patent commissioner, 140; abuses in Brooklyn navy yard under administration of, 142; complaints to of Warmouth, 143, 144; nominates Eaves; gives patronage of N. Carolina, 150; censured, 153; promotes Sherwood to be postmaster at Washington to succeed Ross, transferred, 153; and U. S. Attorney Chambers, 154; removes employes in Brooklyn navy yard, 155; praised; civil service methods advocated, see Indiana republican platform, 1890, 156; condemned for disregard of civil service law, see Pennsylvania, Indiana and New Hampshire platforms, 1880, 156; nominates democrat, Kirkpatrick, postmaster at North Hadley Falls, Mass., 157; nominates Eaves, a corrupt politician, 159; removals under; spoils system under, 159, 188, 269; gives patronage of Texas to Collector Cuney, 159; correspondence of with Foulke, W. D., over presidential post-offices, see also post offices, presidential, 163; good appointments of, 169;

- gives offices as rewards for party service, 171; a greater spoilsman than any predecessor, 174; as senator, speech in senate on iniquity of secret charges system: see Shelbyville, Freeman, De La Hunt, 176, 177; gives patronage to Sewell, 180; and McFarland, disreputable politician, 181; gives patronage of navy yard at New York to Fischer, 182; uses offices to gain remuneration, 183; and customs offices: Washington offices, 185; advised to appoint Avery postmaster at Plymouth, Mass., 187; removals under for cause, according to Clarkson, 188; secures control of Indiana republican state committee, 189; striving for renomination, 192; course of in Indian affairs: letter to Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association regarding, 86, 98, 102, 182, 202, 204, 205, 217, 219, 239; removes U. S. district attorney at Washington, D. C., 211; and Delphi (Ind.) Journal, 213; nominates W. R. Leeds, disreputable politician, as U. S. marshal in Penn., 216; appoints Mayor Ellis postmaster at Muncie, Ind., 217; silent regarding civil service reform, 220; order of putting part of Indian service under civil service law: forbids promotion without examination from unclassified to classified service, 221, 230, 231; should put navy yards under civil service law, 222; reappoints democrat, Sberlin, postmaster at Sandwich, Mass.; democrat, Morgan, at Newton, Mass., 224; federal office-holders interfere in primaries at Baltimore in behalf of, 225, 226; "Boss" Filley, of Missouri, works for, 226; and G. B. Raum, Jr., 228; Martin, appointed collector internal revenue, aids Quay to ruin ballot bill in Penn., 228, 229, 232, 233; and Roosevelt, civil service commissioner, 232; makes terms with Quay, 235; promotes Thompson, assistant postmaster at Indianapolis, to be postmaster; consequent promotions, 235; renomination of, reasons for and against; course regarding civil service reform, 237, 240, 238, 287; republican opposition to, workers for, 240; appoints W. H. Brooks collector internal revenue in Pa., vice Martin, resigned, 241; negroes do not get patronage under, 243, 244; gives patronage of New York to Platt, 245; workers for, 249; removes Stearns for political reasons, 250; reasons of for removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 251; patronage as used by, and party platform, 1888, 253; orders promotions in Washington offices made on competitive examinations under civil service commission, gives patronage of Maryland to republican machine, 254; accepts "resignation" of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, appoints Fassett to make clean sweep, 255; betrays civil service reform, 260, 282, 349; extensions of civil service reform under, compared to Dictator Balmaceda, 261; controls patronage, but it is a source of weakness, 262; appoints Flanagan, political worker, collector of customs at El Paso, 266; civil service commission is good under, 271, 272; precise scope of extension of civil service law in Indian service, under, 273; and R. R. mail service, extends civil service law to certain employees in Indian service, 275; and violations of law in Omaha post-office, 281; rewards Flanagan, 286; uses patronage in Indiana for renomination, 297, 316, 317; uses federal patronage in Pennsylvania and elsewhere to secure renomination, removes supporters of Quay, 298, 299, 301; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 303, 305; and Mahone "blackmailers," 305; compelled to give patronage, 311, 312; and independents, 313; commended and censured by National League, 321; political activity of federal office-holders under, 38, 350; and appointment of Martin, 351; gives patronage to Boss McKane, 352; and candidacy of Chase for governor of Indiana, 353, 354, 355; "ceaseless activity of," 357; not opposed to political assessments, 181, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362; seeks to reward Delegate Crum, negro, with postmastership of Charleston, S. C., 363; Senator Sawyer, chairman senate committee on post-offices, aids nomination of, 364; Julian on abuse of civil service under, 365; enforces civil service law "with vigor and impartiality," 366; appoints Leaycraft, political worker, 371; civil service reform under, 80, 371, 372, 373, 374; and Minneapolis convention, 375, 376; civil service reform under: should be defeated, 376, 389; and political activity of federal office-holders in Indiana, 376, 381, 383, 385, 386; buys renomination with offices, 387, 408; and extensions of civil service law, 388, 390; opposes appointment of Hanlon, 393, 395; civil service reform in annual message 1892 of, 397; extension of classified service under welcomed, 398, 402; classifies all free-delivery post-offices, and weather bureau service, 403; merit system under, 404; extension of civil service reform under, not urged by republicans, 405; administration of ruined by spoils system, 413, 411; appoints Private Sec'y Halford paymaster in army, 414; accused of bribing the press, 444.
- Harrison, Carter, appointed U. S. marshal by Pres. Harrison, his brother, 21, 30, 369.
- Harrison, E. G., appointed postmaster at Asbury Park, N. Y., vice Toland, 386.
- Harrison, Rev. H., Thanksgiving sermon of denouncing Clarkson, 193, 194.
- Harrison, H., commends CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 361.
- Harrison, J. C., father of Journalist H. Harrison, postmaster at Smithfield, O., 149.
- Harrison, J. P., postmaster at Lu Verne, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Harrison, J. S., brother of Pres. Harrison, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 339.
- Harrison, Neb., father of Journalist Davis, postmaster at, 149.
- Harrison, Russell, son of Pres. Harrison, influence of used for office-seekers, 38; political worker for his father, 189, 359, 378; solicits campaign funds for Pres. Harrison, 240; assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; and Elkins, 290.
- Harrison, Dr. T. H., president of state benevolent boards of Indiana, a spoilsman, 206.
- Harrison, President W. H., the public press and spoils (in inaugural address), 17.
- Harrison, W. H., Pres., forbids political assessments and political activity of federal office-holders, 370.
- Harrison, W. H., Pres., on bribery of press, 376.
- Harry and Phila. post-office, 53.
- Harrodsburgh, Ind., Woodard, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Hart, H., alderman of New York City, see sale of offices under Tammany, 224, 225.
- Hart, M. L., journalist, postmaster at Ravenna, Kan., 149.
- Hart, T. N., mayor, Boston, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102; ex-mayor, Boston, appointed postmaster at Boston, vice Corse, removed, 215; commended by Corse, his predecessor, 251.
- Hart, W. D., appointed postmaster at Meriden, Neb., vice McGinness, forced to resign, 166.
- Hart, W. H., third auditor, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; federal employe and printing office, 234; goes home "for rest," 362; political worker, 382; spoilsman, 112; and removal of Sufall, 377.
- Hartford, Conn., Kinney and Gillette, applicants for postmastership of, 84, 99; Bennett, postmaster of, and removal of Bario, efficient P. O. inspector, 298.
- Hartford City, Ind., Cable, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Hartley, A. H., appointed in post-office at Scranton, Pa., removed for political reasons, appointed to place in R. R. mail service, removed by Harrison, 101.
- Hartman, A., applicant for postmaster of Columbus, Ind., 89; postmaster of Columbus, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Hartman, D. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Genoa, Ill., 141.
- Hartong, A. W., druggist, candidate for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109; postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., works for Hitt, 136.
- Hartshorn, S. N., political worker for Major McKinley, rewarded, 52.
- Hartwig, defeated congressional candidate, demands patronage, 99.
- Harvey, G., political worker for Harrison, deputy coll. int. rev. in Indiana, 302, 303, 316, 378.
- Harvey, J. W., appointed postmaster at Russellville, Ind., 89.
- Harwood, J. C., editor, appointed postmaster at Clarion, Iowa, 141.
- Hassler, Aug. E., journalist, postmaster at Pawnee City, Neb., 149.
- Hastings, General, opposes Delamater, 134, 143; candidate for governor of Pa., 249; political worker for Quay, 280.
- Hathaway, postmaster of house of representatives, makes removals at suggestion of congressmen, methods of, 242.
- Hatton, F., editor of Washington Post, and scramble for offices, 5, 76, 79, 92, 96, 161; spoilsman abuses Commissioner Roosevelt, 52; charges of against Commissioner Roosevelt, 101; and investigation of civil serv. com., 103.
- Havre, consul at, see Dnfals, 54.
- Hawes, J. W., and factional fights in N. Y., see New York, 241, 242.
- Hawkins, U. S. marshal for Indiana district, oppression by, 9.
- Hawley, Sen., supports Kinney as postmaster of Hartford, Conn., 84, 99.
- Hawley, Pa., Langham, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 176.
- Hawthorne, Nat'l, removed from office, 46.
- Hay, E. G., friend of Harrison, recommended by Sen. Washburn, appointed U. S. dist. att'y for Minnesota, 84.
- Hayes, Pres., declaration in favor of civ. service reform, 50; letter of acceptance of, in favor of civ. service reform, 50; and loyalty, 75; pardons brother of D. Ransdell, 244; on evils of political assessment and political activity of federal officers, 265, 316; friendly to civil service reform; executive order of, instituting, 123, 271.
- Hayes, W. J., congressman, refused knowledge of reasons for removal of Evans, postmaster at Bloomfield, Ia., 175.
- Hayes, W. M., postmaster at Kingston, N. Y., political worker, 280.
- Haynes, —, attempts fraudulent voting in primaries, see New York City.
- Haynes, R. A., relative Pres. Harrison, given office, 38.
- Hays, J. M., appointed postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., 89.
- Headington, N., applicant for postmaster at Portland, Ind., 88.
- Headley, L. C., journalist, postmaster at Gaylord, Kan., 149.
- Healy, M. J., requests patronage, 311, 312.
- Heath, Rev. J. W., candidate for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Hebbard, C. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Roseville, Ill., 141.
- Hebring, H., customs collector at Geneseo, N. Y., at convention republican league, 259.
- Hecksler, removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Hedden, collector at New York, removals under, 183.
- Hedges, C., appointed chief of postal division of sixth auditor's office, Associated Press agt., 47.
- Heerman, C. A., and Mahone, 52.
- Heintz, L. J., street commissioner in N. Y. City, 234.
- Hellen, Mrs., appointed stamp clerk at Winston, N. C., through influence of Judge Settle, her relative, 47.
- Hemingford, Neb., Journalist Paradis, postmaster at, 149.
- Hench, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils system in, 407.
- Henderson, congressman, upholds civil service law, 122, 125.
- Henderson, J. J., congressman, and postmaster of Woodhull, Ill., 47.
- Henderson, W., leader in tally sheet (see) prosecution at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Henderson, W., a leader in factional fight at Baltimore, 121; faction of, see Baltimore investigation, 268, 267, 277, 295; and Stone faction at Baltimore, 372.
- Henderson, W. E., political worker for Eaves, 159.
- Henderson, W. T., disappointed office-seeker, 144.
- Hendricks, delegate to Minneapolis convention from Alabama, opposing Harrison, 346.
- Hendricks, postmaster at Greensburgh, Ind., worker for Harrison, 316, 378.
- Hendricks, A. H., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hendricks, republican politician and spoilsman, and Gov. Hill of New York, 211; supporter of Senator Hiscock, 216; political worker for Hiscock and Platt; appointed collector at N. Y. City, 264, 266, 269; collector at N. Y. City; political worker, 279, 287, 354, 357; defended by Sec'y Foster (assessment case), 289; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 359, 360, 337, 343, 344; to lead campaign in New York, 347, 348; management of custom house by, 358; opposes Congressman Belden, 386.
- Hendricks, T. A., ex-vice-president, his place in politics, 244.
- Hendrix, efficient postmaster at Brooklyn, removed. Baird, politician, refuses appointment, 72, 131.
- Henkel, W., at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Henry, J. A., journalist, postmaster at Jonesville, Minn., 149.
- Henry, J. J., republican, condemns removal for political reasons of Corse, postmaster at Boston, see also Civil Service Record, 213.
- Hensley, W. N., postmaster at Columbus, Neb., forced to resign, 166.
- Hepburn, solicitor of treasury, calls on Chairman Carter, 361.
- Hepburn, A. B., appointed controller of the currency, 371.
- Hepburn, W. P., federal office holder in Washington Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Herbert, congressman, and political activity of federal office-holders in Alabama, 355.
- Herndon, Kan., Journalist Rathbone, postmaster at, 149.
- Herod, W. W., candidate for mayor of Indianapolis; declares himself one of the "boys," 269.
- Hess, J. W., worker for Harrison, 316; promises offices if elected, 378.
- Hewitt, mayor of New York City, and civil service reform, 82.
- Hicklin, councilman, and appointments to fire service of Indianapolis, 120; ward politician and spoilsman, 203; supports Fire Chief Webster, 207, 208.
- Hickok, Rev. Dr., on civil service reform, 83.
- Hicks, J., editor, office holder, 14.
- Higbee, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407; and spoils methods in, 406.
- Higgins, A., Sen., appoints Hinchman postmaster at Bridgeville, Del., 38; obtains appointment of Fisher as first auditor of treasury, of Knowles as consul to Bordeaux, 38; political manipulator, 160; at Minneapolis convention, 344; aided by Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, 363; attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.
- Higgins, E., and Cleveland administration, 25; appointment of condemned, 51; ex-office holder, benchman of Gorman, disreputable character, 181, 237, 314, 364.
- Higgins, E. R., candidate for postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., 45; postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., a political worker, 153, 158; ordered to levy political assessments, 302; political worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; political worker, 372, 377, 378; orders P. O. employes to take poll of Ft. W., 380.
- Higginson, J. W., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.

- High, dictation of in Berks county, Penn., 47.
- Hildebrand, J. M., appointed surveyor of customs at Indianapolis, 38; a political worker, 144; denounced for political inactivity, 303; worker at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Hill, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 406.
- Hill, congressman, favors civil service reform, 123.
- Hill, D. B., governor of New York, see Feudalism Revived; opposed to civil service reform, 82, 239, 261, 289; tools of, 196, 211; appoints "Paddy" Divver to a judgeship, 212; refuses requisition of Connecticut forger for political reasons, 214, 215; makes spoils bargains with Senator Hiscock, 216; workers for, oppose Fassett, by corrupt methods, 259; supporters of "knife" Cleveland, 282; Tammany leader, 298; career of, and Hillism, 305, 307, 309, 310, 311, 351, 396; defense of by Professor Collin, steals N. Y. legislature, 313; and Tammany, 317, 320; senator, gives Brooklyn bridge patronage to McLaughlin, 350; and fish protection at Lake Keuka, appoints saloon keeper Sheridan keeper at, 356; Kings co., N. Y., democrats, 356; imitators of in Indiana, 414; Sheehan, worker for, 415.
- Hill, F. B., negro, deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Hill, J., negro, postmaster at Vicksburg, Miss., worker at Minneapolis, 343, 348.
- Hill, J. C., federal officer, resigns to do political work, 362.
- Hilliard, G., calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. city, 258; at Minneapolis convention, 344; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom house, 358.
- Hills, W. C., journalist, appointed postmaster at Smithland, Iowa, 142.
- Hines, G. A., candidate for postmaster at Brattleboro, Mass., 100.
- Hirsch, L., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Hirsch, "Sol," the "Tom Platt" of Oregon, appointed minister to Turkey, 29.
- Hiscock, C., appointed through influence of Senator Hiscock, his brother, to office, vice L. D. Monery, 150; political worker for him, 264.
- Hiscock, F., Sen., spoilsman, 43, 353, 354, 360, 386; and postmaster at Syracuse, 16; obtains appointment of Smith, editor, as postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., 71; notoriously corrupt, 71; and appointment of Von Bergman, 132; opposes appointment of Conroy, postmaster at Watkins, N. Y., 150; controls patronage in N. Y., gets office for his brother, C. Hiscock, 150; on performance of party pledges, 168; supports Merritt for postmaster of Lockport, N. Y., bargains for spoils with Hill, 216; recommends appointment of Wheeler, 241; patronage of, and factional fights against, 259; patronage of, secures office for brother, gives bribes, 264, 265, 266; indorses Payn, 312; supporter of Blaine, 341.
- Hitch, C. P., Harrison worker at Chicago convention, appointed U. S. marshal southern district of Ill., 30; political worker, 179.
- Hitt, congressman on civ. service law, 73; and his struggles in distributing patronage, see also Rochelle (Ill.), post-office at, 109; renomination of, 136; nominated, 137, 143; secures appointment of Asay, disreputable politician, 160.
- Hoar, Judge, recommends Bancroft postmaster at Concord, Mass., for reappointment, 91; indorses Postmaster Buttrick, 100.
- Hoar, Sen., letter to from Congressman Banks, asking aid for J. J. McCarthy, 31; letter of to Civil Service Record, declaring American people to be not yet aware of worth of civ. serv. ref., 43, 60; and Boston custom house, 71; and Collector Saltonstall, 94; controls census patronage in Mass., 104; thinks customs collectors should be in political harmony with president, 104; and removal of Saltonstall, 105; and Eaton, D. B., 111; on collectorship at Boston, 129; transmits letter of Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association to President Harrison, 205; and Corse, postmaster at Boston, 213, 357; requests retention of Corse, postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Hoar, S., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 203.
- Hobart, supporters of and Blunt, 150.
- Hobart, A., at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; and resolutions of Mass. Civil Service Reform Association, 1892, 398.
- Hobart, G. A., politician, surety for Fassett, collector at New York City, 258.
- Hobbs, purchases postmastership at Mitchell, Ind., see also sale of offices, 89.
- Hobbs, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Hobbs, E. H., political worker, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Hoboken, N. J., Postmaster Curran at, removed for political reasons, 54.
- Hodson, J. H., disappointed office-seeker, 144.
- Hoffman, F. N., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Hogan, D., gains office through influence of Congressman Smith, 38; collector of internal revenue, a boss, 143.
- Hogan, M. C., U. S. supervisor of elections in New York, 390.
- Hohlt, W. H., politician, see Indianapolis, see also Parnell Hall, 195.
- Holcomb, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.
- Holderman, superintendent of fire telegraph at Indianapolis, refuses to teach intended supplanter, 235, 243.
- Hollowell, Me., removal of postmaster at, on secret charges, 39.
- Holman, congressman, renomination of, 37; congressman, patronage of, 393, 400, 411, 417, 419, 421, 422.
- Holman, bank examiner in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Holmes, A. J., sergeant-at-arms of house of representatives, removes his deputy, Cavanaugh, for political reasons, 250.
- Holmes, L., republican member New Bedford (Mass.) city committee, seeks retention of democratic postmaster; correspondence with Wanamaker, 29, 176.
- Holt, S. R., politician of Indianapolis, opposes bill for new charter of; officer of new city government, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; on positions in city service being "equally divided politically," 220; examinations for police force under, 222; and city service, 228; appoints under "equally divided politically" rule, 235.
- Holton, I., supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster at Plainfield, 399.
- Holyrood, Kan., Journalist Woodmansee, postmaster at, 149.
- Homilectic Review, October, 1889, and civil service reform, 65.
- Hooker, G. W., spoilsman, and Brattleboro, Mass., postmastership, 100.
- Hoopeston, Ill., Editor Warner, appointed postmaster at, 141; Postmaster Catherwood of, forced to resign, 165.
- Hope, Kan., Journalist Burroughs, postmaster at, 149.
- Hopkins (M. C.) on house committee on civil service, 86; indorses Hartong for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Hopley, J., journalist, postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149, 301.
- Hopper, F., nominee for council, see Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Hord, F., representative in Indiana legislature, opposes gerrymander of 1893, 414.
- Horn, C. W., Journalist, postmaster at Plain City, O., 149.
- Hornellsville, N. Y., removal of Greenbow, postmaster at, on secret charges, 176.
- Horr, J. F., collector at Key West, Fla., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Horseheads, N. Y., factional struggles against Platt and Fassett at, see Chemung Co.; Van Duzer, postmaster of, a political worker, 265; Postmaster Van Duzer of, and removal of Flood, 304; Chemung county democratic convention at, run by Hill workers, 309.
- Hotchkiss, A. C., Journalist, appointed postmaster at Adel, Iowa, 141.
- Honk, L. F., congressman, of Tennessee, opposed to civ. service reform, 35, 49, 54, 161; spoilsman, secures office for his son, 84; opposes civil service commission and reform, 124; charges of against civil service commission, 145, 146; opposed to civil service reform; sees evils of spoils system, 177, 178.
- Houk, J. C., appointed through influence of his father, 84.
- House of Representatives, Hathaway, postmaster of, spoilsman, removals under, 242.
- Honston, R. L., postmaster of Birmingham, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Hovey, A., governor, of Indiana, 17; of Indiana, appoints farmer as mine inspector, 192; on investigating insane hospital scandals at Indianapolis, 206.
- Hovey, C. J., son of Gov. Hovey, appointed postmaster at Mt. Vernon, Ind., 71; postmaster, etc., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Howard, Gen., on Indian abuses, 182.
- Howard, J., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Howard, N. P., postmaster at Greenfield, Ind., removed, 89.
- Howard, R., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102.
- Howard City, Mich., Journalist Lowrey postmaster at, 149.
- Howarth, —, journalist, appointed census enumerator, 142.
- Howe, H. H., federal employe, pays political assessments, 279.
- Howell, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.
- Howell, J. C., commandant navy-yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Howel, W. A., nominated to be postmaster at Milwaukee, vice Paul, resigned, 47.
- Howell, W. C., relative of President Harrison given office, 90.
- Howells, J. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Jefferson, Ohio, 301.
- Howland, W., candidate, charges political activity of federal employes, 179.
- Hoysradt, state senator of New York, corrupt politician, see Hill, 307.
- Hoyt, governor of Pennsylvania subject to Quay, 151.
- Hoyt, W. E., brother-in-law of President Cleveland holds office, 150.
- Hubbell, J., congressional campaign, 1882, 272; campaign and Curtis, 386; and political assessments, 373, 390.
- Huber, Pa., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- Hudder, J. H., journalist, appointed postmaster at Aurora, Ill., 126.
- Hudson, state senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201; low politician and spoilsman, opposes new charter of Indianapolis, see, also, Magee, 211.
- Hudson, postmaster of Corydon, Ind., political worker, 379, 382.
- Hudson, J. S., delegate to republican national convention, secures removal of Dner, postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., and appointment of Lankford, 408.
- Hudson Co., N. Y., factional democratic fights in police aid Davis faction, 199, 200.
- Huey, lawyer, and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.
- Huffer, S. W., candidate for postmastership at Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Hughes, asst. postmaster of Philadelphia, political worker for Quay, 270, 280.
- Hughes, A. M., leads Tennessee delegation for Harrison, 341.
- Hughes, E. N., applicant for Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.
- Hughson, J., given office through influence of Priv. Sec. Halford, 38.
- Huginir, appointed postmaster at Newport, Minnesota, 21.
- Hugo, V., on America, 210.
- Hulett, W. L., doorkeeper in Indiana senate, 408.
- Humphrey, mayor of Concord, N. H., 143.
- Hungerford, J. B., journalist, appointed postmaster at Carroll, Iowa, 141; a political worker, 260.
- Hunt, and office-seekers, 38.
- Hunt, police judge of Manchester, active politician, 143.
- Hunt, C. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Greenfield, Iowa, 142.
- Hunt, W. L., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Clairsville, O., 301.
- Hunter, commissioner, spoilsman, 315.
- Hunter, J. T., asks for financial "suggestions," 383.
- Hunter, N. Y., Journalist Casteright postmaster of, 155.
- Hunter, R. H., internal revenue collector in New York, a political worker, 265.
- Huntertown, Ind., Latham, postmaster at, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, Dunton appointed, 362.
- Huntington, Bishop, advocates civ. service reform, 40, 82.
- Huntington, Ind., Editor Bntler, appointed postmaster at, 126, 377; Rogers, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Huntsville, Ala., Clay, Mary, postmaster at, removed without cause.
- Hurst, S. H., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Husted, speaker, secures nomination of Pentreath for postmaster of Yonkers, N. Y., 150; chairman republican executive committee of New York, 279; corrupt politician, see Hill, 307.
- Hustou, G. N., 7, 78, 85, 96; treas. of U. S., 14; chairman Indiana republican state committee; controls patronage of Indiana, 67, 112, 121, 154; obtains office for Scanlon, for political services, 132; of national republican committee, 359; worker for Harrison, and distributor of patronage, 377; and political assessments, 382, 383.
- Iyat, J., efficient officer in house of representatives, removed for political reasons through influence of McPherson, 84.
- Iches, editor, appointed postmaster at Newark, O., 301.
- Idaho., governor of officially compliments management of assay office at Boise City, whose chief removed without cause by Harrison, 30; Boise City, head of assay office at removed without cause, 30.
- Idding, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Ide, C. E., defeated candidate, 132; politician, 386.
- Illig, police commissioner at Buffalo, works for Trautmann; uses intimidation, see Buffalo, N. Y., 197.
- Illinois, see also convention, platform.
- Illinois, congressmen of and offices, 6; senators of and President Harrison, 6; delegation and the offices, 7; congressmen and offices, 15; delegation from, favoring appointment of Asa Matthews as first comptroller, 21; congressmen of and Chicago post-office, 22; removals in, 22; Bloomington, examination at, 26; postmasters in democratic congressional districts appointed through influence of Sen. Cullom, 30; Harrison worker appointed U. S. marshal for southern district of, 30; Congressman Cannon of, spoilsman, 30; Senators Cullom and Farwell and Wilcox matter, 31; congressmen and senators of refused control of patronage by Harrison, 240; political activity of federal office holders in, 335, 336, 344; CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE to be sent to Y. M. C. A. of, 350; Governor Altgeld of flees from office-seekers, 415.
- Impeachment, President liable to, for abuse of civil service, 17.
- Independent, on resignation of Quay as chairman National Republican Committee, 257.
- Indian commissioner, Butler, low politician, recommended by congressmen for, 14; Oberly removed by Pres. Harrison, 27; Morgan, 38; Morgan favorable to civil service reform, asks re-

- tention of his predecessor, 44; Morgan upholds Harrison's Indian policy, 202.
- Indian commissioners declare Indian service in better condition than ever before, 205.
- Indian Rights Association, 42; and abuse of Indian service, 86; seventh annual report of on Indian service, 102; refused knowledge of cause of removal of Vandever, 181; efforts of, 182; conference 1891 favors application of civil service reform methods to Indian service, 288; report of commissioners condemning spoils system in Indian service, 308.
- Indian schools, Dorchester, commissioner of, 38.
- Indian service, extension of civil service law to, advocated, 10; Junkin, W. W., appointed inspector in, 14; congressional patronage and, 36; rules of Commissioner Morgan concerning tenure of office in, 44; letter of Welsh favoring civil service reform in, 47; evils in, 86; spoils system in, 94, 173, 192, 308; "home rule system of Pres. Harrison, 102; disgrace of, Pres. Grant and, see A Century of Dishonor, 182; gross abuses in, correspondence regarding, see Morgan, Harrison, Cook, Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, 202, 204, 205; in better condition than ever before, see Indian commissioners, proposal to extend civil service law to agency clerks and employes in, 205; removals in under Cleveland and Harrison, 217; places in given as spoil, see Pine Ridge, 218; H. Welsh on removals in, Capen on removals in under Cleveland, 219; partially put under civil service law by Pres. Harrison, 221, 273, 372; evils of spoils system in, H. Welsh on, in Scribner's magazine for April, 1891, 224; used as spoils by Sec. Noble, 226; merit system introduced in, 230, 251, 289, 321; debauched by Harrison, 237, 376; spoils system in, H. Welsh on, 239; extension of merit system to commended, 286; thorough application of reform to demanded, 288; political assessments levied on employes in, 375, 384, 385, 383; examiners for 1891-92, 397.
- Indiana, see also Convention, Platform.
- Indiana, civil service reform in under Cleveland's first administration, 1; democratic party in, civil service reform, 8; number of postmasters appointed in, from March 4 till July 20, inclusive, 1889, 34; rotation in office in, 45; moral republican organ of thinks neither party cares about civil service reform, 62; fourth class post-offices used to strengthen republican machine in, 67; Huston chairman republican state committee, 1888, 67; federal offices in, used to make a machine, 68; reform sentiment in, 93; state university of, civil service reform sentiment at, 108; distribution of spoil in causes republican defeat, 111; republican congressmen of, and spoils, 112; status of merit system in, 119; state civil service in, devoted to spoils, 137; 20,000 floaters in, 171; patronage of given to Michener, 173; republican club, for spoils, see Curry, 181; republican factions fight over chairmanship of state committee, 189; bribery by republicans advised in, 190, 191; farmer appointed mine inspector of, by Governor Hovey, 192; state federation of trade and labor unions of, demand non-partisan control of state institutions, see Magee, 201; foundation of state board of charities of, opposed by State Senator Burke for not being partisan, 201; Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, defeated, 201, 202, 208, 209, 210; Dr. Harrison, president of state benevolent boards of, a spoilsman, 206; text of Magee bill authorizing board of state charities to regulate employment of officers of benevolent institutions of, according to merit system, 208, 209; illegal and spoils appointments made in state senate, spoils system and scandals in hospitals of, 211; 212; Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions discussed, 214, 215; "boss" ridden, 219; civil service reform popular in, federal, state officers and citizens, favoring, 227; school children of, never speak on questions of public policy, 236; opposition to Harrison in, 240; federal officers in, political workers for Harrison, 260; under Cleveland given over to spoils, 282; federal patronage in, 297; federal patronage used in, for re-nomination of Harrison, 302, 303; central and southern hospitals for insane, evils of spoils system in, 315; Harrison uses federal patronage in, for re-nomination, 316, 317; spoils system in, civil service reform the proper issue, 322; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 337, 340, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 352, 353, 354, 362, 370, 374, 375, 382, 387, 389, 390; Chase, favored by Harrison for governor of, 343; Hill men of, defeated at Chicago convention, 350; state republican committee assesses candidates for office, also pension office at Indianapolis, 363; democratic politicians of, spoilsman, 365, 366; report to committee of National League, on political activity of federal office-holders in, 375, 381; republican state committee of, levies political assessments, 387, 392; democrats aspiring to office, 387, 392, 395; good results of secret ballot in, 389; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 392, 394, 399, 401; spoils system in, legislature of 1893 under, 405, 408, 414; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 409, 411; applicants for office in, under Cleveland [2d term], 415, 422.
- Indiana, civil service reform association of, 67, 88; membership of, 4, 9, 17, 25, 41; annual addresses at, 7; membership of, 41; announcement of annual meeting 1890, 85; annual meeting of 1890, list of officers, 108; notice of annual meeting, 111; annual meeting 1890, address of Bonaparte, C. J., 119, 120, 126, 127, 128; and Clarkson, 131; work of, 173; Bloomington branch of, 182; exposes scandals of partisan management of state charitable institutions, 214; annual meeting 1891; W. D. Foulke elected president of, 227, 239.
- Indiana School Journal and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13.
- Indiana Co., Penn., political fights in, 133.
- Indianapolis, municipal service in, 2; post-office at, 2, 9, 18, 34; post-office at under Cleveland, 5; civil service reform in fire department of, 13; Wallace, postmaster of, violates civil service law, 28, 73; post-office at, spoils system in, 26; post-office, investigation of by civil service commission, 27; list of eligibles at post-office at, 29; Fire Chief Webster of removed for political reasons, 36, 69; Hildebrand appointed collector of customs at, 38, 68; composition of local examining board at, examination at, 42; employees in post-office at exempt from examination, 42; Postmaster Wallace at and local board, 43, 48; post-office at under Postmaster Jones, 45, 51, 53, 80; Commissioner Roosevelt at, 46; agent of associated press at given office, 47; list of eligibles for post-office of, 48; questions used in examination at, August 6, 1889, 51, 56, 58; city election influenced by removal of Fire Chief Webster, 59; civil service commission and post-office of, 59; non-partisan appointments in post-office at, 87; post-office at, no removals in except for cause, fairness of examination in, 94; examinations for physicians in city hospitals, 107; deputies in custom house as political workers, 108; civil service reform in township trustee's office at, 111; charity organization of, 111; excellence of examining board at, 120; vacancies in fire department of, civil service methods advocated for, 120; appointments to census service in made through M. Moores, 129; in efficient census enumeration at, 132; control of offices in fire service at, 137; Postmaster Wallace of, secretly a political worker, 144; Township Trustee Gold removes efficient officers, 146; examinations for postal service in, passed by negro, 146; federal office-holders at, state convention at, 153, 158; spoils system in, township embracing, 171; spoils system in, for city laborers, 181; per cent. of removals in, classified and unclassified service in, post-office at, 185; personnel of examiners at, civil service law observed rigidly in post-office at, 186; commercial club of, and proposed charter of, Indianapolis, 104, 189, 190; methods used in, "primaries" in, 192; patronage of state insane hospitals at, controlled by Markey, ward politician of Indianapolis, 195; Social Turn-Verein of indorses Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 209; efforts against spoils system in city departments, 202, 203; local politics and career of corrupt politicians in, tally-sheet forgeries in, 205; 206, 207, 208; bribery by street railway company of, 206, 207; fire service at, efforts to turn over to spoils, 207, 208, 235; wholesale removals of employes in fire and police service of, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; new charter for government of, its passage, provisions and faults, new officers under, see equally divided politically, 212, 213; examinations for clerks and carriers in post-office at, 218; death of Postmaster Wallace of, a loss to the public service, 219; trouble arising from positions in city service being "equally divided politically," street cleaning service of, 220, 221; city assumption of various important functions condemned while spoils system exists, see equally divided politically, 220; system of appointment to police force of, compared with those of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Boston, Mass., see equally divided politically, 222, 223, 224; Thompson acting postmaster at, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; need of examinations and civil service reform in city service at, see equally divided politically, 228; adherent of Coy. disreputable politician elected president of council of, 228; post-office under merit system, 230; promotion of Thompson ass't postmaster at to be postmaster, and consequent promotions, 235; spoils system in city government of, merit system required for all city departments except police and fire, see charter, 243; examination for places in post office at, to be held August, 1891, 243; number of applicants at examinations held August, 1891, for carriers and clerks in post-office at, 253; Gold, township trustee at, defends himself for spoils methods, criticism of, 256; election of Sullivan as mayor of, over Herod, by independent votes, board of public works and controller of, commended, 269; city services in turned over to spoils, 289; Phipps, efficient employe in city service of, removed for political reasons, 297; Postmaster Thompson of, and other federal officers at, political workers, 302, 316, 317, 320, 378, 382; tally sheet frauds in, 313; spoils in city and county offices at, 314, 315; board of public safety of, 317; examinations for physicians for city hospital, 322; Thompson, postmaster of, subordinates work for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379; need of Boston labor service in, 357; Moores, republican politician, attempts to coerce Thompson, postmaster at, 366; Dunn, P. O. employe at, removed for soliciting political contributions of other employes at instance of Democratic Committeeman Backus, 403, 411, 412; Congressman Bynum allows Turpie to name postmaster of, 405.
- Indianapolis, Catholic Record advocates civil service reform, 76.
- Indianapolis Journal (rep.) on Indianapolis post-office, 9; declares civil service reform not a moral question, 56; strongly advocates civil service reform, 65; interview on political ingratitude, 181, 182; defends census appointments, 182; and bribery by republicans in Indiana, 191; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, see also Indianapolis, 205, 206, 207; accounts of spoils fights in various places, 217; on Roosevelt dinner, see at Indianapolis, 232; on independents, 313; on use of patronage to secure re-election of a President, 348; on use of patronage by Harrison to secure renomination; by Cleveland, 250.
- Indianapolis News (independent), and civil service reform, 11; and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; attributes republican defeat of 1889 largely to patronage system, 76; on Clarkson and Maryland republican clubs, 154; on political assessments, 183; account of nominating caucus, see Parnell Hall, 194, 195; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, 205, 206, 207, 208; on rush for office under new city government of Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 213; an independent journal, opposes spoils system, 331; on the "mugwump," 351.
- Indianapolis Sentinel (dem.) and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; complaints against violations of civil service law in Indianapolis post-office, 27; supports Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 202, 209, 210; on corrupt politics and politicians of Indianapolis, 207, 208; condemns democratic antagonism to Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215; accounts of spoils fights in various places, 217; on Roosevelt dinner at Indianapolis, 232; commended, 269; favors civil service methods in Indiana state institutions, 350; on what to expect of Cleveland, 358.
- Indianapolis Taglicher Telegraph, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Ingalls, Senator, spoilsman, 5, 17, 27, 43, 65, 85, 161, 192, 211; Kansas and office seekers, 6; senator and President Harrison confer over offices, 22; correspondence with H. Welsh over Indian commissioner, 22; opposed to civil service reform, 49; and civil service law, 51; on purity in politics, 119, 130, 145; retracts statements on purity in politics, 190; guilty of nepotism in District of Columbia offices, 215.
- Ingraham, Judge, and Dutchess co., N. Y., election frauds, 306.
- Inspectors, post-office, requirements of, 193.
- Interior Dept., and request for census recount in N. Y. City, 294.
- Iowa, number of appointments in by Clarkson, 45; Editor Weinstell appointed collector of fourth district of, 56; republicans of denounce civil service law and demand its repeal, 62; spoils system in given full swing with disastrous results, 67; reform in, 111; political assessments made by republican state central committee of, 240; federal officers at state republican convention 1891, 260; becoming democratic, 281; political activity of federal office-holders in, 346, 382.
- Iowa State Register and Junkin, W. W., 14; Clarkson's paper and examinations, 49.
- Irvin, P. O. employe at Frankfort, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Irvin, judge, and "tally-sheet" forgeries at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Irwin, uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59.
- Irwin, D. W., journalist, appointed postmaster at Akron, Cal., 126.
- Issues, permanence of, other reforms should be subordinate to civil service reform, 214, 220.
- Ithaca, N. Y., Robinson postmaster of, political worker for Platt, 264.
- Ivanhoe, Kan., Journalist Gray postmaster at, 149.
- Ives, H. S., see Hillism, 309.
- Ivins, W. M., exposes methods of Hill, 307.
- "J. S.," advertisement of, offering to buy office, 22.
- Jackson, President, and bribery of press, 17; spoilsman, 20, 43, 105; and postmasters, 49; cabinet of, 63; offices under, a perquisite of the Executive, 115; and the civil service, 125; spoils system attributed to, 262; Webster condemns spoils system under, 270, 271.
- Jackson, J., ass't U. S. att'y, delegate to Minneapolis, 348.
- Jackson, Miss. Gibbs postmaster at, 47; Gibbs postmaster of, Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 344, 348.
- Jackson, O. L., votes for, bought away, 151.
- Jackson Court House, W. Va., Journalist Deen postmaster at, 155.
- Jacksonian rotation, see Clark, 257.

- Jacksonville, Florida, Postmaster Clark of, removed by Pres. Harrison, 29.
- Jacobi, Dr. A., withdraws from N. Y. City health dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Jacobs, J. L., federal employe, political worker in New York, 336.
- Jacobs, L., and cartage contract of N. Y. custom house, 358.
- Jacobus, J. W., U. S. marshal, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; a political worker, 265; in New York convention, 334, 370; appoints "floaters" as deputies, 387.
- James, postmaster at New York, 32; ex-postmaster-general testifies to worth of Postmaster Hendrix at Brooklyn, N. Y., 131; postmaster at New York appointed P. M. gen'l by Garfield, 367.
- James, C. G., employe in N. Y. post-office, a political worker, 265.
- James, J., applicant for Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88.
- Jamestown, Kan., Journalist Barton postmaster at, 149.
- Janeway, Dr., resigns from N. Y. City health department because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Jasper, Minn., Journalist King postmaster at, 149.
- Jefferson Co., N. Y., factional fights in republican primaries of, political activity of federal office-holders, 264; postmasters and other federal employes in, political assessments levied on, 391, 392.
- Jefferson Co., Pa., bribery in, by republicans, 133.
- Jefferson, O., Editor Howells appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Jefferson, T., "four-year" law on, 45, 46; on nepotism, 46; and the civil service, 125.
- Jeffersonville, Ind., the civil service in, see New Albany Tribune, 83; Postmaster Luke of, 88; anti-Harrison worker appointed internal revenue collector for, 302.
- Jeffersonville (Ind.) News, on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215.
- Jenckes, of Rhode Island, see Eaton, 105.
- Jenckes, Rev. Dr., favors civil service reform, 73, 227, 229; a partisan, 137, 138.
- Jenkins, L. L., postmaster at Gastonia, N. Carolina, delegate for Harrison, 334.
- Jenkinson, I., editor, appointed postmaster at Richmond, Ind., 126, 377; works for Harrison, 249.
- Jenks, corporation counsel at Brooklyn, N. Y., exposes methods of McLaughlin, 318.
- Jenks, J. W., Prof., civil service reformer, 182.
- Jennings, C. E. M., editor, disappointed office seeker, opposes Sherman, 301.
- Jersey City, N. J., postmaster at removed without cause, 29; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Jessup, M. K., reports to Mayor Grant on street cleaning in New York, advises merit system, 220, 221.
- Jewell, W. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Danville, Ill., 141; political worker, 160.
- Jewett, appointed postmaster at Oregon, Ill., see Hitt, 109.
- Jewett claim, and Elkins, 290.
- Jewett, C. W., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.
- Johnson, chief of division, removed for political reasons by Conlter, 55.
- Johnson, postmaster at San Antonio, a political worker, 159.
- Johnson, Congressman, patronage of, 419.
- Johnson, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Johnson, Pres. Andrew, and scramble for offices, 24; appoints Elkins U. S. dist. att'y in N. Mexico, 368; spoils since, 413, 414.
- Johnson, C. F., editor, appointed consul-gen'l to Frankfort-on-the-Main, 301.
- Johnson, C. H., see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268.
- Johnson, E. A., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Johnson, F. W., sale of office to by Porter, D. E., 154.
- Johnson, G. W., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 296.
- Johnson, H. C., letter advocating civil service reform to Postmaster Richensteen at L. I. City, 100.
- Johnson, H. U., congressman elect, distributes patronage, 217.
- Johnson, U. S. district attorney at N. York, takes part in political squabbles, 106, 198, 352, 371.
- Johnson, J., U. S. district attorney, works for retention of Boyle, 142; U. S. dist. att'y at Brooklyn, N. Y., a political worker, 265; U. S. dist. att'y in New York convention, 335.
- Johnson, J. B., on local examining board at Milwaukee, 103.
- Johnson, J. H., on "The Merit System of Appointing City Officials," 162.
- Johnson, J. H., conditionally refused access to records of removals in postal service, 163.
- Johnson, J. H., distributes Curtis address of 1892, 329, 338.
- Johnson, J. L., passes civil service examinations for incapable applicant, 238.
- Johnson, Kan., Journalist Webster postmaster at, 149.
- Johnson, M., revenue collector, bets on Harrison, 344.
- Johnson, R. M., efficient postal employe at St. Louis, 131.
- Johnson, T. B., collector at Charleston, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Johnson, W. J., postmaster at Manchester, Mass., removed after four years service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Johnson, W. W., politician, appointed postmaster at Baltimore, Md., 90; conducts factional fights, 121; removals under without cause, charges against filed, 137; political worker, 144, 357, 372, 373; works for Harrison in primaries at Baltimore, Md., 225, 226; makes clean sweep, testimony of before Roosevelt, 189, 254, 255; see Baltimore investigation, 267, 268, 277, 278, 296; Johnson faction at Baltimore, see Baltimore investigation, 295; in Maryland convention, 335; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 347; and political assessment circular of civil service commission, 363; as a campaign fund raiser, 370.
- Johnston, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Johnston, G. D., civil service commissioner, and political assessments, 358.
- Johnston, G. D., civil service commissioner, and duties of federal employes, 384; does not favor rapid extension of classified service, 397.
- Johnston, N. Y., Postmaster Murray of, fighting for good service in, 72.
- Jones, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344.
- Jones, postmaster of Butler, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Jones, postmaster at Scranton, Pa., through influence of Congressman Scranton, 101.
- Jones, A., postmaster at Indianapolis, 1; interview on giving up office, 5; removal deserved, 9; and special exam. at Indpls. spoilsman, 18; removals under, and Moore, gambler, 28; opposed to civ. service reform, 80; appointment of, condemned, 51.
- Jones, G., proprietor N. Y. Times, enemy of spoils system, 234.
- Jones, I. A., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Jones, J. W., journalist, postmaster at Barneveld, Wis., 155.
- Jones, J. W., low politician; his "reforms," 183; journalist, postmaster at Oelrichs, S. Dak., 155.
- Jones, "Long," works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342.
- Jonesville, Minn., Journalist Henry postmaster at, 149.
- Jolley, G. W., U. S. dist. att'y in Kentucky, prosecutes federal office-holders for levying political assessments, 330.
- Judson, postmaster of Prattsville, N. Y., insane through fear of loss of office, 415.
- Julian, G. W., address of on civil service reform, 365, 367, 370, 375, 376; opposing Harrison, 386.
- Justice, H., civil service reformer, closes his subscription to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 350.
- Kane, Pa., Postmaster Davis of, worker for Delamater, 134.
- Kannett Square, Chester Co., Pa., applicants for postmaster of, 55.
- Kansas, office-seekers in, 6; discontent over spoils, 15; Congressman Perkins of opposed to civil service reform, 35; changes in post-offices in, under Harrison and Cleveland, 55; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 382; political assessments in Indian service in, 384, 385.
- Kansas City, Mo., postmaster of appoints relative Pres. Harrison his deputy, 84; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Kaontz, postmaster at Lafayette Corners, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Kaough, postmaster at Ft. Wayne, Ind., under Cleveland, political worker, 88.
- Kaufman, Rev. W. H., on civil service reform, 83; on sentiment favoring civil service reform in Utah, 111, 317.
- Kawanna, Ind., Editor Newton appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Keagh, T. B., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Kean, ex-Congressman, gets federal offices for police officers, 216.
- Keating, J. P., disreputable politician, gets office through R. Croker, 309.
- Keegan, G., fraudulent voting name, see New York City.
- Keeller H., customs inspector, pays political assessments, 279.
- Keenan, J., see Hill, 307.
- Keepers, G. A., editor, postmaster at Beallsville, O., 301.
- Kehoe, M., treasury agent, Harrison delegate to Minneapolis, 344.
- Keisburg, J., appointed to office by Township Trustee Gold at Indianapolis, 146, 256.
- Keith, P., postmaster at Strawberry Point, Iowa, veteran soldier, removed see Clarkson, 55.
- Keller, J., custom-house employe at Philadelphia, political worker for Harrison, 301.
- Kelley, councilman of Indianapolis, supports fire-chief Webster, 208.
- Kelley, C., emigrant inspector, political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Kelley, Pat., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Keller, R., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.
- Kellogg, L. E., journalist, postmaster at Waterville, Wash., 155.
- Kellog, W. P., Coleman supersedes him in control of patronage in Louisiana, 71, 304; opposes Harrison at Minneapolis, 344, 346; and War-mouth in Louisiana, 374.
- Kelly, Miss, daughter of Congressman Kelly, given office in Burlington, Kan., post-office, 188.
- Kelly, H., Congressman, secures removal of Lockwood, postmaster at Burlington, Kan., and appointment of successor, Lane, 188.
- Kemble, W. H., corrupt politician, see Quay, 106, 152; ally of Quay, and convicted, 270.
- Kendallville, Ind., Standard (repub.), favors civil service reform, 83.
- Kenealy, M. E., journalist, postmaster, at Sitka, Alaska, 155.
- Kennedy, Congressman, condemns Quay, 156, 157.
- Kennedy, C., railway mail clerk in Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Kennedy, E. K., ward politician, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Kennett, Pa., Advance (repub.), the way to get office, 55.
- Kenny, —, and census enumeration of New York City, 294.
- Kent, N. Y., Postmaster Bennett of, a political worker, 162.
- Kentucky, office-holders in, allowed to serve out terms, 73; Jolley, U. S. Dist. Att'y in, prosecutes federal office-holders, for levying political assessments, 330.
- Kenyon, J. S., sec'y republican state committee of New York, 279; at Minneapolis, 344.
- Keata, Iowa, Editor Smock, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Kercheval, S. A., corrupt politician rewarded with office, 83; worker for Harrison, 240.
- Kerens, and Russell Harrison, 359; member of national republican committee, 363.
- Kerens, R. C., and offices in Missouri, his influence, 22; and clients, 24; political workers for Harrison, 304.
- Kern, J., state senator of Indiana, and spoils methods, 408.
- Kerns, postmaster at Smethport, Pa., worker for Delamater, 134.
- Kerr, state att'y, of Maryland, and political frauds in, 335.
- Kerwin, M., editor, appointed collector internal revenue 2d New York district, 126; assisted at dinner to Clarkson, 245; collector in New York, a political worker, 265, 279; Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Kessler, grocer, appointed postmaster at Short Hills, N. J., vice Goodrich, removed for political reasons, 386.
- Kessler, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Ottawa, Kan., 149.
- Ketcham, C. K., postmaster at Ditney, Ind., solicited for political contributions, 387, 392.
- Kewanna, Ind., Editor Newton appointed postmaster at, 377.
- Key West, Fla., custom-house at not classified; number of employes in, 277.
- Keyes, Miss L. C., postmaster at Yonkers, N. Y., succeeded by politician, 150.
- Keyes, W. R., journalist, postmaster at Mountain City, Tenn., 155.
- Kidd, J. H., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Kinzie, C. H., statistics collector, a political worker, 160.
- Kiernan, J., inefficient census enumerator in N. Y. City, 294.
- Killsheimer, J. B., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Kimball, see Baltimore investigation, 327, 328.
- Kimmell, Louis, editor, appointed deputy U. S. marshal, 126.
- King, sheriff, inefficient, at Indianapolis, 315.
- King, A. E., and post-office at Baltimore, Maryland, 84.
- King, D. H., reports to Mayor Grant on street-cleaning in New York; advises merit system, 220, 221.
- King, S., efficient employe in township trustee's office at Indianapolis removed, 145, 256.
- King, S. S., journalist, postmaster at Jasper, Minn., 149.
- King, W., editor, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of Danville, Ind., 398.
- Kings Co., N. Y., republican general committee, account of fights over, 197, 198, 304; factional fight in among republicans at primaries, 264; political assessments made by chairman of republican committee of, 287; Nathan republican boss of, 352; and Harrison, Nathan controls, 354.
- Kingsley, Ia., Postmaster Gasper of forced to resign, 165.
- Kingston, Mo., Editor Spirely appointed postmaster at, 132.
- Kingston, N. Y., Hayes postmaster at, a political worker, 280; Woolren, postmaster of, political worker in New York, 336.
- Kinley, E., ward politician, see New York City.
- Kinmundy, Ill., Editor Lawson appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Kinney, J. C., appointed postmaster at Hartford, Conn., through influence of Senator Hawley, 84, 99.
- Kinsey, W. M., congressman aiding office-seekers, 15.
- Kirkpatrick, J., democrat, nominated for postmaster at South Hadley Falls, Mass., through Congressman Wallace, 157.
- Kirkus, Rev. W., favors clerical advocacy of civil service reform, 30, 48.

- Kirwin, J., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Kissel, J., navy yard employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Kittery, Me., spoils system in navy yard at, 145, 148; navy yard at, see Tracy and Reed, 153; work on war ships in navy yard at, for political reasons, 217.
- Klemme, W. H., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Knapp, J. N., postmaster at Auburn, N. Y., worker for Platt, 143; chairman New York State Republican Committee, on Platt, 258; in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Knight, ex-Senator G. A., endorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Knight, W. E., editor appointed postmaster at Grand View, Ind, 126, 377.
- Knightstown, Ind., Postmaster Sample resigns, see Congressman Browne, 118.
- Kniseley, worker for Harrison, appointed internal revenue collector, 377.
- Knowles, political worker, rewarded, see Higgins, Sen., 38.
- Kramer, C., appointed postmaster at Columbus, Neb., vice Hensley, forced to resign, 166.
- Kramer, W., candidate for sheriff, 179, 180.
- Kuhn, A., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.
- Kunzemann, J., disreputable politician, alderman New York City, 184.
- Labor, organizations of Buffalo, N. Y., support civil service reform, 228.
- Labor, and civil service reform, see Andrew, 331.
- Labor, and trades-unions of Indiana, demand non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201.
- Labor Signal favors non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 209, 215.
- Lacey, E. P., applicant for postmaster at Sullivan, Ind., 88.
- Lacey, S., wife of Editor Lacey appointed postmaster at Westcliffe, Colo., 148.
- La Cyge, Kan., Journalist Lane postmaster at, 149.
- Lafayette, Ind., Candidate Throckmorton for postmaster of, and Congressman Cheadle, 71; applicants for postmaster of, 84; Postmaster Smith of aids Michener and La Follette, 144; Postmaster Smith of a political worker, 153, 158, 377, 378; republican delegation of, and Harrison, favors Gresham, 240; worker for Harrison, 316; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 342, 379; P. O. employes of distribute campaign documents, 389.
- La Fayette, Ind., Courier (rep.) condemns spoils system, 76; opposed to congressional patronage, 83.
- Lafayette Corners, Pa., Postmaster Koontz at, worker for Delamater, 184.
- La Follette, candidate for congressman, defeated, 129; controls census service patronage, 293; candidate for congress, supported by Michener, 144, 377.
- La Grange, Ind., Editor Rerick appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- La Grange, Ind., Standard (repub.), patronage an evil, 83.
- Laird, A. J., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lake, David, corrupt politician, working for Congressman Wallace, nominated for U. S. Marshal, 132.
- Lamb, Ind., Simpson, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Lamb, W. H., old employe, appointed supt. of mails in St. Louis, 136.
- Lambert, Rev. H., pres. civil service reform association of Newton, Mass., 136; views of on present status of civil service reform criticised, 255; address of on influence of Clarkson and Wanamaker on civil service reform, 261.
- Lamont, candidate for postmaster at Apple River, Jo Daviess Co., Ill., 109.
- Lanark, Ill., candidates for postmaster of, Root given place, 109, 136.
- Laucaster, Cal., Journalist Drummond appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Lancaster, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Lancaster Co., Pa., Sen. Cameron "accorded" collectorship of internal revenue in, 47.
- Lander, Wyoming, Journalist Wynn, postmaster at, 155.
- Lane, C. R., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana Civil S. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 8; sec. Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108; on census enumeration in Indianapolis, 293.
- Lane, C. T., address of on school and civil service reform, 23.
- Lane, D. H., political worker for Quay, 299.
- Lane, E. C., journalist, postmaster at La Cyge, Kan., 149.
- Lane, J. A., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.
- Lane, J. L., federal employe, and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Lane, S. M., appointed postmaster at Burlington, Kan., through influence of Congressman Kelly, vice Lockwood, removed, 188.
- Langdon, Gen., see Chemung Co., N. Y., 259.
- Langdon, C. J., letter to by Walcott on removal of Postmaster Flood, 312.
- Langham, chairman Indiana Co., Pa., republican committee, 133.
- Langham, P. J., postmaster at Hawley, Pa., removed on secret charges, 176.
- Langsdale, appointed postmaster at Greencastle, Ind., by President Arthur, 89.
- Langsdale, postmaster at Florence, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Langston, ex-congressman, reconciliation of with Mahone, in interest of Harrison, 240, 241.
- Langstou, see Bowden, 162.
- Laugston, ex-minister, supports Blaine, 340, 345.
- Langston, J. M., and Mahone, 52.
- Lanier, C., barber at White House, goes home to vote, 180.
- Lankford, W. F., appointed postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., vice Duer, removed for political reasons, 408.
- Lansdon, B. C., editor, appointed postmaster at Nebo, Ill., 141.
- Lansing, A. W., journalist, postmaster at Plattsburgh, N. Y., 155.
- La Porte, Pa., Journalist Cheney, postmaster at, 149.
- Larke, F. D., journalist, postmaster at Rogers City, Mich., 149.
- Larkin, T., see New York, factional fights in, 241.
- La Rue, postmaster at Colfax, Wash., forced to resign, 165.
- Latham, R., postmaster at Hunterstown, Ind., removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins; Dunton appointed, 362.
- Latz, chemist for Indianapolis board of health, 314.
- Laurel, Del., Smith, postmaster of, attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.
- Laurel, Md., postmaster at, see Gorman, 38.
- Laurence, A. C., journalist, postmaster at Evansville, Minn., 149.
- Law, civil serv., and its friends exemplified in Indianapolis post-office, 26.
- Lawler, fellows in district of, made application for O'Donnell, 60.
- Lawler, T., local politician, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Lawler, T. G., postmaster at Rockford, Ill., works for Hitt, 143.
- Lawrence Co. (Indiana), applicants from, 16.
- Lawrence, Kan., civil service reform association of, 239.
- Lawrenceburg, Ind., Lucas, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Lawrenceburg, Tenn., Journalist Schrader postmaster at, 155.
- Lawrenceville, Va., postmaster at removed through influence of Mahone, despite promise to contrary, 74.
- Lawshe, A. L., editor appointed postmaster at Xenia, Ind., 71, 126, 377; political worker, 379.
- Lawson, J. D., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Lawson, R. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Kinmundy, Ill., 141.
- Lea, H. C., on patronage, 387; advocates civil service reform, denounces President Harrison's course with the civil service, 68; on pledges of reform of republican party, 92; opposed to Senator Quay, 95; open letter to President Harrison protesting against patronage of Quay, 111, 112; appeal of to voters against Quay and Delamater, 138.
- Leach, chief of division, removed for political reasons, see Coulter, 55.
- Leach, F. W., receiver of campaign levies, 134; republican politician in Pennsylvania, 361.
- League, National, of civil service reform associations, see National League.
- League, republican, convention at Syracuse, August, 1891, federal office holders at, 259.
- Learned, F. E., son of editor, appointed postmaster at Benson, Ill., 148.
- Leaycraft, W. H., political worker Candidate Benedict, 142; port warden at New York, political worker for Woodruff, 198; calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258; political worker, 304; political "boss," 311; office-seeker, 332; "boss," given office by Harrison, 355, 371.
- Lebanon, N. H., brother of Churchill postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lee, E. C., "pull" of in N. Y. custom house, supported by Platt, appointed janitor, 258, 259; at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Lee, J. E., negro, collector at Jacksonville, Fla., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lee, L. W., postmaster at Neodesha, Kan., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Lee, M. C., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Leech, D., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Leech, E. O., director of mint, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 344.
- Leeds, J. W., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Leeds, W. R., disreputable politician, nominated by Harrison for U. S. marshal in Pa., 216, 374; political worker for Quay, 270, 280; political worker for Harrison, 299, 300.
- Leet, "boss" in N. Y. custom-house, 191.
- Leffson, F., and Fassett, 265.
- Lehigh Co., Pa., control of patronage in, 47.
- Lehigh, Pa., J. P. Smith postmaster at, removed for political reasons, 39.
- Lehlbach, Congressman, on house committee of civil service, 86; politician favored by administration, 180.
- Leibhardt, P., superintendent dead letter office, political worker, 382.
- Leland, C. Jr., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lemcke, state treasurer of Indiana and Sullivan, corrupt county clerk of Marion Co. (Indianapolis), 206.
- Lemon, G. E., pension claim agent and Raum, 130.
- Lena, Ill., Journalist Lewis appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Lenox, Iowa, Editor Van Houten appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Leonard, Editor, political worker for Blaine, 302.
- Leonard, A. H., republican in Louisiana and War-mouth, 362.
- Leonard, J. R., 96; appointment as deputy, see Ransdall, 80; relative of Ransdell gets office under, 244; federal employe, worker for Harrison, 362, 382.
- Leonard, W., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302, 378.
- Letter carriers, national convention of at Detroit, requests extension of civil service law to all free delivery cities, 253.
- Leupp, F. E., editor Good Government, 357.
- Levan, L. D., appointed postmaster at Wilsou, N. Y., 39; removal of, 45.
- Leverett, G. V., civil service reformer of Cambridge, Mass., 204.
- Levy, Indian agent at Yankton, removed, 98.
- Levy, B. A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Lewis, assemblyman 21st district in New York City, 75.
- Lewis, C. A., distributes Curtis address (1892) in Indiana, 338.
- Lewis, C. S., officer Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 108.
- Lewis, E. B., journalist, postmaster at New Holland, O., 149.
- Lewis, F. A., asst. supt. of Society for Prevention of Crime in N. Y. City, see Tammany, 317.
- Lewis, J., customs inspector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lewis, J. A., applicant for postmastership at Martinsville, Ind., 399.
- Lewis, M. M., journalist, appointed postmaster at Lena, Ill., 126.
- Liberty, Tex., Journalist Chambers, postmaster at, 155.
- Lieber, Albert, ward politician, see Indianapolis, 195.
- Liggett, C. F., journalist, appointed postmaster at Chivington, Col., 141.
- Lincoln, Abraham, Pres., on evils of spoils system, 25; gives Cameron secretaryship of war in return for political aid; dismisses him, 34, 64; and civ. service reform, 76; see Welsh, 161; opposed to removals to make place for friends (1846), 211; promises of to the soldiers, 220, 274; on dangers of the spoils system, 56, 329, 367.
- Lincoln, G., postmaster at Cedar Rapids, Ia., political worker, 370.
- Lincoln Independent Republican committee of Pennsylvania condemns Quay and Delamater, 156, 161.
- Lincoln, Neb., Gere, editor, appointed postmaster at, 108; Gere, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lincoln, R. T., 15; and anti-Quay republicans, see Welsh, 161; not a candidate in 1892, 340; U. S. minister to England, political worker, 382, 389.
- Lind, congressman, on house committee on civ. service, 86.
- Lindemuth, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 407.
- Lindley, pension examiner in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Lindsey, T., political worker for Harrison, 299.
- Lindsley, J. G., ex-congressman, political worker for Platt, 265.
- Lingenfelter, H., see Baltimore investigation, 326, 327, 328.
- Lineville, Iowa, Editor Austin appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Linton (Ind.) Call condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Lippincott, Judge, trying fraudulent election officers, see also Hudson Co., N. Y., 200.
- Lipscomb, P., son of journalist, postmaster at St. George, W. Va., 155.
- List of eligibles, see Eligibles, 48.
- Litchman, C. H., political worker, rewarded, 39; treasury agent, a political worker, 179.
- Lititz, Pa., post-office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Little Bat, Indian chief, and rising at Pine Ridge S. Dak., 218.
- Little Wound, Indian chief, and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Littlejohn, G. W., journalist, postmaster at Grayson, Ky., 149.
- Llano, Tex., Journalist Galson, postmaster at, 155.
- Loane, see Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Lock, R. D., postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Lockport, N. Y., twenty federal offices in Niagara Co. filled with republicans, 30; Mayor Oliver of, spoilsman, and N. Y. civil service commission, 34; rival candidates for postmaster of; Ward, editor, and Politician Merritt, supported by Senator Hiscock, 216; federal offices of controlled by Hiscock, 259.
- Lockwood, E. M., postmaster at Burlington, Kan., removed through influence of Congressman, Kelly, 188.

- Loda, Ill., Editor Weaver appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Lodge, H. C., congressman, spoilsman, 30; obtains office for political worker, 39; evils of patronage system, un-American, speech at Lowell, July 4, 1879, 39; evil of patronage; heading to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, Aug., 1889, 41; letter of to, Civ. Service Record on civ. service reform, 69; controls patronage of Charleston navy yard, 69; and Boston custom house, 71; bill of regulating appointments of fourth-class postmasters, 115; votes aid to civil service commission, 119; bill of to regulate appointment of fourth-class postmasters, 120; and spoils in navy yard at Charleston, 153; supports civil service law, 122, 168, 169; urges extension of civil service reform, 192; upholds civil service commission; exposes Grosvenor, 203, 204; bill of for selection of fourth-class postmasters on basis of merit, 238; bill of providing for non-partisan appointment of fourth-class postmasters, commended, 321; on civil-service reform under Harrison and Cleveland, 376.
- Logan, Senator, spoilsman, 413.
- Logan, O., Journalist Pursell postmaster at, 149, 301.
- Logan, R. W., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Logansport, Ind., D. W. Tomlinson recommended as postmaster of, 88; Postmaster Tomlinson of, a political worker, 153, 158, 260, 377; federal officers work for Harrison at, 316.
- Logansport, Ind., Journal favors civ. service reform, 83; Journal bought by supporters of Harrison, including Postmaster Tomlinson, 260.
- Logansport (Ind.) Pharos, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Loman, G. W., journalist, postmaster at Chase, Kan., 148.
- Long, deputy postmaster of Vevay, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Long, member national republican committee, and political assessments, 382, 383.
- Loesch, John, political worker, see Karr, 160.
- Long, G. I., journalist, appointed postmaster at Manson, Iowa, 142.
- Long, J. D., ex-gov. Mass., signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102.
- Long, W., councilman of Indianapolis, low politician, 206.
- Long Island City, N. Y., Postmaster McKenna of, removed for political reasons, 45; removal of McKenna, postmaster of, Richtenstien appointed, 54; Postmaster Richtenstien of, 100; Postmaster McKenna of, removed on secret charges, 175.
- Loomis, F. M., address of Central Labor Union, of Buffalo, N. Y., controversy with Buffalo Evening News on civil service reform, 44; weakening influence of office holding, 75.
- Lorenz, P. O., employe at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Lorimer, "Billy," recommends O'Donnell, 59.
- Louisburg, Kan., Journalist Cadwallader postmaster at, 149.
- Louisiana, see Warmouth, patronage of, conflict over, see Kellogg, 71; patronage of given to Warmouth, collector at New Orleans, 241; federal patronage in used for re-nomination of Harrison, 304; political activity of federal officers in, 315, 346, 348, 357, 383, 384; political assessments in, 383.
- Louisville Commercial (repub.), civ. service reform beneficial to party discipline, 65.
- Lourie, postmaster at Portland, Ind., removed, 46.
- Loutham, C. M., deputy int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Love, J., candidate, views of on patronage; office-brokerage, 23; defeated candidate and sale of offices, see "Sale of Offices," 32, 99.
- Love, J. W., employed in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Loveland, state senator of Indiana, opposes spoils methods, 408.
- Loving, J. T., postmaster at Richmond, Va., removed for political reasons, 21.
- Low, ex-gov., indorses Bush, political worker, 187.
- Low, E. B., political worker, appointed postmaster at Westport, N. Y., through influence of Congressman Weaver, 249.
- Low, J., collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., through influence of Hiscock, 259; customs collector at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., a political worker, 265.
- Low, W. G., offers prize for essay on civil service reform, 308.
- Lowe, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Lowe, C., P. O. employe, political worker, 302, 378.
- Lowell, J. R., on evils of spoils system, in address of Cambridge and Boston Civil Service Reform Associations, 77; civil service reformer, 201; opposed to spoils system, 254.
- Lowell, Mrs. J. S., in charge of examination for police matron at N. York, see Maloney.
- Lowell (Mass.) Courier (repub.) declares Sen. Blair, of New Hampshire, not a good republican for denouncing civil service reform, 65.
- Lowery, Judge, levies political assessments, 287.
- Lowe, J. E., political worker in Ohio, 280.
- Lowrey, B. J., journalist, postmaster at Howard City, Mich., 149.
- Lowrey, J. E., asks political contributions from Ohio employes in Washington departments, 280.
- Lowry, postmaster at Portland, Ind., removed; Marsh appointed through influence of Browne, 88.
- Lowry, congressman, nomination of, 37.
- Lowry, federal employe, and printing office, 231.
- Lozler, chaplain, political worker, 389.
- Lucas, Rev., thinks civ. service reform a humbug, 73.
- Lucas, postmaster of Lawrenceburg, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Lucas, bank president, gambles in stocks with Wanamaker, 246.
- Ludell, Kan., Journalist Chase postmaster at, 149.
- Lnke, A. M., postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ind., removed by Cleveland, reappointed by Harrison, 88.
- Lush, R., ward politician, see New York City.
- Lnsh, R. M., at Minneapolis convention, 314.
- Lnsk, V. S., political worker for Harrison in North Carolina, 334.
- Lu Verne, Ia., Postmaster Harrison of a political worker, 260.
- Lyford, book commissioner for New Hampshire, 143.
- Lyman, civil service commissioner and special examiner at Indianapolis, 18, 49, 81, 372; and R. R. mail service, 21; unfit, allows postmaster at Milwaukee to ignore civil service law, 103; and political assessments, 358; and duties of employes, 384; report of, 397.
- Lynch, A. F., see Quay, 106.
- Lynch, J. R., negro, 4th auditor of treasury, political worker, 47; 4th auditor of the treasury, delegate for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345.
- Lynch, T. M., worker for Flower, appointed port warden, career of, 319.
- Lyon, C. D., editor, appointed postmaster at Milo, Iowa, 142.
- Lyon, G. W., appointed by Pres. Harrison surveyor of Port of Brooklyn, N. Y., 55; supports Platt faction, 183; and Fassett, collector at, 258; in New York convention, 334; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343.
- Lyon, W., U. S. attorney, active politician, works for Delamater, 143; supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Lyon, W. C., editor, formerly postmaster at Newark, O., 301.
- MacCourt, P. C., removed by Sec'y Windom, appeals to Pres. Harrison, 54.
- MacDonald, W. A., recommended by Congressman Cheadle, 84.
- MacDuffy, Rev. M. V., on civil service reform, 83.
- MacGovern, supports Gillette for postmaster at Hartford, Conn., 84.
- MacGovern, "Pat," and Hartford, Conn., postmaster-ship, 99.
- MacGowan, Capt. A. B., denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130.
- MacGregor, Capt. J. G., so-called resignation of, 216.
- MacKnight, Rev. Dr. W. J., on civil service reform, 83.
- MacNeal, street car company and ordinance, bribery used against, 207.
- MacVeagh, W., ex-attorney general, on Mahone in Virginia, 31; to examine management of civil service, 77; on committee of National League to investigate congressional patronage, 115; on committee of National League to investigate patent office, 139, 140, 141; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; on committee of National League, reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; on committee of National League, reports on political changes in presidential post-offices, 188; and Quay, 245; and defalcation made by Quay, 252; on official committee of National League investigating census service, 291, 295.
- Macaulay, "Dan" treasury employe, political worker, 362.
- Macanley, T., Lord, 228.
- Macdonough, A. R., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Mace, J. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Saybrook, Ill., 141.
- Mack, chairman Iowa State Republican Committee, makes political assessments, 240.
- Macy, Ind., Editor Enyart appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Madison, James, on abuse of civil-service by Presidents, 17, 29; letter to, from Thomas Jefferson opposing spoils system, 45, 46; advises impeachment of any President making removals for political reasons, 62; on removals, 115.
- Madison, Ind., spoils system in town government of, 331.
- Madison Co., Ind., appointments from, 71.
- Madison, Wis., census of 1890 not well conducted in, postmaster of controls census patronage, 293.
- Magee, C. L., opposed to Quay, 280, 353; allies with Quay, 299; and Quay reconciled, 361, 363.
- Magee, J. H., and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110, 356.
- Magee, R., favors civ. service reform, 80; state senator of Indiana, bill of, for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, opposition to and support of, defeated, 201, 202, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215; speech of, at dinner to Roosevelt, 227, 229; and spoils methods, 408.
- Magone, collector and office-seekers, 38; political assessments under, 97; secures appointment of Dncy as head of custom civ. service at New York, 150; removals under, 183.
- Mahan, John, editor, appointed postmaster at Mns catine, 46.
- Mahany, R. B., U. S. minister to Ecuador, political worker, 382.
- Mahin, F., editor, appointed postmaster at Clinton, Iowa, 126.
- Mahone, W., a spoilsman, 5, 35, 43, 45, 171, 211, 227, 289, 350, 369, 376, 387, 413; patronage of Virginia given to by Pres. Harrison, 27, 28, 41, 52, 56, 67, 72, 94, 111, 138, 172, 173, 174; history of political career of, 31; secures appointment of J. G. Watts as U. S. marshal, 38; assisted by republican national committee, gets control of Virginia patronage, 38; exercised patronage of Virginia with disastrous effects, 67, 68; and election in Virginia, 70; and postmastership at Lawrenceville, Va., 74; methods of condemned, 75; and civil service commission, 86; controls Petersburg, Va., 1882, 87, 111, 138; blackmailing system of, 228; conspires with Gorman, 234; Pres. Harrison responsible for failure to prosecute, 237; reconciliation of with ex-Congressman Langston, in interest of Harrison, 240, 241; course of prosecution against agents of, for political assessments, 281, 282; "blackmailers," trial and acquittal of, 305, 376; deserts Harrison, 332; "blackmailers," and Judge Bradley, 357, 358; and election of Harrison, 370, 413.
- Mahoney, Tom, ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall.
- Mahopac Falls, N. Y., Postmaster Agar of, a political worker, 162.
- Mail service, railway, see railway mail service.
- Maine, senators fight over spoils, 22; democrats holding four-year offices being retained, 73; patronage of, see Boutelle, 157; political activity of federal office-holders in, 364.
- Mair, G. B., journalist, postmaster at Calloway, Neb., 149.
- Malden, Mass., civil service reform association of, 239.
- Malone speech of Pres. Harrison, 357.
- Malone, M., worker for ex-Judge Rooney and Congressman Wallace, given office, 143.
- Maloney, J., employe in Indianapolis insane hospital, low character, 314.
- Mamer, collector, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Manchester, Mass., Postmaster Johnson of, removed after four years' service; second commission unexpired, 187.
- Manchester, N. H., Postmaster Piper of, active politician, 143.
- Manchester (N. H.), Republican, civil service reform a humbug, 50.
- Manchester, Vt., Journalist Simonds postmaster at, 155.
- Manderson, Senator, and applicants from Nebraska, 6; and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72; secures appointment of Gere, editor, as postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108.
- Maneely, W., fraudulent voter, see Martin.
- Manker, Coroner, at Indianapolis, 314, 315.
- Manley, J., appointed postmaster at Augusta, Me., 38; chairman state republican committee, 150; congressional candidate opposing Burleigh, and non-delivery of papers advocating Burleigh, 364; resigns, 371; confers with Quay, 390.
- Mann, —, census supervisor in West Virginia, spoilsman, 293.
- Mann, G. H., appointed through Quay, removed, 160.
- Mannfield, Fla., Editor Miles appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Mannheim, Pa., politician appointed postmaster at, 12, 72.
- Manning, ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y.
- Manning, D., Sec'y, promotes MacGregor, removed by Sec'y Foster, 216; and Maynard, 310; recommends appointment of Graves as chief of bureau of printing and engraving, 368.
- Mansfield, postmaster at Gloucester, Mass., 362.
- Manson, Iowa, Journalist Long, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Manson, M. D., efficient internal revenue collector in Indiana, removed for political reasons, 59; letter of President Harrison to, 77; removal of, 94.
- Maplewood, N. H., Craft, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Marche, T., acting supt. free delivery service, letter to, from Murray postmaster at Johnston, N. Y., 72.
- Marcy, Governor, and the civil service, 125; "spoils," 270, 274.
- Mare Island, Cal., navy yard at, patronage of given to ward bosses, 226.
- Marietta, O., Editor Alderman postmaster of, 301.
- Marietta, Pa., post office at, see Brosius, 72.
- Marine, S. A., editor, appointed pension agent, 126.
- Marine, W. M., collector at Baltimore, see Baltimore investigation, 326, 327, 328; political worker, 354, 389.
- Marion, Ind., Gant, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Marion, Ind., Chronicle [repub.], favors civil service reform, 83.
- Marion, Ohio, Independent, son of editor of gets federal office, 301.
- Marion Club [repub.], of Indianapolis, 362.
- Marion Co., Ind., local politics and career of corrupt politicians in, see Indianapolis; office-seekers in rewarded, 88; 50 applicants for jan-

- torship of court-house of, 185; medical society condemns appointment of Dr. Elbert as pension examiner vice Stone removed, 192; medical society of endorses Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, see Magee, 201, 210.
- Markey, T., councilman of Indianapolis, low politician, methods of, 53, 195, 196, 206, 316; supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Marlatt, W. P., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Marriott, J. H., see Baltimore investigation, 278.
- Marsh, P. O. employe, of New Albany, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Marsh, bank president, and stock fraudulently issued to Wanamaker, 246.
- Marsh, C. T., postmaster at Oregon, Ill., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Marsh, E. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Portland, Ind., 46, 88, 126; political worker, 377, 380.
- Marsh, W. C., postmaster at Aurelia, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Marshall, T., government contractor, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Martin, editor, postmaster at Port Clinton, O., 301.
- Martin, Congressman, favors selection of postmasters by vote, 399; bill of to limit term of federal employes to four years, 404; patronage of, 411, 419, 420.
- Martin, C., political worker against Chase, 353.
- Martin, D., low politician, Sen. Quay obtains appointment of, as collector internal revenue, 30, 351; agt. of Sen. Quay, resolutions, 49; confers with Quay, 183; aids Quay to ruin ballot reform bill in Pa. legislature, 228, 229; political freebooter, 232, 233, 239, 364, 370, 388; resigns internal revenue collectorship at Philadelphia, 241; political worker for Quay, 280, 299, 300, 361, 374; member for Pennsylvania of republican national committee, 347.
- Martin, D. W., postmaster at Oakford, Ind., succeeded by Cronsore, latter removed. Martin reappointed, 96.
- Martin, H., post-office employe in Baltimore investigation, 268, 277, 295, 296.
- Martin, J., politician, see Tammany, 318, 319.
- Martinsville, Ind., Dryden postmaster of, political worker, 380; J. A. Lewis and J. Duncan applicants for postmastership of, 399.
- Marvin, U. S. commissioner, testifies to worth of Barrio, removed P. O. inspector, 298.
- Maryland, see also Platforms, Conventions; Senator Quay in, 28; civ. service in under Cleveland, 15, 63; federation of republican clubs in 3d district of, and reform pledges of republican platform, 63; effort to loosen Sen. Gorman's hold on, meets with some success, 70; statistics of election of '89 in, 70; ballot reform in, see Gorman, 87; patronage of, given to Gorman, 93, 111, 236, 237; Roosevelt before civil service reform association of, 132; republican clubs and Clarkson, 154; republican factions in, 189; boss-ridden, 219; state and federal patronage of controlled by Gorman under Cleveland, by republican machine under Harrison, 254; 1890 census well conducted in part of, 292; under Cleveland given over to spoils, 282; spoil given to Higgins in, 314; Bonaparte on political corruption in, 317, 324; political activity of, federal officers in, 335, 337, 347, 348, 363, 370; political assessments levied on federal office-holders from, 391.
- Maryland, civil service reform association of, letter to by G. W. Curtis, 103; resolutions of condemning congressional patronage, 136; requested to investigate political activity of federal officers, 219.
- Mason, ex-mayor of Vineland, N. J., refutes charges against Brewster, removed postmaster at Vineland, 39.
- Mason, Congressman, and Chicago post-office, 22.
- Mason, A. B., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Mason, G. H., P. O. employe in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Mason, J. W., commissioner of internal revenue, and the offices, 21; active politician, 159, 180.
- Maspeth, L. I., postmaster at, removed to make room for politician, see Mooney, 39.
- Mass, J., federal employe, in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Massachusetts, civil service commission of, see Civil service commission of; see also Platforms, Conventions; civ. service law of, see Civ. service law; merit system in, 45, 52; civil service reform in, under Cleveland, 63; congressmen of, and congressional patronage, 93; petition circulated in for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 93; legislature of favors civil service reform in navy yards, 93, 274; result of elections of 1890, to strengthen civil service reform cause, 173; civil service reform in use in state and city offices in, 212; young men's republican club of recognize civil service reform as leading issue, 219; reform club of H. Welsh speaks before, on Indian service removals, 219; examination papers used in state census service of, 219, 220; reform club of gives dinner to Corse, 251; methods used by state of, in collecting statistics, 291; 1890 census well conducted in, 292; labor service system recommended by Congressman Andrew 306; labor service in, 321; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 362; congressmen of request retention of Corse postmaster at Boston, 367.
- Massachusetts Civ. Service Reform Ass'n and Pres. Harrison, 92; starts petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. commission, 102; condemns removal of Corse, postmaster at Boston, see also Civil Service Record, 213; resolutions of, 1892, 398.
- Massey, G. V., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Mastin, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Shannon, Ill., 141.
- Mathers, deputy U. S. marshal in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Mathews, delegate from Dakota dictates appointments in his territory, 30.
- Mathias, J., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- Matson, congressman, secures appointment of postmaster at Plainfield, Ind., 30; in document No. 2 of Ind. Civil Service Reform Association, 30; henchmen work for renomination, 37.
- Matthews, A., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- Matthews, Asa, appointed first comptrollership of the treasury, 21; and printing office, 284; political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Matthews, A. L., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, C., governor-elect of Indiana, and office-seekers, 403.
- Matthews, "Johnny," gambler, friend of police justice Divver, 184.
- Matthews, S. S., deputy postmaster at Winona, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Matthews, T. B., deputy coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, W. H., negro, deputy collector internal revenue in Georgia, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Matthews, W. S., sec'y state republican executive committee, Ohio, and political assessments, 280.
- Maxwell land grant, and Elkins, 290, 369.
- May, Colonel, politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- May, Pa., postmaster at, see Brosius, 72.
- May, Rev. J., spoils system, immoral, 85; on Quayism, 162.
- Mayers, J. T., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Mayfield, A. W., journalist, postmaster at Elmwood, Neb., 149.
- Maynard, J. H., deputy att'y-gen. of New York, and Dutchess Co., N. Y., election frauds, 306; corrupt worker for Hill, appointed appellate judge by Flower; career of, 309, 310.
- Mayo, Commodore, commandant navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Mayors of cities of N. Y., and N. Y. civil service commission, 34.
- Mayse, W., authorized to receive political subscriptions, 179.
- Maywood, J., journalist, postmaster at Bad Axe, Mich., 149.
- McAdam, Judge, buys nomination of Tammany, 184.
- McAlister, R., political worker and briber, 134.
- McAlpin, E. A., appointed postmaster at Sing Sing, N. York, in reward of party services, 108; at convention republican league, 259; president of N. Y. state league of republican clubs, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- McCain, G. W., efficient officer, removed from police service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 220, 228.
- McCarren, P. H., ward politician of Brooklyn, N. Y., 263; East River Bridge, bill of scandal of, 317.
- McCarthy, J. J., customs inspector, active politician, 179.
- McCarthy, J., nominee of Congressman Banks, superseded by nominee of Congressman Lodge, 39.
- McCauley, J. C., postmaster at Searcy, Ark., removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Rogers appointed, 187.
- McCaull, P. H., int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- McChesney, Dr. C. E., Indian agent, false charges against, 130, 218.
- McClellan, Congressman, patronage of, 422.
- McClellan, L., office-seeker in Indiana Senate, 407.
- McClelland, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- McClung, D. W., relative of Pres. Harrison, appointed collector internal revenue First Ohio district, 30.
- McClure, C. M., appointment of, charges of favoritism regarding, refuted by Roosevelt, 266, 267.
- McClure, D., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- McComas, Congressman, upholds civil service law, 125; upholds civil service commission, 203.
- McComas, member of national republican committee, 363.
- McConnellsville (O.) Herald, editor of appointed to federal office, 301.
- McCoy, S. M., political worker for Cuney, 159.
- McCreery, C., given office by Gold, township trustee at Indianapolis, 256.
- McCulloch, Rev. O. C., an independent, 313.
- McDaniel, Lock, political worker for Cuney, 159.
- McDonald, fish commissioner, gets civil service law extended to fish commission, 332.
- McDonald, Ex-Senator, on permanence of political issues, 214; his place in politics, 241.
- McDonald, Kan., Journalist Sedgwick postmaster at, 149.
- McDonald, R. T., opposed to Harrison, 303; appeals to Clarkson against political activity of federal officers, 317, 362; on political activity of federal office-holders in Indiana, 379.
- McDonough, C., ward politician, see Buffalo, N. Y., 196.
- McDougal, C., ex-U. S. marshal in N. Y., calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- McDowell, congressional candidate bribes, 151.
- McElvaue, W. J., editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- McFarlane, low politician, 54, 94, 96, 112.
- McFarland, H., appointed in government printing-office, totally unfit, 34; henchman, 35; disreputable politician, 138, 173, 181; federal office-holder, a political worker, 269, 378, 382.
- McGill, J., worker at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- McGinness, W. T., postmaster at Minden, Neb., forced to resign, 166.
- McGoogle, Dr., appointed postmaster at Arcola, Ind., vice Rockhill, removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, 362.
- McGrew, federal employe and printing office, 234.
- McGroarty, J., port warden of Brooklyn, N. Y., career of, 319.
- McGroarty, N., anti-Harrison man "placated," 347.
- McHenry, Ill., Editor Van Slyke appointed postmaster at, 141.
- McHugh, State Senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 408.
- McIntosh, J., letter to regarding Kingsley, Ia., post-office, see Gasper, 165.
- McIntyre, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods, 407.
- McKain, A. A., part of address at annual meeting of Indiana Civil S. Ref. Assoc., 1889, 8.
- McKane, J. Y., corrupt politician working for Congressman Wallace, 132; low politician in New York, given patronage, 352.
- McKay, N., presents "San Domingo" cutlass to Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, "to be used in beheading democrats," 258.
- McKean, appointed postmaster at Pittsburg, Pa., through influence of Quay, 90; spoilsman, 133.
- McKee, F., relative of Pres. Harrison appointed deputy collector of customs at Port Townsend, 30.
- McKelvey, state senator of Indiana, spoilsman, 407, 408.
- McKenna, Congressman J., secures removal of Mrs. McKinley, 90.
- McKenna, J. A., postmaster at Long Island City, removed despite protests and petitions, 45, 54; removed on secret charges, 175.
- McKenzie, A., controls patronage in N. Dakota, 216.
- McKinley, Mrs. L. W., postmistress at Winters, Cal., removed through influence of McKenna, 90.
- McKinley, W., political workers of rewarded, 52; platform of, 105; favors civil service commission, 119; thanked by Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; supports civil service law, 124, 168, 169; fulfillment of party pledges, 168; holds competitive examinations for candidates for West Point, 254, 262; candidate for governor of Ohio, 280; political assessments for, 287; vote for in Minneapolis convention, 340, 343; tariff bill of in Louisiana, 345.
- McKnight bill, passage of, see Tammany, 317.
- McLain, J. R., journalist, postmaster at Della Plain, Tex., 155.
- McLaughlin, applicant for postmastership at Franklin, Ind., 88.
- McLaughlin, inspector in police department, examiner of police at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- McLaughlin, political boss, 132, 318, 319, 414; patronage of in N. Y. state offices, 215; boss of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Croker, 245; and Hill, 309, 356; Hill gives Brooklyn bridge patronage to, 350; deals with Nathan, 352.
- McLean, A., given office by Tammany; career of, 355.
- McLean, D., politician, delegate to republican national convention, appointed general appraiser port of N. Y., 30; becomes political worker, 108.
- McMackin, J., custom-house employe in N. Y. City, a political worker, 279.
- "McMains" charges against Elkins, 291.
- McManes, J., 30; and appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, as collector of internal revenue in Penn., 232, 233, 241, 351, 374.
- McMillan, Senator, controls federal office-holders in Michigan, 335; supporter of Blaine, 344, 346.
- McMillin, Congressman, and civil service law, 124.
- McMullen, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- McMullin, C. A., journalist, postmaster at Benedict, Kan., 148.
- McNagney, Congressman, patronage of, 410, 422.
- McNew, J., clerk in Indiana Senate, 408.
- McNulta, Gen'l, attributes republican demoralization in Illinois to Harrison's use of patronage, 240.
- McNutt, A., P. O. employe, see Indianapolis investigation, 411.
- McPheeters, postmaster of Bloomington, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- McPherson, controls patronage in Penn., 84.
- McQuinn, B., postmaster in Benton Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- McVickar, Rev. W. M., favors clerical recognition of civ. service reform, 40.
- McWhinney, T. A., political worker in New York, 264.
- Meacham, F. L., journalist, appointed postmaster at Plainview, Miss., 126.

- Meade, C. W., police justice, in New York convention, 334.
- Melrose, W. H., journalist, postmaster at Eskridge, Kan., 149.
- Memphis, Tenn., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292; Patterson, postmaster of, celebrates re-nomination of Harrison, 347.
- Merit system, in fighting trim, 25; and individual mauhood, 256.
- Merrill, Col., endorsed by Harrison's regiment, 89.
- Merritt, H. F., consul, removed for political reasons, 371.
- Merritt, J. A., politician, supported by Senator, Hiscock for postmaster at Lockport, N. Y., 216.
- Merser, G. A., on committee of National League to investigate political assessments, 338.
- Meschert, removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Messerne, C. F., officer in Indian service, asked for political contribution, 385.
- Metcalfe, Dr., of Indiana State Board of Health, inefficient, 315, 316.
- Metcalfe, appraiser at port of St. Louis, active politician, 143.
- Metzger, R., republican politician, on political activity of federal office-holders in Indianapolis, 378.
- Meyer, H. A., Nathan's candidate for mayor of Brooklyn, 287.
- Micheuer, L. T., chairman Indiana Republican State Committee, uses 4th class post-offices to make republican machine, 67; obtains removal of Suffall, postmaster at Freedom, Ind., and appointment of Watts, 112; and Harrison, 121, 354; attorney-general of Indiana, controls federal patronage of, 141, 173, 377, 378; politician, partner of Dudley, 189; worker for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 340, 342, 345.
- Michigan, Editor J. B. Stone appointed collector internal revenue 1st district of, 30; distribution of spoils in, by the democrats, results in defeat, 45; political activity of federal office-holders in, 335, 348, 390.
- Middlefield, O., Journalist Mordock postmaster at, 149.
- Middleton, A. R., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Middleton, D. C., chairman Jefferson Co., N. Y., republican committee levies political assessments, 392.
- Middleton, J. H., postmaster at West Hoboken, N. J., removed and no reasons given, Klumpp appointed, 176.
- Miles, Genl., on Indian abuses, 182; and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Miles, G. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Mannfield, Fla., 141.
- Milholland, J. E., chief inspector of immigration at New York, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; at convention of Republican League, 259; political worker, 265; federal employe, removed for political activity, 332, 334.
- Miller, A. J., office-holder, a political worker, 162.
- Miller, J., postmaster at Utica, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Miller, S. D., son of att'y-general, gets office, 242; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 339, 346.
- Miller, T., congressional candidate, offers bribes, 162.
- Miller, T. A., postmaster at Tuscaloosa, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Miller, T. C., physician, son of and competitive examinations for West Point, see Warwick.
- Miller, Warner, heads political faction, 75, 264, 353, 354; faction of, opposed to Platt, 259, 260; and Harrison, 337, 347; "placation" of, 360, 361.
- Miller, Attorney-Gen., appointees must be good men and republicans, 25, 35; and office-seekers, 37; rules of for appointment, 44; innuendo of Delphi Journal, 85; goes home to vote, 180; an independent in 1872; denounces Pres. Grant, 191, 192; and fraudulent cartage bids at N. Y. custom house, 216; and G. B. Ramm, Jr., 228; and printing office, 234; and Ramm investigation, 238; solicits campaign funds for Harrison, 240; invites criticism, 310; and Baltimore investigation, 329, 330; estimates Minneapolis convention, 345, 338; and Baltimore investigation, 372; and removal of Justice Sandford, 374; and political assessments, 387, 391, 392; political worker, 291, 389.
- Millersburg, O., editor appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Milligan, Congressman, civ. service reform, state of civ. service in his district, 73.
- Millikan, F. M., sec'y Indiana republican state committee, asks for political contributions, 387.
- Milliken, W. F., supported by T. Reed (Me.) for customs collector, 22; and J. Manley in Maine, 364.
- Milliken, N. J., journalist, postmaster at Canandaigua, N. Y., 155.
- Milo, Iowa, Editor Lyon appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Milwaukee, Wis., investigation of post-office at by civ. service commission adverse to postmaster, 36, 53; Paul, postmaster of resigns, 44, 47, 103, 104; Editor Watrous appointed collector at, former incumbent removed without cause, 71; civ. service reform in post-office at, 95; Postmaster Paul of removes Shidy, witness against him, 101, 103; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Milwaukee Sentinel [repub.], condemns Clarkson, 66.
- Minden, Neb., Postmaster McGinness of, forced to resign, 166.
- Miuisters, see also church.
- Miuister as citizen, from address of Congressman G. F. Williams, 239.
- Ministers, duty of to advocate civ. service reform, 71.
- Ministers, foreign, haste in removing, by Pres. Harrison, 27.
- Minneapolis, republican national convention at 1892; federal office-holders of delegates to, 337, 348, 357; nominations of, indorsed by Indiana federal office-holders at Washington, 354; Indiana delegates to refuse to pay assessments, 363; political activity of federal office-holders at, 349, 350, 364, 365, 370, 375, 379, 382; selection of delegates for, and political activity in, of federal office-holders in Indiana, 378, 380.
- Minneapolis Journal (rep.), denounces Harrison's surrender to spoils system, 177.
- Minnesota, senators of, at war over spoils, 30; political activity of federal office-holders in, 344, 348.
- Mississippi, appointees to Indian service from, under Cleveland, 219; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 339, 345, 341, 343, 337, 382.
- Missouri, removals in, 22; patronage in, 24, 52; spoils system in, 51; control of patronage in Sixth district of, 55; republicans of, think Clarkson too slow, 62; sale of offices in, 93; patronage in, given to Filley, 226; political activity of federal office-holders in, 336, 345, 346; Kerens for Harrison, chosen committeeman of delegation of, to Minneapolis convention; 346; political assessment of federal employes from, 383.
- Missonri, civil service reform association of, annual meeting of, 38; and removals in postal service, 92; report to on the civil service, 136; annual meeting, 1891; proceedings, 239.
- Mitchell, Sen., controls patronage in Oregon, 32; and Indians, 42.
- Mitchell, U. S. district att'y, and proposed prosecution of Van Cott and Hendricks, 287.
- Mitchell, B., federal employe, political worker in Indiana, 353.
- Mitchell, C. H., appointed patent commissioner by Harrison; efficient, 140.
- Mitchell, Ind., sale of postmastership at, see Wood and Hobbs, 89.
- Mitchell, W. A., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 268, 277, 296.
- Mizell, J. R., U. S. marshal, letter to C. C. Kirk, 90.
- Mizer, J. R., chairman Florida republican state committee, appointed U. S. marshal, 30.
- Moberly, Missouri, postmaster at, uses census enumerators as political workers, 131.
- Mobile, Ala., Baker, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Mohler, O. E., editor, "no Harrison republicans outside of office-holding ring," 240; on supporters of Harrison, 378.
- Moline, Kan., Journalist Armstrong postmaster at, 149.
- Molloy, J. R., sec'y Ohio republican state committee, levies political assessments, 390, 391.
- Moloney, Mrs. L., beggar, placed at top of eligible list for police matron of N. Y. City through political influence, 404.
- Monaghan, W., chairman Ohio republican state committee, given office, 46.
- Monahan, State Senator J., uses influence for O'Donnell, 59.
- Moncrief, Prof., 11; letter on ministers and civil service reform, 15.
- Money, J., chairman Tennessee delegation to republican national convention, 1888, appointed U. S. minister, 39.
- Monroe, Ia., Editor Vandermaast appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Monson, Mass., reappointment of democrat Harrington postmaster at, recommended by Congressman Rockwell, 188.
- Montagne, removal of for political reasons, 56.
- Montana, political activity of federal office-holders in, 337, 339, 342, 344.
- Montgomery, patent commissioner, spoilsman, 139, 140.
- Montgomery, postmaster at Bristol, Conn., recommended for re-appointment by Congressman Simonds, 91.
- Montgomery, Editor, see Greenfield, Ind., 89.
- Montgomery, J. A., appointed superintendent in Chicago post-office, 14.
- Moody, Sen., and Indian service, opposes Morgan, Indian commissioner, 79; appoints his son to office, 84; and Yankton Indian agency, 86; controls patronage in Indian service, 218.
- Moutoux, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Moony, Miss., postmaster at Maspeth, L. I., removed on secret charges, place given to politician, 39.
- Moore, congressman and postmaster at Nashua, N. H., 73; favors civil service reform, 100, 123.
- Moore, E. H., gambler, discharged by Postmaster Jones, re-appointed by Postmaster Wallace, at Indianapolis, 18, 25; defended by Wallace and Asst. Postmaster Thompson, 28.
- Moore, A., deputy U. S. marshal and political worker in Indiana, 302, 353, 370, 375, 379.
- Moore, G. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Nara Springs, Iowa, 142.
- Moore, M., low political worker, controls patronage under Census Supervisor Conger, 129, 182; controls patronage in census service at Indianapolis, gets lists of voters of enumerators, 293; believes in political assessments, 332; chairman Republican County Committee at Indianapolis, attempts to bully Postmaster Thompson, 366. "Morals of Civil Service Reform," by L. M. Blackford, 136.
- Morey, Congressman, spoilsman, 15, 24.
- Morgan, state senator of Indiana, and spoils methods, 408.
- Morgan, editor and office-seeker, 16.
- Morgan, Indian commissioner, appoints his wife his private sec'y, 38; rules governing tenure of office in Indian service, 44; opposition to appointment of, 78; removals under in Indian service, 78, 79; and congressional barons, 86; not responsible for home rule policy, 98; upholds Harrison's Indian policy, 202; does not control appointments, 217.
- Morgan, G. H., democrat, re-appointed postmaster at Newton, Mass., 224.
- Morgan, W. B., customs collector at Buffalo, N. Y., a political worker, 265, 390.
- Morley, John, on slavery, 116.
- Morning Star (Baptist), advocates civil service reform, 30.
- Morris, alderman, political worker for Harrison in New York, 332.
- Morris, Ill., Journalist Fletcher appointed postmaster at, political worker, 126, 186.
- Morris, S. V., brother-in-law of Pres. Harrison, given office, 108.
- Morrison, D., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Morse, E. A., opposed to retention of Spear, postmaster at Springfield, Mass., 86; and Postmaster Harlow at Whitman, 100; secures appointment of Adams, postmaster at Quincy, Mass., 100; gets office for his nephew, 108; correspondence of regarding postmastership of Plymouth, Mass., 187.
- Morse, F. C., appointed postmaster at Colfax, Wash., vice La Rue, forced to resign, 165.
- Morse, H. E., customs collector at Cape Vincent, N. Y., a political worker, see also Jefferson Co., N. Y., 266.
- Morse, S. B., negro federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Morss, S. E., of Indianapolis Sentinel, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; supporter of Cleveland at Chicago convention, 350.
- Morton, C. B., politician in Brooklyn, opposing Nathan, 304, 371.
- Morton, Vice-President, opposes appointment of Ritchie, postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126; surety for Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258; Fassett favors at suggestion of Platt, 259; confers with Quay, 390.
- Morton, O. T., on popular objections to civil service reform, 85, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119; attends dinner at Indianapolis to Roosevelt, speech of, 227, 229, 231; and levying of political assessments by Allen, 322, 331; on civil service reform, 396.
- Mosley, R. A., politician, appointed collector internal revenue in Alabama, 56; faction of, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 346; in Alabama, leader of Harrison faction, 348.
- Mott, J. J., opposes Eaves, 150, 159.
- Moulton, W. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Stuart, Iowa, 142.
- Mt. Morris, Ill., F. Tice appointed postmaster at, see Hitt, 109.
- Mt. Vernon, Ind., editor, son of Governor Hovey, appointed postmaster at, 37, 71; postmaster at and Sen. Harrison, 96; Hovey, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Mountain City, Tenn., Journalist Keyes postmaster at, 155.
- Monnts, H., depnty collector at Indianapolis, worker against Chase, 352, 353, 379.
- Mowry, L. D., removed by Von Landberg, Hiscock appointed, 150.
- Moyer, H. B., journalist, postmaster at Freeburgh, Pa., 149.
- Mudd, S. E., congressman, political worker, 144; candidate, and political assessments, 162; ex-congressman, demands removal of Roosevelt, 226, 254.
- Mngwmp, defense of in Indianapolis News, 351; abuse of by republicans, 405.
- Mullen, Neb., Journalist Hammell postmaster at, 149.
- Mulligan, Mrs., appointed pension agent at Chicago, to succeed Miss Sweet, 107.
- Mulligan letters, 365.
- Mulliken, postmaster at Easton, Ind., in state convention, 335.
- Multnomah Co., Oregon, census service in, inefficient, 295.
- Muncie, Ind., political situation in, discontent of office-seekers, 88; applicants for postmastership of, Ellis appointed, 217; Ellis postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316, 362, 370, 378.
- Mundelle, R. B., discharged by Jones, postmaster at Indianapolis, reinstated by Wallace, postmaster at Indianapolis, 27, 34.
- Munroe, Ind., Stewart appointed postmaster of, resigns; G. Webster appointed; applicant Davis given another position, 86.
- Muuson, A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.

- Murchison letter, 92.
- Murdock, C. B., journalist, postmaster at Middlefield, O., 119.
- Murphysborough, Ill., Postmaster Andrews of forced to resign, 165.
- Murphy E., mayor of Troy, Tammany chief, patronage of in N. Y. state offices, 215; corrupt politician, 307, 396; given office, 319; and prison patronage, 330; opposes mngwumps, 351; and nomination of Cleveland, 355; Cleveland refuses, while candidate, to pledge spoils to, 395; Cleveland opposes election of, as senator from New York, 404; obtains suspension of civil service rules in New York for benefit of worker Sternberg, 414; Sheehan worker for, 415.
- Murphy, M. C., appointed warden port by Gov. Flower, 319.
- Murphy, "Tom," controls N. Y. custom-house, 191.
- Murray, postmaster at Johnston, N. Y., and post-office department at Washington, 72.
- Murray, C. F., requests patronage, 311, 312.
- Murray, C. H., spoils circular of, for places in census service, 157; spoilsman, appointed census supervisor in N. Y. City, 294; supporter of Platt, removed, 333, 334; political worker in New York convention, 334; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Murray, J., supt. custom-house at N. Y. City, resigns, 258.
- Muscatine, John Mahon, editor, appointed postmaster at, 46.
- Mustard, J., appointed postmaster at Glen Hall, Ind., vice Stepp, "resigned," 149.
- Muzzy, L. R., journalist, postmaster at Pulaski, N. Y., 155.
- Nampa, Idaho, Journalist Bacon, postmaster at, 155.
- Nashua, New Hamp., postmaster at, 73.
- Nashville, Ind., Allison, supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 398.
- Nathan, E., political worker, appointed collector internal revenue of Brooklyn (N. Y.) district, by Harrison, 55, 170, 191; wins fight in 23d ward in New York City, 121; political worker, for Congressman Wallace, 142, 150; backed by Platt, 143; uses power of office to intimidate voters, 178; trades votes for Wallace, 179, 180; engages in factional fights in Brooklyn and New York, 197, 198; corrupt political worker and boss, 264, 265, 304, 311, 332, 350, 371; political worker for Fassett, 287; in N. Y. convention, 335; worker for Platt, against against Willis, worker for Harrison, 336; boss in Kings Co., N. Y.; deals with McLaughlin, 352; controls machine in Kings Co., N. Y.; worker for Platt, 354, 355; uses office as political weapon, 374.
- National Baptist, on political status, as regards civil service reform, 257.
- National League of Civil Service Reform Associations, speeches before annual meeting of, 1890, see Civil Service Record; annual meeting at Philadelphia, Oct. 1-2, 51; annual meeting, 1889; resolutions of on agitating civil service reform, 66; appoints committee to investigate management of federal civil service, 77; investigating committee of, 85; special committee of, investigates patent office, 139, 140, 141; annual meeting of 1890; proceedings; report on presidential post-offices, 115, 153, 161, 172; investigation by special committee of, upon removals upon secret charges, 175, 176, 177; report of special committee of, on political changes in presidential post-offices, 186, 187, 188; resolutions of requesting Maryland Civ. Serv. Ref. Assoc. to investigate political activity of federal officers, 219; circular of executive committee of on status of civil service reform, 282; resolutions of at annual meeting, 1891, 286, 287; investigation of census service by special committee of, 291, 295; address before annual meeting on "Party and Patronage," by Curtis; also resolutions of, 321, 326, 329; committees appointed to investigate political assessments and political interference of federal office-holders, 338; report to committee of, investigating political activity of federal employes in Indiana, 375, 381.
- Nattinger, E. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Ottawa, Ill., 126.
- Navarre, O., Journalist Carl, postmaster at, 149.
- Navy yard, at Brooklyn, N. Y., see Brooklyn, 45; at Brooklyn, N. Y., clean sweep in, see Dady, 106; at Kittery, Me., spoils system at under Sec'y Tracy, 145; at Brooklyn, N. Y., examinations under Sec'y Tracy at, statement of examining board, 236; at Norfolk, Va., and Portsmouth, N. H., merit system introduced in by Tracy, 251; introduction of merit system into requested by Mass. legislature, see Tracy, 274, 276; application merit system to commended, 286; Sec'y Tracy institutes merit system in, 221, 222, 230, 298, 306, 321, 326; at Brooklyn, N. Y., employes in ordered to work for renomination of Harrison, 336; at Brooklyn, Page, chief of ordnance dept., removed, 355; Sec'y Tracy introduces Boston labor system in, 331, 357, 376.
- Neal, U. S. attorney, active politician, 143.
- Nebeker, U. S. treasurer, spoilsman, tries to get office for his son, 253, 254; political worker, 370, 382.
- Nebo, Ill., Editor Lansdon appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Nebraska, office-seekers in, 6; political activity of federal officers in, 318, 370; political assessments in Indian service in, 384, 385.
- Neely, C. F. W., editor, applicant for postmaster-ship of Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Neff, J. I., recommended by Illinois senators and congressmen for assistant treasurer, 110.
- Negroes, desire "representation," 243, 244.
- Nelson, I. D. G., condemns democrats for defeating Magee bill for non-partisan control of Indiana state charitable institutions, 215.
- Neodesha, Kan., Postmaster Lee of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Neoga, Ill., Editor Hancock appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Nepotism, see also Thomas Jefferson on, Cleveland.
- Nepotism, under Harrison, 21, 30, 253, 282, 369.
- Nettleton, acting secretary of treasury, and so-called resignation of Macgregor, 216.
- New, J. C., Editor, distributor of patronage in Indiana, 7, 85; appointed consul-general to London, 14; and Harrison, 121; works for re-nomination of Harrison, 334, 337, 340, 342, 344, 345, 357, 377, 379.
- New Albany, Ind., postmaster Godfrey at, spoilsman, 45, 393; works for Michener, 144; political worker for Harrison, 316; at Minneapolis convention, 377, 378, 380; Marsh, P. O. employe at, political worker, 380.
- New Albany Evening Tribune (rep.) and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; advocates civil service reform, 83.
- New Bedford, Mass., carpenter, postmaster at, removed on secret charges without investigation, 29, 175, 176.
- New Carlisle, Ind., Editor Fountain appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- New Castle, Ind., W. F. Shelley, dentist, appointed postmaster at, 132.
- New Castle, Ind., Courier (rep.), advocates civil service reform, 76.
- New Hampshire, administration organ denounces civil service reform, 62; patronage of given to Chandler, 340; political activity of federal officers in, 348, 371.
- New Haven, Conn., Sperry, postmaster at, favors civil service reform, 91; removal of English, postmaster at, 96; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Sperry, postmaster of, testifies to worth of Bario, P. O. inspector removed, 298; civil service reform association of and post-office at, 96.
- New Holland, O., Journalist Lewis postmaster at, 149.
- New Holland, Pa., postmaster at removed through influence Brosius, 72.
- New Jersey, political activity of federal office holders in, 347.
- New Mexico, vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis, 347.
- New Milford, Pa., Journalist Vail, postmaster at, 149.
- New Orleans collector at, Ex-Gov. Warmouth appointed, 41; Collector Warmouth of, obtains appointment of Wehr as postmaster at Donaldson, La., 241; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; and state politics, 283; relative of Harrison appointed naval officer at, 369; Eaton, postmaster of, pays political assessments, 383.
- New Richland, Kan., Journalist Bronson appointed postmaster at, 126.
- New Sharon, Iowa, Editor Vail appointed postmaster at, 142.
- New York City, see Pearson, postmaster at, and Van Cott, postmaster at, places of federal offices in, at disposal of "The" Allen, see post-office at, 12, 45; given over to spoilsman, 28; custom-house at, civil serv. com. investigates, 29; post-office at, saving by merit system in, 35; Fire Chief Shay, retired on pension, 36; custom-house at, civ. service commission investigates, 36; Russell Harrison secures appointment for friend as postal stampst. at, 38; reform club of, work of, against tariff, 42; sixth assembly district of, resolutions of against civ. service reform, 49.
- New York Custom-house at, removals in, 54; applications for position in custom-house at, 75; effect of patronage in twenty-first assembly district of, 75; custom-house employes at, aid politicians and go on committees, 108; fire service in, 120; attempt to purify politics in, 130; per cent. of removals in, classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Willis, naval officer at, a spoilsman, 191; custom-house at, controlled by "Tom" Murphy, C. A. Arthur, Leet, and Stocking, 191; account of factional fights for control of party machine in, 198, 199, 241, 242; custom-house at, cartage frauds practiced at, 216; street-cleaning department should be under merit system, 220, 221; custom-house at, Roosevelt invites 21st district republican association of New York City to investigate custom-house service at, 236; removal of Burt, naval officer at, for political reasons, 63, 237; civil service commission, not very commendable, 239; employes in custom-house of, appointed through influence of Platt; Collector Erhardt "resigns," Fassett appointed, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261; Feudalism revived in, 263; Erhardt, collector of, and office-seekers recommended by Platt, 264; Hendricks, political worker for Hiscock and Platt, succeeds Fassett as collector of, 264, 266, 269; James, P. O. employe at, and others, federal employes, political workers, 265; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; customs house employes in political workers for Fassett, 278; government of, 284, 285; Tammany methods in, 291; census service in inefficient, 294; thefts of Hill in, 306, 307; "sugar frauds" in custom house at, see Hillism, 310; state of politics in Brooklyn and, 350; Tammany makes political machine of health department of, 356; Boston labor system used for street work at, 357; employes in sub-treasury at ordered to vote republican ticket, 390; civil service board of (Tammany) and fraudulent appointment of Mrs. Maloney, 404.
- New York Herald, on "Paddy" Divver, 184.
- New York Evening Post, attributes republican defeat of 1889, chiefly to spoils system, 76; on civil service law, 92; on progress in civil service methods, 224; exposes corrupting influences of Tammany, 289, 290.
- New York Press (rep.), declares republican party favors extension of civil service law, 65.
- New York Sun, for spoils, 93.
- New York Times, account of caucus in Buffalo, N. Y., 196; accounts of spoils fights in several states, 215, 216, 217; on Kanm and Harrison, 238.
- New York Tribune, on Postmaster Pearson, 12; supports Mahone, 53; advocates civ. service reform, 65; on "Paddy" Divver, 184; defends Platt against Erhardt, 255; silent regarding civil service pledges of Harrison in 1892, 357; subsidized by Harrison, 369.
- New York World, charges of against Senator Quay, 112; on "Paddy" Divver, 184.
- New York State, see civil service commission of, platform, convention; delegation from and its demands, 21; patronage of given to T. Platt by President Harrison, 27, 52, 56, 68, 173, 245, 258, 259, 261, 282, 332, 368, 376; delegate to Republican National Convention appointed general appraiser at port of, 30; Niagara Co., removals in federal offices of, 30; congressional patronage in (see Quackenbush), 32; post-offices in (see Delano), 47; competitive system in, 52; republicans in think President Harrison not bound to keep reform pledges, 62; republican committees of denounce civil service reform, 63; weakening influence of office-holding in, 75; clergymen of, oppose impure political methods, 155; disregard of civil service law of, 161; state courts of, uphold N. Y. civil service law, 161, 200, 281, 286; elections of 1890 in, disastrous to civil service reform, 173; postmasters in, appointed by Congressman Sherman, 180; quarrels over patronage in legislature of, 215; evasion of civil service law in cities in, reform associations of New York and Brooklyn are to blame, 219; R. P. Flower, candidate of Croker, Tammany "boss" for governor of, 245, 261; corruption in, 281; political assessments in, 180, 282, 286, 287, 391, 392; Hillism in, 309; legislature of stolen by Hill and Tammany, 306, 313, 314; political corruption long-seated in, appointing council of, 325; political activity of federal office-holders in, 272, 332, 334, 335, 336, 337, 342, 348, 359, 360, 361, 371, 384, 385, 387, 390, 391; republican discord in, 351, 352; nomination of Cleveland and democratic regular organizations in, 355; republican association requests lists for assessment purposes, 363; Riley, chief examiner of civil service commission of, removed by Tammany, 414.
- N. Y. Civil Service Reform Association, annual election, 23; annual meeting 1891, report of executive committee on efficiency of N. Y. state and various city civil service commissions, 239; correspondence with treasury and P. O. departments over political activity of Van Cott and Hendricks, 289; committee of, investigates civil service examination in N. Y. City service, 319, 320; and prison appointments, 331.
- Newark, N. J., per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185.
- Newark, O., Iches, editor, postmaster at, 301.
- Newaygo, Mich., Journalist Shaw postmaster at, 149.
- Newberry, General, confirmed as postmaster at Chicago, 6.
- Newburgh, Ind., Cushman, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Newburg, N. Y., Taggart, postmaster of, political worker for Platt, 260; census of 1890 well conducted in, 292; primaries at, run by workers for Hill, 309.
- Newcomb, J., postmaster, a political worker, 159.
- Newell, Ia., Editor Blair, postmaster at, a political worker.
- Newins, politician in Brooklyn, N. Y., opposing Nathan, 304.
- Newport, R. I., Fay appointed postmaster at, 150.
- Newton, C. E., editor, appointed postmaster at Kawanna, Ind., 126, 377.
- Newton, Mass., Democrat Morgan appointed postmaster at, 224; civil service reform association of, address before, on influence of Clarkson and Wanamaker, by Rev. H. Lambert, 136, 261.
- Newtonville, Mass., Turner indorsed for reappointmen, 100.
- Nihlack, Judge, votes against Pendleton act; address of on civil service reform, 138, 139; ex-judge Indiana supreme court, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Nichols, trades votes in behalf of Congressman Wallace, 179.

- Nicholls, E. T., commandant of navy yard at Kittery, Me., 147.
- Nichols, J., treasury chief of division, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 331, 348.
- Nicholls, J. A., quarantine commissioner, supports Congressman Wallace, 142; corrupt politician, 311.
- Nicholson, M., of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, 227, 229.
- Nicoll, dist. attorney, and Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, 319.
- Niedringhaus, F. G., and Harrison, 14; aiding office-seekers, 15; and federal appointments in Missouri, 22.
- Niligh, Neb., Journalist Best postmaster at, 149.
- Nipher, Prof. F. E., supposed telegram to by Secretary Rusk and reply, 241, 245, 253.
- Nithey, Mich., poll of voters asked of Daniels, postmaster of, 383.
- Nixon, editor and collectorship of customs at Chicago, 47.
- Nixon, deputy controller of currency, political worker, 389.
- Noble, Rev. Dr., on parties and government, 82.
- Noble, Secretary, on putting census bureau under civil service law, 19; accedes to wishes of Senator Mitchell regarding patronage of Oregon, 32; and Indian agents Rosebud agency, Dakota, 48; refuses to state causes of removal of Vandever, 181; spoilsman, 70, 191, 291; to blame for Harrison's Indian policy, 202; spoilsman and Indian service, 98, 221, 226; on Raum scandals, 237; establishes rules for promotion in interior department, 298; and federal patronage in St. Louis, 304; requests removal of Collector Wencker, of Missouri, 336; and political assessments in Indian service, 375.
- Noblesville, Ind., postmaster at appointed, 47; Cheadle recommends Frybarger, afterwards Royer, for postmaster at, 89; Royer, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Nogales, Arizona, Journalist Chatham postmaster at, 155.
- Nolau, E., federal employe, political worker, 302, 375.
- Nora Springs, Iowa, Editor Moore appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Norfolk Republican Club of Boston and Clarkson, 119, 131.
- Norfolk, Va., Brady appointed collector at, 52; navy yard at, repairs in, for Mahone's benefit, 59; navy yard at, spoils system in, 147, 153; merit system introduced in navy yard at by Tracy, 251.
- Norris, C. O., P. O. employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- N. Carolina, patronage of given away by Harrison, 150; negroes of demand spoils, 159; political situation and fights in, 159; secret charges in, 312; political activity of federal office-holders in, 334, 362, 373; political assessments levied in by Eaves, 362.
- N. Dakota, patronage of, given to A. McKenzie, also to Ball, 216; political activity of federal officers in, 348.
- Northrup, editor Syracuse Courier, postmaster at, see Syracuse, 46.
- Norton, C. E., pres. Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, and Harrison, 204, 205.
- Norton, M., letter to from Davenport questioning right to vote, 387.
- Norwich, Conn., post-office at under Cleveland, removal of postmaster of by Harrison, 29; census of 1890 not well conducted at, 293.
- Notson, J. T., journalist, appointed postmaster at Farragut, Iowa, 142.
- Nowland, custom-house deputy at Indianapolis, political worker, 108.
- Nowlin, E., republican politician, census supervisor 2d Indiana district, 100.
- Noyes, L. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Akron, Ind., 126, 377.
- Nugent, J. R., food contractor in barge office at New York, requests patronage, 311, 312; food contractor in barge office, in New York convention, 334; at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- O'Brien, 330, 331.
- O'Brien, E. C., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 345, 348.
- O'Brien, H., mayor of Boston, and civ. service reform, 82.
- O'Brien, J., corrupt politician, and Hill, 307.
- O'Brien, J. J., spoilsman and bribe-taker, 170, 171.
- O'Connell, police surgeon, and examiner at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- O'Connor, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- O'Day, D., supports Delamater on behalf of Standard Oil Company, 131.
- O'Donnell, groom of G. B. Raum, Jr., employed in pension office, 190.
- O'Donuell, J., jury-briber, given office through influence of Senator Farwell and others, 59.
- O'Donohue, J. J., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- O'Dwyer, Dr. J., resigns from N. Y. City Health Dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.
- O'Mara, J., violates health laws, given office by board of health at Indianapolis, 316.
- O'Neill, ex-Congressman, and his political assessment, 150.
- O'Neill, C., naval officer on board to examine applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 221.
- O'Rourke, J., appointed foreman in Brooklyn navy yard, efficient, 142; appointed master boiler-maker in Brooklyn navy yard under Cleveland, removed under Harrison, gets back on examination, 236.
- Oakford, Ind., postmaster at, see Martin and Croushore, 96.
- Oberlin, Kan., Journalist Barin postmaster at, 149.
- Oberly, Indian commissioner, 9, 48, 86; and Senator Ingalls, 22; removed by President Harrison, 27, 44; ex-commissioner opposes publicity of eligible lists, 53.
- Odell, postmaster at Beverly, Mass., a political worker, 162.
- Odell, B. B., Jr., political worker for Platt, 260.
- Oeh, P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, 295, 326, 327.
- Oelrichs, S. Dak., Journalist Jones, postmaster at, 150.
- "Offensive Partisanship," removals for, see report special committee Nat. League, 1889-90, 188.
- Office, scramble for, 3, 6.
- Office-brokerage, see Eubanks; also sale of offices, 23.
- Office-holders, republican, leave Washington to vote, 162.
- Ogden, Ind., postmaster of, distributes campaign documents, 390.
- Ogdensburg, N. Y., Postmaster Baird removed, Editor Smith appointed, 126; custom-house at, not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Ohio, and spoils, 15; Darke Co. postmaster in, removed, 23; republicans of and Gov. Foraker, 21; republicans of, think civ. service reform a humbug, 62; campaign of 1889 in, run by Congressman Grosvenor, spoilsman, 68; status of merit system in, hopeful, 119; political assessments of federal employes from, 179; republican association of, and printing-office, 231; patronage of given to Sherman, 240; defeat of Foraker for governor of, owing to use of patronage, 240; political assessments in, 272, 280, 282, 287, 390, 412; federal patronage used by Harrison in, for re-election of Sherman, 297, 300, 301, 302; political activity of federal office-holders in, 335, 336, 346; vote of at Minneapolis divided between Blaine, Harrison and McKinley, 340, 343; patronage of given to Sherman, 340; relative of Harrison appointed collector of internal revenue in, 369.
- Olathe, Kan., Journalist Perkins appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Old Dominion Republican League, attempts to aid Mahone by political assessments, frustrated by civil service commission, 70; political assessments by, in Washington departments, 412.
- Oler, C. H., efficient railway mail clerk, 221.
- Olin, Iowa, Editor Burke appointed postmaster at, 112.
- Oliver, mayor of Lockport, N. Y., and Sickles, N. Y. civil service commissioner, 31.
- Olneyville, R. I., postmistress of, removed for political reasons, 288.
- Olsen, ward politician of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Omaha, Neb., Vandervoort, disreputable politician, appointed mail superintendent at, 210, 216; violations of law by postmaster of, 281.
- Omaha Republican (rep.), on curse of office-seeking, 65.
- Oneonta, N. Y., Postmaster Bundy of, removed on secret charges, 176.
- Onondaga Co., N. Y., factional fights at, republican caucuses in, political activity of federal office-holders, 264, 265.
- Orcutt, F. E., collector internal revenue, a political worker, 160, 162, 179.
- Oregon, "Sol" Hirsch, the "Tom Platt" of, 29; patronage of Sen. Mitchell in, 32.
- Oregon, Ill., Jewett appointed postmaster at, see Hitt, 109; Postmaster Marsh of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187.
- Orlando, Fla., Delaney, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, I. Fletcher appointed, 176.
- Osage Mission, Kan., Postmaster Brunt of, removed, after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Park appointed, 187, 188.
- Osborn, S. C., federal employe, worker for Allison, 334.
- Osborne, United States Minister, in Brazil and Jewett claims, 290.
- Osborne, Judge, grants writ of mandamus against Nathan, for corrupt practices, 265.
- Osborne, Congressman, obtains office for his son, 81.
- Osborne, J. B., given office through influence of Congressman Osborne, 84.
- Oskaloosa, Kan., Journalist Roberts postmaster at, 149.
- Osseo, Wis., Journalist Thomas, postmaster at, 153.
- Ostendorf, J. H., deputy collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Oswego, N. Y., Editor Place, spoilsman, appointed postmaster at, 126; custom house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; Clark, N. Y. assembly man introduces bill for municipal reform in, 115.
- Otis, E. L., applicant for postmastership at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Otis, W. F., federal employe, congratulates Pres. Harrison, 347.
- Ottawa, Ill., Journalist Nottinger appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Ottawa, Kau., Journalist Kessler postmaster at, 149.
- Overin, G. D., federal employe, political worker for Harrison, 334.
- Overstreet, H. G., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Ovid, Mich., Postmaster Cowan of, forced to resign, 165.
- Owen, Congressman, and office-seekers, 14; spoilsman, 21, 30, 85, 90; suggests postmasters, 53; opposes appointment of Cravens, 84; recommends appointment of Tomlinson as postmaster at Logansport, Ind., 88; and Winamac, Ind., postmastership, 88; secures appointment of inefficient postmaster at Hammond, Ind., 90; and editor of Delphi Journal, 97; given patronage by Harrison, 240.
- Owen, W. D., superintendent immigration, 39; political worker, 382, 390.
- Owings, W., low politician and murderer, gets office through Gorman, 237.
- Oxford Co., Pa., applicants for postmaster of, 55.
- Oxford, Ind., Editor Carr appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Pacific Unitarian Conference, resolution of, that ministers should officially advocate civil service reform, 65.
- Paddock, Sen., and Lincoln, Neb., post-office, 72; attempt of to withdraw railway mail service from civil service law, 92; secures appointment of Editor Gere as postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 108.
- Page, E. F., chief of ordnance dept. in Brooklyn navy yard, removed, 355.
- Painesville, O., editor of Telegraph appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Palermo, Italy, editor appointed consul at, 240.
- Palmer, as presidential possibility, 235.
- Palmer, public printer and applications for office, 37.
- Palmer, F. W., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Palo Pinto, Mo., Postmaster Trollington buys influence of Upton and gets office, 55.
- Paoli, Ind., editor appointed postmaster at, 37.
- Paradis, J. F., journalist, postmaster at Hemingford, Neb., 149.
- Park, politician, appointed census enumerator through Congressman Evans, 294.
- Park, E. B., appointed postmaster at Osage Mission, Kan., vice Blunt, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, 187, 188.
- Parker, Lieutenant, relative of Pres. Harrison, given office, 30.
- Parker, A. X., U. S. deputy atty., a political worker, 279.
- Parker, J., politician, and post-office at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Parker, M. F., postmaster at Cullman, Ala., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Parkhurst, Rev. C. H., on purity in politics, 119; exposes immoralities of Tammany rule, 319.
- Parkinson, councilman of Indianapolis, supports Fire Chief Webster, 208.
- Parks, W. R., editor, appointed postmaster at Petersburg, Ill., 111.
- Parnell Hall, nominating caucus for city officers of Indianapolis, account of, 194, 195.
- Parr, Prof. S. S., part of address of at annual meeting of Indiana Civil Service Ref. Ass'n, 1889, 8.
- Parsons, U. S. marshal, works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 345.
- Parsons, G. H., ex-mayor of Elmira, N. Y., dismissed from U. S. Express Company for political reasons, 239.
- Parton James, on civil service reform, 18.
- Party, evils of strict adherence to, 236.
- Party and patronage, address, see Curtis.
- "Party Boss," political advice of, 191.
- Passage, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 407.
- Pate, postmaster of Boonville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Patent office, investigation of civil service in by committee of National League, 139, 140, 141; examinations and classified positions in, 141.
- Patrick, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Clarion, Pa., 149.
- Patronage a source of weakness, see Foulke, Brooklyn Ferries, 63, 68; party and, addresses, see Curtis; troubling republican party, 6; evils of, 25, 30, 41; evils of distribution of public, Senator Harrison on, 46; Depew on, 75; Wilmington Morning News (rep.) on, 75; La Grange Standard on, 83; evils of, see Platt, Boston Transcript, Indianapolis News, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Philadelphia North American, N. Y. Evening Post, Philadelphia American, 76; source of weakness to Cleveland and Harrison, 83; system denounced by republicans of Wayne Co., N. Y., 156; evil effects of on schools of Baltimore, 211; condemned in state charitable institutions as barbarous by Indianapolis Sentinel, 202; evils of, in England, 270; system condemned, 271; system, in census service, bill of Garfield against, 291; system not according to organic law, 306; abuse of by Harrison, see National League, resolutions 1892, 321; and the constitution, 323; use of by a president to secure a re-election impossible, see Indianapolis Journal, 348.
- Patronage, federal, see also patronage, congress

- sional; see Towner; see Sewell; of patent office, 139, 140; of treasury department used by Foster to turn Ohio from Blaine to Harrison, 240; mcager distribution of to negroes, 243, 244; given to negro Langston, 340; used by Harrison to secure renomination, 298; of Indiana used by various people, 38, 84, 144, 173, 297, 316, 317, 376; of Maine, navy yard at Kittery, Me., used for Gooch and Frost, 147; of Missouri, see also Filley, 52; New York, given to Platt, 27, 52, 56, 68, 94, 121, 142, 173, 211, 255, 259, 263-266, 281, 282, 288, 376, see also W. Barnes; see Birkett, 55, Woodruff, 106, Lake and McKane, 132; of New York custom-house, disposal of, 216; of navy yard at Mare Island given to ward bosses, 226; of N. Carolina, 47, 150; of Ohio used by Sec'y Foster, 91; of Pennsylvania, that of Collector Cooper in, see Cooper; of Pennsylvania, used by Harrison to secure renomination, 299, 301; of Texas, given to Cuuey, 173; Virginia, given to Mahone, 27, 31, 38, 41, 52, 56, 67, 68, 70, 74, 94, 376.
- Patronage, state and local; in offices at Indianapolis, see Markey; in fire service, 137; to be controlled by mayor, 190; municipal at Cincinnati controlled by Gov. Foraker, 71; quarrels over in legislature of New York, see Shcchan, De Freest, Webster, Murphy and McLaughlin, 215; in New York state affairs, use of, 216; of Brooklyn, New York, bridge, quarrel over, see Croker, 245; in New York and Tammany, 318.
- Patronage, congressional, R. R. mail service open to, 27; see Cin. Commercial Gazette, 65; evil of, 66; as practiced in U. S. Senate, 72; see report of committee of National League on, see also Garfield, 113, 114, 115, 188; is doomed, 120; condemned by resolutions of Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, 136; see letter of Wanamaker to Postmaster Marsh, 187; see Indian service, 36, 42, 192, 219; in postal service, 193; in census service, see also Porter, 234, 292; Allison, 334; Andrew, 405; Banks, 31, 39; Bayne, 133, 135, 299; Belden, 46, 71, 132; Bowden, 153; Bretz, 409-411, 419, 421, 422; Brookshire, 393, 405, 409-411, 413, 419; Brosius, 72; in N. Carolina, Brower, 47; Brown, 240, 393, 409-411, 419-422; advocated by Congressman Brown, 35, 84, 89, 118; Bynum, 392, 405, 409-411, 418-422; Sen. D. Cameron, 72, 133, 162, 329; Candler, 99, 224; in Cannelton, Ind., post-office, 26; Cannon, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 160, 179; Chandler, 100, 148, 340; Cheadle, 47, 55, 71, 77, 84, 85, 88, 89, 129, 149, 240, 377; Cheatham; in Chester Co., Pa., 55; Clarkson, 331; Cockrell, 234; Cogswell, 187, 288; Coleman, 71; Conn. 409-411, 420, 422; Connelley, 72, 108; Cooper, 112, 398-400, 405, 409-411, 416, 422; Sen. Cullom, 30, 31, 37, 95, 109, 188; Dalzell, 30, 87, 90, 112, 133, 299; Darlington, 54, 55; Sen. Davis, 84; Sen. Dawes, 71, 104; De Haven, 187; Delano, 47; Du Bois, delegate from Idaho, 30; Dunnell, 39; Eubanks, 99; Evans, 55, 294; of N. Carolina, see Ewart, 47, 159; Farwell, 31, 37, 60, 83, 95, 109; Flood, 54, 150, 259; condemned, see Flower, 201; Fry, 242; Gest, 47; of W. Va., see Goff, 71; Gorman, 3, 5, 15, 38, 70, 93, 181, 234, 235, 237; Greenhalge, 100; Grosvenor, 204, 205; Sen. Hale, 242; Hammond, 409, 411, 416, 417, 422; Sen. Hampton, 74; Hansbrough, 216; Harmer, 241; Harrison and Massachusetts offices, 93; Hartwig, 99; Hathaway, 242; Sen. Hawley, 84, 99; Sen. Higgins, 38, 334; Sen. Hiscock, 46, 71, 132, 150, 216, 241, 259, 312; Hitt, 136, 143, 160; Sen. Hoar, 71, 104; Holman, 39, 393, 399, 400, 409, 411, 417, 419, 421, 422; Hopkins, 109; Houk, 35, 54, 55, 84; Illinois congressman, 240; Ingalls, 22, 154; Johnson, 419; Kean, 216; Kellogg, 71, Kelly, 188; Lafayette Courier, 83; Lafolette, 293; Lodge, 30, 39, 41, 69, 71; Love, 99; Lowry, 39; Sen. Manderson, 72, 108; Martin, 399, 400, 409, 411, 419, 420; in Massachusetts, 93; see Mathews, delegate from Dakota, 30; Matson, 30, 31; McClellan, 422; McKenna, McNagney, 409, 411, 422; McPherson, 84; Miller, T., Minnesota, senators of, 30; in Missouri, 51; Monaghan, 59; Moody, 84, 86, 218; Moore, 100; Morse, 86, 100, 108, 187; Norfolk, Va., 251; Osborne, 84; Owen, 14, 21, 30, 55, 84, 85, 88, 90, 98, 240; Sen. Paddock, 72, 108; Payson, 73, 188; Perkins, 35; Pettigrew, 131, 218; Sen. Plumb, 55; Pope, 52; Posey, 46, 59; Postgate, 99; Quackenbush, 32, 54, 242; Quay, 6, 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 30, 33, 39, 47, 52, 56, 68, 72, 87, 90, 91, 95, 100, 104, 111, 112, 118, 133, 135, 151, 160, 173, 216, 235, 241, 249, 263, 270, 280, 282, 299-301, 329, 332, 374, 376; Raines; Randall, 29, 224; Ray, 99, 100, 118, 133; Reed, T. B., 91, 150, 153, 242; in Rhode Island, 150, Rockwell, 188; Roosevelt, 39, 191; Sanders, 160; Sanford, 126; Sawyer, 57; Scranton, 101; Shearman, 54, 55; Sherman, 67, 149, 240, 249, 301, 310; Shively, 421; Simmonds, 73; Smith, 38; Smith G. W.; Spooner, 30; Steele, 240; Stockbridge, 84; Stroupe; Sweeney, 121; Taylor, 35, 75, 419, 421; Thompson, 55; Turner, 100; Turple, 405, 409-411, 413, 418-422; Upton, 55, 99; Van Schaick, 44, 47, 55; Vandervoort, 215; Vest, 242; Voorhees, 222, 235, 393, 405, 409-411, 413, 418-422; Walker; Wallace, 55, 72, 132, 142, 143; Sen. Washburn, 84; Watrous, 71; Waugh, 419; Wever, 249; Wood, 150.
- Patterson, postmaster of Memphis, Tenn., celebrates nomination of Harrison, 347.
- Patterson, A. M., political worker for Miller, 259, 260.
- Patterson, J. B., federal office-holder in Boone Co., Iowa, political worker, 260.
- Patterson, J. M., ward politician, see New York City; requests patronage, 311, 312; office-seeker, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348; political worker for Harrison, 359, 360.
- Patterson, W., appointed superintendent of Indpls post-office, unfit, 19, 21, 27, 34; political worker for Harrison, 302, 337-343, 353, 370, 375, 379, 389.
- Pattison, candidate for governor opposing Delamater in Pennsylvania, 135, 161; of Pennsylvania, and Quay, 280.
- Pattison, governor of Nebraska, and Vandervoort, disreputable politician, 216.
- Patton, president of Princeton College, and politics, 396, 404.
- Patton, C. O., Harrison elector, and postmastership at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Paul, postmaster at Milwaukee, spoilsman, civil service commission reports adversely to, 36, 104; and Wanamaker, 44; resigns, 47; spoilsman, removes Shidy who testifies against him, 161, 103.
- Paul, H. S., and appointment of McKean postmaster of Pittsburgh, 91.
- Paul, R. H., ballot stuffer, appointed U. S. marshal in Arizona, 374.
- Pawnee City, Neb., Journalist Hassler postmaster at, 149.
- Paxton, Ill., Editor Stevens appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Payn, L. F., 312; supporter of Blaine, opposed to Harrison, 347; worker for Platt, 360.
- Payson, Congressman, spoilsman, 22, 73; demands removal of Reno, postmaster of Pontiac, Ill., for "offensive partisanship," 188; chairman of house during debate over civil service commission, 204, 205.
- Pcairs, H. B., employe in Indian service, asked for political contributions, 385.
- Pearson, H. G., postmaster at New York and the post-office, 12, 17, 20, 32, 38, 43, 168, 169, memorial on, 23; removed by Pres. Harrison for political reasons, 27, 30, 52, 63, 64, 68, 94, 173, 237, 282, 367, 376; the civil service in post-office of, under, 12.
- Peddle, A., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Peele, S. J., worker for Harrison, appointed judge of court of claims, 378, 379.
- Peetrey, chief of division, removed for political reasons, 55.
- Pendleton, G. H., civ. service law due to him and D. B. Eaton, 79, 82, 125.
- Pendleton, Ind., Editor Caddy appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Pendleton act (civil service law), 75, 118, 119, 128, 271, 276; provides penalties for public employes soliciting political contributions, 279.
- Pennsylvania, senators of, and spoils, 15, 313, 314, 329; patronage of, given by Pres. Harrison to Senator Quay, 27, 28, 38, 52, 56, 68, 72, 87, 90, 94, 95, 111, 112, 135, 173, 376; Senator Quay displaces Sen. Cameron as spoils distributor, 30; Sen. Cameron controlled patronage in, 34; distractions in, resulting from distribution of spoils, influence of Senators Quay and Cameron, 47; republican ass'n of, see Stratton, 49; republicans of denounce civ. service reform as a sham, 62; status of affairs before election, 138; condemnation of Quay and Delamater by Lincoln republican committee of Pennsylvania, 156; republican convention 1890 commends course of Quay, 156; political situation in, revolt against Quay, see, also, Quay, 161, 162; defeat of Quay in elections of 1890, 173; ballot reform bill in legislature of ruined by Quay, aided by Martin, federal officer, 228, 229; "Quayism" in, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252; address to the citizens of, against "Quayism," 249, 251, 252; federal officers enulogize Quay, 260; Quay wins in, 281; political assessments in, 282, 286; patronage given to Quay; "degradation of politics in," see Welsh, 282; removals from office in of supporters of Quay, 299, 300, 301; delegation to national convention controlled by Quay; Bardsley frauds, 310; political corruption in, 323, 324; patronage of given to Quay, deserts Harrison, 332; vote of at Minneapolis, 340; D. Martin of, made member of republican national committee for, 347; political activity of federal office-holders in, 361, 363, 390; Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, to raise campaign funds in, 363; citizens of protest against appointment of Martin, 374; re-election of Quay in, 404.
- Pennsylvania Civil Service Reform Association of, introduces reform bill in legislature, faulty provisions of, 204; correspondence of regarding political assessments, 289; of annual meeting, 1891, address of H. Welsh before on Indian service, 238, 239.
- Pennsylvania R. R. Co., employs merit system, 285.
- Pension Commissioner, Tanner, 27, 38, 51; Browne and clerks in the service, 71; Raum and Harrison, 237.
- Pension boards, removed by Tanner, 27.
- Pension office at Indianapolis, attempt to collect money of employes in contrary to law, 36; examining boards, 30.
- Pension Examiner Stone removed, negro Dr. Elbert appointed, 192.
- Pension bureau, removals in, 55; bill providing for appointment of new examiners for, 107; removals in under Commissioner Tanner, 54.
- Peoria, Ill., census of 1890 well conducted in, 292.
- Percival, J. A., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Perkius, congressman, opposed to civil service reform, 35, 49, 122; letter of to Brunt, postmaster, regarding removal, 188.
- Perkins, E. E., negro, postmaster at Edwards, Miss., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Perkins, H. A., journalist, appointed postmaster at Olathe, Kan., 126.
- Pern, Ind., Stevens, postmaster of, political worker, 379.
- Petersburgh, Ill., Editor Parks appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Petersburgh, Neb., Journalist Cross postmaster at, 149.
- Petersburg, Virginia, political history of, 87.
- Peterson, O. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Story City, Iowa, 142.
- Petroff, E., worker for Quay, 106; convicted of bribery, shielded by Quay, 151, 152.
- Pettigrew, Senator, and Indian service, 130; Senator Pettigrew opposes Indian Agent McChester, 131; controls patronage in Indian service, 218; and Harrison, 337; opposed to Harrison, 342.
- Petty, W., Blaine supporter, bribed by Harrison with office, 362.
- Pew, collector at Gloucester, Mass., and subordinates, political workers, 362.
- Philadelphia, Pa., post-office at, 14, 15; conflict over spoils in, 30; Collector Cooper of and Quay, 39; and spoilsman, 85; and office-seekers, 37; defends Quay, 249, 260; works for Quay, 280; patronage in, 47; removals in post office at, 53; civ. service reform in post-office at, 95; recordership of and Quay, 106; investigation of post-office at, 174; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post office at, 185; citizens' municipal league, appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, as internal revenue collector, low politicians of, 232; Thompson, controller at, makes removals for political reasons, 239; young republican club of, speech before by Cooper, collector at, defends Quay, 241; Asst. Postmaster Hughes of, political worker for Quay, 270, 280; customs district of, classified 1883, 276; Field, postmaster at, 300; Witherow's resignation, 310; post-office at, a scandal under Cleveland, 350; combination of low politicians of both parties against reformers at, 352.
- Philadelphia, Civil Service Reform Ass'n of, memorial of, on railway mail service, 92.
- Philadelphia American [repub.], attributes republican defeat of 1889 to spoils system, 76.
- Philadelphia Bulletin [repub.], favors civil service reform, 76; condemns Platt, 260.
- Philadelphia North American [repub.], on Quay, 270.
- Philadelphia Press [repub.], removals of Clarkson obeying a "wholesome policy of reform," 49; republican party thoroughly committed to civ. service reform, 65; favors civ. service reform, 92.
- Philadelphia Public Ledger [repub.], on Quay, 270.
- Philadelphia Record (rep.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Phillippi, W. Va., Journalist Hall, postmaster at, 155.
- Phipps, W. C., efficient employe in Indianapolis city service removed for political reasons, 297.
- Phoenix, N. Y., Journalist Williams postmaster at, 155.
- Pickering, J. E., postmaster at Alta, Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- Pierce, Captain, appointed Indian agent at Pine Ridge vice Roger removed, 192.
- Pierce, A. G., negro, deputy collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Pierce, President, spoils system under, 405.
- Pierce, Neb., Journalist Sharab postmaster at, 149.
- Pierre, S. Dak., physician of Indian agency at Greenwood, S. Dak., engages in political work at, shirking duty, 202.
- Pilgrim, —, federal office-holder, political worker, 162.
- Pilot, on Quay, Dudley, Wanamaker, and decent politics, 257.
- Pine Ridge, S. Dak., Roger, a political worker appointed Indian agent at, 192; causes of Indian trouble at, 217, 218.
- Piper, postmaster at Manchester, N. H., active politician, 143.
- Piper, F. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Sheldon, Iowa, 142.
- Pitkin, U. S., minister to Argentina, political worker, 382.
- Pitrodie, S. Dak., Journalist Cheny, postmaster of, 155.
- Pittsburg, Pa., post-office at, controversy between Congressman Dalzell and Sen. Quay over, 87, 112; McKean appointed postmaster at through influence of Sen. Quay, 96; surveyorship of customs at, candidate of Quay appointed, 112; Postmaster McKean of, spoilsman, 133; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in post office at, 185; (Ass't) Postmaster Edwards of, supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299.
- Pittsburg Dispatch (repub.), patronage an evil, 75; on "Chinese civ. service," 92.
- Place, J. A., editor, spoilsman, appointed postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 126.
- Plain City, O., Journalist Horn postmaster at, 149.
- Plainfield, Ind., postmaster at, appointed through influence of Congressman Matson, 30; Hatton

- supported by Congressman Cooper for postmaster of, 399.
- Plainfield, N. Y., Postmaster Pope of favors reform methods, but appoints his son ass't postmaster, 157.
- Plainview, Miss., Meacham, journalist, appointed postmaster at, 126.
- Plainview, Neb., Journalist Stevens, postmaster at, 149.
- Platforms, national, see also Conventions; of different parties support civil service reform, 229.
- Platforms, republican; national, 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, favor civ. serv. Ref., 9, 27, 50, 73, 275, 291, 337.
- Platform, democratic; national, 1888, 1892, on civil serv. ref., 349, 365.
- Platforms, state, see also Conventions; republican; 1884, 1887, favor civil serv. ref., 122; California, 1884, demands civ. service reform, 50; Connecticut, 1872, 1874, advocates civil serv. reform, 50; Delaware, 1882, advocates civil serv. reform, 50; Georgia, 1871, advocates civ. service reform, 50; Illinois, 1872, 1882, 1890, advocate civ. serv. reform, 50, 156; Indiana, 1876, 1886, 1890, favors civ. service ref., 50, 51, 156; Iowa, 1874, 1884, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50, 51; Maryland, 1871, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; Massachusetts, 1877, 1885, 1890, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50, 51, 180; Minnesota, 1872, 1884, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; Missouri, 1872, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50; New Hampshire, 1872, advocates civil serv. ref., 50; New Jersey, 1871, 1872, advocates civ. serv. reform, 50; New York, 1872, 1877, 1885, 1887, 1891, advocate civ. serv. ref., 50, 51, 288; Ohio, 1871, 1877, 1886, on civil serv. ref., 50, 51; Pennsylvania, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, advocate civ. serv. ref., 51; West Virginia, 1872, advocates civ. serv. ref., 50.
- Platform, democratic, Delaware, 1890, silent regarding civ. serv. ref., 145; Indiana, 1890, 1892, denounces Harrison's administration of the civil service, 156, 319; Massachusetts, 1890, 1891, on civ. serv. reform and Harrison's abuse of it, 180, 288; Michigan, 1890, on abandonment of civ. serv. ref. by republicans, 180; New Hampshire, 1890, denounces Harrison's administration of the civil service, 156; Ohio, 1891, silent on subject of civil serv. ref., 288; Pennsylvania, 1890, 1891, denounces Quay and republican party for abuse of the civ. service, 156, 288; Wisconsin, 1890, denounces Harrison's administration of the civ. service, 156.
- Platt, deputy collector in Indiana, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Platt, senator, compels postmasters in Connecticut to give list of voters, 330.
- Platt, F., gets office through his father, 255; and Fassett, 258; and proposed prosecution of Van Cott, and Heudricks, 287.
- Platt, J. I., editor and postmaster at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in N. Y. convention, 335; inefficient, removes Deputy S. Smith, 386.
- Platt, T. C., ex-senator in New York on civil serv. ref., 18; politicians like, 22; patronage of New York given to by Pres. Harrison, 27, 52, 56, 68, 94, 142, 173, 263, 264, 265, 266, 282, 376; spoilsman, 35, 43, 45, 65, 77, 112, 172, 269, 289, 298, 311, 329, 355, 369, 373, 374, 387, 388, 405; names postmaster for Elmira, N. Y., 53; and postmastership at Oswego, N. Y., 71; and Hiscock, Sen., and Syracuse post-office, 71; attributes defeat of 1889 partly to disappointment of office-seekers, 76, 77; arranges for census appointments in New York, 121; and Harrison, 121; candidate for U. S. senator, 143; faction of, and its opposition, 183; and Police Justice Smith, see New York City, 198, 199; recommends appointment of Wheeler, 241; gives dinner to Clarkson, 245; controls patronage of custom house in New York city, gets office for his son, 255, 256; "freezes out" Erhardt, collector at New York city, 258, 259, 260, 350; inspires issuing of call for political contributions, 279; defended, 281; and Fassett campaign, 287, 288; and removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., 297, 303; endorses Payne, 312; deserts Harrison, 332; supporters of removed, 332, 334; and re-nomination of Harrison, 334, 335, 366; given patronage, criticises Harrison, 337, 339, 341, 344, 346, 347; "placated," 353, 354, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362; secures removal of Burt, naval officer at New York, 368; and confers with Reid and Harrison, 371.
- Plattsburgh, N. Y., Journalist Lansing postmaster at, 155.
- Plattsburg, Vt., custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Playford, R. S., journalist, postmaster at Carbondale, Kan., 148.
- Pledger, W. A., negro, railway mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 318.
- Plumb, Sen., and changes in post offices in Kan., 55; on tariff, 169; spoilsman, and census bureau, 203; allied with Gorman, 214, 228; attacks civil service commission, 250, 251; custom employe, see investigation, 327.
- Plunkitt, state senator of New York, bill of for race course in Central Park, 320.
- Plymouth, Ind., Editor Siders appointed postmaster at, 126, 377.
- Plymouth, Mass., Postmaster Burns of, to be removed for political reasons, applicants for position favored by E. A. Morse, 187.
- Political activity of federal office-holders, see Harrison, W. H., also names of states, 336, 370.
- Political assessments, see Curry, also names of states, 153.
- Political corruption in Maryland, Bonaparte on, 317, 324.
- "Political ingratitude," see Indianapolis Journal, 181, 182.
- Politics, divorce of municipal business from, by M. Storey, 261, 283, 286.
- Polk, Pres., for revenue tariff, 211, 241.
- Pontiac, Ill., removal of Reno, postmaster of, demanded by Congressman Payson, for "offensive partisanship," 188.
- Poorman, C. L., editor, given federal office, 301.
- Pope, actor, recites Sheridan's Ride at Chicago convention, appointed consul to Toronto, 56.
- Pope, E. R., postmaster at Plainfield, N. Y., favors reform methods, but appoints his son assistant postmaster, 157.
- Pope, Gen. J., advocates congressional appointment of federal office holders, 52.
- Port Clinton, O., Editor Martin postmaster at, 301.
- Port Huron, Mich., Collector, Geer of, spoilsman, asks for special examination, denied, 36; customs district of classified, 1883, 276.
- Port Townsend, relative of Pres. Harrison appointed deputy collector of customs at, 30, 369; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Porter, A. G., spoken for mission to Rome, 7, 14, 85; worker for Harrison, 377; U. S. minister to Rome resigns to do political work, 382.
- Porter, D. E., sells offices, 104.
- Porter, O. T., editor, given office, 39.
- Porter, R. P., editor, census supt., and Roosevelt, see Civil Service Reformer; appointed, 14; civil serv. law, 19; gives patronage to Senators Quay and Cameron, 72; gives Shady office at request of Roosevelt, 101, 103; spoilsman, 104; and census service in New York, 121; overrun with office-seekers, 88, 131; Congressman Dalzell, 133; permits spoils methods in census service, 157; and Foulke, 173; defends appointments, 182; claims held examinations for clerks, 190; examination papers used in census services by, 219, 220; office under given to Weigel, worker for Bos-Filley, 226; fears investigation of census bureau, 233, 334; at convention republican league, 259; opposition of to civil service reform, 292, 294.
- Porter Co., Ind., Vidette [repub.], on "Farwell Club," 83.
- Portland, Ind., Lowry, postmaster at, removed, Editor Marsh appointed through influence of Browne, 88, 116, 126; political worker, 377, 380.
- Portland, Me., changes in offices in, 22; Briggs, politician, appointed postmaster at, 150; employes in exceed requirements, see Reed, 242; customs district of classified in 1883, employes in, 276, 277.
- Portland, Oregon, custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Portsmouth, N. H., navy yard at, see also Kittery, Me.; work on war ships, in navy yard at, for political reasons, 217; merit system introduced in navy yard at by Tracy, 251.
- Posey, Congressman, and office-seekers, 14; secures appointment of henchman in place of Isabella De La Hunt, 26; obtains appointment of worker as postmaster at Evansville, Ind., 46; uses influence for appointment of Throop, collector at Terre Haute, Ind., 59.
- Postal divisions, superintendents of, proposal of Congressman Andrew to extend civil service law to, 306.
- Postmaster, editors and publishers appointed; cases and lists of, 30, 37, 46, 71, 108, 126, 132, 141, 142, 148, 149, 155, 186, 260, 301, 302, 316, 377; scrambles for places of, 47, 72, 84, 88, 89, 109, 121, 216; recommended for re-appointment, 88, 91, 100; wanton removals, cases and lists of, 29, 39, 45, 47, 51, 55, 71, 90, 91, 101, 112, 118, 149, 165, 176, 186, 187, 282, 288, 362, 377, 386, 408; removals on secret charges, cases and lists of, 39, 175, 176, 177; eudalistic appointments, 108, 134, 135, 136, 143, 141, 150, 153, 155, 159, 160, 162, 186, 187, 211, 219, 340; henchman, service of, cases and lists of cases of, 134, 135, 136, 143, 144, 159, 160, 162, 186, 249, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, 280, 287, 302, 316, 334, 335, 336, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 360, 362, 370, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 386; bad appointments, cases and lists of, 32, 39, 47, 54, 55, 90; special cases at Syracuse, N. Y.; Elmira, N. Y.; Terre Haute, Ind.; Valparaiso, Ind.; South Bend, Ind.; Muncie, Ind.; New Albany, Ind.; Indianapolis, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Pittsburgh, Augusta, Me.; La Fayette, Ind.; see same; removed and appointed by Brosius at May, Huber, Burke, Chestnut Level, New Holland, Lancaster, Columbia, Mannheim, Marietta, Strasburg, Litz, Ephrata, Mt. Joy, 72; Judson, of Prattsville, N. Y., insane through fear of loss of office, 415; at Mt. Vernon, Ind., and Sen. Harrison, 96; Childs, of Brattleboro, Vt., caucus on question of reappointment of, 108; Harrington, at Monson, Mass., reappointment of recommended, refused by Wanamaker, 188; at Newton, Mass., democrat Morgan reappointed, 221; at Sandwich (Mass.), democrat Shevlin reappointed, 221; at Washington, D. C., Sherwood promoted to be, 153; Warner, Albany, N. Y., favors civ. serv. reform, 51, enforces law, 136; Sperry, at New Haven, Conn., favors civ. service reform, 91; Ketcham, of Ditney, Ind., solicited for political contributions, 387, 392; of Ogden, Ind., distributes campaign documents, 390; Terry, of Terryville, N. Y., removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391; and P. O. employes in Buffalo, N. Y., pay political assessments, 391; Gates, of Waterton, N. Y., furnishes political information, 392; Smith, of Laurel, Del., attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402; Daniels, of Withey, Mich., poll of voters asked of, 383; Eaton, of New Orleans, pays political assessments, 383; at Omaha, Neb., under Cleveland and Harrison, violates law, 281; at Moberly, Mo., uses census enumerators as political workers, 131; Crum, negro, nominated for, at Charleston, S. C., for vote at Minneapolis, not confirmed, 363; Milliken, of Waterville, Me., and non delivery of papers advocating Burleigh, congressional candidate opposing Manley, 364; Isabella De La Hunt, at Cannelton, Ind.; appointed upon recommendation of Sen. Harrison, by Pres. Arthur, removed by Cleveland, Pres. Harrison refuses to reappoint, 368; of Madison, Wis., controls places in census service, 293; Bennett, of Hartford, Conn., removal of Bario, efficient P. O. inspector, 298; Sperry, of New Haven, testifies to worth of Bario, removed P. O. inspector, 298; Gilleland, of Allegheny, Pa., supporter of Quay, suspected by Harrison, 299; at Bradford, Pa., Flennicken appointed, but removed on protest of H. C. Frick, 99; Hendrix, of Brooklyn, N. Y., removed and place offered to politician, 131; Pope, at Plainfield, N. Y., favors reform methods, but appoints his son ass't postmaster, 157; Zumstein, of Cincinnati, O., carries out spirit of civil service law, 257; Richensteen at L. I. City, letter to, advocating reform methods, 100; Wooster, of Fostoria, O., compelled by Washington authorities to turn over office to spoils, 91; at Richmond, Ind., the "party," 183; at Mt. Vernon, Ind., son of Gov. Hovey appointed, 71; at Austin, Texas, chairman republican state committee appointed, 71; at Hamilton, Mo., N. C. Clarkson appointed, 150; at Kansas City appoints relative of Pres. Harrison his deputy, 84; Rice, of Springfield, Mass., case of, 87; at South Hadley Falls, Mass., democrat Kirkpatrick nominated, see Wallace and Harrison, 157; Van Duzer, of Horseheads, N. Y., attempted removal of by Fassett, 331; Van Duzer, of Horseheads, N. Y., and removal of Flood, 304; Dunn, of Binghamton, N. Y., and removal of pension examiner Dr. Van Alstyne, 304; at Wyoming, Ill., removed because appointed through "political intrigue," Hammond appointed, 176; Reno, of Pontiac, Ill., removal of demanded by Congressman Payson, for "offensive partisanship," 188; Smith, of Carrollton, Ill., removed through influence of Senator Cullom, 188; at Laurel, Md., democrat appointed to please Gorman, 38; at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Editor Platt appointed, inefficient, removes deputy S. Smith, 386; Hathaway, of house of representatives, spoilsman, methods of, 242; Seifrits buys appointment as, at Washington, Ind., 121; at Mitchell, Ind., Wood purchases position is appointed, 89; at Winamac, Ind., applicants for position of, bargaining for, 88; at Palo Pinto, Mo., buys office, see also Trollington and Upton, 55.
- Postmaster-general, see Wanamaker.
- Postmaster-general, first assistant, see Clarkson.
- Postmasters, arbitrary removals of, see resolutions of National League, 1890; regulation of, appointment of advocated, 100; many democratic ordered out, 16; presidential, many removals and appointments of, 27, 29; fourth-class, appointed through influence of Sen. Cullom, 30; number of appointed in Indiana from March 4th to July 20 inclusive, 1889, 34; editors appointed, 37; removals of fourth-class, 39, 62; comparison of changes of for first five months of Pres. Harrison and Cleveland's terms, 45; 15,000 removed by Postmaster Gen'l Clarkson up to Sept., 1889, 49; removals of, for political reasons, 54, 186; appointed through influence of Congressman Owen and Sen. Plumb, 55; fourth-class in Indiana, see Michener, 67; meeting of in Washington, 69; removal of 30,000 fourth-class without cause, 70; fourth-class, objections to removal of, see Simond, 91; removals of fourth-class in Washington Co., Ind., 91; forced resignations of, 111; bill of H. C. Lodge, M. C., regarding appointments of fourth-class, 115, 238; removals up to May, 1890, 120; of fourth class and Cleveland, 124; fourth-class in Missouri, control of given to Filley, 132; become political workers, 160; removals of upon secret charges investigations of by committee of National League, 175, 176, 177; presidential, number of who are political workers, 186; Cleveland makes clean sweep, 187; forth class, bill of Lodge for selection of on basis of merit, 238 fourth-class, allowed to work politically for Harrison, 240; in Indiana, workers for Harrison, 260; fourth-class, removal of under Clarkson, 261; sons of, political workers for Hiscock, 265; fourth-class, bill to regulate appointment of, opposed by Wanamaker, 298; in Indiana, work for Harrison, 302; paper on appointment of, by Wood, before annual meeting, National League, 1892, 329; asked for list of voters by American Protective League, 330; in New York, asked for lists of republicans, 370; in Michigan, asked for lists of voters, 375; in DeKalb Co., Ind., political workers, 380; assessment of by American Protective

- Tariff League, 382; Allegheny Co., association of, levies political assessments, 381; fourth-class, bill of Congressman Andrew to regulate appointments of, recommended by civil service commission, 359, 388, 397; in Jefferson Co., N. Y., political assessments levied against, 391; applicants for positions as, supported by Congressman Cooper, 398, 399.
- Post-office at Indianapolis, Baltimore, St. Louis, Milwaukee, N. Y. City, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Syracuse, N. Y.; at Norwich, Conn., removal of, place given to spoilsmen, see Norwich (Conn.); at Troy, N. Y., and Indianapolis, investigate by civ. service commission, 36; at Vincennes, Ind. (see Chambers), 37; at Cannelton, Ind., see Clarkson, and 51; at Warsaw, Mo., sold by Upton, see Upton, 55; at Columbus, O., applicants for and Sen. Sherman, 67; at Lincoln, Neb., controlled by Connell, applicants for postmastership, 72; per cent. of removals in classified and unclassified service in, at New Haven, Conn., 185; at Jersey City, N. J., 185; at Kansas City, Mo., 185; at Denver, Colo., 185; at Chicago, 185; at Albany, N. Y., 185; at Cincinnati, merit system in, 257; at Lockport, N. Y., controlled by Hiseock, 259; at Cincinnati, O., merit system in, 358; at St. Joseph, Mo., political assessments in, 383; at Lafayette, Ind., employees in distribute campaign documents, 389.
- Post-office department, Wanamaker establishes board of promotion by competitive examination in, 256, 257.
- Post-offices, fourth-class changes in, see Delano, 47; applicants for in Chester Co., Pa., see Chester Co., 55; changes in, by Pres. Harrison in Kan., 55; taking the fourth-class out of politics, plan of R. H. Dana for, 68, 74; presidential, report on, by committee of National League, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166; presidential, turned over to spoils, 211; given to editors by Harrison, 240; see also press; having less than 50 employees, 277; information regarding, refused to Rogers by P. O. department, 297; of 25 employees, proposal to classify by Andrew, 305; all free delivery classified by Harrison, heads of divisions in should be classified, 103; Roosevelt on benefits of classification of free delivery, 415.
- Post-office department, number of classified employees in total service of, 193; relative of Harrison appointed law clerk in, 369; examinations for applicants for position in service of, 396.
- Post-office employee does detective work for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Potter, worker for Internal Revenue Collector Hill in Maryland convention, 335.
- Potter, Bishop, and civ. serv. ref., 28, 30; and attempt to purify politics in New York City, 130; address of on political dangers, 1890, 145.
- Potter, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Davis, Ill., 141.
- Potts, W., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2, 42, 44; refused access to records of removals in postal service, 163; on committee of publication of Good Government, 357.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Editor Platt postmaster of, in New York convention, 335; inefficient, removes Deputy S. Smith, 386.
- Pousland, federal employe, political worker at Boston, 334.
- Powers, H. C., collector internal revenue, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348; levies political assessments, 381.
- Powers, J., naval officer at Philadelphia, worker for Harrison, 300.
- Pratt, D. W., postmaster at Farmington, Me., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Pratt, E. W., asst. appraiser at N. Y. City, pays political assessments, 279.
- Prattsville, N. Y., Judson postmaster of, insane through fear of loss of office, 115.
- Prentice, Counselor, removed from N. Y. City health dept., 356.
- Present Status of Civil Service Reform, by Rev. H. Lambert, criticised, 255.
- Presidency, Hill sells, 307.
- President, appointing power of, 6; duties of, in regard to the civil service, under the constitution, 271.
- Press, and civ. service reform, 83; [repub] on civ. service reform, 92.
- Press, bribery of, Pres. W. H. Harrison on, 17; see King, A. Allison, Habercorn, Beyerle, Reed, Stone, White, Douglass, Rice, Hicks, New, Roberts, Junkin, Halstead, Clarkson, Porter R. P.; under Cleveland, see Plainfield, Ind., 30, 81, 149, 366, 368, 369; by Quay in Pennsylvania, 151; in Indiana, 240, 378; under President Harrison, 30, 31, 36, 39, 46, 17, 56, 67, 80, 85, 88, 90, 94, 97, 100, 121, 126, 132, 141, 142, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 186, 187, 240, 249, 260, 266, 299, 301, 302, 316, 368, 369, 377, 386; Editor Porter given office, 39; see Rahway, N. Jersey, Smyth, Watrous, Lawshe, Smith, 71; see speech of Harrison, Sen., 81; condemned by Daniel Webster, 81; see Dunlap, Gardner, Forbes, Whitney, Challis, Kinney, 84.
- Prickett, J. P., editor, appointed postmaster at Albion, Ind., 126, 377.
- Pride, chief clerk under Cunningham in assay office at Boise City, Idaho, politician, 30.
- Princess Anne, Md., Duer, postmaster, of, removed for political reasons, Lankford appointed, 408.
- Princeton, Ind., Tichner, postmaster of political worker, 316, 378.
- Princeton, N. J., Theo. Seminary professors in, and civil service reform, 40.
- Princeton, Wis., Journalist Bebee postmaster at, 155.
- Princeville, Ill., Editor Barnum appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Printing and engraving, bureau of, status of reform in, 32; employees in, political workers, 179; dismissals in for lack of appropriation, 234; Gorman secures place in for low politician, 237; bureau of, under Cleveland and Harrison, 368.
- Pritchard, J. C., 159; Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 331.
- Pritchett, R. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Dana, Ill., 141.
- Proctor, N., discharged by See'y Whitney from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Proctor, R., See'y, 242; Senator, 362.
- Professions, the, and civil service reform, see Roosevelt, dinner to at Indianapolis, 227, 229.
- Promises, of democratic party, 397, 398.
- Promotion, of Thompson, asst. postmaster at Indianapolis, to be postmaster, and consequent promotions, 235; by voluntary competition, introduced in departments at Washington by Harrison, 274; without examination, stopped by Harrison, 275; by competitive examinations, 286; in departments at Washington, rules governing, 289; on merit, under Wanamaker, by examination, 297, 298; on merit system, introduction of, in Washington departments, 321; should fill places below presidential offices, 413.
- Proner, postmaster of Spencerville, Ind., political worker, 379, 380.
- Protestant Episcopal Church and civil service reform, see Church.
- Prudden, Dr. T. M., withdraws from N. Y. City Health Dept. because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Pryor, federal office holder, political worker, 287.
- Public school, and civil service reform, see Curtis, 205.
- Public Service, journal, 306.
- Publicity of eligibles, ordered by civil serv. commission at Indianapolis, 25.
- Pulaski, N. Y., Journalist Muzzy postmaster at, 155.
- "Purity in Politics," see Van Anda, 137.
- Purity in Politics, see Ingalls, 190.
- Purroy, Fire Commissioner of N. Y. City, 234.
- Pursell, F. S., journalist, postmaster at Logan, O., 149, 301.
- Pursell, J., policeman of New York tries to defraud by pretending to sell office, 224, 225.
- Putnam (Indiana), Democrat, and CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 13; advocates civil service reform, 76.
- Putnam, Judge A. A., letter of to Wanamaker regarding removal of Faruun, unanswered, 175.
- Putnam, R. P., federal employe, henchmen for Grosvenor, 204, 205.
- Quackebush, congressman, obtains appointment of G. H. Stevens, disreputable character, as postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., 32, 51; urges appointment of O'Brien in postal service of house representatives, 212; elect, political worker, 279.
- Quay, senator, spoilsman, 5, 35, 43, 45, 93, 119, 174, 175, 192, 211, 227, 256, 261, 263, 281, 350, 361, 375, 387, 388, 390, 404, 405, 412, 415, 422; and the offices, 6; and post-office at Philadelphia, 15; and spoils, 17; and Postmaster-General Wanamaker, 22; and Pennsylvania legislature, 22; and office-seekers, 24; dictates appointment of Postmaster-General Wanamaker, 27; conflict with Wanamaker over Philadelphia spoils, 30; supersedes Don Cameron in control of patronage in Pa., 31; secures the appointment of Cooper as collector of customs at Philadelphia, 39; patronage of Pa. given to by Pres. Harrison, 28, 38, 47, 56, 68, 70, 72, 77, 85, 94, 95, 137, 138, 282, 329, 332, 337, 341, 376; agent of organizes machine, urges adoption of resolution demanding repeal of civil service law, 49; negotiates with Mahone, 52; controversy of with Dalzell over Pittsburgh post-office, secures appointment of postmaster, 87; secures appointment of McKean as postmaster at Pittsburgh, 90; endorses Sturgis for postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99; endorses Draper for collectorship at Pittsburgh, 100, 104; political history of, 105; obligations of Pres. Harrison to, 111; protest of Lea against patronage of, 112; and appointments, 118; and Harrison, 121, 353; methods of, 130, 131; career of, 133, 134, 135, 151, 152; condemned by Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, 136; and U. S. Attorney Lyon, 143; opposition to in Pennsylvania, 153; condemned by Lincoln Independent-Republican committee, 156; opposes Canaday, 160; revolt against rule of, 161, 162, 170, 171; "boss" in Pennsylvania, 172; and election in 1890 in Pa., 173; confers with Internal Revenue Collector Martin, 183; supports Leeds, disreputable politician, 216; condemned by Young Men's Republican Club of Massachusetts, 219; ruins ballot reform bill of Pennsylvania, aided by Federal Officer Martin, 228, 229; Pres. Harrison makes terms with, 235; Harrison combines with, 237; and appointment of Martin, disreputable politician, internal revenue collector in Pa., 232, 233; defended by Cooper, collector at Philadelphia, Pa., reconciled with Harrison, 241; in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 256; eulogy of by nat. rep. committee, 257; enulogized by federal officers in Pennsylvania, 260; and Americus Club, 269; revolt against in Pennsylvania, 270; supported by federal office-holders in convention at Scranton, Pa., and elsewhere, 280; denounced by Pennsylvania democrats, 288, 289; republican leader in Pennsylvania, 298; supporters of, removed from office by Harrison, 299, 301; wins libel suits against, 305; controls Pennsylvania delegation, 310; in Pennsylvania, 313, 314; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345; at Minneapolis convention, 347; eulogy of by Clarkson, 351; "placated," 357, 361, 362; asks for appointment of Wanamaker as reward for raising campaign fund, 368; secures appointment of Martin, 374; imitators of in Indiana, 114; deserts Harrison, 337, 341.
- Quay, R. R., 361.
- Quimby, H. B., relative of federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Quincy, Ill., C. A. Wilcox, editor, appointed postmaster at, removals at for political reasons, 141, 148.
- Quincy, Josiah, 69; sec'y. Massachusetts state democratic committee, signs petition for larger appropriation for civil service commission, 102; on spoils system, 308.
- Quincy, Mass., removal of Speare, postmaster of, desired by Morse, 86; Adams appointed postmaster at, vice Speare, removed, 100; a political worker, 162.
- Quinn, postmaster at Decatur, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Rahway, N. J., editor, appointed postmaster at, 71.
- Rail, J., ward politician of Indianapolis, see Parnell Hall, 194, 195; supports fire-chief Webster, 208.
- Railway Mail Service, condition of, 53, 68; removals in, 66, 94; necessity for reform in, 69; removal of hundreds of clerks in, under Wanamaker, 70; brought under civ. service law by Cleveland, 81; bill of Sen. Paddock to withdraw from civ. service law, 92; eligible lists in, 111; applicant for position before put under civil service law, see Lodge, 122; superintendent of condemned, 125; employees in getting "in line," 162; examinations for, should be more difficult, suggestions of Wanamaker, 193; Pres. Cleveland extends civil service law to, 224; in Iowa, political assessments levied in, 240; civil service law extended to, under Cleveland, action under his orders postponed at request of commission, by Harrison, 275, 403; employees in must pass physical examination, 305, 372; turned over to spoils under Harrison, 376; examinations for 1891-92, 396; prize offered for best clerk in, by Wanamaker, won by H. P. Swift, 415.
- Raines, J., Congressman, uses census patronage for his own benefit, letter of, requesting list of voters, 293.
- Raisin, I. F., low politician, appointed naval officer at Baltimore, through influence of Gorman, 237, 245; career of, 251.
- Raudall, C. S., Congressman, recommends unwarranted removal of Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., 29, 175, 176; secures re-appointment of Shevlin as postmaster at Sandwich, 224.
- Ransdell, D., 7; appointed marshal District of Columbia, political worker, 34, 68, 77, 84, 85, 96, 112, 126, 173, 181; and office-seekers, 37; uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; makes unfit appointments, 80; and printing office, 234; gets offices for relatives, 244; works for Harrison at Minneapolis and elsewhere, 297, 302, 337, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 378, 379; and Chase, candidate for Governor of Indiana, 352.
- Ransdell, E. S., convicted of theft, gets office through influence of Marshal Ransdell, 80, 244.
- Ransom, Senator and Eaves, 159.
- Rany, M. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Fontanelle, Iowa, 142.
- Rarick, J. H., editor, appointed postmaster, at La Grange, Ind., 377.
- Rathbone, E. G., resigns as mail inspector, appointed 4th Asst. P. M. General, 241; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 344, 345, 346; confers with New, 340, 379; refuses to give reasons for removal of Terry, 391.
- Rathbone, E. H., journalist, postmaster at Herndon, Kan., 149.
- Rathbun, L. G., appointed postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., vice Flood, removed on secret charges, 303, 304, 312.
- Ratnour, E., postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., removed on secret charges, Butler appointed, 175.
- Raum, G. B., pension commissioner and clerks in pension service, 71; spoilsman, 108, 129, 130; believed to be dishonest, 173, 190; attempts to override civil service law, 203; and Harrison, career of, 237, 238; uses office for political purposes, 373; political worker, 370, 382, 389.
- Raum, Jr., G. B., appointed by his father, pension commissioner, to office in pension bureau, 130, 227, 254; before congressional committee, 190; sells offices, etc., 237, 238; removed from pension service for dishonesty, 228.
- Ravenna, Kan., Journalist Hart postmaster at, 149.
- Ray, Congressman, recommends Flenniken for postmaster at Bradford, Pa., 99; secures appointment of Underwood as postmaster at

- Washington, Pa., 100; on Senator Quay, 118; patronage of, 133.
- Ray, federal appointee, admits attempt to bribe member of legislature, 39.
- Ray, C. H., federal office-holder, political worker, see also Baltimore investigation, 320, 326, 327.
- Raymond, F., politician, aided by custom-house employes, 108; political boss, and appointments to census service, 121; deputy collector at N. Y. City, political worker, 279; controlled selection of census enumerators in N. Y. City, 294; in New York convention, 335; Minneapolis convention, 343, 344.
- Reading, Cal., Bush, political worker, appointed postmaster at, 186, 187.
- Reagan, Congressman, not much good to come of civ. service law, 73.
- Rector, J. W., politician of Texas, 159; internal revenue collector, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Reed, Judge, and congressman, opposed to patronage system, 91.
- Reed, A., editor, appointed consul at Dublin, 30.
- Reed, A. H., appointed postmaster at Flora, Ill., 141.
- Reed, J., employe in Baltimore custom-house, testimony of on interference of federal officers in primaries at, 254.
- Reed, T., and spoils, 22, 226; as speaker, house committee on civ. service, appointed by, 86; bribery of voters for, 145; secures appointment of Briggs as postmaster at Portland, Me., 150; desires spoil of Kittery, Me., navy yard, 148, 153; hampered by refusal of spoil, 157; on fulfillment of party pledges, 168; "boom" of, 178; opposes Anstralian ballot system, 228; keeps more employes in Portland (Me.) custom house than necessary, 242.
- Reeder, F., Genl., political worker for Quay, 280, 361.
- Reeds, W. H., member of Cowie faction, see New York, 241.
- Reelsville, Ind., Elliott, postmaster at removed, Gaskin appointed, 89.
- Reform Club at N. Y., see N. Y., 42.
- Reid, W., editor New York Tribune, appointed minister to France, 14, 369, 371, 381, 382, 389; republican candidate for vice-president, 1892, 354; and Platt, 360, 361.
- Reiley, W. H., postmaster in Washington Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Reiley, J., employed in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108, 331.
- Resinger, editor, sell out to Andrews, W. H., 134.
- "Relation of the civil service to comfortable living in cities," see Gibson, 366.
- Removals, general, unwarranted, James Madison on, see Madison; in various departments, for year from July 1, 1889, see civil service com., 7th annual report; of postmasters upon secret charges, see secret charges; arbitrary, of postmasters, see Nat. League resolutions of 1890; of presidential postmasters, numerous, 27; of members of pension boards, by Tanner, 27; of foreign ministers by Pres. Harrison, 27; rate of under Asst. Postmaster-General Clarkson, 27; at Indianapolis post-office under Postmaster Jones, easily made, see Moore, 28; in treasury department, 29; of 16 R. R. mail clerks for political reasons, 276 removals in the 10th division, 29; to week ending June 6, 1889, of presidential post offices, 29; in federal offices in Niagara Co., N. Y., 30; of subordinates in treas. dept., see Coulter, 39; under Tanner, commissioner of pensions, 51, 51; under Cravens, collector, 51; in custom house at Baltimore, in post-office at Philadelphia, 53; of postmasters for political reasons, 54, 120; in pension and sixth auditor's offices, see also Roosevelt, 55; in Brooklyn navy yard, 55, 155; by Clarkson, 39, 11, 62, 75, 76, 154, 173, 261; unjustifiable, 63; in R. R. mail service and post-offices, 66; of employes in Charlestown navy yard by Pres. Cleveland, 69; in fire dept. at Indianapolis, 69; in postal service under Wauamaker, 70; in Boston custom house under Saltonstall for good cause, 71; in district of Rockport, Ill., 73; under Cleveland, of office-holders in Maine, 73; in Indian service, 79; of fourth-class postmasters objected to, see Simond, 91; of fourth-class postmasters in Washington Co., Ind., 91; in postal service, Pres. Harrison asked to check, 92; under Cleveland and Harrison, 96; and "resignations" under Clarkson, 131; for political reasons under Postmaster McKean at Pittsburgh, 133; under Postmaster Johnson at Baltimore, for political reasons, 137; by Vou Sandberg, 150; under Harrison, 45, 159, 266; secret charges, 173; under collectors Erhardt, Hedden and Magone, at New York, 183; causes of should be made public, see civil service com. annual report, 1889-90, 185; in classified service in various post-offices, 185; of presidential postmasters for political reasons, 164, 186; under Clarkson of postmasters "upon expiration of four years' service," and second commission not yet expired, 187; "offensive partisanship," 188; under Harrison, for cause only, 188; to make place for friends opposed by Lincoln, 211; wholesale, of employes in fire and police service at Indianapolis, see Equally divided politically, 212, 213; for political reasons, made by Controller Thompson at Philadelphia, 239; under Beard, collector at Boston, 245, 322; more than 100,000 under Harrison, 253; in classified and unclassified service under Johnson, postmaster at Baltimore, his testimony before Roosevelt, 254, 255; for cause only under Zumstein, postmaster at Cincinnati, O., 257; in departments at Washington, D. C., almost wholly for cause, 273; of efficient officials condemned, 286; of supporters of Quay in Pennsylvania by Harrison, 299-301; under Maynard at N. Y. custom-house, on false charges, 310; in navy yards, see Tracy, 311; in postal service for political reasons condemned, bills of Hoar (S.) and Lodge regulating, 321.
- Removal of Burt, Saltonstall, Pearson, Graves, Corse, see Burt, etc.; of De La Hunt, postmaster at Cannellton, Indiana, by Pres. Cleveland, for "offensive partisanship," 25; of Indian Commissioner Oberly and others, 27; on secret charges, cases and lists of, 45, 51, 175, 176, 177, 312; for political reasons, cases and lists of, 29, 30, 39, 45, 46, 47, 51, 51, 55, 56, 59, 71, 72, 74, 81, 87, 88, 89, 91, 94, 96, 100, 136, 142, 146, 147, 186, 187, 230, 256, 288, 297, 298, 303, 304, 319, 362, 368, 371, 374, 377, 386, 408; without cause, cases and lists of, 29, 39, 45, 176, 181, 228, 371, 374, 386; to make places for henchmen, cases and lists of, 29, 72, 90, 98, 101, 112, 126, 131, 140, 148, 188, 310, 331, 371; after four years' service, second commission, unexpired, 187, 188; of Royer, political worker and Indian agent at Pine Ridge, 192; of Dr. Stone pension examiner, and appointment of Dr. Elbert, condemned, 192; of Dougherty, fire chief at Indianapolis, Webster re-appointed, 207, 208; of U. S. district attorney at Washington, D. C., 211; of Royer, worthless Indian agent at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 211, 217, 218; by Senator Ingalls of clerk of committee of District of Columbia, he appoints his own son, 215; of Vandervoort from R. R. mail service by P. M. Gen'l Gresham, 215, 216; of Roosevelt, civil service commissioner, possible, for watching interference of federal office-holders in primaries at Baltimore, Md., 225, 226, 250, 311, 312; plots for, of Harlow, postmaster at St. Louis, Mo., 226; of Ryder, criminal, appointed to Indian service, 226; of Eastman, supervising architect of Brooklyn, N. Y., for maladministration, 234; under Hathaway, postmaster in house of representatives, 242; and re-instatement of Sears, P. O. employe at Baltimore, 277; in violation of law, under Cleveland and Harrison, in Omaha, Neb., post office, 281; of Pension Examiner Dr. Van Alstyne, through Postmaster Dunn, 304; of Squires, corrupt public officer, see Hill, 307; of Leaycraft by Gov. Flower, 332; of Milholland, federal employe, for political activity, 332, 334; of Wimberly, internal revenue collector in Mississippi for lottery connections, 343, 348; of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, 350; of N. Y. R. R. Commissioner Spencer, 355; of Ewing, Prentice, from N. Y. health dept., by Tammany, 356; of P. C. MacCourt by Sec. Windon, 54; of Sharp, postmaster at Leadhill, Ark., and Stevens, postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., 54; of Reutler, Downing and Wigg, by Sec. Whitney, 147; of Tauner, commissioner of pensions, 53; of Nat'l Hawthorne, 16; of Flenniker, postmaster at Bradford, Pa., on protest of H. C. Frick, 99; of Terry, postmaster of Terryville, N. Y., for refusing to pay political assessments, 391; by Postmaster Thompson of Indianapolis, of Carrier Dunn, for soliciting political contributions, 403; of postmaster at Wyoming, Ill., for having been appointed through political intrigue, Hammond appointed, 176.
- Reno, M. A., postmaster at Pontiac, Ill., removal demanded by Congressman Payson for "offensive partisanship," 188.
- Rentfro, R. B., Harrison delegate to republican nat'l convention, appointed collector of customs at Brownsville, Texas, 46, 159.
- Report to Pres. Harrison by Roosevelt on interference of federal office holders in primaries at Baltimore, 254, 255.
- Republicans in Indiana legislature oppose bill for non partisan control of state institutions, 201, 202, 414.
- Republican clubs, league of, meeting at Cincinnati, election of Clarkson as president, 219.
- Rerick, J. H., editor, appointed postmaster at La Grange, Ind., 126.
- Resignations, forced in postal service, see National League, report of on presidential post-offices; under Clarkson, 149; in postal service, 164; cases and lists of, 165, 166, 216; of Erhardt, collector at N. Y. City, Fassett appointed to make clean sweep, 255.
- Resolutions of republicans of 6th assembly district, N. Y. City against civil service reform, 19; passed at annual meeting, 1890, Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 120; of National League at annual meeting, 1890, 172; of annual meeting, 1892, of National League on status of civil service reform, 321.
- Reutfie, A. B., collector at port of Brownsville, Tex., a political worker, 159.
- Reutler, C. P., discharged by Sec'y Whitney from navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Rebyburn, Congressman, and Quay, 280.
- Reynolds, U. S. dist. att'y, political worker, and delegate to Minneapolis convention, 143, 346.
- Reynolds, Gen'l, postmaster of Rochester, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Rhea, M. A., journalist, postmaster at Altoona, Kan., 148.
- Rhinehart, sheriff, 107; and Briggs' cartage contract, 332.
- Rhode Island, senators and representatives of, secure appointment of Fay as postmaster at Newport, 150.
- Rhodes, S. R., journalist, postmaster at Gresham, Neb., 149.
- Rice, A. T., editor, office-holder, 14.
- Rice, F., sec'y of state for New York, worker for Hill, 309; enumeration of 1892, 317.
- Rice, G. A., post-office inspector, political worker, 160.
- Rice, J. L., postmaster at Springfield, Mass., thoroughly efficient, removal desired, 87.
- Richards, D. J., editor, postmaster at Zanesville O., 301.
- Richards, S. T., postmaster in Clayton Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Richardson, member of Maryland legislature, moves for repeal of civil service law, 96.
- Richardson, E. S., negro, R. R. mail employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Richardson, R. H., negro, postmaster at Wedgefield, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Richensteen, W., appointed postmaster at Long Island City, N. Y., 54; letter to, from H. C. Johnson favoring civil service reform, 100.
- Richie, R. M., postmaster at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Richmond, H. A., civil service reformer at Balt. conference, 1889, 2; address before Y. M. A. of Buffalo, March 24, 1889, 16, 32, 67, 83, 172, 200; on Curtis, 391.
- Richmond, Ind., should have civ. service law applied to local offices; Editor Jenkinson appointed postmaster at, 126, 377; postmaster of is the local "party," 183; works for Harrison, 249.
- Richmond, Ind., Sunday Register (Rep.) opposes political methods of Frank Hatton, 76.
- Richmond, Va., embezzler Russell appointed postmaster at, 374.
- Ricker, C., and political assessments, 384.
- Rickets, C. H., see Cannon, 39.
- Ricketts, V. L., editor, advocates repeal of civ. service law, is given office, 85, 86, 90, 213.
- Ridland, postmaster at Scottsburg, Ind., political worker, 141, 377.
- Riley, J., appointed to fire service at Indianapolis vice White, and Findling removed under "equally divided politically" rule, 235, 243.
- Riley, J. B., chief examiner N. Y. civil service commission, removed by Tammany, 414.
- Riley, J. L., succeeded by O. P. Ensley as chief clerk in pension office (Indiana), 108.
- Rinewalt, A. L., journalist, postmaster at Williamsville, N. Y., 155.
- Rio Janeiro, Consul-General Armstrong at, removed for political reasons, 54.
- Ritchie, D. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126.
- Roark, N. S., and political assessments, see Kentucky.
- Roberts, A., postmaster of Addison, N. Y., a political worker, 266.
- Roberts, E. H., asst. treasurer, political worker, 354.
- Roberts, F. H., journalist, postmaster at Oskaloosa, Kan., 149.
- Roberts, G. M., political worker for Harrison, relative of Collector Cravens, of Indiana, 379.
- Roberts, W. T., receiver of political assessments for Maryland, 391.
- Robertson, Utah commissioner, political worker at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Robertson, Col., political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Robertson, T. W., employed in custom-house (N. Y.), political worker, 108.
- Robertson, sec'y. of navy, orders re-instatement of thief Weeks, at request of Broadhead, at Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Robinson, postmaster at Concord, N. H., active politician, 143.
- Robinson, E. E., postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y., a political worker for Platt, 264.
- Robinson, H. C., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Robinson, H. C., journalist, postmaster at Washington, Kan., 149.
- Robinson, Ill., Editor Harper appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Robinson, Congressman-elect, supported by Quay, 280; supported by Collector Cooper to succeed Quay, 299.
- Robison, W. E., journalist, postmaster at Bealsville, Pa., 149.
- Rochelle, Ill., Postmaster Gardner of succeeded by Hartong, 109; Postmaster Hartong of works for Hill, 136.
- Rochelle, Ill., Herald, letter to regarding Congressman Hitt's course in the distribution of spoil, 110.
- Rochester, N. Y., Reynolds, postmaster of a political worker, 266; Tarbox, postmaster of a political worker, 280; state civil service law enforced in city service, Belknap case, 305; Hilliam at, 309.
- Rockford, Ill., applicants for positions in census service in district of, 101; Postmaster Lawlor of, political worker for Congressman Hitt, 143.

- Rockhill, W., postmaster at Arcola, Ind., removed through influence of Postmaster Higgins, McGoogle appointed, 362.
- Rockport, Ill., removals in district of, 73.
- Rockport, Ill., Register (repub.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Rockwell, Congressman, recommends re-appointment of democrat Harrington, postmaster at Monson, 188.
- Rodebaugh, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 406.
- Rodney, Miss., Postmaster Engharth of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Rogers, postmaster of Huntington, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Rogers, R. J., political worker, appointed postmaster, at Searcy, Ark., 186.
- Rogers, S. S., civil service reformer, 68, 172, 405; to examine management civil service, 77; report on congressional patronage to National League, 113, 114, 115; on committee investigating patent office, report of, 139, 140, 141; upholds civil service law of New York, 161; on committee of National League, investigating presidential post-offices, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 188; on committee of Nat. League, reporting on removals on secret charges, 175, 176, 177; president Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association, address of, to citizens of Buffalo, 189, 200; urges extension of civil service law, 192; address of, before annual meeting National League, 1891, on extension of classified service, 261, 275, 277; on special committee of National League, investigating census service, 291, 295; request of, for information refused by P. O. department, 297; on G. W. Curtis, 391.
- Rogers City, Mich., Journalist Larke, postmaster at, 149.
- Roggen, E. P., candidate for postmaster at Lincoln, Neb., 72, 108.
- Rokestraw, disreputable character, postmaster at Cheraw, S. Carolina, 55.
- Rollins, collector, and Eaves, 362.
- Rome, Ga., postmaster of, candidate for congress, 162.
- Ronner, J. H. V., deputy commissioner of street improvements, on Tammany methods, 234.
- Roosevelt, T., and Census Supt. Porter, see Civil Service Reformer; at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; appointed civil service commissioner by Harrison, 17, 86, 95, 96, 103, 168, 174, 275, 405; investigates Indianapolis post-office and censures its management, 28; applies to Sec. of the Treas. and stops Coulter's proceedings, 34; and civil service reform association of Brookline, Mass., 36; on congressional patronage, 39; silences ridiculous arguments against civil service reform, 46; performances of all republicans with disgust, 49; abuse of, 52; charges of against heads of pension and 6th auditor's offices for removals for political reasons, 55; appointment of especially good, 59; address of before Boston and Cambridge civil service reform associations, 77; reasons for removal should be public; examination questions under, 79; investigates office of Collector Cooper, of Philadelphia, 85; charges of Hatton against, Shidy case, 101; and Shidy case, 104; addresses Bloomington branch Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, 1890, 108; before congressional committee, 119; reports favorably on Indianapolis post-office, 120; commended, 125, 136; address of before civil service reform association of Maryland, 1890, on spoils in post-offices, 132; and Postmaster Johnson, of Baltimore, 137; and Grosvenor, 146, 204, 205, statement of before congressional committee; see also Grosvenor, 162; statement of as to scope of civil service reform, 172; address in Indiana, 182; before select committee of house of representatives, 188; and Wanamaker, 190, 298; urges extension of civil service reform. see also "An Object Lesson in Civil Service Reform," in Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1891, 192; extract from address of before Commercial Club in Boston, 1890, on spoils "iniquity," 194; Gorman defends Wanamaker against, 214; investigates interference of federal office-holders in primaries at Baltimore, Md., his removal possible, 225, 226, 254, 255, 261, 267, 268, 277, 278, 321, 322, 329, 330, 350, 366, 372, 373; speech of at dinner to at Indianapolis, list of assistants, and regrets, 227, 229, 230, 231; invites 21st district republican association, of N. Y. City to investigate civil service reform as applied in N. Y. custom-house, 236; answers attacks of Gorman, Plumb and Stewart, 250, 251; praised by Mr. Storey, 257; denies charges of favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267; on work of the civil service commission, 273; thanked, 287; removal of, desired by politicians, 311, 312; informed of political activity of federal employes, 334; against Wanamaker and Clarkson, 349; and Johnson, postmaster at Baltimore, 363, 372; and political assessments, 70, 97, 161, 358, 375, 383, 385, 390, 392; and duties of federal employes, 383, 384; report of, 397; resignation of, would be a loss to reform, 398; on extensions of classified service, 415.
- Root, G. A., Major, appointed postmaster at Lanark, Ill., through influence of Congressman Hitt, 109, 136.
- Rose, federal office-holder, political worker, 287.
- Rose, J. C., civil service reformer, at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; on local examining board at Baltimore, 137, 186; investigates interference of federal office-holders at Baltimore, 225, 226, 261; on committee of National League to investigate interference of office-holders and political assessments, 338.
- Rosecrans, Gen'l, proposes that congressmen have absolute control of offices, 85.
- Roseville, Ill., Editor Hebbard appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Ross, postmaster at Washington, D. C., transferred, 153.
- Ross, M., editor of Indianapolis News, favors civil service reform, speech of at Roosevelt dinner, 227, 229, 231, 232.
- Rossing, L. A., postmaster at Bode, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Rotation, in office in Indiana, 45; Jacksonian, 257.
- Rothwell, T., ex-alderman New York City, low politician, 199.
- Royer, political worker, appointed Indian agent at Pine Ridge, 192, 202; removed, seeks re-appointment, 211, 217, 218.
- Royer, N., appointed postmaster at Noblesville, Ind., through influence of Cheadle, 47, 89; political worker, 380.
- Rubens, fireman at Indianapolis, political worker for Trusler, 208.
- Runnell, ward politician, seeking collectorship customs at Wilmington, N. C., 183.
- Rusk, Sec., gives R. G. Blaine an office, 108; and Quay, 118; telegram of to Prof. Nipher and reply, 244, 245; supposed telegram of to Prof. Nipher never sent, 253, 290, 354.
- Russell, Jr., C. T., condemns Clarkson, 186.
- Russell, O. H., embezzler, appointed postmaster at Richmond, Va., 374.
- Rutherford, N. J., removal of Van Riper, postmaster of, on secret charges, 175.
- Ryan, efficient employe in R. R. mail service, promoted, 136.
- Ryan, U. S. minister to Mexico, political worker, 382.
- Ryan, J. J., political worker, appointed police justice by Mayor Grant, 184.
- Ryan, T., federal office-holder, returns home to vote, 162; removed for cause by Cleveland, re-appointed by Harrison, 79.
- Ryan, W. S., vice-president Kings Co., N. Y., central republican committee, 198, 304.
- Ryder, W. D., convicted criminal, appointed to Indian service, but removed, 226.
- Sage, S. L., journalist, postmaster at St. Lawrence, S. Dak., 155.
- Sahn, A., ward politician at Indianapolis, 315; applicant for postmastership of Indianapolis, see Indianapolis investigation, 411, 412.
- Sale of offices, by defeated candidate Love of Missouri, testimony of sale, 32, 55, 93, 99; elsewhere, 104, 121; in police service of San Francisco, 215; under Tammany, 224, 225; in pension bureau, by G. B. Raum, Jr., 238.
- Salem, Ind., Ward, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Saltonstall, collector at Boston applies civil service methods successfully, 71; correspondence with Windom and Harrison, removal of, 94; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102; removal of through influence of Hoar and Dawes, senators, Beard appointed, 105, 129, 168, 173, 179, 245, 282, 367, 376.
- Samoan commission, relative of Harrison appointed naval attache to, 369.
- San Antonio, Tex., Johnson, postmaster of, political worker, 159.
- San Carlos, Indian agency at, and Commissioner Oberly, 48.
- San Francisco, Cal., the "blind white devil of," 28; police positions sold in by Bruner, 215; customs district of, classified 1883, 276.
- Sanders, Senator, patronage of, 160.
- Sandford, E., appointed by Cleveland chief justice of Utah supreme court, removed for political reasons, 374.
- Sandwich (Mass.) democrat Shevlin reappointed postmaster at, 224.
- Sanford, congressman, helps Editor Ritchie to be postmaster at Saratoga, N. Y., 126; on house committee of civ. service, 86.
- Sangatuck, Mich., Journalist Wade, postmaster at, 149.
- Saratoga, N. Y., Editor Ritchie appointed postmaster at, although opposed by Vice-Pres. Morton, 126; Ritchie, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
- Saulcy, E., political worker, career of, 138; deputy collector at Indianapolis, 144; political worker in Indiana, 302, 353, 375, 377, 379.
- Saunemin, Ill., Editor Brydia appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sawyer, offered bribes for influence in behalf of candidate for Batavia, N. Y., postmastership, 47.
- Sawyer, Senator, favorably disposed to office-seekers, 6; chairman senate committee on post-offices aids nomination of Harrison, 364.
- Saxton, N. Y. state senator, calls on Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- Saybrook, Ill., Editor Mace appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sayre, W. G., Indian land commissioner, federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 189, 297, 316, 353, 378, 379, 389.
- Scanlan, J. F., political worker, given office through influence of Huston, 132.
- Scheusser, J. J., federal employe, in New York convention, 335.
- Schmester, R., employe in post-office at St. Louis, worker for Tilly machine, 150.
- Schmidt, F., custom-house deputy at Indianapolis political worker, 108, 144, 377.
- Scholar in Politics, see Roosevelt, dinner at Indianapolis, 227, 229.
- Schultz, F., census supervisor 6th Indiana district, politician, 104.
- School and civil service reform, see Civ. S. Ref.
- Schrader, Jr., J., journalist, postmaster at Lawrenceburg, Tenn., 155.
- Schreckengast, A. F., journalist, appointed census enumerator, 142.
- Schrieber, postmaster of Tell City, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Schuarze contest, 226.
- Schurz, Carl, an "imposter," 49; Sec. of Interior under Arther, obtains reappointment of Miss Sweet, 107, 321; address of, favoring reform methods, 396.
- Scott, C. T., appointed postmaster at Axbridge, Mass., vice Farnum removed on secret charges, 175.
- Scott, J. N., brother-in law of Harrison, given office, 21, 30, 369.
- Scott, Kan., Journalist Adams postmaster at, 149.
- Scott, N. B., member national republican committee, levies political assessments, 390.
- Scott, W. C., journalist, postmaster at Dalton O., 149.
- Scottsborough, Ind., Postmaster Ridland of, compelled to aid Michener, 144; Ridland, postmaster of, political worker, 377.
- Scranton, Congressman, postmaster of Scranton, Pa., 101.
- Scranton, Pa., Hartley, P. O. employe at, under Postmasters Sloeum and Connelly, 101; federal officer-holders political workers for Quay in convention at, 230.
- Scruggs, J. P., deputy collector Int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Scenlock, G. C., negro, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Seaman, L. L., protests against removal of Milholand, as federal interference, 333.
- Searcy, Ark., Postmaster McCauley of, removed after four years' service, second commission unexpired, Rogers appointed, 186, 187.
- Sears, G. W., P. O. employe, see Baltimore investigation, removal of, 277, 296.
- Secret charges, removal on, of McKenna, postmaster of Long Island City, N. Y., 175; removal of Wilson, postmaster at Chadron, Neb., on, 175; removal of Ratnour, postmaster at Weeping Water, Neb., on, Butler appointed, 175; removals upon, investigation into by committee of National League 1890, 175, 176, 177; rules of postal department on, as interpreted by Clarkson, 176; should not be allowed, 415.
- Sedan, Ind., Crane, postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Sedgwick, "Bob," political worker for Woodruff, see Kings Co., N. Y.
- Sedgwick, J. R., journalist, postmaster at McDonald, Kan., 149.
- Sefrits, L. D., buys post-office at Washington, Daviess Co., Ind., 121.
- Senate, secret executive sessions of, see Foulke.
- Senate, patronage evil in, 72.
- Seneca, Co., N. Y., republican convention of Aug., 1891, factional fights in, 259, 260.
- Service, diplomatic, necessity for reform in, 3; civil, federal, number of offices in, 10.
- Serviss, candidate for postmaster at Apple River, Jo Daviess Co., Ill., 109.
- Settle, widow of Judge, set aside through influence of Congressman Brower, 47.
- Settle, Judge, relations of in office, 47.
- Sewell, Gen'l, patronage of, 180, 386.
- Sexton, Colonel, aided by Senator Farwell for postmastership of Chicago, 14; postmaster at Chicago, spoilsman, 22.
- Seymour (Ind.) Democrat, condemns opposition to Magee bill, see also Magee, 209.
- Shackleford, Gen'l, appointment of as judge in Indian Territory, 240.
- Shaffer, J., pres. street railway company, is accused of bribing and intimidating voters, 207.
- Shangreau, L., and Indian rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Shannon, postmaster, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Shannon, Ill., Editor Mastin appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Sharob, J. B., journalist, postmaster at Pierce, Neb., 149.
- Sharp, postmaster of Ellettsville, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Sharp, H. E., convicted criminal, appointed postmaster at Leadhill, Arkansas, 39; removed, 54.
- Sharp, B. C., given office through influence of Judge Settle, his relative, 47.
- Sharpe, G. H., political worker for Platt and Hiscok, given federal office, 265; anti-Platt worker, 280; father of federal employe S. B. Sharpe, political worker for Harrison in New York, 336; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Shaw, postmaster at Vevay, Ind., political worker, 379.

- Shaw, A. D., appointed deputy third-auditor of treasury for political services, 71, 81; a political worker, 162, 269, 352, 353, 354, 363, 378, 379, 382.
- Shaw, E. O., journalist postmaster at Newaygo, Mich., 189.
- Shay, fire-chief at N. Y. City retired on pension, 36.
- Shea, D., active politician appointed depnty of Collector Erhardt, 108; a political worker, 265, 331, 343, 344.
- Shearman, congressman, opposed to civ. service reform, 49, 54, 180.
- Shearman, J. G., and refusal of Cleveland while candidate to pledge spoil to Sheehan, 395.
- Sheehan, T. C., 317, 318.
- Sheehan, W. F., low politician of Buffalo, N. Y., 196, 197; speaker of N. Y. assembly and patronage, 215; lieutenant-governor of New York, corrupt politician, 310; and school patronage in New York, 318, 319; Cleveland refusee, while candidate, to pledge spoil to, 395; obtains suspension of civil service rules in, for benefit of workers, 414; and bill for municipal reform in Oswego, N. Y., 415.
- Shelbyville, Ind., Bone, postmaster at, removed on secret charges, 177.
- Shelbyville (Ind.) Republican (rep.), advocates civ. service reform, 76; on Magee bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 215.
- Sheldon, Iowa, Editor Piper appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Shelley, J. J., foreman on park board at New York City, defrauds Cole on pretense of selling office, 224, 225.
- Shelley, W. F., dentist, appointed postmaster at New Castle, Ind., 132.
- Shepard, E. M., on examinations in character, 153.
- Shepard, W. J., address by, before Central Labor Union of Buffalo, on civ. service reform, 44; civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200.
- Shepardson, S. W., employe in railway mail service promoted, 136.
- Sheppard, J. T., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Sherer, Dr., in appraiser's office at New York, removed on false charges, see "sugar frauds," 203.
- Sheridan, Gen. G. A., patronage defeated republicans in Ohio, 75.
- Sheridan, J., saloon-keeper and fish protection at Lake Kenka, N. Y., 356.
- Sherman, Senator, spoilsman, 15, 17; on evils of patronage, 25, 67, 177; at war with Quay, 56; secures appointment of Hopley postmaster at Bucyrus, O., 149; controls patronage of Ohio, 240, 340; and election controversy of 1877 in Louisiana, accused of bribery, 241; obtains office for Smith, political worker, 249; re-election due to federal patronage, 297, 301, 302.
- Sherman, Mich., Journalist Wheeler postmaster at, 149.
- Sherwood, H., promoted to be postmaster at Washington, 153.
- Shevlin, J., democrat, reappointed postmaster at Sandwich, Mass., 224.
- Shidy, P. O. employe at Milwaukee, compelled by Postmaster Paul to manipulate records, testifies against Paul, removed by him, given another place by Roosevelt, 101, 103.
- Sibel, R. R., works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379; candidate for office, aided by federal office-holders, 370.
- Shipman, Judge, and removal of Bario, efficient P. O. inspector, 298.
- Shipsey, "Jake," gambler, friend of police justice Divver, 184.
- Shivelev, Congressman, patronage of, 421.
- Shook, S., supports Lee for place in N. Y. custom-house, 259.
- Short Hills, N. J., Kessler, grocer, appointed postmaster of, vice Goodrich removed for political reasons, 386.
- Shore, tax-clerk, a political worker, 162.
- Shrayer, A. R., a political worker for Harrison, 260.
- Shryack, C. V., editor, given office by Governor Forker, 301.
- Shushan, N. Y., Stevens, disreputable character, appointed postmaster at, through influence of Congressman Quackenbush, 32.
- Sickles, General, of N. Y. civil service commission, a friend to civil service reform, 34.
- Seiders, J. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Plymouth, Ind., 126, 377.
- Sidney, Ohio, editor appointed postmaster at, 301.
- Sill, U. S. attorney, testifies to worth of Bario, P. O. inspector removed, 298.
- Sills, A. K., worker for Harrison, appointed swamp land agent, 50, 377.
- Simmonds, extension of civil service law advocated by, 73.
- Simmons, J. E., bank president, recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- Simms, C., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Simond, Congressman, civil service reformer, 91.
- Simonds, D. K., journalist, postmaster at Manchester, Vt., 155.
- Simpson, postmaster at Lamb, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Simpson, J., and Fassett, 258; requests patronage, 311, 312; federal employe, in New York convention, 334.
- Sing Sing, N. Y., E. A. McAlpin appointed postmaster at as reward for party services, 108; at convention of republican leagues, 259.
- Sinks, G. W., treas. state republican executive committee, Ohio, and political assessments, 280.
- Sissel, Rev. G. A., opposes Harrison, wants offices for negroes, 244.
- Sitka, Alaska, Journalist Kenealy postmaster at, 155.
- Sitting Bull, "kidnapping" of, 192.
- Skerritt, Commodore, opposes abnses in Kittery navy yard, 148.
- Slee, J. D. F., 259; accuses Fassett of corrupt political methods, see also Chemung, N. Y., 266.
- Sleicher, J. A., N. Y. civil service commissioner, at Minneapolis convention, 346, 354.
- "Slick Six," in Indianapolis, 230.
- Sloan, S. C., on inefficient census enumeration in N. Y. City, 294.
- Small, J. K., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smalls, Robert, convicted criminal appointed by Harrison, 39.
- Smethport, Pa., Postmaster Kerns of, worker for Delamater, 134.
- Smith, buys office in pension bureau from G. B. Raum, Jr., secures promotion by fraud, 238.
- Smith, politician, succeeding Miss Moody, 39.
- Smith, representative in Indiana legislature, opposes spoils methods in, 407.
- Smith, postmaster at Laurel, Del., attempts bribery, 397, 401, 402.
- Smith, Alderman, of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Smith, A., ex-mayor of Cincinnati, office-seeker, 24; customs collector at Cincinnati, through influence of Sherman, works for, 249; political worker in Ohio, 336.
- Smith, A. A., editor and politician, appointed postmaster at Ogdensburg, N. Y., vice Baird, removed, 126.
- Smith, A. G., attorney-gen'l of Indiana, spoilsman, 315, 355.
- Smith, B. W., uses influence for appointment of Throop, 59; applicant for postmastership at Lafayette, Ind., 84; postmaster at La Fayette, Ind., aids Michener and La Follette, 141; a political worker, 153, 158, 316, 339, 342, 377, 379.
- Smith, C., son of federal officer, favorite of Platt at convention republican league, 259.
- Smith, C. E., candidate of Sen. Hiscock for postmaster at Syracuse, 46; editor, appointed postmaster at Syracuse, N. Y., vice editor removed, moved, 81; a political worker, 266, 335, 347, 386.
- Smith, C. E., editor, appointed minister to Russia, 100, 133; worker at Minneapolis convention, 382.
- Smith, D., naval officer, on board applicants for positions in navy yard at Brooklyn, N. Y., 222.
- Smith, E., postmaster at Carrollton, Ill., removed through influence of Senator Cullom, 188.
- Smith, E. M., and political assessments in Alabama, 391.
- Smith, F. C., editor, appointed deputy collector at St. Albans, 126.
- Smith, G. A., political boss in Brooklyn, N. Y., accepts bribes, 106.
- Smith, G. W., congressman, forces resignation of Andrews, postmaster at Murphysboro, Ill., 165.
- Smith, H. C., successful competitor, given office, 1884, removed by Auditor Conlter, 45.
- Smith, J. C. H., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Smith, J. E., naval office employe in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Smith, J. E., U. S. asst. dist. atty. in New York, a political worker, 265.
- Smith, J. G., journalist, postmaster at Cunningham, Kan., 149.
- Smith, S. B., anti-Platt republican, police justice and ward politician, see N. Y. City, 198, 199.
- Smith, S. E., negro, P. O. clerk delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smith, S. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Encinitas, Cal., 141.
- Smith, T. G., civil service reformer of Buffalo, N. Y., 200; ou Curtis, 394.
- Smith, W. H., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Smith, Dr. W. M., health officer of port of New York, favorite of Platt, 259.
- Smithfield, O., father of Journalist H. Harrison postmaster at, 149.
- Smithland, Iowa, Journalist Hills appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Smock, F. M., journalist, appointed postmaster at Keota, Iowa, 142.
- Smyth, Recorder, recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- Smyth, A. W., supt. New Orleans mint, pays political assessments, 383.
- Smyth, W., editor, appointed postmaster at Oswego, N. Y., 71.
- Smyth, supt. of New Orleans mint, political worker, 304.
- Snyder, H. R., journalist, postmaster at Waverly, O., 149.
- Soale, W., politician, census supervisor, 4th Indiana district, spoilsman, 104, 131, 182.
- "Solid South," vote of for Harrison and others at Minneapolis, 347.
- Sortwell, federal officer, political worker, 379.
- South Bend, Ind., Postmaster Crockett of, a political worker, 153, 158, 316, 377, 378.
- South Bend, Ind., Times (rep.), against repeal of civil service law, 83.
- S. Carolina, political activity of federal officers in, 347, 348, 382, 390.
- South Dakota, political assessments in Indian service in, 384, 385.
- South Hadley Falls, Mass., democrat Kirkpatrick nominated, see Wallace and Harrison, 157.
- Spalding appointed postmaster at Champaign, Ill., through influence of Priv. Sec. Halford, 38.
- Sparta, Ill., Editor Taylor appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Spatz, Louis, inspector in N. Y. custom-house, political worker, 108.
- Speare, appointed postmaster at Quincy, Mass., by Cleveland, removal of sought by Morse, 86; removed, 100.
- Speed, H., U. S. dis. atty., works for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 346.
- Spencer, T. W., N. Y. state R. R. inspector, asked to resign, 355, 356.
- Spencer, W. Va., Journalist Flinn postmaster at, 155.
- Spencerville, Ind., Proner postmaster of, political worker, 379, 380.
- Sperry, postmaster at New Haven, Conn., civ. service reformer, 91, 255; testifies to worth of Bario, removed P. O. inspector, 298.
- Spidle, J., journalist, postmaster at Wilmot, O., 149.
- Spinola, congressman, against civil service reform, 122, 125.
- Spirely, L. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Kingston, Mo., through influence of Filley, 132.
- Spoils system for paying the workers in this country and England, 19; evils of, see Lincoln; evils of, Pres. W. H. Harrison on, 36; opposed by Thomas Jefferson, 46; evils of, see Strong, Rev. S., 102; evils of, see Senator Sherman, also Houk, 177.
- Spooner, senator of Wisconsin, obtains appointment of Bro. R. Spooner as consl at Prague, 30, 354.
- Spooner, H. L., journalist, postmaster at Brookfield, N. Y., 155.
- Spooner, R., appointed consul at Prague through influence of Sen. Spooner, 30.
- Sprague, E. C., address of before annual meeting of National League noticed, 269.
- Sprague, H. H., at Balt. Conference, 1889, 2; signs petition for larger appropriation for civil serv. com., 102, 172; speech of on Roosevelt, 415.
- Sprague, H. L., ward politician, see also New York City, 241, 242.
- Spring Valley, O., wife of Journalist Hale postmaster at, 149.
- Springer, Congressman, and star route scandals, 291.
- Springfield, Mass., case of Postmaster Rice, 87.
- Squire, R. M., corrupt commissioner of public works, N. Y. City, see Hill, 306, 307.
- St. Charles, Iowa, Editor Wood appointed postmaster at, 142.
- St. Clairsville, O., Editor Hunt appointed postmaster at, 301.
- St. Genevieve, Mo., Editor Ernst appointed postmaster at, 126.
- St. George, W. Va., Lipscomb, son of journalist, postmaster at, 155.
- St. Joe Station, Ind., Postmaster Ables of, political worker, 379, 380.
- St. Joseph, Mo., political assessments of P. O. employes at, 383.
- St. Lawrence, S. Dak., Journalist Sage postmaster at, 155.
- St. Louis, disposal of patronage at, see Kerens; applicants for postmastership of, 24; J. B. Harlow appointed postmaster of, 88, 131; introduces reform methods 136; plots to remove, 226; negro politicians of demand spoil, 146; post-office employes at supporters of Filley machine, 150; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277; census service in, inefficient, 295; Postmaster Harlow of ordered to give office to political worker Rundstadler, federal patronage is used for Harrison's renomination, 304.
- St. Louis Globe Democrat (rep.), patronage brings weakness, 76; on repeal civ. service law, 92.
- St. Louis Republic (dem.) favors good administration, 51; considers civil service reform as of prime importance, 59; on lesson of Garfield's assassination, 129; advocates civil service reform, 138; on Filley machine, 150.
- St. Paul Pioneer-Press (repub.), civ. service reform not abandoned, 65; favors civil service reform, accountability of Harrison, 75.
- Stacy, postmaster at Albert Lea, Minn., removed for political reasons, 39.
- Stamp, A. H., federal employe, asked to pay political assessments, 391, 392.
- Stanberry, Mo., fight over postmastership at, 121.
- "Star Route" ring, 28; scandals and Elkins, 290, 369, 374.
- Starr, collector, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Staubach, J. B., on merit system in post-office at Cincinnati, O., 257.
- Stearns, appraiser in Boston custom-house removed through Congressman Cogswell, Dodge appointed, 250, 288.

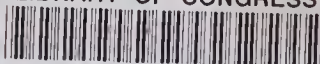
- Stearns, J. T., custom-house auctioneer, in New York convention, 335.
- Steele, Congressman, given control of patronage by Harrison, 210.
- Steele, G., at Minneapolis convention, 316.
- Steele, Richard, in the Tattler, on absurdities of English spoils system, see Curtis, 120.
- Steele, W. T., governor of Oklahoma, political worker for Harrison, 189, 378.
- Stemen, pension examiner in Indiana, political worker, 380.
- Stepp, J. M., postmaster at Glen Hall, Ind., "resigns," 149.
- Sternberg, worker for Murphy, gets office through suspension of civil service rules in New York, 411.
- Steuben, Ind., Republican [repub.], advocates civ. service reform, 76.
- Stevens, postmaster of Peru, Ind., political worker, 379.
- Stevens, postmaster at Shushan, N. Y., removed, 54.
- Stevens, E. N., editor, appointed postmaster at Paxton, Ill., 126.
- Stevens, J. L., journalist, postmaster at Plainview, Neb., 149.
- Stevens, W. H., employe in custom-house at St. Louis, Mo., worker for Filley machine, 150.
- Stevens, W. J., opposes Harrison in Alabama, 346; republican politician in Alabama, charges political activity of federal office-holders in, 355.
- Stevenson, Congressman, on house committee, on civil service, 86.
- Stevenson, A. E., as presidential possibility, 235; asst. P. M. gen'l under Cleveland, spoilsman, 255, 350, 375, 376, 386, 408; democratic candidate for vice-president, 1892, 349; and Knights of the Golden Circle, 381, 389; vice-president elect, 388.
- Stevenson, R. B., endeavors to levy political assessments in Indian service in Kansas, 385.
- Stewart, senator of New York, and Fassett, collector at N. Y. City, 258.
- Stewart, Senator, attacks civil service commission, 250, 251.
- Stewart, D. F., postmaster at Wilmington, Del., political worker, 334.
- Stewart, H., resignation of as postmaster at Munroeville, Ind., given office in Washington, 88.
- Stieb, P., employed in New York custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Stimson, Dr. D. M., resigns from N. Y. City health dept., because it becomes political machine, 356.
- Stinson, W. D., nephew of Mrs. Blaine, appointed postmaster at Augusta, Me., 321.
- Stockbridge, Congressman, controls post-office at Baltimore, Md., 84.
- Stockbridge, Senator, in Michigan convention, 335; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345.
- Stocking, S. W., promoted in patent office, efficient, 110.
- Stockton, A. R., republican politician and postmastership at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Stoddard, inspector in postal service, and removal of Farnum on secret charges, 175.
- Stokely, mayor, and Martin, disreputable politician of Philadelphia, 233.
- Stokely, S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 331.
- Stone, congressman, on house committee on civ. service, 86.
- Stone, collector and appointment of O'Donnell, 60.
- Stone, supporters of, bought by Delamater, 134.
- Stone, C. W., and pardon of Petroff and Kemble, 152.
- Stone, F. C., internal rev. collector in Michigan, political worker, 390.
- Stone, Editor J. B., appointed collector internal revenue first Michigan district, 30.
- Stone, Dr. R. F., pension examiner, removed, Dr. Elbert, negro, appointed, 192.
- Storer, ex-representative, opposed to Congressman Hitt, 109.
- Storey, M., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110; on responsibility, 219; on Roosevelt civil service reform, 257; on divorce of municipal business from politics, 261, 283, 286; on committee of National League to investigate political interference of office-holders, 338; chairman committee Nat. League investigating political activity of federal office-holders under Harrison, report to by L. B. Swift, 375-381.
- Story City, Iowa, Editor Peterson appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Stouffer, A. K., journalist, postmaster at Arkalon, Kan., 148.
- Stover, representative in Indiana legislature, and spoils methods in, 407.
- Stratton, S. R., pres. Pa. republican ass'n, advocates clean sweep, 19; and office-seekers, 88; advocates political assessments and intimidation, 178, 179.
- Strawbery Point, Ia., Postmaster Keith of, removed, see Clarkson, 55.
- Strong, M., negro, unable to read or write, appointed postmaster at Delmar, Ala., 47.
- Strong, Rev. Sidney, on evils of spoils system, 102.
- Strouser, I. R., compares Cleveland and Harrison, 364.
- Stronther, P. W., deputy int. rev. coll., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Struble, I. S., congressman, forces resignation of Jasper, postmaster at Kingsley, Ia., 165.
- Stuart, P. O. inspector, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Stuart, Iowa, Editor Moulton appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Stuart, R. S., inspector, dismissed of, 17.
- Studebaker, E. H., requested by R. Harrison to persuade Blaine delegate to vote for Harrison, 337.
- Sturgis, O. T., editor, endorsed by Sen. Quay for postmaster at Uniontown, Pa., 99.
- Statesman, auditing att'y at Peru, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Suffall, veteran, efficient postmaster at Freedom, Ind., removed for political reasons, Watts appointed through influence of Michener, 112, 377.
- "Sugar frauds," at New York, false charges against Dr. Sherer, in appraiser's office at, 203.
- Sullivan, Ind., applicants for postmastership at, 88; Editor Clugage appointed postmaster at, 108, 126, 377.
- Sullivan, J. E., county clerk of Marion Co., Ind., embezzles county funds, see Indianapolis.
- Sullivan, J. N., appointed postmaster at Berne, Ind., removed, 88.
- Sullivan, T., mayor of Indianapolis, should institute civil service reform methods in city offices, as in Boston, Buffalo and Brooklyn, see equally divided politically, 220; should introduce merit system in city service, 235; can at will apply merit system to every city department, 213; elected twice by independent votes, 269.
- Sulzer, M. L., special Indian agent, worker for Harrison, 316; opposed to Harrison, bribed with office, 377; political worker, 389.
- Sulzer, deputy U. S. marshal, collects political assessments, 372.
- Sunbright, Tenn., Journalist Dunning postmaster at, 155.
- Sunner, J. H., deputy collector at N. Y. City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Suspension Bridge, N. Y., Low, customs collector at, a political worker, 265; custom-house at not classified, number of employes in, 277.
- Sutton, John, politician, appointed to look after office seekers, 46.
- Sylvanus, P. O. employe, political worker, in Delaware, 334.
- Syracuse, N. Y., candidates for postmastership at, incumbent favored by Belden, 46; editor appointed postmaster at by Pres. Cleveland, 71; per cent of removals in classified and unclassified service in post-office at, 185; Editor Smith, postmaster of, a political worker, 266, 335, 347, 386.
- Syracuse, N. Y., Standard (repub.), on civil service reform, 92.
- Swain, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Swalm, A. W., editor, postmaster in Mahaska Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Swartout, ex-collector of port of New York, spoilsman, 272.
- Swayzee, G. S., employe in custom house at New Orleans, works for lottery, 143.
- Sweeney, Congressman, and post-office at Clear Lake, Ia., 121.
- Sweeney, State Senator of Indiana, votes against bill for non-partisan control of state charitable institutions, 201, 212; spoilsman, 408.
- Sweet, Miss, pension agent at Chicago, re-appointed, Commissioner Black attempts to remove, serves full term, Mrs. Mulligan succeeds, 107.
- Sweet, E. R., removal of, 88.
- Sweet, W. L., political worker for Platt, 259, 260.
- Sweetland, H., negro, councilman and low politician of Indianapolis, 207.
- Swift, H. P., wins prize offered by Wanamaker in R. R. service, 415.
- Swift, J. L., journalist, given office by Collector Beard, 108; a political worker, 179.
- Swift, L. B., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; letter of Nov. 28, 1888, to editor Civil S. Record, necessity for reform associations to be alert, 5; address of, before annual meeting Indiana Civil Service Reform Assoc., 108; address of, on civil service reform, 137; address of, on "gift of offices," 115; on all other reforms should be subordinated to civil service reform, 153; address before annual meeting National League 1890, 170, 171, 172; letter to, from Roosevelt, refuting charges of favoritism on part of civil service commission, 266, 267; address of, before annual meeting National League, noticed, 269; on committee of Nat. League investigating political assessments, and political interference of federal office-holders, 338; on committee of Nat. League, to investigate political activity of federal office-holders under Harrison, report of, 375-381.
- Tackett, M. D., appointed special land agent in reward for political services, 234, 377.
- Taft, editor, worker for Sherman, brother of U. S. solicitor-general, 301.
- Taggart, T., ward politician at Indianapolis, 315; chairman Indiana state democratic committee, on Gray, 396; patronage of, 400, 401; chairman Indiana state democratic committee, 407.
- Taggart, W. G., postmaster of Newburg, N. Y., political worker for Platt, 260.
- Tait, J. H., journalist, postmaster at Goodland, Kan., 119.
- Talladega, Ala., postmaster of removed for political reasons, protectionist democrat appointed, 186.
- Tallentire, fire-foreman at Indianapolis, a political worker, 208.
- "Tally-sheet" frauds at Indianapolis, see Indianapolis.
- Tama, Iowa, Editor Wouser appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Tammany Hall, see Feudalism revived; opposed to civil service reform, 128; rule of in New York City, 130, 230, 262, 274, 298, 311, 313, 311; controls patronage of Brooklyn navy yard, under Sec'y Whitney, 148; political assessments levied by, estimates of, 183, 184; uses "pass" examinations, 192; primaries of and republican primaries, 198, 199; supported by Gorman, 214; continued exposure of evils of, will defeat, 219; methods of, 224, 225, 234; R. Croker "boss" of, and McLaughlin, 245, 309; rules New York, 283, 284; and Platt, 288; corrupting influences of, 289, 290; of Cincinnati, O., opposes Sherman, 297; defended by R. Croker, 305, 323; evils of rule of, 317, 320, 333, 356, 385, 390; and nomination of Stevenson, 349; and N. Y. republican machine, 352; and N. Y. City, streets, 357; allied with Platt, 376; fears of under Cleveland, 388; and appointment of Mrs. Maloney as police matron, 404; need of civil service reform paper to oppose, 414.
- Tampa, Fla., Editor Cooper appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Tanner, "Corporal," appointed by Pres. Harrison as superintendent of pensions, 27; appoints his daughter his private sec., 38; spoilsman, 51; removals by, for political reasons, 53, 54.
- Tanner, J., U. S. sub-treasurer, political worker in Illinois, 335.
- Tanner, J., asst. treasurer, at Minneapolis convention, 344.
- Tansel, A., journalist, postmaster at Haddam, Kan., 149.
- Tafley, Wm. B., journalist, postmaster at Frankfort, S. Dak., 155.
- Taffer, police commissioner of N. Y. City, Tammany tool, 356.
- Tarbox, postmaster at Rochester, N. Y., a political worker, 280.
- Tarleton, T. P., dep. col. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Tarrow, chief of division, removed for political reasons by Coulter, 55.
- Tate, confesses to accepting bribes, 151.
- Taylor, river commissioner, at Minneapolis convention, 379, 380.
- Taylor, Judge, political worker for Harrison, 302, 343.
- Taylor, (Illinois) Congressman, and Chicago post-office, 22.
- Taylor (Ohio), congressman of Ohio, opposed to civil service reform system, 35, 49; congressman and office-seeker in Ohio, 75.
- Taylor (Indiana), congressman, patronage of, 419, 421.
- Taylor, Col., special treasury agent, active political worker, 108.
- Taylor, D. D., editor, brother of postmaster at Cambridge, O., 301.
- Taylor, H. A., editor and politician, appointed commissioner of railroads, 39, 108.
- Taylor, S. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Sparta, Ill., 141.
- Tell City, Ind., Schrieber postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Teller, Senator, supporter of Blaine, 344, 346.
- Tennessee, appointees to Indian service from, under Cleveland, 219; political activity of federal office-holders in, 337, 339, 346, 347.
- Tenure law for four years, condemned by National League, 321.
- Terre Haute, Ind., Manson, efficient collector at, removed by Harrison, Throop appointed, 59; should have civil service law applied to local offices, 85; Greiner postmaster of, political worker, 153, 158, 316, 342, 343, 346, 377, 378, 379; Congressman Brookshire allows Voorhees to name postmaster of, 405.
- Terre Haute Mail [repub.], opposed to spoils system, 83.
- Terrell, asst. U. S. attorney in Texas, a political worker, 159.
- Terrell, E. H., minister to Belgium, 14.
- Terry, P. E., postmaster at Terryville N. Y., removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391.
- Terry, S. S., on committee investigating N. Y. City civil service, 319, 320.
- Terryville, N. Y., Terry, postmaster of, removed for refusing to pay political assessments, 391.
- Tests, competitive, objections to, 26.
- Texas, republicans of, headed by Customs Collector Cuney, 150; patronage of given to Collector Cuney, factions of, 158, 159, 173; political activity of federal officers in, 345, 346, 347, 348; political assessments in, 383.
- Thalman, low politician, councilman, and Indpls. fire department, 13; spoilsman, 69, 207.
- Theopolis, R., federal office holder and political worker, 179.
- Thieme, A. B., census enumerator on inefficiency of the service, 291.
- Thomas, U. S. marshal, a political worker, bargains with Karr, 460.

- Thomas, state senator of Penn., political worker for Quay, 280.
- Thomas, and Cleveland administration, 25, 51.
- Thomas, A. C., librarian of Haverford College, letter of, 412, 422.
- Thomas, B. F., journalist, postmaster at Wymore, Neb., 149.
- Thomas, T. F., P. O. employe at Baltimore, political worker, 267, 296, 335.
- Thomas, M. A., low politician, appointed Indian agent through influence of Gorman, 237.
- Thomas, S., levies political assessments in New York, 391, 392.
- Thomas, W. C., journalist, postmaster at Osseo, Wis., 155.
- Thompson, controller at Philadelphia, makes removals for political reasons, 239.
- Thompson, secy. of state for New Hampshire, 143.
- Thompson, threatens office-holders, 55.
- Thompson, Dr., state senator, advocate of spoils system in state charitable institutions of Indiana, opposes new charter for Indianapolis, see, also, Magee, 201, 212.
- Thompson, E. P., asst. postmaster at Indpls., reinstated, 9; and Moore, 25; tries to secure special examination, 26; and fraudulent appointments of Wheat and Tousey, 28; recommends Van Buren, spoilsman, for local civil service board, asks for special examination, 34; acting postmaster at Indianapolis, favors civil service reform, 227, 229; promoted to be postmaster, consequent promotions, 235; political worker; and subordinates, work for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343; attempt to coerce by Merrill Moores, small republican boss, 366; political worker, 302, 316, 320, 378, 379, 382; removes carrier Dunn for soliciting political contributions, 403.
- Thompson, H. S., civil service commissioner appointed by President Harrison, 17; and political assessments, 70; and Shidy case, 101; before congressional committee, 119; commended, 125; resigns, 322; and Attorney-General Miller, 330, 372.
- Thompson, O., postmaster in Winneshiek Co., Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Thornton, B., negro detective, used for Harrison at Minneapolis convention, 345.
- Thornton, G. E., day director in navy causes unwarranted removal of Carpenter, postmaster at New Bedford, Mass., 175, 176.
- Thockmorton, D. I., candidate for postmaster of La Fayette, Ind., 71, 84.
- Throop, J. P., appointment of, condemned, 51; political worker, appointed collector internal revenue, 59; political worker, 362, 380.
- Thurber, F. B., recommends "Paddy" Divver for police justice, 184.
- Thurston, J. M., president league of republican clubs, speaks in favor of civil service reform, 219.
- Tice, F., appointed postmaster at Mt. Morris, Ill., see Hitt, 109.
- Tichner, postmaster of Princeton, Ind., political worker, 316, 378.
- Tilden, Governor of New York, exposes Chemung canal robbery, see Hill, 306; civil service reform a democratic principle under, 397.
- Tilton, R. L., postmaster in Wapello Co., Iowa, a political worker, 260.
- "Tin Horns," low republican politicians, see Indianapolis, corrupt politics, etc., at.
- Tindolph, postmaster of Vincennes, Ind., at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Tippecanoe Club, of Baltimore, resolutions of, denounce civil service reform and the commission, 49.
- Tissue Ballot System, in the South, 29.
- Tittman, Prof., of U. S. coast survey, in "sugar frauds" investigation, 203.
- Todd, J. S., removed on suspicion of being disloyal to Harrison, 300.
- Toland, G. R., postmaster at Asbury Park, N. Y., under Cleveland, 386.
- Toledo, Ill., Editor Conner appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Toledo Blade (rep.), spoilsman must go 92.
- Tolona, Ill., Editor Chapin appointed postmaster at, 141.
- Tomblin, Al., opposes appointment of Williams as postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., 121.
- Tomlinson, D. W., recommended by Owen for postmaster of Logansport, Ind., 88; postmaster of Logansport, Ind., a political worker, 153, 158, 260, 377.
- Tompkins, case of, 94.
- Toomey, M., ward politician, see Indianapolis, 196.
- Tousey, W. E., ward politician, not on eligible list, re-instated in Indianapolis post-office after absence of years, 26, 27; dismissed by civil service commission, 34.
- Tousey, same, alderman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Towner, R. B., and Flower, 287.
- Townsend, congressman, nomination secured by bribery, 151.
- Tracy, congressman, and civil service law, 122; on civil service failures of Harrison, favors civil service law, 125.
- Tracy, U. S. marshal, active politician, 113.
- Tracy, sec. of navy, and offices in Brooklyn navy-yard, 55; and repairs at Norfolk navy-yard, 56; recommends Captain Folger to succeed Com. Sicard, 100; favors W. G. Taylor, 135; course of in Brooklyn navy-yard, 142; opposes Nathan, ward politician, 143; gives navy-yards up as spoils, see Kittery, 145; and spoils system in navy-yard at Portsmouth, N. H. (Kittery), 148; conduct of in Brooklyn, Kittery, Norfolk and Charleston navy-yards, 153, 170; introduces reform methods in navy-yards, commends civil service law, 219, 221, 222, 274, 276, 298, 306, 321, 372, 376; holds Feaster responsible for bad work by henchmen at Mare Island navy-yard, 226; introduces merit system in navy-yards, 230, 236, 238, 251; should institute examinations under civil service commission for promotions in navy department, 254, 257; commended, 287, 290; and removals for political reasons in navy yards, 34; on improvements in navy yard management, 326; supports Rhinehart, 332; removes supporters of Platt, 334; political worker for Harrison in New York, 336, 339, 347; "placates" Platt, 353; removes Page, chief of ordnance dept. in Brooklyn navy yard, 355; introduces Boston labor system in navy yards, 357; and Nathan, 371.
- Traitteur, treasurer inspector, pays political assessments, 279.
- Treadwell, W. S., sec'y Kings Co., N. Y., central republican committee, worker for Nathan, 198, 304.
- Treasury department, offices in, 24; removals of laborers in, 29; examinations for, see De Land, 152; employes under supervising architect of, selected by civil service examinations, though not required by law, 224.
- Trevelyan, Sir G. O., on competitive tests in English civil and military service, 118.
- Treynor, I. M., postmaster at Council Bluffs, Ia., a political worker, 260.
- Tripp, editor, son of appointed postmaster at Carrollton, O., 301.
- Tripp, T. H., supporter of Platt in N. Y. convention, 335.
- Tripp, O. H., works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 343, 379.
- Trollope, A., opposed to merit system of England, 227.
- Trollington, J. H., postmaster at Palo Pinto, Mo., buys office, 55.
- Troy, Ind., Gardiner, postmaster of, political worker, 380.
- Troy, N. Y., post-office at, investigated by civil serv. com., spoils system in, 29.
- True, T. W., postmaster at Eureka Springs, Ark., denounced by republicans, 55.
- Trusler, P. C., and Indianapolis fire department, 13; a ward boss, councilman of Indianapolis, obtains removal of Fire Chief Webster, 36; spoilsman, see Indianapolis, 69, 380; candidate, 162; tries to turn fire service at over to spoils, 207, 208.
- Trust, G., low politician and murderer, gets office through Gorman, 237.
- Truxton, Commodore, commandant navy yard at Norfolk, Va., 147.
- Tucker, postmaster at Annapolis, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Tngwell, A. P., ex-collector, a political worker, 159.
- Turner, postmaster at Newtonville, Mass., indorsed for re-appointment, 100.
- Turner, Congressman, favors civ. service reform 100.
- Turpie, Senator, 393, 404; patronage of, 405, 410, 413, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Tuscaloosa, Ala., Miller, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Tweed, "Boss," 28, 190, 211, 212; allied with Hill, 306.
- Tyner, "Jim," ass't att'y-gen'l for P. O. dept., construes civil service law in favor of Baltimore federal employes, politically active, 357, 358.
- Tyrrell, W. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Waverly, Iowa, 142.
- Underwood, W., appointed postmaster at Washington, Penn., 100.
- Union, Ind., Fearis, postmaster of, political worker, 316, 378.
- Union City, Mich., Journalist Easton, postmaster at, 149.
- Union League Club, and Platt, 333.
- Uniontown, Pa., Patterson appointed postmaster at through influence of Frick, 99.
- U. S. Supreme Bench, considered as spoils, 24.
- Upper Saususky, O., Editor Cunco postmaster at, 301.
- Upton, J. D., defeated candidate, sale of offices by in Missonri, 55, 99.
- Urwitz, M., sec'y central republican exec. committee, Texas, denounces Cuney, 180.
- Utah, relative of Pres. Harrison given position in, 30, 369; sentiment favoring civil service reform in, 111; political activity of office-holders in, 339, 345, 347; vote of for Harrison at Minneapolis, 347.
- Utica, O., Journalist Harris postmaster at, 149.
- Utica, N. Y., Miller, postmaster of, a political worker, 266.
- Utter, A. W., journalist, appointed postmaster at Emmetsburg, Iowa, 142.
- Uxbridge, Mass., Postmaster Farnum of, removed on secret charges, Scott appointed, 175.
- Vail, D., editor, appointed postmaster at New Sharon, Iowa, 142.
- Vail, J. M., journalist, postmaster at New Milford, Pa., 149.
- Valley Center, Journalist Beach postmaster at, 149.
- Valley Virginian [repub.], opposed to Mahone, 53.
- Valparaiso, Ind., Postmaster De Motte of, a political worker, 153, 377, 378; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 316, 343; at Minneapolis convention, 379.
- Van Alstyne, J. L., physician, pension examiner, removed through Postmaster Dunn, 304.
- Van Anda, Rev. A. C., address of on "Purity in Politics," 137.
- Van Buren, M., Pres., spoils system attributed to, 262.
- Van Buren, W. A., recommended for appointment to local service board at Indianapolis, spoilsman, 34, 78; attends dinner to Roosevelt (see), 227, 229.
- Van Cliff, M. E., commissioner (U. S.) circuit court in New York, a political worker, 266.
- Van Cott, appointed postmaster at New York, for party services, 13, 20; and civil service commission, 42; appointed at dictation of Platt, 22, 41; appoints his son cashier of post-office, 108; assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245; calls on Fassett, collector at, 258; gives offices to supporters of Gibbs, political worker, 265, 269; political worker, 279, 287; defended by Wanamaker, 289; and political workers, 311; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, wants Hendricks to lead in New York, 337, 344, 347, 396.
- Vau Duzer, ex-assemblyman of New York, opposes Platt and Fassett, 259; postmaster at Horseheads, N. Y., a political worker, 265; and removal of Flood, 304; attempted removal of by Fassett, 331.
- Van Horn, R. T., controlling patronage of Missouri, 24.
- Van Houten, editor, appointed postmaster at Lenox, Iowa, 142.
- Van Riper, J., postmaster at Rutherford, N. J., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Van Schaick, Congressman, and Postmaster Paul of Milwaukee, 44, 47; his "prerogative," 55.
- Van Slyke, J., editor, appointed postmaster at McHenry, Ill., 141.
- Van Voorhis, J. R., Tammany man, career of 318.
- Vance, Senator, on civil service reform, 117; and Eaves, 159.
- Vandermost, J., editor, appointed postmaster at Monroe, Ia., 142.
- Vandervoort, P., chief clerk R. R. service, 1883, incapable, discharged, and reappointed at suggestion of Nebraska congressmen, 17; and Harrison administration, 25; heuchman, 21, 31, 35, 54; supt. of mails at Omaha, Neb., disreputable politician and spoilsman, 211; career of, 215, 216, 220, 357.
- Vandevere, C. E., appointed by Cleveland, Indian agent, efficient, but removed, 181.
- Vesey, postmaster at Baltimore, spoilsman, removals under, 53; and Sears, P. O. employe at, 277.
- Vest, Senator, a spoilsman, 5, 43, 45; Arthur's administration, 24; secures appointment for son, totally unfit, under Cleveland, 242; on the issue, 375.
- Vest, G., son of Senator Vest, appointed to diplomatic service under Cleveland, totally unfit, 242.
- Vevay, Postmaster Shaw and Deputy Long, of Vevay, Ind., political workers, 379.
- Vicksburgh, Mich., Journalist Baldwin postmaster at, 149.
- Vicksburg, Miss., Hill, negro, postmaster of, worker at Minneapolis, 343, 348.
- Vigneaux, J., U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Vilas, W. F., senator and ex-P. M. Genl., spoilsman, 20, 21; removals under, 96; compelled to let Faulkner stay in office by Voorhees, 222; under Cleveland, spoilsman, 255; and civil service reform, 274; under Cleveland, spoilsman, 364.
- Vincennes, Indiana, letter from correspondent at, 16; post-office at, 37; Tindolph, postmaster of, at Minneapolis convention, 380.
- Vineland, N. J., postmaster at, removed on false charge, really for political reasons, 39.
- Virginia, patronage of given by Pres. Harrison to Mahone, 27, 28, 31, 38, 41, 51, 52, 56, 67, 68, 70, 111, 282, 332, 376; political assessments in, made by republicans, 226; political activity of federal office-holders in, supports Blaine, 348, 345, 370.
- Vogel, "Gus," federal office-holder at St. Louis, worker for Filley machine, 150.
- Voght, F., molder, appointed in office of Gold, township trustee, at Indianapolis, 256.
- Voght, W. F., editor, appointed postmaster at Covington, Ind., 126, 377.
- Von Bergman, A., editor, given office through Congressman Belden, 132.
- Von Landberg, A., editor, internal revenue collector, removals by, 150.
- Voorhees, Senator, a spoilsman, 5, 43, 45, 177, 244, 351, 404; opposed to civil service reform, 80; political turu-coat, 171; secures place for Faulkner, illiterate politician, 222; and Cleveland, 235; favors Gorman for president, 236; supports Hanlon for internal revenue collector at New Albany, Ind., 393; allowed by Brookshire to name postmaster at Terre Haute, Ind., 405; patronage of, 109, 410, 413, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422.
- Wade, F., journalist, postmaster at Sanguatuck, Mich., 149.
- Wade, of Missonri, and office-seekers, 6, 15.
- Waddick, ballot-box stuffer, see Hudson Co., N. Y.

- Wadsworth, J. W., congressman-elect, calls for political assessments, 279, 354.
- Wagner, chairman Kings Co. (N. Y.) republican committee, levies political assessments, 287.
- Wakeman, W. F., sec'y American Protective Tariff League, at Minneapolis convention, 314; circular letter of, to postmasters, 382.
- Walker, congressman, secures appointment of Scott as postmaster at Uxbridge, Mass., 175.
- Walker, internal revenue collector, assists at dinner to Clarkson, 245.
- Walker, B. W., U. S. marshal in Alabama, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Walker, F. A., and censuses of 1870 and 1880, 291; on selection of census enumerators, 294; on census of 1870, 1880, 1890, 295.
- Walker, O. D., physician, employed in Indian service, asked for political contribution, 385.
- Walker, W. B., defeated applicant endorsed generally for postmaster at Hamilton, Mo., 150.
- Wallace, helped by Quay, 135.
- Wallace, deputy postmaster at Indianapolis, a political worker, 144.
- Wallace, D., P. O. employe at Indianapolis, works for Harrison, 302, 337, 343, 377, 378, 379.
- Wallace, Gen. L., obtains postmastership at Indianapolis for brother, for services to Harrison at Chicago convention, 26.
- Wallace, S., inspector in N. Y. custom-house, a political worker, 108.
- Wallace, postmaster at Indianapolis directed by civil service commission to remove Moore, gambler, 27, 28; views of civil s. ref., 2, 9, 18; law violated by, 25; appointed at request of General L. Wallace, cares little for success of civil service reform, 26; re-instates R. B. Muudeile, discharged by Jones, postmaster, 27; and Hamlin, bad character, keeps him in office, 34; and local board, 43, 48, 73; secretly a political worker, 144; death of, a loss to the public service, 219.
- Wallace, W. C., Congressman, obtains appointment of 200 henchmen in Brooklyn navy yard, 55, 72; aided by ward politician Nathan, 121, 150; and "Dan" Lake, 132; opposed by Benedict and Sec'y Tracy, 135; controls patronage in New York, 142; secures appointment of M. Malone, 143; secures nomination of postmaster Kirkpatrick, 157; candidate for congress, re-nominated, see Nathan, 178, 374; trading in behalf of, by Nathan, federal employe, 179, 180; Boyle, navy employe, political worker for, 183.
- Walser, Z. V., federal employe, Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 334.
- Walter, P. L., accuses Delamater of bribery, 131.
- Walters, J., political worker under Postmaster Johnson in Maryland, 335.
- Walters, N., politician, candidate for postmaster at Rochelle, Ill., 109.
- Walton, T., beaten by ballot frauds, see Martin, low politician.
- Wanamaker, P. M. Gen'l., endorses Martin, low politician, for collector internal revenue, see 239; and W. W. Dudley, 2; rules for employes, concerning applicants, 14, 16; and the postmastership of Philadelphia, 15, 22; at dictation of Senator Quay, 27; removes postmaster at New Bedford (Mass.), despite protests, and without cause or hearing, 29; in conflict with Senator Quay over Philadelphia spoils, 30; and civ. service commission, 36; favors Gorman, 38; removes postmaster at Vineland, N. J., for political reasons on false charges, 39; spoilsman, 43, 174, 290; and Van Cott, postmaster at N. Y. City, 44; and Postmaster Paul, of Milwaukee, 44; accepts nominations of Brower, congressman, 47; to be blamed for patronage scandal, 55; and postmaster at Cheraw, S. C., 55; protest against Clarkson sent to, 55; on necessity of reform in railway mail service, 69; career of in politics, and removals of postmasters by, 70; and Sen. Wade Hampton, concerning post-office at Columbia, S. C., 74; and postmaster at Laurenceville, Va., 74; circular letter of Marshall Cushing, private sec'y to, 80; gives disposal of postmastership at Baltimore to Stockbridge, 81; see Russellville, Ind., 89; gives post-office at Pittsburgh to Sen. Quay, 90; and re-appointment of Montgomery as postmaster at Bristol, Conn., 91, 92; removals under, 96; and English, postmaster at New Haven, Conn., 96; and Frick, 99; and removal of Hartley, 101; course of in Shidy case, 103, 104; and post office at Rochelle, Ill., 110; tool of Quay, 112, 133, 138, 161, 173; letter to from Cooper regarding postmasters at Freedom and Brooklyn, Ind., 112; condemned, 125; testifies to worth of Postmaster Hendrix of Brooklyn, N. Y., 131; removals under McKean, postmaster at Pittsburgh, 133; approves Pres. Cleveland's circular warning federal employes against undue political activity, 135; and use of post-offices for political purposes, 135; and Quay, 161; refuses access to records of removals, etc., 163; report of for 1889, past of, 163, 164; suggests assessments on corporations, 171; and Fouike, 173; on secret charges, 175; hostile to civil service reform, 177; charges of against civil service commission, 185; letter of to Postmaster Marsh alleging congressional influence for removal, letters of to others, removed, 187; letter of to McCauley regarding removal, 187; refuses to re-appoint democratic postmaster Harrington, 188; and Baltimore post-office, 189; evasive course of, 190, 191; charges of inefficiency against civil service commission met, 193; and railway mail service, 203; Mail Superintendent Vandervoort, disreputable politician and spoilsman, safe with, 211; and Delphi (Ind.) Journal, 213; defended by Gorman against Roosevelt, 211; Leeds, corrupt politician, 216; a "pious fraud," see Vandervoort, 220; objects to civil service reform, gives prize to Oler for efficiency in mail service, 224; rule of to re-appoint only republicans violated, 224; backs Quay, 228; defended for spoils methods by Gorman, 228; gets office as political reward, 237; obligations of Harrison to, 240; collects campaign funds, gambles in stocks with Lucas, countenances fraudulent issues of stock, 245, 246; and appointment of Low, 249; and small office-seekers, 251; should institute examinations under civil service commission for promotions in his department, 254; appointment of hurs civil service reform, 255, 256; establishes board of promotion by competitive examination in P. O. department, 256, 257; injures civil service reform, see Lambert, 261; uses postmasters as political agents, 262; and civil service reform, 274; letter to Sears, giving inefficiency as cause of removal, 277; objects to political assessments in P. O. department, 280; and violations of law in Omaha post-office, 281; defends Van Cott, postmaster at New York, 289; refuses to tell Flood alleged reasons for removal, promotion scheme of, 297, 298, 303, 304; introduced promotion by competition in P. O. department, 321; and Baltimore investigation, 329, 330, 372, 373, 396; political worker for Harrison, 299; and attempted removal of Postmaster Van Duzer, 331, 339, 340, 349; and political activity of federal employes at Baltimore, 335, 350, 357, 358; refuses list of employes for assessment purposes, 363, 364; appointed in return for raising campaign fund, 368, 374, 376; and political activity of postmasters, 375, 389; and removal for political reasons of Duer, postmaster at Princess Anne, Md., 408; gives prize to Swift, efficient R. R. postal clerk, 415.
- Wanamaker, G. W., low politician in New York, 311; and cartage contract at N. Y. custom-house, 358.
- Ward, postmaster at Salem, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Ward, carrier at Indianapolis post office, removed, 9.
- Ward, C., and attempted bribery by Sen. Higgins and Postmaster Smith, in Delaware, 402.
- Ward, J. A., editor, candidate for postmaster at Lockport, N. Y., 216.
- Ward, W. J., affidavit of on sale of offices by J. Love, 99.
- Warmcastle, S. D., revenue collector, begs Blaine to speak, 180; political worker for Quay, 270; 280; supporter of Quay, removed by Harrison, 299.
- Warmouth, H. C., ex-Gov., appointed collector at New Orleans, 44, 52; ruffianly politician, 105; aids lottery, 113, 191; secures appointment of Weber as postmaster at Donaldson, La., 241; worker for Harrison in Louisiana, 304; supports Harrison at Minneapolis, 345, 346; worker for Harrison, 348, 357, 362, 374; pays political assessments, 383.
- Warner, C. D., address of on spoils system at Indianapolis, 415.
- Warner, C. W., editor, appointed postmaster at Hoopeston, Ill., 141, 165.
- Warner, J. M., spoken of as postmaster for Albany, N. Y., 16; postmaster at Albany, N. Y., favors civil service reform, 51; enforces civil service law, 136; delegate to N. Y. convention, 335.
- Warsaw, Ind., Bennett, postmaster of, political worker for Harrison, 316, 378, 380.
- Warsaw, Mo., post-office at sold by Upton, 55.
- Warwick, Congressman, institutes competitive examination for candidates for West Point, does not accept result, 254, 262.
- Washburn, Senator, patronage a source of weakness, 25; indorses E. G. Hay, 81; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345.
- Washington (state), political activity of federal office-holders in, 357.
- Washington, D. C., Sherwood promoted to be postmaster at 133; proportion of applicants to offices in, under Harrison and Cleveland, 185; Harrison removes U. S. district attorney at, 211; merit system in departments at, 224; competitive examinations under civil service commission order for promotions in departments at, 254; Harrison makes rules for promotion in departments at, 261; department offices and the examinations, 273; political contributions asked in P. O. department by Watres, 280; merit system for laborers in navy yard at, instituted at and commended, 331; political assessments in departments at, 390, 392; examinations for departments at, 1891-92, 396; political assessments levied by Old Dominion republican club in departments at, 412.
- Washington Post, civil service reform a snare and a sham, 49.
- Washington Star (repub.), advocates civil service reform, 92.
- Washington, George, 116; on political duty, see headline to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE for June, 1890, 129; Harrison compared with, 159; on evils of strict adherence to party, 236, 274; on evils of parties, 323, 394.
- Washington, Ind., Ellis appointed postmaster at, despite sale of office to Sefrits, 121.
- Washington, Kan., Journalist Robinson postmaster at, 149.
- Washington, Pa., Underwood appointed postmaster at, 100.
- Washington Co., Ind., removals and appointments in, 91.
- Waters, state senator of Pa., 133.
- Watertown, N. Y., Gates, postmaster of, furnishes political information, 392.
- Waterville, Me., Millican, postmaster of, and undelivery of papers advocating Burleigh, congressional candidate opposing Manley, 364.
- Waterville, Wash., Journalist Kellogg, postmaster at, 155.
- Watkins, politician, and appointments in Brooklyn navy yard, 45.
- Watkins, N. Y., P. Conroy appointed postmaster at, 150.
- Watres, L. A., republican political worker for Quay, asks political contributions in P. O. department at Washington, D. C., 280.
- Watrous, J. W., editor, appointed customs collector at Milwaukee, through influence of Wisconsin congressman, 71, 126.
- Watson, "Billy," ward politician, see also Kings Co., N. Y., 182, 183, 302.
- Watson, C. W., chairman committee of N. Y. civ. service reform association, on civil service examinations, 239, 319, 320; on committee National League, to investigate political assessments, 338.
- Watts, F., appointed postmaster at Freedom, Ind., vice Suffall, removed for political reasons, 377.
- Waugh, congressman, patronage of, 419.
- Waverly, Iowa, Editor Tyrrell, appointed postmaster at, 142.
- Waverly, O., Journalist Snyder, postmaster at, 149, 301.
- Wayne Co. (N. Y.) republicans, resolutions, of denouncing patronage system of republican party, 156.
- Weather bureau, merit system in, 253; service classified by Pres. Harrison, 403.
- Weatherby, Rev. S. S., on civ. service reform, 83.
- Weaver, postmaster at —, a political worker, 179.
- Weaver, J. M., congressman, obtains appointment of Low, political worker, as postmaster of Westport, N. Y., 249, 351.
- Weaver, V., editor, appointed postmaster at Loda, Ill., 141.
- Webb, constructor at Kittery (Me.), navy yard, examination of, 147.
- Webb, W. E., census supervisor, pledges of to spoilsman, 131.
- Weber, federal officer, appoints anti-Platt men, 334.
- Weber, E. M., appointed postmaster at Donaldson, La., upon request of Collector Warmouth, 241.
- Webster, federal employes compelled to vote for, 162.
- Webster, Daniel, address to Massachusetts whigs in 1832, public press and spoils, 17; on bribery of press, 81, 141, 154, 155, 369, 376; spoils system under Jackson, 270, 324; sec'y of state under W. H. Harrison, circular of against political assessments and political activity of federal office-holders, 320.
- Webster, E. A., negro, coll. int. rev., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348, 382.
- Webster, Col. G. P., patronage of in N. Y. legislature, guilty of nepotism, 215.
- Webster, J. A., journalist, postmaster at Johnson, Kan., 149.
- Webster, J. H., chief of Indianapolis fire department, 13, 69; removed for political reasons, 36; influence of removal on city elections, 59; against spoils system, 203; effort to force him to turn fire service over to spoils; removal and re-appointment of, 207, 208.
- Webster, W. B., editor, appointed postmaster at Cresco, Iowa, 142.
- Wedgefield, S. C., Negro Richardson, postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Weed, S., Tammany "boss," and prison patronage, 331.
- Weeks, thief, ordered to be employed in Kittery navy yard, see Robeson and Broadhead, 147.
- Weeping Water, Neb., removal of Postmaster Ratnour of on secret charges, Butler appointed, 175.
- Weigel, E. F., political worker for "Boss" Filley, given office by Sec'y Noble, 226.
- Weinstein, L., editor, appointed collector fourth Ia. district, 56.
- Welling, stamp clerk at Indianapolis, 9.
- Wellington, G. L., U. S. sub-treasurer, in Maryland convention, 335.
- Wells, A. J., veteran, discharged and reinstated by Jones, postmaster at Ind'pls, 9.
- Welsh H., at Baltimore conference, 1889, 2; re-appointment of Oberly, 9; controversy with Senator Ingalls over Indian commissioner, 22; little progress in bettering condition of Indians due to spoils system, 39; circular letter of to clergy asking for clerical advocacy of civil service reform, see, also, Church, 40; letter on treatment of Indians by administration of Pres. Harrison, 42, 79; letter of to Boston Transcript on Indian service, 47; and clerical advocacy of civ. service reform, 65, 73; letter of to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE on Indian service, 98; denies charges against Indian Agent McChesney, 130; letter of to R. Lincoln, 161; and causes of Indian rising

- at Pine Ridge, 192, 202, 217; on removals in Indian service, 219; in Scribner's Magazine for April, 1891, on evils of spoils system in Indian service, 224; before civil service reform association of Penn., on Indian service, 239; on "Degradation of Politics in Pennsylvania," in Forum, Nov., 1891, 282, 324; on committee of National League, to investigate political interference of office holders, 338, on committee of publication of Good Government, 357; on publicity as cure for political corruption, 366.
- Wemple, controller, receives political contributions, 180.
- Wenneker, internal revenue collector at St. Louis, and negro spoilsman, 146; political worker, removal of requested by Secy. Noble, 336.
- West Grove, Chester Co., Pa., applicants as postmaster of, 55.
- West Hoboken, N. J., postmaster Middleton of removed, no cause assigned, Klumpp appointed, 176.
- West Point, Congressman Warwick institutes competitive examinations for candidates for, does not accept result, see McKinley, 254, 262.
- West Virginia, A. B. White, newspaper proprietor, appointed collector internal revenue, 30; asst. district attorney of, sued for embezzlement, 39; U. S. deputy marshal in, indicted for bribery, 39; republicans of believe in spoils, 62; conflict over patronage of, 71; census service in run after spoils system, 293; political activity of federal office-holders in, 348; political assessments levied on federal office holders from, activity of federal employes in, 390.
- Westchester, Pa., removal of Postmaster Pye at, for political reasons, 101.
- Westcliffe, Colo., S. Lacey, wife of editor, appointed postmaster at, 148.
- Westport, N. Y., political worker Low appointed postmaster at, 249.
- Wetherill, J. R., political worker under Postmaster Johnson, in Maryland, 335.
- Wheat, J. C., not on eligible list, re-instated in Indianapolis post-office after absence of years, 26, 27.
- Wheeler, inspector in mail service, recommended by Hiscock and Platt, for inspector in charge of mails, vice Rathbone resigned, 241.
- Wheeler, custom-house employe at N. Y. City, at Minneapolis convention, 343.
- Wheeler, editor, to be postmaster at Crown Point, Ind., 302.
- Wheeler, E. P., plan of, for agitation of civil service reform before Nat. League, 1889, 66, 172; civil service reformer in New York, 239; address of, before annual meeting of National League, noticed, 269.
- Wheeler, E. W., journalist, postmaster at Sherman, Mich., 119.
- Wheeler, J. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Crown Point, Ind., 377.
- Wheeler, W. E., journalist, postmaster at Eagle Park, Idaho, 155.
- White, ex Congressman, opposes Harrison, 317.
- White, collector internal revenue in Texas, a political worker, 159.
- White, A. B., editor, appointed collector internal revenue for W. Virginia, 30, 37.
- White, A. D., candidate for governor of New York, supported by Platt and Nathan, 265; works for Fassett, 280; appointed U. S. minister to Russia, 382.
- White, E., ward politician, appointed deputy postmaster at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., vice Smith removed, 386.
- White, E. A., internal rev. coll. delegate to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- White, G., republican, removed from fire service at Indianapolis, see equally divided politically, 235.
- White, H., editor, political worker, 351.
- White H. G., politician opposing Hiscock in Onondaga Co., N. Y., 264.
- White, Prof. H. S., praises CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 110.
- White, Prof. T. C., brother of U. S. marshal, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- White Clay, Indian chief, and rising at Pine Ridge, S. Dak., 218.
- Whithead, special treasury agent, at Brooklyn, 336.
- Whiteman, W. H., appointed to supreme bench of N. Mexico, 24.
- Whitefield, asst. to Wanamaker, and appointment of Weber, 211; and appointment of Low, 249.
- Whithorne, congressional investigating committee on Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Whitman, Mass., Harlow, postmaster at recommended for re-appointment, 100.
- Whitney, F. M., editor, appointed deputy internal revenue collector, 84, 126.
- Whitney, J. A., political worker under Postmaster Johnson in Maryland, 335.
- Whitney, Sec'y, 82; gives navy yards up as spoil, 145, 147, 148, 222.
- Widney, J. A., soldier, postmaster at Woodhull, Ill., removed through influence of Cong. Henderson, 47.
- Wigg, S., discharged from navy yarn at Norfolk, Va., by Sec'y Whitney, 147.
- Wilber, Mrs., appointed postmaster at Clay City, Ind., inefficient, 89.
- Wilby, C. B., letter to CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE, 92; on proposed charter for Cincinnati, O., 235; address of, on G. W. Curtis, 391.
- Wilcox, appointed collector at Springfield, Ill., through influence of Cannou, 31.
- Wilcox, C. A., editor, appointed postmaster at Quincy, Ill., 141, 148.
- Wilcox, I. S., revenue collector, a political worker, 160.
- Wilcox, Dr. J. A., Harrison delegate from N. Carolina, 331.
- Wildman, J. F., editor and Harrison "boomer," applicant for postmastership of Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Wiley, E., wife of Journalist Wiley, postmaster at Elizabeth, Pa., 119.
- Williams, G. F., opposed to civil service reform, according to Grosvenor, 204; as congressman on minister as citizen, 239.
- Williams, J. M., journalist, postmaster at Phoenix, N. Y., 155.
- Williams, O., steward at Marion Co. (Ind.) poor-house, neglects duty, see also Indianapolis, corrupt politics, etc., at, 207.
- Williams, R., editor, works for Harrison, tries for office, disappointed, 95.
- Williams, S., federal employe, worker for Harrison, 334.
- Williams, V. T., editor, appointed postmaster at Stanberry, Mo., appointment recalled on political opposition, 121.
- Williamsville, N. Y., Journalist Rinewalt postmaster at, 155.
- Willis, Rev. J. S., republican candidate for congress, offers bribes, 102.
- Willis, L. W., receiver of political assessments in Alabama, 391.
- Willis, T. B., appointed naval officer at New York, as reward for party services, scandalous partisan, 55, 106, 121, 132, 182, 183, 191, 198, 304, 350, 355; appoints Politician Barrow his deputy, 108; and Brooklyn, N. Y., post-office, 135; political activity of his employes, 265; opposes Nathan, 332; in New York convention, 334, 335; worker for renomination of Harrison, against Nathan, worker for Platt, 336; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 344, 345; secures N. Y. delegation for Harrison, 348; and Nathan, 352, 354, 371.
- Wilmer, and corrupting influence of Tammany, 289, 290.
- Wilmington Morning News [repub.], attributes defeat of 1889 to Mahonism, 75.
- Wilmington, O., federal office-holder political worker for Harrison, 302.
- Wilmington, O. M., dismissed by Jones, postmaster at Indianapolis, reinstated by Postmaster Wallace, 34.
- Wilmington, Del., Stewart, postmaster of, political worker, 334.
- Wilmington, N. C., Young nominated collector of, ward politician, 183.
- Wilmot, O., Journalist Spidle postmaster at, 119.
- Wilson, councilman of Indianapolis, spoilsman and low politician, 207.
- Wilson, representative in Indiana legislature, spoilsman, 406; opposes gerrymander of 1893, 414.
- Wilson, "Doc," negro, political worker in Indianapolis, 378, 379.
- Wilson, E., brother of editor, given office by Governor Foraker, 301.
- Wilson, E. M., editor, appointed postmaster at Adin, Cal., 141.
- Wilson, G. W., mayor of Ft. Wayne, Ind., opposes Harrison, 302.
- Wilson, J. E., negro, postmaster at Florence, S. C., delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Wilson, Mrs. K., wife of political worker, candidate for postmaster at Muncie, Ind., 217.
- Wilson, N. Y., Le Van appointed postmaster at, 39, 45.
- Wilson, W., postmaster at Chadron, Neb., removed on secret charges, 175.
- Wilson, Rev. W. M., on Civ. Service Reform, 83.
- Wimberly, internal revenue collector in Louisiana, political worker, 304.
- Wimberley, A. F., removed federal employe, worker at Indianapolis, 343, 348.
- Wimbush, C. C., negro, federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Winchester (Ind.) Herald [repub.], republicans must stand for civ. service reform, 83.
- Windom, Secretary, and office-seekers, 16, 37, 159; and Sturgeon, 22; and Wild, head of assay office at Boise City, Idaho, accepts resignation of, 30; at request of Roosevelt, stops Coulter's proceedings, 34; appoints political worker to office, 51; removes P. C. MacCourt, of N. Y. custom-house, 51; on the civ. service, 81; and Saltonstall, 94; and Platt, 204; praises merit system, see annual report, 1889, 276.
- Winamac, Ind., applicants for postmaster of, bargaining for position, 88.
- Winoua, Miss., Matthews, deputy postmaster of, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 344, 348.
- Winters, Cal., Moody, postmaster of, resigns, his successor removed for cause, Mrs. McKinley appointed, removed for political reasons, 90.
- Winters, W. H., given place in Indiana legislature, 406.
- Wirt, J. S., Senator, civil service reformer, address of before alumni of St. John's College, Maryland, 137.
- Wolcott, Senator, and Harrison, 337; supporter of Blaine, 344, 345, 346, 363.
- Wolcott, E. O., letter of on removal of Flood, postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., on secret charges, 312.
- Wolcott, R., president of young men's republican club of Massachusetts, civil service reformer, 192, 219; opposed to Quay, 211.
- Wood, Consul, political worker in New Hampshire, 371.
- Wood, purchases postmastership at Mitchell, Ind., appointed, 89.
- Wood, appointed census supervisor through influence of Sherman, 301.
- Wood, A. L., editor, appointed postmaster at St. Charles, Iowa, 142.
- Wood, H. C., federal officer, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 318.
- Wood, J., defeated candidate for congress, secures appointment of Pentreath, 150.
- Wood, R. F., civil service reformer, 172; on appointment of postmasters before annual meeting National League, 1892, 329.
- Woodard, postmaster of Harrodsburgh, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Woodard, S., federal office-holder, political worker for Harrison, 302, 378; works for Harrison at Minneapolis, 337, 343, 379.
- Woodford, S. L., candidate of Nathan for governor of New York, 265.
- Woodhull, Ill., soldier and postmaster at, removed and civilian appointed, through influence of Henderson, G. A. R. post denounces Henderson, 47.
- Woodmansee, M. G., journalist, postmaster at Holyrood, Kan., 149.
- Woodruff, F., chairman Kings county republican committee controls patronage, 106, 132; political worker, 121, 182, 183; enters factional fights in Brooklyn and New York, 197, 198.
- Woodruff, J., testified against R. Smalls, 39.
- Woodruff, T. L., political worker for Boody, cong. candidate, 183.
- Woods, M. C., given place in Indianapolis post-office, as spoils, 18, 27, 34; political worker, 302, 378.
- Woollen, W. W., controller of Indianapolis, commended, 269.
- Woolren, N., postmaster of Kingston, N. Y., political worker in New York, 336.
- Worcester Spy [repub.], civ. service reform a certainty, 92.
- Workers, political, paid enough without additional remuneration in form of office, 30.
- Workman, J. B., clerk in Indiana senate, 408.
- Works, "Charlie," worker for congressman Hitt, 110.
- Wooster, L., postmaster at Fostoria, O., compelled to appoint partisans, 91.
- Wooten, J. T., attempted bribery of, by Sen. Higgins and Postmaster Smith, 101, 402.
- Wouser, C. J., editor, appointed postmaster at Tama, Iowa, 142.
- Wray, state senator of Indiana and spoils methods, 408.
- Wright, C. D., and civil service reform in census service, 291.
- Wright, F., refusal of Trustee Gold to remove, 111; removed, 146, 256.
- Wright, P., broker, at custom-house at N. Orleans, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348.
- Wyman, Jr., M., at Baltimore conference 1889, 2; sec'y Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association, 205.
- Wymore, Neb., Journalist Thomas postmaster at, 119.
- Wynn, I. C., journalist, postmaster at Lander, Wyo., 155.
- Wyoming, Ill., postmaster at removed for having been appointed, through "intrigue," Hammond appointed, 176.
- Xenia, Ind., Editor Lawshe appointed postmaster at, 71, 126, 377; political worker, 379.
- Yakim, Ore., excellent appointments reversed at bidding of Senator Mitchell, 32.
- Yakima Co., Wash., leading postmaster in, and other federal employes political workers, 362.
- Yale, office-holder, a politician, 162.
- Yankton, Dak., Indian agency at, and Sen. Moody, 86.
- Yeager, J., applicant for postmastership at Lankark, Carroll Co., Ill., 109.
- Yonkers, N. Y., Postmaster Keyes succeeded by politician Pentreath, 150.
- Young, Captain, testimony of regarding Kittery navy yard, 147.
- Young, A., treasury agent, active politically, 113.
- Young, D., federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 348; collects political assessments, 384.
- Young, J. C., testimony of before Judge Lippincott as to election frauds, see also Hudson Co., N. Y., 200.
- Young, J. H., negro, ward politician, appointed collector at Wilmington N. C., 183; federal employe, delegate to Minneapolis convention, 334, 348.
- Zadok, A., postmaster of Corsicana, Tex., politician, 187.
- Zanesville, O., Editor Richards postmaster at, 301.
- Ziegenheim, collector at St. Louis, supports Filley machine, 150.
- Zimmerman, postmaster of Cannelton, Ind., political worker, 380.
- Zollinger, C. A., applicant for office under Cleveland (2d term), 392; pension agent under Cleveland, levies political assessments, 111.
- Zumsteln postmaster at Cincinnati, O., carries out spirit of civil service law, 257.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 028 001 771 1